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The book includes 229 papers and abstracts written by members of Russian society of sociologists for the 9th Conference of European Sociological Association in Lisbon, Portugal (September, 2-5, 2009) – European Society or European Societies: a View from Russia.

The fourteen parts of the book represent general theoretical speculations and the results data of empirical surveys done by 270 scholars in various regions of Russia, Europe and the world. Urgent problems of social reality connected with the relations between Russia and Europe, geopolitical state of Russia in the world, as well as the perspectives of transnational business and international education under conditions of crisis and the challenges of the 21st century are emphasized.

Special attention is paid to the national (state), ethno-cultural and regional identity forming under conditions of active migration and cross-cultural communication as well as the strategies of regional policy and stratification of a society in the period of transition.

The book will be interesting for scholars of social sciences, experts in enterprise management, economy and education under conditions recent changes in a society and demands of the labour market. It can be helpful for English speaking students and post-graduate students.

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1. WORLD WIDE VIEW OVER EUROPE: THE CHALLENGES OF THE 21ST CENTURY

1.1. RUSSIA AS A CIVILIZATION STREAM: SEEN FROM WITHIN

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INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL THREATS, PHOBIAS & DANGERS IN RUSSIAN MASS CONSCIOUSNESS

Fears, threats, anxieties typical for either one or another historical periods and generations tend to mirror both actual, present-day socio-political situation in the country and more deep-laid factors, located in the very heart of national self-consciousness and mentality of Russians. They are a kind of «collective matrix» able to motivate mass behavior, explain why national consciousness demonstrates either one or another tendency, why stable and relatively serene epochs give place to unsteady and highly unstable ones, find out the ways in which myths are shaped and destroyed.

Nature of fears and anxieties, revealed in the course of a special nation-wide sociological survey, conducted by the Institute of Sociology (Russian Academy of Sciences) in September 2008¹ in order to study socio-psychological condition of Russian society, social feelings and tendencies specific for it under different contexts and situations, phobias and dangers as they are in Russian mass consciousness as well as reactions of Russians towards challenges of present-day life, let to grasp basic, core traits of a past period, marked by social stability and steadiness as well as by stagnation of political institutions responsible for stable development of the country and society.

It looks like that fears, dominated in the society 10—15 years ago — such as fear of country's disintegration, civil war, economic collapse and so on — have passed into history, though haven't left mass consciousness completely. In 2008, at a summit of present-day prosperity and well-being, indices, characterizing situation in the country as normal and safe one, began to recover again. However along with such a positive tendency we observed well-defined counter-tendency, which was substantially a reverse side of social changes and transformations, took place in the country during the first seven years of the XXI century. The very fact of political and social stability ceased to be taken as a priority value by considerable part of population (and, first of all, by youth), which was quite natural against a trend-like background of stagnation in both political sphere and potentials of social mobility observed in recent years. Nevertheless, overcoming of 1990th crisis, including socio-psychological one, let Russians to hope, that social stability and economic growth will be a long-term tendency. And just at that very moment Russia was confronted by new challenges — both internal and external ones. Substantial intensification of confrontation between Russia and Western world, manifested itself at the

¹ National quota sample used by the research team covered 1750 respondents, representing different socio-professional groups of population aged 18 and older, in twelve territorial economic regions of Russian Federation, Moscow and St. Petersburg.

time of military conflict in Caucasus and demonstrated increased geopolitical independency of the country, was taken positively by the vast majority of Russians. At the same time symptoms of world economic crisis, affecting — unexpectedly for both the society and authorities — the country in bad and painful forms, forced them to doubt of the reality and solidity of previous social and economic achievements.

What were Russians' troubles, fears and phobias in 2008? First of all, Russians were alarmed, as before, by social problems, mainly — by low living standards of a considerable part of population, following by increase in social differentiation. Just as population of any other country, they were disturbed by the things, able to affect somehow or other their first-hand, everyday interests. Ways, by means of which they responded to crisis phenomena in socio-economic sphere, transformed as well. On the one hand, part of those, ready to fight for the «place under the sun» by force of radical tools and procedures (and even with the arms in their hands) somewhat decreased; on the other, level of readiness for protest actions, conducted within the limits of legal resources and opportunities, slightly increased. Yet the most uneasy and alarming change consisted in visible increase in those, who was not going to undertake anything in order to accommodate themselves to a new reality and, first of all, to search for additional sources of incomes. If in 1999 almost every second respondent was ready to do that, in 2008 such attitudes were typical for third of them only. At the same time a number of those, that claim that they would do nothing even in hard times, substantially increased.

Full-grown economic crisis let to confirm above tendencies in many respects: the most part of Russians, suffered from its consequences, keeps on to hope that the problems will disperse by themselves, and doesn't search for active ways, by means of which it will be possible to overcome them. At the same time we have to admit, that Russian society is not free of social dissatisfaction which could — under the certain conditions — develop into overt, spontaneous or organized, forms of social protest. Inefficiency of political parties and representative authorities as channels, able to express mass dissatisfaction, can result in protest activity of abnormal and unexpected forms. Nevertheless, in spite of increase in protest attitudes and even under the conditions of economic crisis, resource of social solidity is still sufficient, as long as during reform period Russians succeeded in accumulation of great experience of survival in the most extreme environment. By the moment of above survey this tendency didn't transform yet to a new quality: society was still looking for stability and moderate evolutionary changes. However economic situation, worsened by spring 2009, would probably call for more rapid and resolute actions.

As far as specific fears and phobias are concerned, extent to which they have spread in society is determined by its overall socio-psychological condition. In case of positively colored senses and emotions, experienced by Russians, the most infrequent among them are those of support from the direction of folks and relatives, which is an evidence of advance destruction of typical for Russian mentality attitudes and relations of intra- and inter-family mutual aid and support in the so called «small Russia», where they, it might seem, have to keep safe to the utmost. Among positive emotions we find such as pride for personal or kinsfolk's achievements and content with planed and balanced developments, typical, first of all, to those representing well-off social strata. It means, that in modern Russian society differences in levels of material well-being not only contribute to differences in access to various material welfare, but also predetermine affiliation with two differing worlds — the one, in which individual is self-confident, can manage his or her life and depend on support of the environment, and the other, world of social exclusion, with typical for it aloof existence, lack of support and ability to use social networks, self-reliance and, as a rule, any hopes for the future.

Sense of injustice of everything, taken place around, is in the lead among the other negatively colored emotions, which obviously indicates the fact, that our nationals treat social relations, prevalent in present-day Russia, as illegitimate ones. Trying to be objective, we will note, that social injustice and unfairness are taken today not so hard as previously. One more pronounced negatively colored emotion is a sense of self-helplessness, inability to influence on the immediate environment, closely concerned with the feeling of social injustice and constituted in combination with it a kind of «detonating mixture», undermining from within mentality and physical health of Russians.

Nevertheless, since 2000 Russian society demonstrated firm and steady increase in characteristics of population's social optimism. Number of those increased who were sure, that

the state was developed in the right direction, tended to trust authorities and were satisfied with their own lives. Economic crisis brought above characteristics down, but not so much as to talk about «severe transformations of sympathies».

Analyzing socio-psychological self-identification of Russians, we found that the majority of them tend to be restrained while estimating their emotional condition. Somehow or other, almost half of the respondents defined themselves as a «cross between» optimists and pessimists.

In spite of the fact, that the latest decade became turning point in social frames of mind of Russian society, Russians are very contradictory, estimating changes took place in their feelings and emotions. Thus, fourth of them stated that they became more confident and got rid of previous fears and anxieties. Slightly more than tenth of the respondents admitted, that they suffered from intensification of uneasiness and decrease in confidence and self-reliance. With all this going on, the majority of Russians tends to bind dynamics of their Weltanschauung with transformations, took place in their inward life, psychological state, but not with «big politics» regarding which they felt more and more aloof.

In addition to global fears and phobias many people experience — from time to time — the so called small fears, anxieties, sense of being unprotected and so on. On the one hand, such cases could be treated as particularly personal affair of a separate individual, manifestation of his or her private life, dependent on psycho-physiological characteristics and traits of a concrete person. On the other hand, information about situations, in which people experience anxiety, the prevalent reasons able to cause it, those who tends to be anxiety or uneasy as well as subjects of such uneasiness gives us an idea of real social life as it is. The most common — according to frequency of mentioning — among them are «street fears», actualization of which is quite natural against a background of high level of street criminality. Almost fourth of Russians experiences fear in case they have to call on state institutions such as police, court, administrative settings and so on, and this matter should undoubtedly require undivided attention of authorities and the society as a whole. Another 25% of the respondents experience above emotions in transport, as well as in hospitals and polyclinics.

Who are Russians afraid of most of all? What are they afraid of? Analysis of answers to above questions let us to arrive to three basic conclusions. First — who is afraid of: it turned out to be, that senses of fear and anxiety are not localized today within the frameworks of some fixed social group or groups, since the majority of Russians experiences them irrespective of age, sex and incomes. Second — what are they afraid of: Russians are quite ordinary as regards objects of their fears. First of all, they fear for their own and their folks' life and health, as well as for personal property and wealth. Third — what and who are they afraid of trying to establish typical for Russians sources of fear, we find out outstanding specificity of modern Russia.

In addition to such customary and usual for any society sources of dangers as gangsters and street, accidents and traffic, Russians experience quite specific fears distinguishing their emotional state of health. The matter concerns fear of terrorists and officials, anxiety experienced in public and health protection institutions. Supernatural bugbears, trusted on the society by mass media, haven't widely spread yet, however we could observe very disturbing symptoms: more than third of our nationals tended to take seriously either one or another irrational threats, among which slander and evil eye were in most favor.

The question arises as to whom Russians rely on in case the matter concerns their personal security? It turned out to be, that the majority of them relied for the most part on themselves, since they couldn't pin their hopes on state and social institutions and were unable to trust providence. That is why they try to take independent care of their health, reinforce personal security, save money for a rainy day, raise the level of their skills and learn.

At the same time Russians are undoubtedly worried about the things, threatening the state and society as a whole. Analyzing our findings, we defined and fixed three groups of threats, varying in part of Russians, who tended to feel towards them intense uneasiness and permanent fear. First of all, the case in point was anxieties, caused by military conflicts with the next-door neighbors and sharp decrease in living standards, typical for the absolute majority of the respondents. The second group was composed of threats, disturbing to a considerable degree fourth or third of Russians (middle level of anxiety), such as probability of civil war in Russia, probability of war with the western countries, possible loss of state sovereignty, dictatorship and mass repressions. The third group involved threats, disturbing Russians least of all, such

as dissolution of Russia, «orange» revolution, forced overthrow of authorities, interethnic wars and disunity inside the ruling clique. Evidently, threats, concerned with transformations inside political elite of the state, tend to provoke minimal alarm and anxiety. Most likely, the present state of affairs in above sphere seems to Russians stable and free of any reasons, able to provoke «struggle for power», coup d'état and dissolution of the state.

Critical 2008 was marked by increasing role of fears and phobias, caused by foreign-policy (international) threats. As appears from our survey, the first place among the latter was occupied by NATO expansion to the East. Nearly half of Russians is afraid of possibility of Russia's engaging into long-term Caucasian conflict. As far as threats of world terrorism and danger of a new world war, caused by general instability, is concerned, they hold today the third and fourth places.

Thus, we have every reason to believe, that Russian society has changed grossly under the influence of multiple tendencies — long-term and relatively new, developed under the conditions of economic crisis, ones. It was expressed in weakening of a number of old fears and phobias, appeared in 1990th, as well as in actualization of new — both external and internal — challenges and threats. New problems, caused by deterioration of socio-economic situation in the country and the world, appeared at the very peak of positive expectations of Russians, when syndrome of 1990th crisis was overcome, and society believed, that Russia became a successful country following the pass of stable social and economic development.

In the face of new unexpected economic and political challenges, high risks of destabilization society and authorities turned out to be unready for trenchant policy, actions, development of new approaches and strategies. They expect that sooner rather than later crisis will «reach the bottom», this will cause upturn in economy, and so the best strategy is a strategy of patience and waiting — the one, that doesn't presume any considerable and substantial transformations. In case optimistic projects will not come true, the chances of global revaluation of strategies and priorities, proved to be correct in the last ten years, are good. Such a revaluation will be inevitably accompanied by increase in economic and political activity of separate social groups, elite, and nationals taken as a whole, as well as in risks of social destabilization. However today we don't observe anything of the kind. Quite the contrary, against a background of negative symptoms society is ready to unite around federal authority as a «last island of stability» yet more, venting its anger and discontent on regional and local authorities.

Under the conditions of economic crisis social discontent doesn't express itself in overt forms. At the same time number of those, who is not going to do anything in order to adapt to a new social reality and, first of all, to search for additional sources of incomes, increased, as it was mentioned above. It is a very alarming symptom, an evidence of typical for many Russians «return» to living strategies of 1990th, when they had to strive for simple survival, look for a niche, in which it was possible to wait through hard times. In case backward tendencies will actually prevail, degradation will — most likely — touch upon not only social, but also public and political life.

No doubt, that crisis will increase many fears and phobias, all the more, that the overwhelming majority of Russians became aware of it or was damaged by it immediately. However the quantity has not yet passed into the quality, in case the latter means development of new living strategies in economic and socio-political spheres. That is why considerable part of Russian society keeps on to be in «standby mode» and doesn't demand of the authorities any resolute actions. But whether political structure is withstanding, in case above expectations will be delayed or not realized at all?

Despite the fact that present-day Russian society doesn't always treat activity of authorities and individual contributions of national leaders as corresponding to complex and quickly changing socio-economic situation in the country, confidence in authorities is a solid, but in point of fact the only «line of defense». Economic crisis tends to increase both social and political risks for the country and its citizens. However today it's quite difficult to evaluate them in a proper way. Lack of effective institutions, able to show displeasure and protest spirits, as well as of political activity of Russians could play a negative role in case the crisis will pass on to more profound stage. The fact, that society either supports or not pro-government or opposition parties, in no way affects feedback mechanisms. Moreover, above parties as well as parliament, trade unions and other public associations could hardly be treated as effective institutions of

civil society. Most likely national state and public institutions, the ones which were formed and developed under somewhat different conditions, will hardly stand the test of crisis.

Being unexpected and sudden, crisis revealed as well contradictions within Russian elites, considerable part of which (especially that of large- and middle-scale business) made no secret of the fact, that it was dissatisfied with over-increased role of state bureaucracy in economy, inefficiency and corruptibility of judicial system, low level of political and economic freedoms as a whole. Natural striving of elites and part of the society for impeding though not revolutionary changes will be a kind of counterbalance to these processes.

Nevertheless, in spite of dismal presentiments of some politicians and experts and joyful foretaste of changes, experienced by the others, «political superstructure» of the country remains stable. Crisis, which tends to broaden and become more profound, hasn't resulted yet in substantial decrease in confidence in national leaders, ruling party or federal authority. In contrast to «default» of 1998, when economic crisis was treated by the majority of Russians as failure of national leadership, an evidence of its incapacity and predetermined actually change of policy, took place in Putin's time, the present-day crisis hasn't undermined yet Russians' confidence in authority. As far as some decrease in two national leaders' — V. Putin and D. Medvedev — ratings is concerned, decrease took place after beginning of crisis, it looks like quite natural, in case we take into consideration the first financial and social losses of population.

To summarize, we have to make note of the fact, that political stability is based on much more solid and fundamental, than simple socio-economic state of affairs, foundations. Most likely, due to some very serious reasons present-day post-reform Russia doesn't have any fundamental alternative to official policy. Society in itself is not prepared for any alternative to ideology of mass consumption, the fruits of which it began to enjoy not long ago, and all this practically excludes the chances of mobilization under the left-wing slogans. Nevertheless, changes are not only possible, but are inevitable. Consensus between the society and political power prevalent lately and based on principle «Don't disturb us, and we'll not disturb you» turned out to remain undecided. Society came to such a point, when either the majority of Russian nationals agree with existent social system once and for all, or people start to look for new ways and modes of more active influence on their social environment. In many respect the future will depend on effective actions of federal, regional and local authorities, but even greater on vital energy, social and civil activity of Russians, able to demonstrate remarkable capacity for getting out the most difficult situations.

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RUSSIA IN THE SYSTEM OF CIVILIZATIONAL STREAMS

The geopolitical position of Russia put a question before researches on the place of this country in the world. It concerns as well as the last periods of history and to the modern society. The main reason of the occurrence of a question on the definition of a place of Russia is the old opposition of the East and the West as different civilization types. It is quite admissible that similar opposition is purely artificial formulated for a convenience of researches. In each science there are conditional categories that help to analyze the certain phenomenon. Thus, the division of civilizations into the western and the eastern gives the possibility to allocate similar lines, and also to reveal features and dissimilarity not only between the societies which are on the different parties of the investigated question (the East — the West), but also within one civilization group. And the concept of the East — the West does not necessarily characterize a geographical position of a country or ethnos. These concepts are conditional, formed in the ancient times. The division on «the East — the West» allows to define features of methods and ways of understanding of the world, values orientations, to characterize the political institutes and economic structures, to allocate the basic lines in the art.

Russia occupies a special place in the researches of this kind. Its place on the border of Eastern and Western worlds always drew attention both domestic, and foreign researchers. The West-European scientists considered our country lying on the eastern frontier of their world. The Medieval Europe till XVI century considered its Tataria, during the next period taking into account the euro-centrism principles, defined its place outside of their civilization. The East countries never considered it within the frames of their civilization. The East scientists were not also interested in a place of Russia as a part of Europe. The domestic science within the frameworks of history, cultural science, philosophy, political science, created different concepts regarding to a place of Russia in the world system of values: Slavic-philosophy and westernization, N. Berdyaev's position and Eurasian, religious public thought and revolutionary-democratic. And, definition of its role in the world process often depended on the point of view on a position of Russia between western and eastern worlds: from an obvious abuse, charge in marginality to overestimating its achievements that appeared as a result of a connection of the western and eastern lines.

Now, during a period of integration processes the East and the West do not confront with each other. However, it is not possible to avoid their comparative analysis. Moreover, to understand the integration processes, mutual influence of cultures is much easier having analyzed the features of these two powerful civilization streams — the East and the West. Russia stands on the border of these streams. As a result, many scientists consider its being on the suburb of both civilizations. There is even a definition that this country developed on boondocks of Europe. However, it is true to say: if Russia is located both in geographical, political, and civilization sense on a border between the West and the East, that is on a joint point of civilization streams, then it not the suburb, and the centre. The centre which unites various civilization streams. From such view the destiny of Russia does not become easier and clear. To be in the centre of streams is much more difficult and dangerous, than on the periphery. Nevertheless, such view better explains the presence of eastern and western lines in the history and culture of Russia. And still in the presence of opposition of the West and the East it would not be desirable to come under the influence of Eurasian and to define Russia as a special continent — Eurasia, that is a special civilization which does not regard neither Europe, nor Asia, not the West and not the East. The presence of the western and eastern lines in political, economic, cultural development gives the grounds to investigate its development from positions of western or eastern civilizations. For this purpose we will consider some categories, in which the most typical distinction of the West and the East are present. At such analysis the position of Russia will more clearly be defined in this opposition.

The difference between eastern and western culture types was defined during an epoch of the Ancient world, with some changes it exists and now. For the eastern type during ancient time is indicative the development of culture of Ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia (Schumer, the Akkadsky Kingdom, Ancient Babylon, Assyria and the New Babylon Kingdom), Ancient India and Ancient China, and for the western type — the Ancient Greece and Ancient Rome. On their basis there were formed the features of development of culture of the West and the East during the following historical epoch.

Long ago the difference was outlined in a political system of the ancient states. In eastern states there was a despotic character of the power, that is not constrained by any formal rules or laws and leaning directly on force. The governor, whether it was the Pharaoh in Egypt, the tsar in Mesopotamia, rajah in India, the emperor in China, is the owner of all ground and manpower. It is imperious over destiny and a life of any citizen, from the higher dignitary to last slave. All forms of communication in the eastern society — economic, spiritual and political — had exclusively a vertical character. The West very early aspired to a republic establishment, to elective authorities. Such form of government was established in Greece and Rome to the middle of the first millennium up to our times. Besides vertical, there existed and horizontal communications between societies, especially economic (free trade) and spiritual (system of foretellers, the oracles uniting policies of the Ancient Greece or public layers in Rome). In the history of development of the western type of culture there were periods of the existence of

monarchy. However the aspiration to republic was rather quickly displayed — already in the Middle Ages republics in Italy were established, and since the 16th century there were revolutions for establishment of bourgeois republics in the northern countries of Europe. The European monarchy, even in the greatest centralization of the power, essentially differed from eastern despotisms. Kings and emperors of Europe, having the power over the vassals, never interfered with their internal affairs. Russia is very often compared with eastern despotisms. However, this comparison has no bases under itself. Here at the centralized political management there was a body which was alternative to the monarchy: at the grand duke — veche, in the period of the most «despotic» tsar, Ivan terrible — a cathedral, during the imperial period — the senate. Here the duality of Russian civilization is displayed, but nevertheless on political principles it is closer to the western type of development. The Kiev Russia develops in parallel to the Western Europe, the same occurs in formation of absolute monarchies, since XVII century.

If to compare the East and the West on a character of the power Russia undoubtedly belongs to the western civilization way. In the east the character of the power always was sacral. It means that the governor of the state was idolized. The Pharaoh in Egypt was considered as the son of the god of the sun — Ra. The emperor in China is declared as the son of the Sky. To them worshipped, as to gods. In the western type of culture the power of the governor connected with a divine, but the king or the emperor in Europe, as well as the grand duke, later the tsar, in Russia, were only deputies of the god on the Earth. It did not obtain the acceptable respects.

The western and eastern types of culture differ and in views about gods. The western deities during the pagan period were anthropomorphic. The Olympic gods of the Ancient Greece not only had human image, but also possessed all set of human feelings: they could be jealous, revenge, feel fear. On the Appeninsky peninsula anthropomorphic gods have appeared for the first time at estruses: Tina, Uni and Mnerva. The Christian religion has not changed the anthropomorphic principle. The God Savaof has created the person just like himself, hence, it represented exclusively in human image. Jesus Christ is born in the human environment, one of its two forms — human. For east gods anthropomorphic is not characteristic. Many east gods have animal lines. The Egyptian culture is especially indicative in this respect. The first world religion which was born in India, — the Buddhism — assumes the Buddha in an image of the person, however there are images of the multi-hands Buddha, that is the violation of anthropomorphic principle occurs.

The Muslim world in general forbids view an image of God. Hence, we cannot name it humanoid in any way. In Russia during the pagan period there was no accurate view about an image of gods. They were shown in the form of animals, and in the form of a human being. But Russia has rather easily apprehended Christianity. Hundred fifty years of spreading of religion — it is not enough for such huge country. Moreover, the new religion was easily imposed for pagan holidays, ceremonies, a way of life, an agricultural calendar. Not without reason from all monotheistic religions existing round Russia and considered by Vladimir, the Christianity has approached absolutely.

The economic development of western and eastern types of culture also has basic differences. In the east the basic means of production (the earth, water and irrigation systems) traditionally belonged to the state. However, it was considered that all these riches belong to the Pharaoh, the tsar, Rajah. But they on eastern concepts also were personified with the state which was the Supreme proprietor. There could be a collective right to using, possession of resources (the earth, water), or the certain post indirectly granted the right to the property. And both the post and the property in some eastern states could be hereditary. However, it is not a private property. Even the rights to the small property, in the basic habitation and a personal estate of private persons had no accurate legal guarantees. In the western type of culture, on the contrary, there was early a private property on the basic means of production. For the East the natural system of an economy, for the West — market relations is characteristic. To the given scheme there is not appropriate the economy of the European Middle Ages where, especially in the early Middle Ages, the subsistence economy dominated and there was no home

market. However it is necessary to consider that the general types of eastern and western culture here are meant. Some separate lines in any time piece can be from the other type of culture that gives specifics to the certain period or culture of the concrete state. A characteristic example is the culture of Russia. Long time (up to the 17th century) the character of the economy in Russia was natural. The character of the property on the basic means of production was different. An ancestral lands and from the XVIII century and an estate, were descended. However, the most part of resources belonged to the state. However, the same was and in Byzantium which, undoubtedly, was the western type of a civilization though there, as well as in Russia, there were also eastern lines.

Also there is a miscellaneous in the East and in the West the relation to the person. If in the western culture the person has paramount value, and the society is a set of separate persons then in the traditional East the person had no own value. The community was the major element of a social system. Interests of the person in a community are completely subordinated to interests of a collective that defined all aspects of life: ethical standards, spiritual priorities, social justice rules, character of labor. The personal initiative and responsibility were excluded. In the West the state protected interests of the person. Already the Greek-Latin civilization has put and tried to resolve the most complicated question: to reach harmonies in a society, to find a reasonable combination of public interests and interests of the person the reasonable laws are necessary. The laws should protect the rights of citizens and strictly be observed by both the power, and citizens. The state practically did not interfere with a private life of citizens. In this question the binary principle of Russian culture is to the greatest degree displayed. This term assumes not simply presence of two different tendencies in culture that, actually, quite often meets and in cultures of other states, but also the obligatory presence of two opposite lines which contradict each other, and form strong synthesis. The Russian scientist and public figure Slavophil A.S. Khomyakov wrote about such peculiar feature of Russian people, as cathedral character that is understood as a moral generality of a collective, subordinated to interests of religion at organic inclusion of the person in a community. This term assumes a uniform combination of interests of the person and interests of a society.

In the western cultural type the person always aspires to progress, the society is aimed at the future. And progress achievement is necessary for the person during its concrete life. The world can cardinally change throughout a life of one generation. The environment, the subject world, the state system, the economic life, customs, fashions change. In this case there is a rupture between generations, misunderstanding of fathers and children. The experience of the previous generations is used only as a material for extraction of lessons, not so obligatory for imitation. Young people more often do not accept a way of life of seniors. On the other hand, the life varies so quickly and sharply that the senior generation does not understand the young. In the East changes occurred extremely slowly. Time was often perceived as cyclic, that is periodically coming back to a starting point. From here originates the poetic attitude to the past in the East. The person of eastern type of a society in the advance aspires to reach ideals which he sees in the past. The past gives samples of acts and actions. The keeping traditions were canonized as the higher public value. Moreover, on eastern concepts the soul of died ancestors live in the present, influence live people and the events of a real life. In such society there can not be a rupture between fathers and children. Besides, many generations existed in the same conditions and the experience of seniors was not only acceptable, but also was necessary. In Russia the relations between generations undoubtedly answer the western principle. Misunderstanding of fathers and children was marked in many literary works. The slow character of changes was observed at the Middle Ages. However, it was temporarily characteristic and for medieval Europe.

Thus, at the doubtless presence of the east lines in Russian civilization, within the interface of contrasts, Russia located at the border of western and eastern worlds, is in the western territory. In this respect it reminds Byzantium and is the successor of its culture.

GLOBALIZATION OF CONFLICTS AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE RUSSIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

The globalization has left a mark on the orientation of development of the modern Russia. First of all it is connected with the fact that it along with other countries has acquired the uniform market basis of its development and together with it all social illnesses of the modern western society, being unable to prepare recipes of its treatment, not creating the adequate civil mechanism of counteraction to it. Thereby, the Russian society has entered a stage of intense development that is caused on one hand by the destruction of the last way of life and formation of new one, and on the another hand — the same new way of life in a greater degree, than former is characterized of a conflicts character. Today for Russia on the first place there put forward the social-political collisions, and for the last years there observed a transition of a priority from degree of conflicts and sharpness of conflicts in the social and economic sphere of a society.

The transformation of a society, its political system lead to the growth of the mutual discrepancy of various elements of the traditional social organization, occurrence on this basis of the contradictions in the status, prestige and well-beings of various social groups and institutes. There has been increased the discrepancy of traditional and social institutes regarding to the new functions that should be carried out to correspond to the changed conditions. The role and target orientation of various social groups in a society connected with an active search of stronger positions within the formed new social hierarchy changes. On this basis there is appeared a motley scale of contradictions — the social conflict generated by modernization by the external display of which become the growth of alienation of a society from the political power. Under these conditions the state for the purpose of destabilization of all system is compelled to maneuver and appeal to those social forces that stand up for the change of an existing order of things and, on the contrary, will paralyze as far as possible the anti-reformatory forces.

For the western sociology the development of a typology of relations of the state and a society that are described in categories of «cooperation», «conflict» or «consensus» (stable development) is characteristic. The stability of this or that administrative-political system is defined by that how much it is capable to avoid a conflict in the extreme conditions of reforms, to achieve a consensus or even cooperation with a society in the name of its educated layers. It should be noted that the political modernization in any country — is not a simple process. As a necessary condition and a mechanism of achievement of the stability of a society, as the main task it puts the creation of the institutes, capable to deal with constant changes in social and political requirements. From these positions the political modernization always acts as the important indicator of a susceptibility of a policy to changes, its flexibility and an ability to accept time challenges. At the same time the political modernization is connected with a conflict of values, collision of traditional norms and institutes with new modernization values and institutes. According to A.S. Ahiezer's remark, it can turn to the factor of increase of a mass discomfort state and lead to «inversion explosion» in a society.

All it demands from the political elite of a special feel, abilities as much as possible to reduce a number and degree of conflicts in a society and, mainly to use a consensus potential of «traditionalism», traditional values and institutes gradually involving it in a process and logics of transformations. Modern transformation of the political Russia is a way to democracy, a legal state, political stability, defines a new character of mutual relations of the state power and a society. It is known that the previous waves of the political modernization «shook» the social and political system, created the overload, overstrain of the people and were described within the frames of mobilization model of political stabilization. In the history of Russia the state always acted as the original centre defining the character and orientation of social

transformations. In a society where the development is initiated «from the above», and the society itself will as though be mobilized for the required historical period, the stabilization is characterized as mobilization.

The modern Russian society painfully endures a transition from one historical epoch to the other and without conflicts cannot adapt to market relations, cannot accept that system of values on which basis the western capitalism was built. The process of impoverishment has overflowed a society. The differentiation on a level of incomes goes on two vectors: branch and imperious. The deprived and lower-income layers are mainly the specialists of different profile, workers, office workers, pensioners and unemployed people. The market dictates the other than before a way of satisfaction of requirements of people in which the dominant role is played by money and a private property. An absence of money that is characteristic feature of a life of many Russians is a double death of a person. Once is a death of a social person because of the fall of binding threads with a society, another time is the physical death connected with disappearance of elementary means of life. The absolutization of monetary forms of interaction in a society, transformation of money into the defining social norm together with any actions or uncontrollable will of dominating social strata become «the terrible» danger.

Still recently the rupture between 10 % of the poorest and 10 % of the richest did not exceed a ratio 1:3. But now the expert estimations show, we were sharply rolled away back — approximately on level 1: 20 or even 1: 30. The similar social differentiation says that the society became not only socially non-uniform, but also split on opposite and resisting social groups that causes amplifying social pressure, the conflict and loss of safety of ability to live of the majority of the population of the country, loss of in the lead positions in manufacture and consumption, loss of stability and balance of social development. The position is aggravated also by the other important point: more and more representatives of minimum provided groups of the population on their level appear below the breadline, on the verge of a survival. It is created a situation at which poor layers of population have no the slightest chances to be pulled out from poverty and to become members of a society with complete rights. Their destiny is an eternal stay in position of derelicts, in position which generates for more provided layers of population the fear to appear in the same pity and hopeless condition. The extending poverty becomes the natural phenomenon and the ordinary of the Russian reality and the fear to appear poor — the basic psycho-emotional refrain of a state of the person.

The pitiable condition of social and economic sphere of the Russian society causes change of the relation of the state to a social order that is characterized by modern differentiation and a social inequality. The order based on a deep social inequality, increases the compulsory influence of the state by means of the restrictive right, i. e. the right that does not give freedom to the poorest levels of population for realization of the economic potentialities. Thereby the right recognizes as lawful an arbitrariness of the proprietor of means of production to reduce workplaces, to strengthen a competition among hired workers, to reduce the price of the labor, to create a huge layer of the unemployed and those who not so jobless, but cannot find the work. The law creates conflict conditions, prepares a part of people for extremism. Thereby the compulsory influence of the state on actions of unequal individuals by means of the law transforms the social conflict that a result of deep social differentiation of a society in the political ones. It sounds strange. A state itself prepares a soil for the conflict. Now the task of the state consists in how to keep the arising conflict, how to keep the destructive force of the conflict and by that to provide safety to the created state association.

Increase of conflicts and decrease of safety become a natural feature of the Russian society under conditions of globalization, and the task consists in explanation of the reasons of that universal illness that injures the majority of communications in a society, in revealing of a mechanism of structural and individual determinations of a political conflict and safety. The feedback — the mechanism of removal of intensity in a society, but only when the power is capable to react to impulses arriving in a system. If power is indifferent to requirements and inquiries of people and pays attention only

to own requirements and ideas its decisions and action hardly will find understanding and support. The purpose orientation, adaptation, self-keeping, reorientation of efforts, change of the purposes — all is the basic means that will help to cope with intensity in a political system.

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TRANSFORMATION OF VALUES IN THE STATE MANAGEMENT: RUSSIA AND WORLD TENDENCIES

As practice shows, the direct adoption of the western experience brings Russia more negative consequences than positive. The innovations without the Russian specifics do not give a desirable effect. For example, the attempts of fast formation of a middle class by reforming of the institute of property have led for the last 15 years to shocking gap between a narrow social stratum with large incomes and other social groups.

By comparison of the Russian and western approaches to the state management the more «divided» terminology used in the foreign literature attracts the attention. For example, in English language the equivalent to the Russian term «state management» should be selected according to a context depending on which the values will «be scattered» on different concepts. It is not only «Government» (as government) but also «Public policy» (as a procedure of development of a political course of the state), «Public administration» (as activity of public authorities on realization of such course), «Public management» or «New public management» (as application of principles of business-management in the state management) etc.

Really, it is not a question of terminological problems by itself. The state apparatus of many developed western countries as «a heavy flywheel» keeps necessary inertia and maintains the shocks of the last decades, including a cardinal reform of the apparatus itself commenced at the edge of 70—80-th years of the last century that just is connected with the term «New public management». The idea of the new state management consisted in the replacement of bureaucratic behavior by business one as more effective. It is considered that such approach allows overcome the negative sides of the classical bureaucratic systems that were researched in detail in works of the well-known sociologists (R. Merton, M. Kroze, K. Klok, J. Golsmith etc.). It is obvious, that application of methods of business management in the state organizations is limited: there are more significant criteria than commercial effectiveness — such as social justice, political purposefulness etc. Indeed, any large-scaled modernization of the state apparatus has the certain theoretical preconditions fixed at different «floors» of scientific abstractions: in sociology (the general theory), in management (private theories), in science as a whole. For understanding of the reforms and accepting of measures on their updating it is important permanently to estimate it.

In sociology the approach to the public phenomena becomes more and more values-oriented reflecting the features of transition of civilization to a post-industrial society in which the information streams (both opened and hidden, implicit) more and more acquire a role of the key management determinants. Beginning with the works by U.

Tomas and F. Znanetsky «the centre of gravity of social values» is displaced from the rational and impersonal to the personal and individually oriented factors. Not only in sociology, but also in science as a whole there are occurred similar changes reflecting the cardinal shifts in the bases of scientific knowledge within a context of development of civilization — at classical, non-classical and post-non-classical stages of development [1]. The post-non-classical stage that includes some last decades — greatly expands the reflection sphere over activity, including in the sphere of its attention the out off scientific social purposes and values which in the greater degree start to define the strategy of the scientific research.

The management of the post-non-classical period is already based on the other principles which are often directly opposite to «classics» and «non-classics». So, in ontology as a basic principle is not to be the single determinism of mechanistic type, but indeterminism or somewhat new determinism opening a certain perspective for scientific treatment of self-movement of a system at the linear and «bifurcation» phases of its development. In methodology there dominates not «universal scientific method» but methodological pluralism, consensus, expediency of scientific decisions. In gnosology it is allowed the going away from the sterile clearness of «the objective methods of research» to recognition of an ineradicable sociality of informative activity etc. There have been reconsidered the views of «scientific-ness» and «rationality», the accents in understanding of adaptability of systems to external and internal innovations, use of informal factors in management have been changed. It takes place an aspiration to arrange formal positions under informal components, for example, the methods of structuring of an organization by creation of various commands, including self-managed etc. It is possible to name such new paradigm as a value-innovative determination of management. Namely, this «corner of view» has been noticed in the modern researches of management problems [2].

Thus, the development of sociology as well as management and science as a whole shows the perspective tendency of a change of accents in a range of management determinants. There has been increased the «relative density» of values, innovations, individual qualities of people; the tendency to the individualization and personification of management processes amplifies. At first sight, in Russia there are observed the similar processes of reforming. But in Russia there is another «rationality coefficient» strongly influencing the productivity. Such key phenomena of the Russian life as the power, the property and management exist not in «divided» but in syncretism unity, — as one of the Russian authors was successfully expressed. «The power, as well as the property it is possible to grasp, sell, concede, divide, to exchange, lose, but management — as a civilized and rational way of regulation of actions and interactions of people can only be built on their consent and with their participation, and to use it good, average or bad» [3].

The social justice as the key «construction» of the social state strengthened by the century traditions of the Russian mentality becomes more vividly outlined at the analysis of, namely, this triad: power — property — management. And it is hardly possible to overestimate the stimulus of active social activity hiding here. Certainly, from the side of the state there have been required a lot of cardinal and system measures: reforming of a tax system and distributional relations as a whole, a serious, instead of a narrow-selective, support of small and average business, the other approach to defining of a price of the work etc. But in the sphere of state management the main reserve is a reforming of the management itself which necessary conditions are a political competition, formation of a civil society, independent court and independent mass-media. In the «heart» of all efforts — the «cardio-sergeant» elimination of divergences between terminal and instrumental values in the activity of the state structures, the «plastic correction» of the style of relations of the state with citizens, the «implantation» of motives of personal interested work of people in social and professional groups.

Owing to uncertain «dividing» of the Russian power (political component) and management (apparatus component) the optimum variants of bureaucratic functioning are often given as a victim of the «reliability» of powerful vertical. Whereas the account of such «personified» values as authority, professionalism level, trust to a person, re-trust of some state functions etc. would allow to put into operation the higher creative

potential of social groups and structures, their «energy of self-development». In Russia this reserve of the state management seems to try put in action but these attempts are very shy and small. Besides, there works the strongest Russian instinct of each leader — to hold all threads of management in own hands up to the last forces, hiding from necessary innovations behind decorations. In management the value-innovative-personified tendency becomes to be dominating. The states being late adequately to transform a sphere of management will inevitably are behind of the modernization processes even having on hand the high resource potential of the country. Today this tendency also becomes a key task of the state management in Russia along with an economy diversification, integration into the world market and investment in the human capital. In Russia there could work much more effective than in the west such factors as collectively-corporate interest, moral responsibility, creative approach, high adaptability to varying circumstances, fidelity to business contrary to fluctuations of a conjuncture and many other things that closely «tie» the primary significant cultural values of people and social groups to the scales of the state level. The orientation on the system modernization of values taking into account the Russian specifics in its traditionally excellent expressions — is a difficult but feasible task for the state management.

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RUSSIA AND THE WORLD LEADERSHIP: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF AMERICAN AND RUSSIAN FORECASTS

At the beginning of the 1990s, after the collapse of the world socialist system and the USSR breakup, American philosopher Francis Fukuyama made a hurried announcement to the world about «the end of history»². In his opinion, withdrawal of communism from the historical arena meant the end of ideological struggle and the triumph of western market and democratic ideology for the forthcoming centuries. Undoubtedly, the abovementioned events resulted in the end of bipolar system of international relations, and in the beginning of new international reality formation process. Which way will the world development choose? Will our country be able to regain political authority and lost world leadership status? The answers to these questions are ambiguous. A great number of opinions concerning the world development, regardless of some of finer points, in either case, are focusing on the two approaches. The central idea about one of the approaches is forming of a unipolar world.

At the beginning of the 1990s, during the Gulf war, then US President George Bush claimed that due to the USSR breakup one of the «poles» vanished. The idea was picked up by Z. Brzezinski in his book «The Grand Chessboard», and supported by leading American scientists and politicians. Regardless of the fact that the idea of the US imperial supremacy is being criticized both beyond the country and inside it³, in its essence, it is determining the US international policy. The features of such imperial model are rather

² See *Fukuyama F.* The End of History? //The National Interest. 1989. No.16. Summer.

³ Irrespective of several contradictions, the works of Paul Kennedy, Samuel Huntington, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Henry Kissinger are consistent with their view on the US, which, being far from invincible, should live in the environment of inexorable decrease of its comparative power in increasingly populated and developed world.

detailed in the US national security strategy for the new century. In particular, the strategy notes that the US strategic approach is based on acknowledgement of their world leadership, «The US leadership and their involvement into the world affairs are vitally important for our security, and owing to these leadership and involvement, our country and the whole world feel more secure and more prosperous»⁴. From the point of view of other direction of political ideas, the distinctive feature of present-day international relations is transition from the bipolar system to the multi-polar one. In this model, the centre of force, together with the US, Western European countries and Japan, are such countries as China, India, and possibly Russia⁵.

This approach allows considering Russia in the category of a great power, and, hence, a priori indicates its significant role in the international relations system. The national security concept of Russia for a reason notes that «Russia's national interests in the international sphere consist in ensuring sovereignty, strengthening of Russia's position as a great power — one of powerful centers of the multipolar world»⁶. There is no doubt that the abovementioned approached could not but influence the forecasts of Russia's future role in the international arena, which is confirmed by a comparative analysis of the US and Russian sources. The author compared the positions of the US National Intelligence Council and US leading experts in the spheres of international policy and economy, demography and security⁷ with the official position of the RF⁸, as well as the opinion of Russian scientists and politicians expressed in a number of analytical journals⁹. The applied method of content analysis revealed three groups of the subject matter, as well as indicators characterizing the groups. The factors characterizing the potentiality of the increase of Russia's international role and authority fall into the first group:

Indicators	Russia's point of view	The US' point of view
Considerable energy resources	+	+
Permanent membership in the UN Security Council	+	+
Membership in Nuclear Suppliers Group	+	+
Prospective financial indices	+	
Cultural and spiritual potential	+	
Membership in G8	+	
Leadership in the CIS	+	

* Notably, while the US National Intelligence Council Report 2000 equally considers the first three factors, the following similar report highlights Russia's energy potential,

⁴ The US national security strategy for the new century // NG-scenarios. 1999. No.2. P.2.

⁵ See the works of Z. Brzezinski, H. Kissinger, S. Huntington. E.M. Primakov and others.

⁶ The RF national security concept // Independent military review. 2000. No.1.

⁷ See Global tendencies of mankind development up to 2015 / Translated from English by L. Leonovich, edited by K. Zhvakina. Yekaterinburg: U-Factoria, 2002. — 120 p. and US National Intelligence Council Report «Mapping the Global Future» // Russia and world in 2020 / Translated from English by Sh. Khagras. Moscow: Europe Publishing House. 2005. P. 3—166.

⁸ The RF national security concept // Independent military review. 2000. No.1.
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⁹ RBC. Tendencies. Forecasts. People. Ideas. Technology. Monthly business journal. 2006.
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diminishing the next two factors. The factors hindering Russia's strengthening as one of the world leaders fall into the second group:

Indicators	Russia's point of view	The US' point of view
Decaying infrastructure	+	+
Low economic development rates and its raw-material orientation		+
Demographic problems against health care degradation and impairment of Russian citizens' health	+	+
Aggravation of social problems, increase in crime and corruption	+	+
Bordering on unstable regions, threats of terrorism and conflicts	+	+
Regional heterogeneity of the RF	+	+
Authoritarian government undermines management efficiency		+

At that, in 2000 the US list of factors hindering Russia's joining the world leaders was larger than in the later period. In 2005 the focus was mainly on the problems of demographic development, Russia's borders on unstable regions and authoritarian nature of our political leadership. The third group includes direct forecasts for Russia's role in the world arena in the near future:

Russia's point of view	The US' point of view
Confidence in Russia's consolidation as a great world power, its turning into one of the leaders of the multipolar world, provided certain steps of its political leaders and all the population of the country.	Noting the possibility of the RF economic growth in the world arena, the US stress the limited role of Russia in the future world policy, considering it only as «an important partner for the established world powers: the US, Europe and for claimants for this role China and India».

Thus, regardless of the fact that Russia's and US' estimates of factors enabling Russia to regain the world leadership, and factors hindering this process coincide in many respects, the parties arrive at opposite conclusions. The position of the US in this issue, as the main claimant for the world leadership, is clear. As for Russia's approach, though there are not enough reasons for euphoria, nevertheless, the prospective aspects for the country's development can be distinctly outlined. First of all, it is the same energy sphere. Experts consider nuclear complex development to be promising, as it may consolidate Russia's positions and assist in cohesion of the CIS. Considerable resources of Russia's rating increase lie in production development, mainly in the development of heavy engineering. Substantial growth potential is also concealed in infrastructure development. The recent government decision on investing considerable funds into development of the Kuril Islands and Siberia gives hope that the authorities have realized the importance of the issue for Russia. Besides, it is clear that the country with degenerating population can have no future. Positive changes in this sphere are in process. According to the RF Health and Social Development Ministry, «In 2008, the natural loss of population amounted to 363.5 thousand people or by 22.7% less than a year ago. In 2008, the natural loss factor came to 2.6 per 1000 people as against 3.3 per 1000 people in 2007»¹⁰.

¹⁰ http://www.gazeta.ni/news/lenta/2009/02/24/n_1334250.shtml

Another fundamental difference of the positions of the US and Russian analysts is that the former consider the world leadership issues in the terms of sole dominancy of one country in the world arena. Official Russian documents and scientific research consider joint leadership of countries. It was stated, for example, in the speech of RF Foreign Affairs Minister S.V. Lavrov about the results of 2008, as well as in the keynote address of RF President D.A. Medvedev in the Foreign Affairs Ministry on July 15, 2008, «...leadership mechanisms of the countries being especially responsible for the world situation must be developed. And the mechanism must be representative in the right way... This very fact is the basis for the present-day democratic architecture of the international relations»¹¹.

1.2. RUSSIA AND EUROPE: RUSSIA AND ITS EUROPEAN IDENTITY

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RUSSIA IN EUROPE: CHANGING IDENTITIES IN A CHANGING WORLD

Over last years the relationships between Russia and its neighbours — countries of European Union and the CIS — have notably changed. Along with the changing political regimes, foreign policy priorities and values, the attitudes of the Russians towards those countries have also transformed. Today in the mass consciousness of the Russians, the EU has become, perhaps, closer than before, but some CIS countries are moving away to the second place. This trend is evidenced in the results of the international sociological research «Russia and the EU» conducted by the Center for Sociological Studies MGU in November 2008. We wish to record our thanks to the UK Economic and Social Research Council (grant RES-061—25—0001) under the leadership of Dr E. Korosteleva, Aberystwyth University (UK), without which this research would have not been possible.

The survey was conducted in the European part of the Russian Federation using face-to-face interview method. A multi-stage, stratified, random sample reflects the settlement and demographic structure of the RF. The total number of the respondents was 1503. Finding out the priorities of the respondents indicates that in their opinion, the interests of Russia most should be consistent with the European Union (38.5 per cent) and CIS (31.3 per cent). It is worth paying attention to the fact that not the CIS countries appear to be at the first place in this rating, as it would be possible to expect, but the countries of the European Union. Every tenth participant of the survey gives priority to the cooperation with China. The euphoria of the public opinion about the benefit of especial relations with the USA came to nothing, judging by the results of the survey. The interest to them does not differ a lot from the interest to the Arabic countries. The differences in priorities depend on the age of the respondents, first of all. Most adherents of cooperation with the European Union are among the people aged from 30 to 39 years — 44.6%, the least number is among the pensioners — 26.6 per cent. The vector of increasing the share of the respondents, giving priority to the CIS countries is directed to the opposite side: 21,4 per cent of the youths aged 18—29 years and

¹¹ <http://www.newsru.com/russia/15jul2008/medvedev.html>

41.8 per cent pensioners. The adherents of the partner relations with the CIS and not with the European Union prevail in the age group 50—59 years though insignificantly (correspondingly, 37.8 and 34.7 per cent).

When the participants of the survey faced the choice of the partnership relations between Russia and the Western countries or the CIS countries, almost three quarters of them (72.2 per cent) preferred a compromise — «with both of them, equally». At first sight, the adherents of cooperation with the CIS countries appear to be most consistent — almost a half of them offer to develop partnership relations with the ex-Soviet republics, first of all. Only a fifth part of the adherents of cooperation with the European Union consider the relations with the Western countries of priority. We think that this result is partly determined by the inaccuracy of the research tool of the survey. We have seen repeatedly that the Russian public opinion has different attitudes to the European Union and the USA, but the term «Western countries» unites them together. At the level of commonsense, the priorities in regard to partnership with the other countries can be based on the ideas about friendly or hostile attitudes of these countries to Russia. The respondents estimated 10 countries from this point of view. Belarus is at the first place: the inhabitants of Russia are traditionally positive towards the Belarusian. There have not been serious conflicts between these countries, yet, that is why, it is not surprising that the attitude of Belarus to Russia is perceived as friendly by the absolute majority of the respondents (81.8 per cent). Almost three quarters of the respondents consider Germany and China to be friendly countries (correspondingly, 72.1 and 71.6 per cent). It is notable, that the perception of Germany does not depend on the age of the respondents. The assessments of China partly depend on the educational level of the participants of the survey: the higher is the educational level, the more positive are the assessments. China is considered to be more or less friendly by 57.4 per cent people without a completed secondary education, and by 76.5 per cent of the respondents with higher education.

Moldova, Turkey and Great Britain make another friendly cluster of the states, which, in the opinion of the participants of the survey, have a friendly-neutral attitude to Russia. The evaluations, characterizing the first part of this definition lie in the range 45—43 per cent, and the second part — in the range 41—31 per cent. The attitudes to those countries vary by socio-demographic characteristics.

Romania looks as a neutrally-friendly country in the assessments by the respondents, but the other three countries — Poland, Ukraine and the USA — are referred by the public opinion to the category of hostile countries today. The bias concerning Poland and the Poles has existed for long in the common conscience of the Russians. That is why the received distribution of evaluations (22.0 per cent — friendly, 27.2 — neutral and 42.8 per cent — hostile) can be considered as the expected one.

Negative attitude to the USA grew in the Russian public opinion during the last decade. And, judging by the results of this survey, it has already gained a stable character — two thirds (66.9 per cent) of the respondents considers this country to be hostile to Russia. It will be very complicated to change the developed attitudes already.

The situation is most alarming in regard to the perception of Ukraine: 57.6 per cent of the respondents consider that Ukraine is hostile to Russia and only 21.9 per cent that friendly. Of course, the situational factor has influenced it: the support rendered to Georgia during the recent conflict, expectations of the following «gas war», etc.

The survey data evidences that the public opinion of the country developed a generally positive attitude to the European Union as a zone of stability and economic prosperity. The Commonwealth of Independent States visibly yields to the European Union in these very important parameters for the Russians, that is why its assessments are of moderately positive character. Germany is perceived as a kind of «showcase» of the European Union, as a state, symbolizing its achievements. Most of the respondents have adequate understanding of the European Union, as about an economic and political association of the European countries, about its member states, about the location of the capital. However, a half of the respondents believe that Switzerland is the member of the EU. It could indicate insufficient awareness and little interest of the majority of the Russians to particular issues of the European policy. The answers for special questions give the same evidence.

The attitudes towards the EU values seem to be determined not only by their real significance, but also by the traditional views about differences in the European and Russian mentalities. The values (market economy, human rights, rule of law, economic prosperity and democracy), which are less presented in the everyday reality of the average Russian, are ranked higher than the others. On the other hand, the respondents actually denied EU to possess the values that, traditionally considered as the advantages of the Russian and the Soviet way of life (respect for different cultures and religions, tolerance and the preservation of cultural heritage).

The relations between Russia and the European Union are estimated positively, in general, although, in the opinion of the respondents, they are not always based on equality and mutual benefit. Russia is an important partner for the EU; and the European Union is interested in the relations with Russia — this is the opinion of two thirds of the respondents. A half of them would welcome Russia joining the EU. Almost every second respondent believes that such a step would be beneficial for both the parties.

Having a positive attitude to the European Union, the majority of the respondents believes that the population of the European Union has a positive attitude towards Russia. The attitudes to the European Union countries are not based on personal experience, or on the impressions obtained when visiting those countries, as nearly 85 per cent of the respondents had never visited the EU countries. Because of the same reason, this attitude is not connected with the efficiency of the embassies of these countries at the Russian Federation.

The relations between the European Union and its neighbours are perceived positively by the respondents. The overwhelming majority considers them to be very good or rather good. Along with that more than a half of the participants of the survey believe, that the EU should encourage the other countries to join it in the future, but should not enlarge too fast. Such a form of cooperation with the European Union as the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) is practically unfamiliar for the population of the country — only 9 per cent of the respondents heard about it. The results of the survey give evidence that the absolute majority of the population of the country approves foreign political course of Russia. One of the main directions of the foreign policy, in the opinion of the majority of the respondents, is establishment and development of partnership relations, first of all, with the European Union countries.

E.E. Gorina

UNEMPLOYMENT AS A PROBLEM OF EUROPEAN COMMUNITY: SOCIOLOGICAL VIEW

It is difficult to answer the question under consideration what we have today: «European Society or European Societies?» The answer will depend on the interpretation of the concepts. The author chooses the first taking into account the tendency for handling common problems. In particular it has become evident that all European countries face the problem of unemployment caused by global economic crises. For instance, according to the business news portal data BFM. Ru the number of unemployed in UK from December 2008 till February 2009 has increased by 177,000 people and reached 2.1 million people that corresponds to 6.7 per cent of the total population. The number of claims for Unemployment Benefits in Great Britain in March 2009 was 73,700 people and the number of the people receiving the Benefits increased up to 1.46 million.

According to the results of the opinion poll conducted by The Guardian the number of unemployed in Britain may increase up to 3 million people by the end of 2009. The same data portal making reference to National Statistics Institute (NSI) states that the unemployment rate in Spain was 17.3 per cent in the first quarter of 2009 having increased by 3.45 percentage point in comparison with the previous quarter and the

number of unemployed has increased by 1,010,700 people. In January-March 2009 the unemployment among the Spanish was 4million 10.7 thousand people. The information source mentioned above declares in the fourth quarter of 2009 the unemployment rate in Spain was the highest in Euro zone and reached 13.91 per cent. By the NSI data economically active population of Spain is 23 million 100 thousand people. I should stress that today this problem is important not only for Europe but for the world. According to the data available at the NEWSru. com there was a decrease of in number of working places and by the end of 2008 in the USA it reached the low record level since the World War II. The last year the number of job positions in American economy decreased by 2.589 million. It has become the maximum decline since 1945. In December 2008 the country lost 524,000 working places, the unemployment rose to 7.2 per cent — the highest rate during the last 16 years. Besides, the number of orders for industrial enterprises goods has reduced and the activity decline in service, industry sector and housing market was going on. The mentioned information source voiced fears that the unemployment rate in the USA may reach 8.2 per cent in 2009.

In this connection the data from San Francisco Chronicle (April 18, 2009) is of great interest for us. It shows that the U. S. unemployment rate for March stood at 8.5 percent, in some states the figure was much higher. For instance, making reference to the Employment Development Department spokeswoman Patti Roberts the above source affirms that the March figure surpasses the 11 percent rate that occurred during the 1980s recession and brings California close to the jobless level of January 1941, when unemployment stood at about 11.7 percent. Most of the states try to solve the problem of unemployment at the national level using different schemes; nevertheless, all of them have one common feature: they lack positive results of pursuing anti-recessionary employment policy.

There is no doubt that the Russian Federation also faces the problems of unemployment. All-Russian rates testify negative tendencies in the employment sphere. According to the RF Government Statistics Federal Service data received in accordance with the methodology of the International Labor Organization (ILO) there were 4 million unemployed (corresponding to 5.3 per cent of active population) at the end of September 2008. At the RF Governmental Employment Service Departments 1.2 million people were registered as unemployed including 1 million people who receive unemployment benefits. By the end of October 2008 the number of the unemployed calculated in accordance with the methodology of the ILO has increased to 4.6 million (or 6.1 per cent of economically active population) though the number of the officially registered unemployed has not changed. However, by the end of November 2008 the indicator has risen to 1.3 million people when the unemployment rate was 5 million people (or 6.6 per cent of economically active population). In December 2008 employment service departments registered 1.5 million jobless. And 5.8 million (or 7.7 per cent of economically active population) were categorized as unemployed in accordance with the methodology of the ILO. It should be noted that according to the Russian Law an unemployed is considered a citizen of the Russian Federation officially registered in the RF Governmental Employment Service Departments. Though in accordance with the methodology of the International Labor Organization an unemployed is considered to be a non-working citizen of able-bodied age who is looking for a job and is ready to begin working or seeking to start own business. There is no secret that the recent two years the number of the working vacancies declared by employers has considerably increased in the Employment Centers. But in the fourth quarter of 2008 the situation changed as the number of claims for the wanted workers began to decrease.

The further research of the problem of employment and labor market is becoming more acute. The research of the problem has roots in the economy. However, the peculiarity of the studied subject possessing social-economic character determined the necessity to develop sociological approach of employment problems consideration. In spite of the fact that sociological approach to employment analysis in Russian science is at the first stage of its development it allows to research the problems deeper. For example, Russian sociologist A.L. Komlev says that recently the economic approach alone causes doubts as

it limits the scale view of the problem and narrows the labor-market relations basically to economic which in turn determine the choice of management mechanisms.

This does not mean denying economic approach to the study of the said problems. A lot of conceptual approaches within the economic paradigm were developed and they can be applied in sociological research of the labor-market. Besides sociology may borrow its concepts and categories. The concept «labor-market» was developed in economic approach and searching for and introduction of a new one seems useless. It should be mentioned that now there is no common approach to labor-market and employment research even in economics. But it is necessary to emphasize one tendency of Russian school labor-market research: complex analysis of approaches to the object study considering the theories from other scientific fields. There are many works of such type done by Russian economists and sociologists. The former consider not only economic but also social aspect of the problem. Take for example G.A. Reznick (Doctor in Economics) who has chosen social aspects of labor-market formation as the subject for her research and devoted one section of the work to the problems of people adaptation to the changing environment.

On the other hand A.L. Komlev researching the problem within the sociological paradigm analyses economic approaches. Moreover, the scholar assumes that economic-sociological approach will be the most productive as it will allow to make the analysis deeper and labor-market regulation more effective. This concept requires further theoretic-methodological thinking which will lead to practical solving the employment problems which have become especially acute for the whole world and the European community in particular.

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GLOBALIZATION OF SOCIAL STABILITY AND SOCIAL TENSION IN EUROPE

The globalization is the product of human society and new opportunity for cooperation between countries. The globalization has developed since World War II. It is the natural process of integration economy, trade, culture, information, technologies and global way of life. This is undoubted beneficial international economic integration to improve the capacities of countries, particularly those with low levels of development in different fields. Complicated process which includes adventures and misadventures, leads not only to social stability but also to social tension.

The economic changes are associated with globalization and increased international competition, technological changes, and a decrease in demand for certain products. The contemporary world economic crisis has also negative affects. European countries maintain provisions for social insurance to counter big drops in living standards their citizens such as old age pensions, family support, unemployment compensations and others. In order to create social stability European countries tend to have better welfare, direct assistance to poorer states from richer ones, need to be oriented to make equity and reduction of social inequality with education and employment which the important tasks for sustainable development.

The key problem of European security is an integration of new social structures with their own cultural traditions, religions and different living standards. The growing disbelief in politics and political promises, resistance to economic reform, fear of globalization and unemployment, demographic problem form social tension. For fear of undermining of national identity social tension can be quickly changes into nationalism and religious intolerance. Tolerance towards alien beliefs, other traditions, and customs will be highly valued principle. The terrorist threats on all levels of society's functioning, increasing nationalism, ethnic conflicts, unemployment, crimes are main threats of social stability

in Europe. The EEC Treaty establishes the principle of freedom of movement for workers within European Community and unemployed people will look for a job, better living standards or permanent residence in wealthy states.

European countries have been faced by the problem of immigration from their former colonies and former soviet states. Nowadays it is one of the important and unsettled questions. It is indispensable factor to observe international treaties about human fundamental rights. In terms of economic policy a highly educated skilled workforce is seen as contributing to the competitive especially illegal migration will lead to crimes and unstable situation in society. This also tends to cause social tension.

The processes of globalization are taking place with a context of unsolved problems, social and political changes can contribute to new problems that may arise from other sources based on ethnicity, political, cultural history and unforeseen circumstances. Social stability, social equality is important problems which not every country is able to solve. In the context of today's Europe political agreements on a wide range of issues should be discussed in society to guarantee democratic freedoms, national security, and the right to labor, education, rest old age maintenance and social stability.

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MODERN RUSSIAN CULTURE: EUROPEAN CONTENT AND NATIONAL PECULIARITIES

Russian culture which has been suffering from a permanent contradiction since the beginning of the struggle between advocates of Western and Slavic cultures (Westernizers and Slavophiles) is now a complex conglomerate of the best achievements of human civilization. Having absorbed all significant patterns of European cultural standards Russia managed to transform them in the spirit of multinational forms of artistic life and cultures of its peoples.

During the past 20 years (90-ies of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries) Russia has made a considerable breakthrough in assimilating modern European values. Joining the process of globalization is accompanied by a series of modernizations (computer, telecommunication, digital mass media, etc.) which lie far beyond the boundaries of the territorial state. Globalization in the world economy among most priority problems has brought up formation of a new cultural context which has given modern Russian culture European tenor. Economic modernization which manifested itself in seeking patterns for European guidelines did not lead to a similar unification in the realm of culture. It is in this sphere that national peculiarities show themselves. Modern Russian culture though not ignoring general social context generated by globalization determines its viability by preserving and developing national Russian originality. This originality is realized in artistic life where there is a place for different genres and trends, various forms of leisure organizing, specific creative activities.

National peculiarities add certain distinguishing features to telecommunication systems, character of TV programmers; they form particular tastes and preferences which in their turn generated appearance of a specific media social group representing the whole social range of the modern Russian society. Unlike in Europe, in Russia still exists a considerable sector of TV viewers consuming most primitive programmers — there is an expression here: «people will swallow it». Another specific state of the modern Russian culture is its drive for innovational development. Having revised the best traditions and patterns of European cultural modernization and post-modernization Russian culture is seeking new cultural values and guideposts. At the same time the intense rivalry between the old and the new traditionally remains. These processes are accompanied by challenges and risks including the repercussions of the «cultural shock». It is most typical for the

theatre, cinema and partly of the modern Russian fiction. It is these particular arts that are seeking for a new, innovating thinking consumer — spectator and reader.

And finally a significant distinctive feature of the modern Russian culture is its missionary content. It is culture that is supposed to promote getting an insight into the current social and political situation and to determine the cultural and historical contact of the social interaction.

Nowadays culture in the first place is forming channels of cooperation between political philosophers, different religious figures and the state elite, in this way creating conditions for cultural consensus and toleration in the society. Those are the general directions in the development of the Russian culture in the context of globalization, as the culture which includes European values transformed in Russian realities. And it may be added that it shows the way to overcome adaptation difficulties in joining European globalization process.

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THE UNIFIED EUROPE AND GLOBALIZATION AS POLITICAL MODELS OF INTEGRATION

At present Europeans coexist in peace; they have common currency and play an important role in the global world without closed borders. Fifty years ago no one could even believe that post-war ruined Europe will serve as a model for many regions of the world. European structure was first settled 175 years ago by the final Act of Vienna Congress, established framework for the great European century up to 1914. Vienna Congress (1814—1815) synthesized historic wisdom of valuing historic experience without blindly following its direction, understanding that peace is more than just balance of victory and defeat. European peaceful structure can appear only if there are neither winners nor the beaten ones. European Union is the structure, closing a record of European crises and disasters. The final Act of Vienna Congress has been criticized and praised for different things, but the way to peace is always like this. Nowadays they also dispute an issue of European Union and globalization. Is European Union a European balance or European state? Is globalization a global state? Globalization is one of the basic modern political notions and it means concentration of power, unification of financial markets, global trade, and standardization.

Societies are adapting to one another, and at the same time they are becoming more and more divergent. More and more people use similar goods and mass media. They are surrounded by similar institutions; refer to similar concepts from fairness to cashless settlement. But societies interpret global goods and ideas absolutely differently. They either oppose to them or sell them «to adjust them to one» (Marshall Sallins). Thus, American soap opera has become one of the most popular formats of TV broadcast in the whole world. But it is viewed differently and gains popularity only if reflects problems of a certain society.

Unified Europe just like globalization means deletion of state, legal, cultural barriers; it also means exchange of goods, people, knowledge, and ideas. It could be positive in the sense of prosperity, liberty, pluralism and chances in life, but unfortunately it's not always like this. Many states and communities of different countries can't afford European Union and globalization. There appears high pressure to changes which question traditional forms of economy and social life. Growing exchange at all levels presupposes dependency from events outside the boundaries. But unity of Europe and globalization is not natural disaster; it is a chain of decisions being made by all the participants. A change via converging and integration is the position of policy destructing the barriers in Europe.

Critics of globalization and European Union as well as their followers limit oneself to economic aspect. If unity and integration mean a source of «unlimited possibilities» for one people, for others they mean new colonization from industrialized states. If one praises «global village» and European Union, the other speaks about «global robbery». Even industrialized countries perceive globalization and integration as interference in their living conditions. They are concerned about their employment and social security, believing that democratic state of the mutual welfare, democracy and national sovereignty are under the threat. What are the strong and weak points of integration and «European and global unification», globalization? In the industrialized countries there appeared a gap between those who profit from the convergence and those who can't adapt to this process. Globalization and European unity lead to further marginality of the third world countries. Growing acquisitions of enterprises and international mergers lead to such concentration of power which provides independency from governments. On the other hand fusion of economies raises the standards of living and benefits from better resources use, profitability increase and inflation rates lowering. New technologies provide a chance to the countries which have never had such a possibility due to the lack of resources. But how to direct globalization and integration processes not only to the economic but also to the political orientation? Europeans come out for fair competition and economic ties. Political globalization coming hand to hand with economic integration demands political framework and political safety. It is necessary to build global mutual safety meaning new global economic regime, considering different needs. It means fair resources sharing, and third world countries participation in the global trade. Free access to the global market, implementation of political and economic freedoms, law and order are presupposed.

Mutual political safety must be estimated according to binding legal framework. International law and supremacy of law are in the basis of peaceful and regulated community. Search of the international consensus — is the search of the common denominator satisfying everyone. Economic exchange and communication are not «global» now because not all the countries and regions are connected to the global network. Strong and weak points of globalization are not well balanced. In societies profiting from globalization, government of the day guarantees economic development: free enterprise economy, social freedom, democracy, independent legal institutions, access to the education and knowledge, social security. Globalization and integration concern cultural identity. There appears new diversity. Culture has always been a product of connections, and boundaries are being deleted faster than ever before. Newly borne creolized cultures — that is combining different traditions — refer not to the certain historical roots but to the interdependency. Global culture hegemony is not practiced directly (by force), but indirectly (by establishing universal standards). We will not become identical; we will present our differences in a unified way.

Globalization and localization are well-correlated. Local is the aspect of global and it appears in the global. Thus triumph of McDonald's all around the world will lead to the flourishing of the local fast food variants in some countries. Cultural differences are often realized during contacts with more general public. But emphasizing cultural differences leads to the danger of indisputability of cultural difference and egocentrism. There is also a danger of «civilizations clash». Global culture is authentic. Global goods and ideas are authentic to the degree to which they are used by people for accomplishing their own cultural projects. Thus, real challenge of globalization and integration is in the political sphere. Unified Europe and globalization are political models of integration. Countries prepared to the further integration made up a group of leaders and developed new forms of political management and transnational democratic «control» of decision making. Globalization and integration must not lead to the lack of democratic freedoms. Non-governmental organizations, parliamentary and governments can work in this direction. They must not work against each other. Economy also has to stimulate the work of globalization and integration in the direction of enhancing stable development without hindering this process. The mutual goal is democracy without global state and without European state. Significance of the role of national state is very much confirmed.

RUSSIA AND EUROPE: OBSTACLES TO MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING

The development of global social and political discourse becomes necessary condition in the age of fast growth of technologies, accumulation of knowledge and interchange of practical activities. However, as we can observe nowadays, the process of mutual communication between East and West faces serious barriers. Remind, for instance, the recent cases of Balkan or Caucasian conflicts, on which the political decisions and social agreements did not find their close up to date. What the contemporary social and political discourse is? It is not communication in «an ideal speech situation», as Habermas hoped [1]. It is not already an ideological struggle [2], as it was in cold war era. It is rather a battlefield of post-ideological echoes — stereotypes of thinking and following them strategies of action. What are the reasons? It seems that one of the main streams, where we have to look for the answer, lies in the area of mentality. Social and political attitudes that dictate strategies of thinking and actions did not change much despite to proclaimed crash of systemic walls between East and West not so far ago.

What mentality is? Its space includes:

- a) Traditional area — national collective memory upon historically accumulated features of lifestyles, norms and habits that predefine everyday behavior;
- b) Cultural field — the best of creative ideas, national values, art and scientific achievements that nation is proud of;
- c) Ideational realm — religious beliefs and ideological formulations that define general ways of thinking, mental attitudes and stereotypes;
- d) Commonsensical domain — practically based mental constructions responsive for landing down ideational exaggerations.

We do not have big problems with mutual understanding in economic-practical or cultural areas of activity. Everyday economic practice and culture make people come closer to each other. Economic interests dictate the need to develop markets and therefore the necessity to communicate and find agreements. Culture wakes up curiosity, at least, and promises aesthetical enjoyment. It is, therefore, a promoting factor for communication too.

The other case is politics. Its realm is ideology. What ideology is? It is a system of principles organizing social life, which politicians use to rule the society. It is a system, which gradually losses rational grounds when tends to take under its cover all spontaneous impulses of everyday life. If those impulses are weak enough, an ideology, permanently refining its rhetoric, becomes the dominating factor of communication. It becomes a factor of «systematically distorted communication» [1], where «rightness» is a priori given to ideological postulate and no fresh idea has real chance to be heard. In that case, not people's interests give start to constitution of norms and values but the grandiose construction of «political interest» dictates them. This is what happened with communist ideology first, and the same happens now with democratic one.

Western democracy did not escape the erosion of its rhetoric into the set of stamps about its own infallibility. The historical fact that communist ideology had fallen first promoted the growth of Western misleading self-confidence in its superiority while it had to be the warning signal to contemplate about bringing to more healthy state its own communicative space. Illusions of Russians about moral superiority of Western democracy came to end after the aggression of United States in Iraq and Serbia. The end of the era of great ideological confrontation or «cold war» gave hopes of fast development of East-West discourse. It would be too pessimistic to say that hopes are entirely disproved, and the process does not go. It does. However, it would be too optimistic to say that we come closer to «an ideal speech situation» where all arguments have equal rights to be heard and objectively assessed. Why not? Why it does not happen?

It seems that we have to look for the reason in the very beginning of the process of so-called «transition to democracy», which implied that former communist states had to learn democratic lessons from the West. While it seemed so, the problem of the lack of mutual understanding was not too obvious. It became so, when in the beginning of 2000 years, Russian president Vladimir Putin started to orient state politics to the side of realization of national interests.

Russian State Identity is in a process of restoration now. However, it is going in different to classical Western democracy terms. The main difference is that the balance of development between State and Society tends to the side of State. The process, however, has its objective grounds. It was, so to say, the public demand to regulate «democratic» expenses: the splash of unrestrained freedom turned Russia to chaos of 90-s. The crash of communist ideology did not change Russian mass communitarian and paternalistic values, as our researches show. The hopes that the change of systemic ideology would automatically bring new individualistic values did not prove. However, civil society makes its steps further too, people really learn to defense their interests themselves, and just in this realm, we have to hope on the development of real democracy in Russia. At the same time, the huge feeble mass could not cope with fallen from above liberty and demanded State defense from outburst of wild capitalism.

The deep positive changes in self-identification and affirmation that took place in Russia remained unnoticed by the West, which had one-sidedly assessed the restoration of Russian cultural values as return to totalitarianism. The West did not make attempt to understand Russian authenticity. However, the search for identity is not a true ground for saying, «Mr. Putin is turning Russia into something very like a fascist state» [3], and a priory accuse it in «naked aggression» [4], as it was in debates around Georgian conflict of August 2008, for instance. «Understanding Russia» with no attempts to hear its arguments does not seem possible now. It demanded at the beginning just to try to examine the situation and understand who the aggressor was. At the first stages of debates, Europe preferred to come back to ideological stereotypes of cold war dictating to European consciousness that all Russian actions are incorrect because Russia was always imperialistically oriented. Western political interest forced to push ahead democratic rhetoric of the defense of «young Georgian democracy», closing eyes on authoritarian style of Georgian leader. The same interest forced to forget about authentic democratic principles that, as it seems, are in accord with Habermas' communicative position that every subject has right on its own argument and other partners have to attentively hear it out and discuss.

Social and political discourse between East and West around Caucasian conflict is going too hard. For several months, politicians did not want to listen to each other, and the public repeated political slogans. Just a few [5, 6] were interested in checking factual situation and in achievement mutual understanding. The majority preferred to speak on language of «democratic» stereotypes and political slogans. It demanded much time to persuade Western politicians to investigate the facts and make fair resolutions. The main problem of modern world is that partners of communication (international, internal, on any level) still have no habit, ability and often wish to understand each other. Power is still the main argument in debates that remind rather political game than communicative event.

The factor of wide social resonance played serious role in revising the position of high-level politicians in conflict. The fact that it is impossible in Internet era to prevent international public discussion upon the real state of affairs made politicians to leave stereotypical thinking. Finally, they had to declare the necessity to examine the factual side of events and invite to discussion the immediate participants of the conflict, which were not allowed at the beginning to take part in high-level discussions at all. Another serious stimulus that forced to change ideological rhetoric on communicative arguments was economical one. The fast growing economic integration of East and West, the practical interest in interaction compelled the political leaders to leave ideological positions and stand to those of common sense that helped much to make decisions that pushed the conflict on the way of normalization. The modern World claims for progressive

civilization. In these claims, the search for mutual understanding becomes the essential need. East and West have to overcome, although it is difficult, the unwillingness to listen and understand each other.

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1.3. RUSSIA IN A GLOBALIZING WORLD: NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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RUSSIA AS A PARTICIPANT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

It is well-known that radical changes took place in the system of international relations with the end of the cold war. During the last 20 years after Berlin wall was cast down history has been developing rather quickly. Now in Europe it is much easier to travel, trade and study. Many analysts say that the lack of confidence prevents further mutual understanding among the peoples of Europe. But the experience of European Union countries show that this is achievable, it is necessary to combine common interests, values, rules and structures. That allowed erasing border lines in an unprecedented way. At the present time scientists attribute the changes in international relations to the accession to power of the new American administration headed by B. Obama. Many participants of international relations, including Russia, face the chance to break the negative model of relations, which was build during the last 5 years.

The developing economic crisis showed, that all states are interdependent, even more than many could imagine. According to experts, the USA, EU, China, India, Russia are going to face difficult problems and decisions in 2009. To avoid tragic mistakes of 1930-s, we should fight the crisis using joined efforts. Here we should mention that the improvement of relations with Russia is not the key issue for B. Obama, but he has no reasons to wish bad relations with our country. By the way, he has publicly announced his decision to «reload» the relations between Russia and the USA. Later, during his inaugural speech B. Obama said: «To the leaders, who try to disseminate conflict or blame the West of the problems they have in their societies, we say: remember that your peoples are going to judge you according to what you build, but not what you destroy» [1].

The goals which are set by the new American administration open many opportunities for joint work with other countries. The main priorities are going to be the fight with

financial crisis, international terrorism and proliferation of nuclear weapon. In a word, no matter what questions are touched upon, Russia has all the opportunities to make its own contribution, and rather constructive, to their solution. But in order to move in the given direction Russia has to get rid of its own heavy load of the past, including the syndrome of besieged fortress. According to Levada centre, during a sociological poll our countrymen were asked two opposite questions. To the first question: «Do western countries have grounds to be afraid of Russia? — 32% of respondents answered «yes». The second question: «Does Russia have grounds to be afraid of western countries?» was answered 'yes' by 62% of respondents, that is two times more [2]. In other words, we are being threatened, and we are relatively peaceful. And all this takes place now, when there are no big wars. Besides, Levada centre regularly calculates the index of Russian people attitude towards different countries, towards the USA — since March 1997, towards European Union — since December 2003, towards Georgia and Ukraine — since 2001. In September 2008 all the four indices reached the minimal amount of all years of observation [3]. Russian people attitudes to these countries have never been such as they are now.

These fluctuations of our public opinion on the key partners' behavior on international scene seem to be connected with different Russian foreign policy lines which differ much from each other. After September, 11 2001 the desire for entering strategic alliance with the USA and approaching European Union was revealed. In 3—4 years Russian leaders changed their foreign policy benchmarks and started to form their own «planetary system». In another two years our elite tried to make the West cooperate on its terms. But instead partnership it was followed by increase of tension, war of nerves and then real war in the Caucasus. By the fall of 2008 Russian — Western relations became worse than ever during the last quarter of the century. Further development of these relations towards confrontation was suspended by global financial crisis.

For justice sake it is necessary to mention another matter. On the 15th of June, 2008 the President of Russia D. Medvedev presented the Concept of Russian foreign policy. It mentions the necessity to strengthen the role of international law and the UN as the major international institution, to reduce the role of force in settlement of international conflicts at the expense of consolidation the instruments of «soft power», the imperative of multilateral cooperation. The Concept shows the negative attitude of Russia towards the plans of Georgia and Ukraine to enter NATO, and also the approach of NATO military infrastructure to Russian borders, which «violates the principle of equal security» and «leads to the appearance of new separating lines in Europe».

At the same time, experts notice that some amorphism of the statements of this document is a compromise between foreign policy views of various political forces. For example, when the Russian Federation declared its willingness of constructive cooperation with different countries or groups of countries and international organizations, it was not clear, what were Russia's priorities. In particular, how do Russian interest in strengthening of the UN Security Council role in nuclear weapon nonproliferation correlates with its interest in the development of economic, political and military cooperation with Iran, including the peaceful nuclear technologies. The Concept also doesn't explain how Russia considers the role of CIS. The Russian Federation is defined as European, Euro-Asian and Euro-Atlantic power simultaneously. In other words, any political force in Russia can find in this document what it's interested in. So, modern Russia is an active participant of international processes, which plays system-building role in forming of the global world.

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TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIAL INEQUALITIES UNDER CONDITIONS OF GLOBALIZATION IN RUSSIA

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The 20th century became the witness of sharp changes in a social structure of all societies — changes modifying the borders and criteria of class and social division sharply expanded the middle layers, changed «the configuration» of differentiation and opened new possibilities for social mobility. If at the first stages of development of capitalist societies the majority — approximately 80% of population — has been presented by independent small proprietors and businessmen then today in the most developed countries up to 75% of the active population are the hired workers. Practically the middle class share makes here 55—75%; at the same time there is observed a constant increase and strengthening of a number and a role of specialists, any managers which position in comparison with workers of physical labor can be considered more favorable.

The scales, tendencies, depth and features of transformation of social inequalities in Russia are defined by a number of factors and processes connected with: 1) transformation of institutional bases, first of all, occurring of a private property and development of business on its base.; 2) deep changes in the employment system (according to which the principle of planned formation, distribution and using of labor gives a way not simply free, but the «wild» market of labor 3) decrease in a standard of living of the overwhelming part of population; 4) social anomie (destruction of one values-normative system occurring under conditions of non-formation of the other) and social deprivation (restriction or deprivation of a part of population of an access to material and spiritual resources and possibilities necessary for satisfaction of the basic vital needs). The social and economic life of Russia is characterized now by a qualitative change of forms of proprietary: instead of uniform and monolithic — state — there comes a variety of forms of the last.

The analysis of the data of the branch distribution of employment of population indicates on deepening of social inequality in the sphere of labor payment. Taking for 100% the all-Russian level of wages we find out that in the second half of 2007 its average level was: in mining industries 210, on transport — 125, in governmental system — 121, financial sphere — 270 percent. At the same time in education, public health services, agriculture it was fixed at a level 64%, 75%, and 44% relatively. The epoch of economic reforms essentially transformed the mechanisms of regulation of incomes and, as a consequence, promoted to the fundamental changes of a degree of differentiation of a financial state of various groups of population, as well as social stratification by this criterion. So, in the first half of the year 2006 on the share of 10% of the most provided Russians it was amounted 46.8 (in 2005—46.5%) when on the share of 10% of the low-provided (in 2005—5.4%) of the total volume of incomes.

The transformation of the Russian society has not simply changed a social structure. But with all sharpness has put before traditional communities a question on comprehension of individual and group social identity, own place in social hierarchy, a level of solidarity, a system of values. The main tendencies observed today consist in deepening of a social inequality and marginalization of a considerable part of the Russian population; inequality strengthening between the regions, reaching in some cases of ratio 1:10; increase of difference in labor payment of occupied in various branches of national economy. The specific feature of processes of social stratification

is their extreme speed and a bipolar orientation. The processes imposed on each other — the impoverishment of population and growing of social stratification — lead to occurrence of the hypertrophied forms of social inequality and, as a consequence, «washing out» of the former borders of classes, groups, the layers occurring as a result of disappearance of dependence between the work and its payment. In our opinion, the process of formation of a new social structure and its content goes by three ways predetermined by basic changes of forms of property.

The first way is an occurrence of new social communities on the base of pluralization of forms of property: we speak about specific layers of hired workers and engineering and technical workers being occupied in partly-state and private sectors of economy under labor agreements or constantly under hiring contracts, workers of the joint enterprises and the organizations with participation of the foreign capital etc. The second way is a change on the base of transformation of the state form of ownership of position of traditional class-group communities: their borders, quantitatively-qualitative characteristics, occurrence of boundary and marginal layers. The third way is appearance of layers-strata on the base of interaction of different patterns of ownership: managers — the new administrative layer, new elite, middle layers, and jobless.

According to sociological researches carried out by the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the stratification model of the modern Russian society was generated and accepted rather steady forms by the present moment. As a consequence, in Russia there were formed ten basic social strata. Two bottom strata which share is to be 20—21% of population are (on a standard of living) below the breadline; among their representatives the possibility of satisfaction of their needs in food, clothes, creation of normal living conditions is the lowest. The third strata unite the Russians balancing on the verge of poverty: these are 16—17% of population featuring by the absence of signs of lumping and ability to conduct a way of life similar with a life characteristic of the more favorable part of the Russian society. The fourth strata — low-provided citizens (24—25%) living on a border of living minimum. The fifth — the eighth strata (about 30%) is characterized by more favorable state. The kernel of these strata is presented by the Russian middle class (20—22%). The ninth—the tenth strata consist in about 5 % of rich population [1]. This model is suggested on the base of researches of the employed population only, therefore, it should be corrected taking into account a family status, a great part of unemployed pensioners and invalids. Almost the same model is formed also on the base of the research data on regions. According to a level of material well-being the following layers are singled out: rich (0.7%); well-founded (5.3%); provided (15.8%); low-provided (57%); deprived (20.2%) [2]. Main victims of the impoverishment are the representatives of mass intelligences (teachers, science workers, doctors, art workers). The differentiation on a level of incomes goes on two vectors: branch and power. Among the deprived and lower-income layers there are mainly specialists of different profile, workers, office workers, pensioners, jobless. There is formed a group of a dominating, exclusive layer on the official status which kernel are the heads of the enterprises and, first of all, the directors, businessmen, financiers.

The economic processes accompanying a political reorganization — falling of production, unemployment, inflation, conversion, crises have affected a labor payment, sizes of pensions, grants of a considerable part of population. It has led to a sharp reduction of real incomes of population among which representatives there were rather provided people according to the former measures. Along with the active social subjects, managed to adapt for new social conditions there were singled out those for whom the given process was lasted having led to the prevalence of destructive vital strategy. The further development of socially-stratification processes in the Russian society, transformation of social structure will depend in many respects on the speed and an orientation of economic and political reforming, socio-cultural features of the country painted as well as its historical, and post-soviet specifics.

So, the essence of the events occurring in a social space of the Russian society is connected now with changes of the general composition and a ratio of groups and layers, their hierarchy and role functions, and also the deep of social inequality between them.

For achievement of a social consensus at which it is only possible the overcoming of economic and political crisis, the integration of efforts of all social strata is necessary. The consent, social partnership as a universal way of stabilization of all system, removal of intensity and the solving of conflicts in modern Russia become the objective necessity and requirement under conditions of establishing of market relations.

At the end of the twentieth and the beginning of twenty first centuries sociologists have again appeared before a challenge of the present. The intensity and dynamism of social processes and phenomena, the depth of changes endured by all societies «have dipped» a sociology into a thickness of a social life having given «the acting» social laboratory to it. At the same time the theoretical comprehension of many processes under conditions of globalization is late.

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D. Gorin

HISTORICAL TIME IN SOCIAL THOUGHT: PECULIARITIES OF RUSSIA

The research on peculiarities of historical time experiencing and functioning of historical memory in Russian culture was performed by means of interpretation of socially significant texts which reflect the discourses existing in Russian social thought. The defined chronological framework of the research (early 20th — early 21st centuries) is determined by the necessity to reveal relatively steady features of historical time experiencing in essentially different sociopolitical situations. Among such features it is possible to single out seven most significant.

1. Higher sensibility to gaps in historical time. Discreteness in perception of historical time is a consequence of experiencing a «wreck of traditions». The opposite tendency — aspiration for finding the «link of times» — is simultaneously observed. In this case elements of historical memory contribute to legitimating of the existing order. «Colonization» of the past by power structures takes place. An example of such treatment of historical memory and fragmentary combining of incoherent and modernized images of the past is the action entitled «The Name of Russia» which was broadcast by Russia TV channel in 2008.

2. Historical time does not serve as a means of abating the tension between social reality and social ideal. At the beginning of the 20th century Russian liberals and moderate social democrats aspired to build their conceptions of the ideal into the course of historical time. They tried to reconcile the conceptions of the ideal with the necessity of long and laborious transformation of the society. However, the thinking styles, that connect achievement of the ideal with evolutionary development of the society, failed to become widely practiced. The progressive way of time experiencing that is characteristic of European modernism only showed itself in separate Europeanized layers of Russian society. More characteristic of Russian culture are institutionalized gaps between social reality and alternative conceptions of society, well developed but hardly achievable.

3. Aspiration for achieving the social ideal by «cancellation» of history. The aspiration to break out of history limits is characteristic for Russian culture which has a strong anti-modernist vector. As far back as at the beginning of the 20th century this aspiration resulted in domination of Bolshevik and conservative thinking over liberal and social democratic ones. It was the time when the stereotypes that are still reproduced in public

discourse were created. The conservatives declared the ideal to be already embodied in the social reality and reproduced the utopia of historical time terminal. Bolsheviks aspired to a sudden break out of historical duration limits, «from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom». The both styles of thinking (the eschatological expectation of «end of times» and the dream of chiliastic «end of history») are based on the aspiration for achieving the ideal beyond the frame of historical time (Chronos). Chronos-time can be overcome either by dint of reference to eternal and invariable ideals (Aeon), or by revolutionary cancellation of the burden of historical «backwardness» (Kairos-time).

4. Gaps between the long-term prospect ideals and short-term objects. As a rule, the social ideals which were reproduced in Russian culture (including the Soviet period) were submitted for an indefinite or remote historical prospect (Nikita Khrushchev's thesis on building communism within the lifetime of one generation was rather an exception). Achievement of an ideal is seldom proved by criteria obvious both in short-term and intermediate term prospects. This feature is a consequence of the characteristic gap between the daily and the ideal.

5. Aspiration for ejecting traumatic periods of history and idealization of the periods preceding the trauma. The memory of «Perestroika» and the first post-Soviet decade is now being ejected from public discourse. The traumatic character of these historical periods conduces to designating them as «accidental», dropping out of historical evolution. Compensatory, there appear positive images of the 1970s Soviet society. These nostalgic images substitute for indistinctness of the new meanings and are used in legitimating of topical notions of power. It is interesting that legitimacy of the Soviet leaders after Stalin were constructed in the same way. Each of them aspired to designate the previous period as an erroneous deviation from the movement towards the ideal purpose.

6. Prevalence of cyclic time perception over the idea of progress. This feature being characteristic for pre-industrial societies is still present in Russian culture. The cyclic time perception is most apparent in the Soviet culture of 1970th and nowadays. In both cases economic development of the country was substantially provided by raw-material branches. Raw-material economy cannot express itself in the semantics of development as it is based on an essentially different one — the semantics of non-renew-ability of natural resources that at the best can be saved up, but not increased.

7. Aspiration to present the historical development of Russia as isolated from the outer world. This feature expresses the spatial aspects of historical time experiencing. It is directly connected with cyclic time concepts and the perception of time as deployment in space (the Russian word «время» — «time» is connected with the word «вертеть» — «to twirl» and is close to the concept of «development»). Based on nostalgic images of the past, in Post-Soviet Russia the illusion of necessity to develop (expand) the area of «national interests» is maintained. The stability of such ideas is promoted by the remaining raw-material character of the economy. The value of this kind of economy is land, instead of capital which can both «come» and «flow away». The perception of time and space within a culture that reproduces raw-material economy fluctuates between two poles. On one pole there is the idea of choosiness of the Eurasian space which will avoid global cataclysms and become the place of attraction of other peoples. On the other one there is the idea of abandonment and isolation of Russia, its «falling out» of the world history.

The revealed features, though being rather steady, are nevertheless subject to essential transformations. During the last years, in historical time experiencing one can observe fragmentation and connection of random images from historical memory. Historical time is being virtualized and acquires nonlinear polysemy. Historical memory ceases to be a source of significant meanings and serves as a virtual entertaining background to aspiration for daily comfort. These transformations can be accounted for by the influence of postmodern tendencies. However, unlike European culture which can oppose its modernism experience to post-modernity, in Russia such experience is unstable. Here, the merge of the habitual anti-modernism and the spontaneous post-modernity becomes the factor that determines not only the features of historical time experiencing, but also the cultural situation as a whole.

NATIONALISM IN THE SPACE OF GLOBALIZATION AND IDENTIFICATION OF «THE WEST — THE EAST»

International process means inclusion in system of interaction of nationalism and democracy of new global and internal factors. It becomes more difficult predicted though. At the same time, their virtual control is designated. Influence of a virtual reality in its frameworks is formed. The virtual reality actively co-operates with socio-cultural space at global, public-state, public-group and individual levels and in all spheres of a social life: in economic, spiritual (cultural), demographic, territorial. There were the new dominants used both for resistance of depersonalizing globalization, and as its help.

Sociologists often oppose ethnic and civic identity in its influence on political identification. But it is not so easy, if we are speaking about the connection democracy and nationalism¹². World social practice marked, that nationalism is resource of consolidation for the results in international affairs and state government, if they included in hierarchy how value integrating with civic identity. It assists to forming of un-typical kind of democracies. In such conditions traditional approaches not always catch the tendencies of development of societies, especially their cultures. Traditional sociological quantitative methods, normative interpretation come to the aid, but not always solve a problem of relevance of answers, validity of instruments of measurements. Additional approach what the identification method, in particular, is required. In a number of modern researches identity influence (V. Jadov, M. Kastels, S. Moskovichi) is underlined.

Value of the identification analysis is actualized in perception of a parity of locality, territorial integrity and external influence. Images and identification matrixes join in designing of politico-legal registration not only internal local areas, but also territories of the states, and also foreign policy configurations. A. Oslon has noted: «Territorial integrity — only a consequence of much more fundamental factor: presence of «integrity» at minds of the majority of the population»¹³. The aspiration to integrity should be presented as the identity ensured integration of local orientations in complete state or civilization identity, coordinated with influence of external force. However, many states developed the relations also on the basis of correlation (identification) with other states (blocks) of the states influencing a civilization of the concrete country and the international life as a whole. It is law of the international process which remains during a globalization epoch. Similar identification can include a competition of different Significant Others. A part of the states traditionally are in a paradigm of competitive correlation «West-East». It is the interesting moment for the characteristic of a parity of nationalism and democracy.

Dichotomizing identification «West-East» continues to play the important role in Post-Soviet space. This dichotomy complicates formation national «We have identity». For Ukraine there is as Significant Another in Russia, but orientation to the EU and the USA has amplified and identify as a democracy orientation. Identification of a part of the population of Ukraine with the NATO block can lead to increasing of nationalism and strengthening of federal identification. Moldova correlates itself to Russia, Romania, Ukraine and EU; thus orientation to Romania and EU strengthens identification of inhabitants of Dnestr region with Russia. In Georgia orientation to the USA and NATO strengthens the Pro-Russian identification of Abkhazia and the South Ossetia. All these processes modify democratization changes.

The internal lines «West — East» pass in Estonia, Latvia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Poland, Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Turkey, Bulgaria, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan. Heavy civilized process as democracy and nationalism struggle is worried

¹² For exemplar: *Dallmayr Fr. and Rosalis J.M. Beyond Nationalism? Sovereignty and Citizenship*. Lanham, Boulder, Oxford, 2001. P. 4.

¹³ Ослон А. Мега-опросы населения России. Проект «Георейтинг» // ПОЛИС. 2006. №6.

in consciousness of elite and the population of Lebanon. In many states all it refracting in internal (strengthening right parties, including nationalist) and in foreign policy, led to the new phenomena of «un-western democracies» and influenced, in turn, on the international global process. The ontological basis of such identity is connection in historically developed space of such components as territoriality, substantiality (population), spirituality (culture) and agentiality (the created in joint work intellectual and economic potential). Therefore here we see strengthening of conditionality of a paradigm of nationalism, and the perception of integrity of the state is inconsistent connected with identification «West — East». In one cases — consecutive strengthening of nationalism in a context of favorable perception of «West» (European Union, USA, NATO) and the western democracy as Significant Another (in Baltic States, Eastern Europe, Georgia, Moldova, Israel, is more inconsistent — in Turkey, Lebanon, India, Pakistan, Mexico, Japan). In others case — signs defined removal from identities «West» and democracy in it globalized variant — in Russia, Belarus, Serbia, Macedonia, Uzbekistan, China, Malaysia, Libya, Venezuela, Cuba, in more expressed kind — in Iran, Iraq. We become witnesses of changes in interaction ethnic and civil identities as components of political identity — the major factor of democratization.

In traditional approach identity is a feeling of personal (group) identity and the historical continuity, based, on the one hand, on perception as identities and comprehension of a continuity of the existence in time and space, with another, recognitions others of this identity and continuity. A primary factor of preservation of identity is its historicity. To possess identity means to perceive the past, the present and the future as a unit. In a key of absolutization of historicity and nationalism «works» the primordial approach, according to which identity — the deep, internal and constant structure, which roots in interpretation of the origin in an ethnos and culture context. Identity as an ethnic marker is «set» together with a birth, ability to speak on the native language, the cultural environment setting standards of behavior and self-realization of the person. But in the conditions of globalization there is an actualization modernity of identification, including its civil component assuming mobility «imagined communities», according which Europe is not geographical object. Europe is imagined space, created as our mental cards, with fluid borders, which basis is faster ideology and a policy, rather than cartography (W. Wallace). Application of an identification method assumes the account modern discussions about historicity and modernity of ethnic identities. The last also throws light on a nationalism and democracy parity.

Researchers notice, that social communications in the increasing degree move to the virtual world of a World Net which through the functioning creates technical base for involving in communications of the increasing quantity of people that defines its really mass character. Process of virtualization a public life, mass participation of people in a virtual reality predetermines domination of tendency of divergence which leads to easing sociocultural communications and decentralization systems as a whole. The virtual reality becomes the intermediary in relations of the person with world around and often and replaces it, becoming the exclusive environment of human life. It promotes perception expansion modernity of identities, including leads to new interactions ethnic both civil identities and their influences on democratization in the different countries.

The judgment modernity of identities leads to expands and supplements concept of identity, defining it as the internal self-created, dynamic organization of requirements, abilities, belief and individual history (status model of identity), enters concepts «designed», «appropriated», «diffuse» identities. Herein follow constructivist approaches, when identity is represented as construct in mobile social space. A question arises about instrumentalist approach: the origin of ethnic identity is translated in the symbolical capital at achievement of specific goals, and civil identity — for protection of individualist and group democratic values. In the international process modernity of identification it is comprehended depending on a regional context (an attractive thesis in many states of the EU, NATO and the USA). But for mentality of the Russia, Serbia, Macedonia, India, Malaysia, Iran the similar political discourse sends to other senses. For theoretical reasoning's on methodology of research of identifications

disappear exits on serious international-political tendencies and politico-legal values. In particular, there are concepts «strong», «weak», «marginal» identities (cultures) in the different states depending on reproduction maintenance sociocultural and territorial integrity of a society. «Strong» cultures have managed to keep the historical approach to the national-state identification, combining hierarchy with modernity, bringing up respect for integrity of the state and an order, reproducing «offensive» identity which begins with the relation to own army, patriotism and comes to an end the control over advertising. The societies which are not providing reproduction of the national-state identity, based on original sociocultural matrixes, turn to a certain appendage of other societies with «strong» identities, in a reserve for «dismantling on modules» for maintenance of «strong» identities (cultures).

«Strong» cultures represent integrity in which to an identification basis it is possible when it is necessary, «to add» and clean «parts» («modules») from «weak» («marginal») cultures (the concept of «a container society»). It is clear, that in a number of the states owing to a difficult demography and immigration there is an objective process of formation of combinations «double», «threefold» identities in which ethnic identity different co-operate with civil, revealing set of updating: one country — «strengthen» democratic tendencies, others — «weaken».

Formation of political identity as complete identity of an accepting society with strong nationalist component is possible. At the same time there is a search of the political identity integrating ethnic and civil identity to level of a recognition of value of the complete accepting state and its cultures in which double identity is promoted by harmonies of identification of the majority and national minorities.

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ETHNOCULTURAL TRADITION OF RUSSIA AND THE MULTIPOLAR WORLD

Before our eyes the modern world is reshaped its forms. By now it not of being two-polar, as it was at the time of the former USSR, and not one-polar, as it was in 90s years of the 20th century and at the beginning of 21st century. By now one may speak about the multi-polar world. The «poles» of the USA, EU, Russia, China, Japan, India are obvious, there are formed the new «poles», it, probably, Brazil, Kazakhstan, the republic of South Africa, etc. Among them there are somewhat lonely «poles» and there are collecting «poles». There are perspective and long-term, and there are, probably, less steady.

Russia is the superpower leaving crisis which since the times of Ivan Grozny was formed as perspective, long-term and collecting «pole» mainly of the Euro-Asian geopolitical space. Russia of the 21st century is surrounded by a powerful ring of the long-term «poles» — EU and the USA, China and Japan. The relations with this ring can be only a dialectic character — unity and conflict of opposites. As the world history and logic comprehension of our psychology, mentalities, cultures, values and the purposes has shown that these relations with EU, USA, Japan were and remain phenomena of the inconsistent unions and almost consistent oppositions, even wars. Behind this it is hidden not simply the dissimilarity of interests, struggle for geopolitical influence, but also the fundamental civilizational opposition. However, this opposition is at the same time both constant interaction and unity.

To become exactly like the West is not our fundamental purposes; it will be difficult for us. We expect to improve our relations with Europe and the USA but it could be done as bilateral and mutual purpose of the both sides on the basis of pragmatical reasons and with proper views of historical prospect. To enter the NATO can be seen as a doubtful purpose from the point of view of discrepancy of our relations (even allied) and inadmissible dependence on the strong countries of the West. With the West it is

necessary to build strong, confidential and mutually profitable relations at all levels of international relations. However, the union more traditional and checked up by time is the union with Ukraine, a number of the former Soviet republics and the former communist block of Europe, Asia and America. It, undoubtedly, is really, perspective and positive for all participants of the union. The unity and mutual help of the poor, even beggars, is better, than the false freedom of the singles lost in a world hostel in vain dreaming sometime to turn from Cinderella of a hostel in princesses and queens.

Besides, Russian civilization which is on its ways to the blossoming that possesses of the fundamental characteristics necessary for it: rich and strong material culture (minerals, military and space technologies, scientific and technical experts, huge natural spaces and resources) and a high spiritual culture. Russian civilization possesses, besides the strong material basis, by the world-wide esteemed spiritual and socio-cultural basis (invariant): Slavic soul, psychology and values, Orthodoxy a Slavic code of Cyrillic, Russian language, Russian history and culture.

Our soul at a greater degree is «platonic» and «Christian». It is unlike to the secularities and narrow-minded «Aristotelian» of the West. So, it is not permit-able to renounce the primordial soul which thirsts justice and the world justice, God, the Reasonability from the God (not from a person), religious-moral revival. The West and almost all the world goes by some other way, without considering spiritual true, the invisible world true and a posthumous life. The Christian philosophy more likely is not necessary for the West and in Russia it is a soul of philosophy. In the West the Christianity more likely is as a burden, and for us it is the most real savior of the Fatherland. The West wishes to live comfortably, and we wish to live on the truth. The West will never refuse of its destiny — the monstrous and mad progress not clearly where and not clear what for. The West' «civilization is a set of the extremely external and extremely artificial states» [1], that is, it is actually post-cultural and out of spirituality along with all its scientific and technical and technological perfection and progress. Its symbol, according to A.F. Losev, — symbolically-material (Catholicism) and it is material-objective (Protestantism). Our symbolic (it comes from Byzantium) — ideally-personal and is essentially spiritual.

Our metaphysical purpose — is the Christian perfection of soul, mind and body; the statement of spiritually-moral freedom in a territory of Russia and at a greater part of the planet. But for this purpose it is necessary to be «Aristotelian»: not to lag behind the postindustrial countries in a science, technology, industrial and agricultural production, in all spheres of the national economy, in social, political and legal activity.

Any thought comes off a reality, from real and guilty people, imperfect manufacture and live destructive processes. It can come off so deeply that as in the USSR, to turn to unsuccessfully and silly designed myth whose «gaping height» was visible even to the most unsophisticated people. But our fundamental values and the purposes, our civilization is a myth of the other sort, that is, the most «bright and the most original reality» [2]. It is time to remind about it and connect, canalize the social energy of Russia. It is necessary to form the new collective identity on the basis of our invariant.

«National existence is lively and vitally, represents an idea and life synthesis, and synthesis with an element «isolation» that gives to national existence a high tension and a huge energy potential»[3]. And national it is connected, as a rule, with «the highest level myths» — geopolitics and other the most vital problems to solve which is possible for us. And thus not to appear the world horror stories and «egoists» but simply to survive, live and develop in the same row with the developed countries, but along with carrying a national-cultural and Christian-Orthodox light to all mankind.

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THE ASPECTS OF SOCIO-CULTURAL ADAPTATION IN POLY-ETHNIC COMMUNITIES IN THE GLOBALIZING WORLD

Globalization is a phenomenon of the world's modern development; the term itself started to be widely used in scientific circles in the 1990s, launched by an American sociologist R. Robertson in his work entitled «Discussing Globality». Descriptors of globalisation, as a rule, center around 1) its economical aspects; 2) creating a united information sphere; 3) development of general standards of manufacturing, everyday and social life (the metaphor «macdonaldization of the world» can be used). I will remind that understanding of globalization differs among the authors depending on their theoretical positions: realists, neo-Marxists, neo-liberals. Three dimensions of globalisation were distinguished by a French sociologist B. Badi: 1) constantly evolving historical process; 2) homogenization and universalization of the world; 3) «obliteration» of national frontiers. Globalization is a reverse process drawing attention of westerners to religions of the East, to the African culture, etc. Finally, the latter of B. Badi's globalisation measurements, «obliteration» of frontiers, manifests itself in intensifying and increasing the volumes of various exchanges and interactions outside the frontiers in all areas. Consequently, one of the most important results is formation of the world market of goods and services, the financial system, the worldwide communication network — transboundary interaction or transboundary processes.

The world has become interdependent, for this reason neoliberals connect globalisation with interdependence, when, by definition of J. Nay, participants or events in various parts of the system influence each other. It is close to such understanding of globalisation as of a British sociologist Anthony Giddens, who noticed an intensification of the social relations connecting points removed from each other so that the event in one place is stipulated by events absolutely in other part, and vice versa. K.S. Gadzhiev (from IMEMO of the Russian Academy of Sciences) considers, that with expanding and deepening of social connections and institutes, daily activity of people is more and more influenced by the events occurring in the other parts of globe, and on the other hand by the actions of local communities. This is it comparable with Sigmunt Bauman's idea of the global and the local.

Having opened interstate borders, globalisation has also facilitated the activity of new, non-state actors on the world scene: multinational corporations, interstate regions, non-governmental organisations, thereby stimulating their activity and growth. But there is also a return influence: non-state actors themselves stimulate development of globalisation and transparency of borders. Globalisation enters all spheres of life. Modern sociology is characterised by its tendency for overcoming in the methodology of social knowledge, certain narrowness of the positivistic definition of its object and subject field. Alain Touraine [16, 17] paid attention to the internal discrepancy of the sociology of the modern (industrial society) and the postmodern (postindustrial society) in describing international relations. A modern English sociologist Peter Stridom [17] pointed out that sociology in the 20th century was a discursive discipline concerning crisis. The ethno-sociological discourse, not aiming at the alternativeness of seeing the problems of globalization, allows highlighting and analysing latent sociocultural phenomena. These are strategies of sociocultural adaptation of traditional and local communities to the life in the modernising polyethnic communities occurring in the conditions of globalization.

The vitality of the ethnosociological analysis in the era of globalisation is caused first of all by social realities of the modern international community life. Ethnosocial problems constantly arise not only within the national states which, in overwhelming majority, are polyethnic in their population composition. In interaction between the states and the new participants, formalized (official institutes and structures) and

informal actors, there is also always present the sociocultural context of international relations and certain sociocultural strategies of adaptation (at an individual, group, state level) to «globalization challenges». The latest measurement of globalisation, based on B. Badi, — «washing out» of state frontiers, is shown in the intensification in all areas of transboundary interaction, or transboundary processes. Today, when we address the analysis of such difficult ethnosocial problems in the conditions of modern globalization, key ethnosociological ideas of a Russian sociologist M.M. Kovalevsky again sound surprisingly vital. They comprise, in our opinion, in following statements:

1) «Development of peoples' culture does not form a circle, a cycle, and is characterised by continuity and development;

2) Thus in international relations and dialogue there is constantly interinfluence on the basis of the adaptation of another ethnocultural world to the internal requirements, but influence of external circumstances is important as it slows down or peeds up the progressive development;

3) And, finally, parallel ethnocultural streams which earlier developed independently, can aspire to the formation of organic unity, — economic and cultural, — on the scale of the whole mankind which has absorbed all other humanistic universal values»(N. M. — about different peoples living in the various states).

Modern sociology, after many decades has come to similar conclusions, that social context, concrete situations of activity and dialogue, intensity, frequency and duration of intercultural contacts have, under the assertion of our British colleagues, both welfare anthropologists, A. Farnhema's and St. Bochnera, 4 ethnosocial consequences: genocide, assimilation, segregation and integration. One more important aspect is analyzing the phenomenon of «ethnoglobalization» of immigrant communities. The inflow of other-ethnic immigrants is accompanied by an increasing semantic -symbolical judgment not only of confessional and sociocultural variety of local migrant communities. Most accepting communities, being simultaneously reformed, are compelled to overcome some negative social consequences of globalization, adapting to completely different, new social practices, in a social context of domination of more rigid standards of competitive market relations. Under these specific conditions: sociologists, ethnologists, psychologists fixed in the researches the growth intolerance, interethnic intensity between local population and immigrants. It is well-known, that among normative theories of sociology the key place belongs to the theory anomia whose methodological basis is the structural functionalism (E. Durkheim, R. Merton, and R. Darendorf). According to R. Darendorf, during the «difficult times» the majority class actively pushes out some groups of its recently former or new fellow citizens beyond the threshold of society and keeps them there, protecting the position of those inside. Just like the former ruling classes, the representatives of the majority find enough reasons to speak about the necessity of such borders and are ready to «let in» those who accept their values, but sometimes are not ready for such a solution to the problem and the removal of new social-status barriers. It is true that the accepting majority, both in Russia and in Europe, shows intolerance towards immigrants. Such conflictogenity of interethnic relations has received a generalising definition of conflicts of new generation — «identity conflicts». Provoked by radical political groups, manifested by a part of mass-media, anti-migration mythologemas spread in the society, infecting a part of Russians with migrantophobia. Rumors about the flow of migrants are obviously exaggerated and are rather an echo of perception of migratory situation of the beginning of the nineties. In reality, in many regions there is fast reduction of the population, due to a higher death rate, and the negative balance of demographic reproduction is not compensated by a automatic gain due to migration and hardly, according to experts, they will be compensated by a natural increase of population, even as a result of the most optimistic forecasts on realising a corresponding national project. All this, at last has led to understanding the necessity of liberalisation of migratory policy.

Society recognition of special social vitality and importance of the problem is caused by the fact that the process of migration, having, as it is known, objective character, besides social and economic determinants, is accompanied by the increasing semantic-symbolical judgement of sociocultural diversity of local migrant communities. In Russian ethnosociology, ethnopsychology and ethnopolitical conflictology there is active investigation (by Arutjunjan J.V., Drobizheva L.M., Gritsenko V.V., Kuznetsova I.M., Lebedeva N.M., Malkova V. K, Malikova N.R., Mukomel V. I, Ostapenko L.V., Petrov V. N, Subbotina I. and many others) but, still poor reasoning and experimental lack of proof of interdependence and connetions between certain methods of self-organisation and adaptation of immigrants, degree of their adequacy to social parametres of the accepting environment, and, the mechanism ofturning on/off of resource potential of integration. At the same time, generalisation of results of the undertaken ethnosociological researches allows to allocate as key determinants the integrative potential, sociocultural factors of a choosing alternative strateies of adaptation of ethnoimmigrant community, with allowance for complex social and socially-psychological characteristics, both of immigrants, and the accepting majority.

Realization of adaptation strategy through the acculturation mechanism (interaction and interference of cultures), in conditions of non-parity, but domination of the referent Russian culture makes immigrants — «old residents» recognise the priority of socio-cultural values of the accepting environment in comparison with the environment of origin, as the key element of realisation of aspiration to integration, by means of voluntary and partial acceptance of acculturation, requiring changes of «initial» welfare standards of life. Alternative strategy of «ethnoglocal» adaptation of immigrants is shown not simply in aspiration to preservation, and to reproduction of local ethnocultural tradition, sociocultural standards of daily life in an ethnic enclave. This is a strategy of the people focused on temporary adaptation, at the expense of using economic and technological resources of the accepting environments, (for them estimations of conjuncture benefits are a priority). Any displays of separation of migrants, shown not only in the shape of segregation, from the accepting majority (by R. Darenndorf), but also in autosegregation, enclave ethnocultural self-isolation assumes, as it has already been staed, the presence of principle anomie which can arise in different ways, but, mainly, owing to the discrepancy of cultural purposes and institutionalized (legitimate) means of their achievement (by R. Merton).

Globalization is a difficult and controversial process. It includes a set of diverse components. There is rapprochement of cultures, interference and interpenetration of cultures — interethnic acculturation, languages of other people are acquired, and traditional isolation of many people is overcome, in the world of electronic news media and communication. All of this makes old ethnic stereotypes socially unsuitable, counterproductive, and non-functional both for the «majority», and for the ethnic «minority». Old ideological stereotypes and aspiration of ethnoelite to defend their economic and political aims on an ethnic principle are also unproductive. The strategy of achieving group purposes on the basis of tribalism (from the word *tribus*, a tribe) has led to the grvest consequences. Tribalism, as it is known, means the presence in social building of some people of archaic structures and relations going back to the tribal or early class society. For ethnopolitical tribalism artificial cultivation of such archetype relations becomes vital. Tribalism appears as a social theory, ideology, psychology and political practice of «tribal» ethnocentrism shown in the idea of special dominating significance of an ethnos, a tribe, an ethnic group, its priority role in the past and the present. The aspiration to provide for this ethnos exclusive position in various spheres of political, economic and cultural life is shown not only in aspiration to take possession of imperious resources, but also in wide propaganda of ethnic biases, ethno xenophobia.

All this, in globalisation context, causes new challenges for democratic social reforming, creating new traditionalist barriers of «ethnoglocality» and glocal methods of reaction to completely diffrent situations of ethnosocial inequality. For preventive

recognition of ethnosocial specification and ethnosocial consequences of interaction and dialogue of the globalizing community and local communities, obviously it is not enough to have speculative efforts of political scientists and social philosophers, as well as concrete, but fragmentary insight of psychologists focused on social-psychological dimension, first of all, of the world of personality in small and specific social groups. For profound study and solution of ethnosocial problems of increasing complexity when the object of research is complex-structured systems — ethnosocial groups, ethnosociological knowledge is required. Today as never before a variety of social practices and challenges of «ethnoglocality» demands consolidation, integration of efforts of ethnosociologists, and on a higher level of institutionalization of ethno-sociology than forty years ago and integration with sociology of international relations.

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1.4. RESPONSES AND IMPLICATIONS UNDER CONDITIONS OF CRISIS

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MIGRATION PROCESSES IN RUSSIA AND EUROPE: INTERNAL PROBLEMS AND POSITIVE EXPERIENCE

The significant factors, which determine the particular features of migrants living and interacting with accepting states are the policies, elaborated according to the particular integration models in different countries and reasons, why countries of destination accept immigrants. If we speak about Europe the main cause of the matters viewed above is the ageing of population process and big amount of immigrants illegally engaged in the care for elderly persons sphere and the problem of refugees. As about Russia this is the depopulation process and the evidence of «no alternative» for the policy of attracting immigrants to keep the country's welfare.

Migration flows bring new socio-cultural models with new semantic codes and thus change the sociocultural logic of the recipient society. Each step of migration process is unique and demands the special approach to make a proper solution. The internal logic of development of migration processes is connected with change of a migrant behavior that requires the well — prepared administrative decisions which are concerned with the institutional logic of migration processes.

First we shall examine the situation in Russia. Short-term migration is common for Russia, Japan, Asia and the Caucasus region. The largest sources of foreign immigrants have been Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Ukraine these years. Thus now days the migrants flows with culture much different from Russian one prevail, i. e. the distance between accepting and arriving culture increase than at the time of migration flows mainly from Ukraine and Belarus¹⁴.

With this the displacement of social — demographic characteristics of migration flows can be seen as displayed in a following direction:

- city representatives are replaced by countryside's;
- «elite» migration (intelligence, experts) is replaced by «usual» migration;
- welfare persons are replaced by poor migrants;
- increase of cultural distance (80 % of arriving migrants do not speak Russian)¹⁵;

The basic reason to recruit immigrants is the shortage of labour migrants in those sectors which have capacities to accept manpower but are not popular among the local population. The quotas system, based on recruiting of official labour migrants was implemented for these aims. According to the experts views since 2007 the tough migration policy has been liberalized in many aspects: the procedure of migrants registration was simplified (personally or by mail), the responsibility for registration of labour migrants was put on an employer together with toughening the sanctions for information concealment. The decree was published, resolving employers to register migrants according to the legal address of the organization¹⁶.

Despite the process of liberalization migration policy launched in 2000 — s, analytics mark its disadvantages as following: (1) weak knowledge of Migration processes and lack

¹⁴ *Zayonchkovskaya Zh.* Why Russia needs Immigration policy. Methodology and methods of the Migration processes studies. Moscow, 2007. p. 131.

¹⁵ *Mukomel V.* Methodological and practical aspects of Study the Migrants' Integration: the specific of Post-soviet space. Methodology and methods of Study the Migration processes. Moscow, 2007. p. 145.

¹⁶ *Voloh V., Mkrtychan N.* Regulation of CIS and Third countries citizens Migration processes. Presentation at the International Migration Summer School. Moscow, April, 2009

of trustable statistic data¹⁷; (2) decrease of quotas number for migrants naturalization, quick exhaustion of both quotas number, and their reserve. The quotas system is criticized much as not reflecting the real needs of Russia in migrants according to particular parameters. The shortage of labour migrants in those sectors which have capacities to accept manpower (trade, sports spheres and others) is evident; and (3) wrong views on Migration policy as always available for regulation in the state interests; (4) the system of toughening sanctions has led to increase of the number of the registered migrants, however they are those who had stayed earlier «in shadow» on the territory of Russia; (5) the only tool to recruit high-skilled migrants is the list of «expensive» professions, where the policy is conducted out of the standard quotas system;

On the whole the migration policy does not solve the keen problem of industry modernization and does not give the real picture, if the concrete labour niche «is filled» and closed or there are capacities for additional manpower reserves.

The basic problem includes the ways to count the illegal migrants; RosStat (Russian Statistic Service) gives only a small part of the information on borders migrants' registration data. The system of migration cards elaborated for those who arrived under the visa or without to Russia, reflects a situation of discrepancy between the number of the registered migrants and those who did not returned cards at their departure. Thanks to liberalization of the migration policy according to the results of Moscow bureau MOM and OECD's monitoring 85 % of migrants (of those who could be questioned) started to register, and, what is most important, according to the experts opinion, the number of those who were afraid to go to Migration Service reduced to none¹⁸. But still those who work unofficially represent the majority (the percent of officially registered makes 40 %) and are not accessible to the account¹⁹. It is necessary to examine the matter of use the service structures directed to work with migration flows and data processing (information systems).

At present we can speak about the imperfection of the electronic information system on available quotas data, which has been launched previously. In practice on the response to official inquiry of one organization, the order is carried out for another one, which is concerned with not well developed mechanism of the system work. The information on quotas available for migrants is not updated (employers after their order is ready, do not inform that «vacancies are closed»). This way after arrival labour migrants turn to stay unemployed.

If we speak about the migration process in European countries thus despite of differences existing in national integration models, in practice they turn to have some features in common, especially at the level of municipal authorities, developing national methods of taking decisions concerning the migration problems. Now days the Integration policy turns to be a set of measures to solve particular difficulties, rather than a worked out aim-targeted strategic planning, coordinated at the all — authorities levels. The problems of migration policy in Europe are the following:

- the modern integration strategies are directed to groups of migrants and lack of individual addressing;

- concerning the housing matter the steps directed on decrease of segregation with strengthening ethnic variety and multiculturalism, they appear to be less effective, than giving a right for immigrants to choose a place of residence, study or work by themselves;

- reception of citizenship and corresponding rights and duties ceases to be the aim in itself and turns to be the powerful mechanism of integration;

¹⁷ Mukomel V. Transformation of Russian Migration policy, 1991—2008. Presentation at the International Migration Summer School. Moscow, April, 2009

¹⁸ Tyuryukanova E. Monitoring of Migration policy. The results of 2007 and 2008 years (MOM). Center for Migration Researches. M., p. 3

¹⁹ Zayochkovskaya Zh. New Migration policy. «Russian population — 2007». M., 2008. p. 33

— integration is the bilateral process taking into account activity both of immigrants and the authorities. In practice frequently neither that, nor other party shows sufficient interest in interaction;

— many migration groups, particularly in separated ethnic communities, function poorly and have no worked out mechanism of managing and financing, as the migration centers created by non-migrants;

— negative attitude of local population is strengthened with weak initiatives of local authorities in taking decision on these matters;

— in the context of cultural adaptation as the essential regulating factor, belonging to a confession which depends on the status of the given religion in an accepting society, acts to preserve the expressed ethnic belonging or to reduce it²⁰;

— simplification of getting citizenship procedure does not solve problems of local population negative attitude to migrants;

— migrants frequently get under the influence right — radical parties — in Europe, young migrants in Russia show the raise of radicalization in moods, they are still not much numerous, however they influence the policy of Russia.

Those positive shifts which have occurred during the short period of time in national migration system, can be reduced practically because of strong destabilization of economic system and labour market, unemployment growth, orientation of migrants on the Permanent Residence in Russia and long-term migration can be replaced by short-term, growth of more spontaneous decisions in the Migration policy, focused on the «minute» situation.

Following the Russian experts opinion it is necessary:

— to keep a course of the development long-term strategy;

— to refuse the quotas system or to change its mechanisms;

— to update the system of migrants registration, taking into account the Migration policy experience of the European countries.

For example Holland didn't accepted the European Migration policy «to employ, and then to send back». In 1998 the system of correlation of all databases, and as deliveries of personal identification number and inclusion of the detailed information on citizens of the country in databases has taken positive effect²¹. Thus the strategy of effective migration control demands allowing for the European regions good practices which are relevant to the Russian matters in this sphere.

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TECHNOLOGIES FOR SOLVING INTERNATIONAL AND INTERNAL POLITICAL CONFLICTS WITHOUT USING FORCE

Despite the fact that the epoch of global confrontation has come to an end, the total number of political conflicts in the world is not only on the decline, but rather continues to be on the rise, and are manifested in new forms, with a low likelihood of responding to stabilizing impacts of traditional instruments of political management. International relations are more and more often becoming the field of political conflicts. In addition to an intensification of traditional form and methods of political competition, ethnic factors are playing even more important role in international relations. In modern day conflicts are more often characterized by a clash of civilizations and the central problem is how to preserve values and national identity, the destruction and transformation of which today is the primary goal of political aggression. Today Kosovo is an example of

²⁰ Spenser S. Integration of Migrants: the Process and Policy in the EU, national and regional level. Presentation at International Migration Summer School. Moscow, April, 2009

²¹ Pratt Sandra. European citizenship, Identity issues, Migration legislation. Presentation at the International Migration Summer School. Moscow, April, 2009

such case, where there is a clash of value systems of the Christian Orthodox civilization, with the radical directions of ethnic Islam and aggressive social and cultural traditions of American Protestant faith. Another clear example is the ethno-political conflict that had its roots in the very center of Europe in France between the native population of the country and immigrant communities from Muslim countries of Northern Africa, belonging to different cultural traditions and civilizations. They do not share European values, and they in principle refuse to accept policies of cultural integration. Also, as they accumulate their own resources, they begin to declare themselves a new political force. A similar situation is happening with ethnic groups in Great Britain as well, where it has been necessary to thoroughly revisit the openness of its borders. The political conflict itself to a large extent loses the characteristics of a «conflict of interests» and is becoming a «conflict of values,» the very nature of which and the methods of political solutions are today essentially not recognized.

Meanwhile, international efforts to mitigate foreign political conflicts is undergoing a systematic crisis, needing not only a search for new approaches and means to impact conflict situations, but it also needs to form new paradigms for managing political conflicts. Under these conditions the value of information and psychological warfare technologies increases multifold in the management of modern conflicts as a real alternative to forceful measures «imposing peace» and «humanitarian interventions.»

Today there are a number of known examples in which information psychological warfare technologies to impact international conflicts have been used to stabilize and resolve such conflicts. However, these technologies are not universal and are characterized by their individual cultural/civilization and national state features that reflect differences in world outlook on existing world civilizations to resolve conflict situations. These differences are manifested quite obviously in the foreign policies of leading world actors: methods use by the USA and Great Britain, reflecting the Anglo-Saxon civilization, differ considerably from the methods and warfare technologies to impact a crisis situation among countries in the Asia, the Middle East, and even in the European Union. Existing cultural and civilization differentiation in methods and technologies of psychological warfare need to be applied to research models of resolving modern day conflicts by using an array of instruments and methods that involve a culturally sensitive approach.

Overall, when operating from cultural/civilization criteria, it is possible to identify four primary approaches to using information psychological warfare technologies in modern international conflicts: Anglo-Saxon (representatives of the USA, Great Britain, and countries of the British Commonwealth); Eastern Asiatic (China, Vietnam, Malaysia, Taiwan and Japan); Roman-Germanic (Germany, France, Italy, Scandinavian countries); Middle Eastern (Islamic factor: the Arab world, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey, Indonesia).

Rooted in the foundation of it the Anglo-Saxon model is the historically relatively young ideology and the Protestant world outlook rooted in its consciousness and creeping into its subconscious. Thus, there are three primary American ideological concepts are «exporting democracy,» «forceful peacekeeping,» and «velvet revolutions» which are in essence restructuring and changing the fundamental norms of the Protestant world outlook. The Eastern model is rooted in the traditional Eastern Asiatic model, primarily based on the foundations of Confucian world views and ideology, as well as in the philosophic teachings of Lao Tsu. The Roots and foundations of the Roman-Germanic model can be seen as primarily based on significant experience in the conflicting coexistence of a host of different peoples within a very crowded Europe («a communal apartment»), as well as historical, cultural and religious traditions of Catholicism, complemented by elements of the later form of European Protestantism. And in the foundations of the Middle Eastern model, formed within the framework of the cultural and civilization traditions of various Islamic philosophies and trends, lies the experience of long history of broadening the area of distribution and influence of the Islamic world.

Differences in culture and civilization are more starkly defined in modern doctrines and concepts of psychological warfare, specifically among representatives of the Anglo-Saxon civilization: the USA and Great Britain. Today psychological operations are built by them within the framework of two fundamental ideological concepts: the concept of «harsh force»

(presented by the neo-realism school of K. Woltz, R. Gilpin, B. Buzan); the concept of «gentle force» (represented by the school of neo-liberalism).

The two concepts in the Anglo-Saxon models do not duplicate themselves, but rather mutual complement each other, differing exclusively by the speed at which the desired political result is achieved:

— The concept of «harsh force» is very effective for forcing the opposition into coercion with the goal of obtaining political advantages in that particular point in the political process. Moreover, the principle of «forceful peacekeeping» makes it possible to use methods of forced coercion in peaceful times as well, under the gauze of global peacemaking activity;

— As a rule, the concept of «gentle force» is intended for a later result, and the preparation for conducting of such psychological operations like the «velvet revolutions» take time. However, the impact of the «gentle force» technologies is preserved over the course of a much longer period of time: pro-American governments in countries, in which «velvet revolutions» succeeded, are still in power and conduct a foreign policy that is completely geared toward the national interests of the USA.

The East Asian methods of information and psychological impact on the flow of a conflict are based on traditional value systems, first and foremost, that of Confucianism that remain, despite the ideological winds, the foundation of world outlook of China and other societies of Southeast Asia. As a rule, Beijing does not force events, awaiting much better times in its disagreements with its opponents, striving initially, to «stake out its position,» declare, for example, claims to a number of islands in the South China Sea, or to keep the issue of disputed territory open ended for some «indefinite period of time,» just like in the early 70's of the twentieth century during a period of normalization of relations with Japan over the disputed ownership of the Senkaku islands. The overall international situation and the relationships of forces which have undoubtedly changed over many decades can be resolved to China's advantage to manage conflicts without conflict. «Postponed decisions» is a very convenient form of psychological warfare. The problem remains unresolved, and can always be used as an instrument for informational pressure, including in negotiations.

Leading nations of the European Union lumped together here conditionally into the category of Roman-Germanic civilization, when using information and psychological warfare technologies to influence conflicts, adhere to the tactic of psychological control, but with consideration for the nuances of the nation state involved. The Western European model of psychological warfare to influence conflicts does not use direct intervention to change the political systems of the participants, but rather strives to control the mentality of the political elite in power in the nation states embroiled in the conflict, as well as to control the mindset of various strata of the local population and the international community, encouraging them to perceive the conflict the way it is proposing it, i. e. to see the conflict through the eyes of the European Community.

Unlike the EU, the Islamic world, despite its title as a united cultural group of one civilization, in reality is represented by a complex mosaic. The disintegration of Islam into a multitude of religious and legal schools and movements speaks to the fact that the differences, and the peculiarities of each branch sometimes predominate over the general principles and dogma of the religion. In this regard, methods and applications of information and psychological warfare on the masses of believers preserves general characteristics advantageous in an inter-civilization confrontation, an ideological battle with another religion, culture, and at the same time within the Islamic Umma there is just as vicious a battle going on to confirm the reigning influence over the mentality of one or another school or branch. Because of this, it is paramount that we examine the methods of information and psychological impact on Islam on three levels: in terms of civilization, regional and national, which, to a certain extent, corresponds to the level of existing international conflicts. In terms of civilization, and, in essence, global level, Islam is serving as an alternative to the western liberal, democratic world: in Islamic doctrine there exist and understanding and an interpretation of world order, which Islam is striving to provoke within zones of international conflicts. This is essentially the essence of the Middle Eastern model of psychological solutions to conflict resolution.

PROBLEMS OF EUROPEAN SOCIETY

There are some problems in modern Europe and solution of these problems will promote to forming of united European society in many ways. Giving up on solution of them, suppression of them, inappropriate estimation of their significance place in question not only perspectives of united Europe development, but also perspectives of development of every national state as a part. Escalated in situation of global financial and economic crisis, the problems of modern Europe can be divided into a number of groups depending on their character. It is necessary to mark the problems of: demographic character; ethnic character; social character; economic character; aesthetic character; ethic (moral) character. It's important to fall into problems of demographic character falling of a birth rate. Practically in all European countries the birth rate is lower that it is necessary for reproduction. Depopulation that began more than twenty years ago, may, according to experts' opinions, affect the demographic situation in Europe in foreseeable future. There are hardly any reasons to rely on pervasive changes in this direction.

Despite depopulation it should reckon among demographic problems such problems as sterility of women and men's impotence. To sterility and impotence it is important to add other modern civilization diseases, influenced on number of inhabitants, for instance: cardiovascular diseases, cancer, obesity, diabetes, and drain. It is useful to note, that propaganda of homosexual love and increasing number of people, having non-traditional sexual orientation do not promote to increase of birth rate. Among problems of ethnic character we can note immigration from the Third World countries first of all. And legal or illegal status of this migration is not as important as the fact of immigration of millions people from Africa and Asia to European continent. It is worthwhile to say that immigrant tries to help his family to come to him, and practically every immigrant's family has three children and more. In the case of beginning of this tendency titular ethnic groups of Europe will be minorities in their own countries by the end of the 21st century. Peculiarity of modern immigrants is their unwillingness to go native in a country giving them a shelter. As a general rule modern immigrant doesn't identify himself with his new motherland. Unwillingness or inability to assimilate give rise to protest and provoke making so called ethnic and cultural autonomies quite dangerous for native European. It should mention that the most part of crimes is committed in developed countries by natives of the Third World countries.

Problems of social character are connected not with dearth of social protection, but with its oversupply. Social protection gives a chance to lead a normal life without any efforts, without finding a job, etc. Correlation of social protection with quite normal (even according to standards of Europe, not to speak about underdeveloped countries) living wage provokes a rising of dependency. We can see a conundrum; European countries have to admit immigrants to work, but thousands vigorous of body people of working age live off taxpayers using social protection. Also we can reckon among social problems modern form of apartheid. So, ethnic apartheid is shown in giving places everywhere to representatives of national minorities regardless of their skills and abilities. In spite of the ethnic apartheid it should mark sexual (representation of different sexual minorities), gender apartheid (representation of women, first of all), confessional (representation of different confessions) forms of modern apartheid, etc.

Problems of economic character. Shortly they can be described in the following way. Very overstated needs of the EU citizens in default of high creative tasks and increasing dependence on the Third World countries. So called postindustrial economy is distinguished from previous its industrial economy changing centre of gravity from production goods to tertiary industries. For instance, about 80 percent of the USA economy are engaged in manufacturing service and only 20 percent are engaged in manufacturing goods, in European countries situation is similar. Forming of consumer economy leads to attention focusing of economy on human, that is to say on production

things people are ready to pay. But, as a rule a man is ready to pay for enjoyments and conveniences. And the greatest part of postindustrial economy is engaged in satisfaction just these needs. Another equally important reason of the falling of production percentage in the economy is a flight of industries and whole production branches from developed countries to underdeveloped countries. Understanding the economic expediency of these solutions it is necessary to say that these deals give to the Third World countries modern technologic factories and works there are not their analogs in developed countries. In such situation underdeveloped countries are in more advantageous position than countries of core Europe.

Ethic (moral) problems are connected with abolishment of moral strictures first of all. The entire world knows that existence of a great number of moral prohibitions comes to society's death by means of calcification, but the abolishment of all prohibitions comes to the same result, the society die too, in this case by means of degeneracy. Homosexual love and same-sex marriages, free relations and advocacy of sex, nudity as a an integral part of every pictures or music video, proclamation of prostitution a normal job, spread of so called «light drugs» — these are distinctive features of modern civilization. Another important thing of modern civilization is falling of meaning of honor, honesty, conscience. Practically there are not differences between an honest man and a bankrupt in honor in the modern World, because nowadays honor of man is provided by the cohort of lawyers, but not a going to moral compass.

There are also problems connected with modern aesthetics. They are referred to the arts that can be seen as the form of social conscience, sociocultural field of society made by society to satisfy its own needs. Outstanding characteristics of modern art are primitivism of form, abolishment of prohibitions, falling of intelligence level to below average. The entire world knows that arts and culture create aesthetic values which are necessary to the society to satisfy its own needs. But needs of a society are formed on the basis of existing stock of cultural values. In other words, since the aesthetic values of the arts within a society become primitive, it leads to primitivization of the society itself. And vise versa, the primitivization of a society leads to greater primitivization of the arts of the society. A leader of mass culture is Hollywood, which sets itself up as the absolute master. Nowadays Hollywood tries to appear in consciousness of modern social elite as a part of the high elite levels of visual arts, in this case it is necessary to mention that elite forms the aesthetic values of society. In many ways the future of Europe depends from the solution of all these problems, and from the ways of their solutions first of all.

D.L. Sivovolov

SOURCE OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISIS WITHIN INDUSTRIAL PARADIGM OF STATE ADMINISTRATION

The challenge of today is find a right balance between the market and government.

We will not invent our best future, till we don't have any future.

J. Stiglitz & E.N. Knyazeva

The financial-economic crisis, which has started in the USA in 2007 and spread worldwide, is considered by many economists and politicians as a consequence of imperfection of the world financial market, having lost touch with real economics [1]. We don't dispute this point of view; moreover we think that the symbolic (virtual) capital management problem is one of the most complicated in contemporary economics [2]. Nevertheless the sources of the present crisis are much deeper for they come not from economics itself, but mostly from the paradigm of state administration, living these days. Proceeding from this assumption, we advance the following thesis: misunderstanding the essence of changes being about to happen in state administration leads to an inefficient government course of increasing government interventions in the economy

and especially of limitations of financial markets, that we can see in plenty of public programs supporting national economics.

The financial-economic crisis of today has touched all the countries with some intensity or other. In spite of the differences between the approaches to economics rehabilitations — American, European, Chinese, Russian, etc. — in all these economic recipes there is a strong «government ingredient». As we see it, nowadays there is a reconsideration of government role in economics, leaving the neo-liberal model of capitalism, understanding the imperfection of the monetary theory. And the most striking example of that is the USA, where the public anti-crises program has been adopted, in which the government prescribes different limitations to business. The solutions of the Obama Administration strongly contrast with the American policy of «minimal role of the government» of the last quarter of the 20th century [3].

The intensity of the passing financial-economic crisis is linked first of all with the globalization of economics as the system of more open and more interrelated economics of numerous contemporary countries. The world financial institutions such as IMF, WTO, have shown their incapability to forecast the developing global economic processes and to manage them. We can also see this problem in the world political institutions such as G8, EU, ASEAN and other organizations directing their states economics and the world economy on the whole. One can draw a conclusion that the cause of the present financial-economic crisis is misunderstanding the role of government in contemporary economics, when the balance between the government and economic interests is strongly displaced and decentralized. That is the misunderstanding both on the level of a state itself and on the global interstate level.

If one asks about the basic problem of the present situation, it's possible to give a simple response: 'this is just a problem of communication' [4]. And this response, considered to be one of the most important procedures in rehabilitations of corporations, has an enormous importance indeed for making interstate relations too. If UNO or IMF adopted the regulations and procedures taking into account the balance of interests of most of countries and their economics and having the law of gravity force, then many financial-economic thrombi would resolve. But unfortunately this is not the only sufficient way to solve the problem of state and interstate management of economics, because we have entered another — post-industrial — society.

Despite the existing nowadays in the mass conscience such definition of the post-industrial society as the information society, we think it is more correctly to define it as the innovation society. The criticism [5] and substantiation of the actual name of post-industrial society deviates from the theme of this article, that is why we would cite the opinion of professor RACS V.L. Romanov: 'Risk becomes a catchall phenomenon in contemporary society, which according to its cause (innovation) can be defined as the innovation society'[6]. Risk, crisis, chaos, which are defined as entropy in synergetics, are generated by increasing variety on the microlevel and the rigid, inadequate to them on macrolevel management methods. The crisis of management and first of all of state administration is predetermined by still working industrial paradigm of administration, when the main feature of management is reduction the numerous social forms to single typical clichés and stable formulas for solution of management problems. This is a kind of management that shuts his eyes to increasing uncertainty and is based on the principle that everything is predictable. In practice of economic management the individualism, non-standard management solutions, acceptance the uncertainty as it is — they all find their management methods even in the grand corporations. As for the interstate level, the various flexible, adaptable fast to new conditions, transformable and integrable with each other management methods are just paving the way.

This is the idea of the 'multipolar world', which was not introduced today but almost the quarter of the century ago by M.S. Gorbachev. But only today, when almost unipolar economic system with 'the American locomotive' at the head of it has broken up, this idea is entering the practice. These are the initiatives of creation of the regional reserve currencies. (In this aspect, the creation of the single currency has become the first and really important step in making the financial methods for the economic

variety management.) This is also the transformation G8 into G20, reinforcement of EU, creation of SOC, BRIC. All these initiatives are actually the single process of creation of the various interstate management methods, which has accelerated under the pressure of the global economical crisis. In this aspect, it is necessary to find the balance between the market and government and set it up on the interstate level. The challenge of today is find a right balance between the global market and interstate management institutions. In other words, the present system of global (interstate) management is partially capable, because it does not realize itself as the united government body. These are the fourteen-year-old boys and girls, who manage the most complicated multinational corporation. We, suppose that post-industrial, information, innovation paradigm of state administration must include more efficient, capable institution of interstate management.

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IMPACT OF GLOBAL FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC CRISIS ON POPULATION STRATIFICATION AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

According to the definition crisis (from the Greek — turning point, break) is a fundamental change in something. Financial and economic crisis is naturally accompanied by changes in social structure of society and by transformation of dominating social behavior patterns of most inhabitants in highly-developed industrial areas. Financial and economic crises should not be regarded as a unique characteristic of the beginning of the 20th century. Throughout the history of the humankind such events occur cyclically, therefore the periods of crises are given a detailed description in the literature of the subject. There exist well-known Kondratiev long waves in averaging economics 50 years; hundred-year cycles of population mortality; thirty-year cycles of global epidemics of drug habituation and drug wars, seven-year cycles of political views changes in countries with highly-developed democracy; five-year cycles of technical and technological renewal of industrial enterprises, etc. It should be pointed out that all the recurrent breaches in balance of financial and economic spheres well-known to our social life, accelerated the dynamics of the society, caused changes in structural and functional characteristics of the main social institutes as well as dominating group behavior patterns.

It is quite obvious that social effect of financial and economic crises depends not only on crisis intensity, self-dependence and stability of national economy but also on national politics towards international contacts, on the degree of development of

country's economic relations with the rest of the world. Taking into account the present situation it should be mentioned that consequences of financial and economic shock tend to be extremely. Moreover the consequences affect a great amount of territories and to some extent they can be considered as far-reaching. It can be accounted for by a number of reasons. In our opinion they are globalization, world social and economic integration of post-Soviet countries active restructuring of demographic situation of the present-day humanity (rapid development of Asian countries and simultaneous tendency of countries with well-developed economy towards a decrease in population thank to national politics). Considering the described circumstances it can be expected that social consequences of global financial and economic crisis will have an effect on countries even with relatively stable national economy. Moreover it can be prognosticated that the social consequences will be more serious and tangible in those countries that possess various and numerous international contacts.

Analysis of historical events reveals the social changes following economic crises can be manifested in two possible variants. In first case the consequences lead to perfection of already existing social institutes of a social formation, in the second case they introduce a radical change of social and economic system itself and its inevitable qualitative transformation. This raises the issue of what way the situation is developing, what variant of social consequences will be realized and how far-reaching they will be. It might be salient for making social prognoses if the consequences are serious. It should be found out whether they are local, national or global.

Monitoring of current events allows us to make a supposition that social and demographic consequences of the economic crisis will be of a system-forming character: the appearance of the present-day world will be qualitatively and inevitably changed; functions of social institutes of not only separate countries but also international associations will be transformed; it will cause the replacement of the existing social behavior patterns by other forms of group interactions. The basic evolution course of the world community during the period of information society development, global economic crisis and expansion of Islamic outlook popularity, can be considered as the transition from egocentric ideas of leadership and competition towards ideas of globally-organized and socially-oriented state.

In a constantly changing world it is important to combine efforts of different sociological schools. It must be made timely in constructive and creative forms of interaction. It might turn out to be crucial for preservation and developing current social values and priorities and also for determination of evolution direction coming to replace the theory of sustainable development.

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RUSSIAN ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT FACING THE GLOBAL CRISIS

1. During the Russian reforms accompanied by de-institutionalization of environmental policy, Russian Environmental Movement (REM) gradually transformed into a network of non-commercial organizations (NCO) and expert advisory bodies protecting nature and local communities from depredatory practices by the authorities and/or the Big Business. In this respect REM doesn't differ from other civic organizations of Russia experiencing pressure on the part of the government. However, today's agenda includes far more than just setting limits to the appetites of these players.

2. A total re-structuring of Russia's social landscape has been in progress during the past twenty years and will continue in the near future. This process takes place simultaneously in several spheres:

(1) In the physical (material) space changing under the influence of such factors as the introduction of private property, intervention of foreign capital, production remaining raw-material oriented, Russia's joining in the system of transnational financial and resource flows. In the end, these changes will affect the entire social landscape and the geopolitical situation of the Russian Federation.

(2) In the social sphere proper, by way of changing the social structure of society, dividing it into a rich minority and an increasingly poor majority that faces the threat of complete exclusion. Other occurrences of this process include the emergence of 'prosperity oases' and zones of social degradation, labor import, forced migration, etc.

(3) In the cultural sphere, meaning a mass emigration of the most educated and enterprising members of society, interventions of cheapjack western mass culture, increasingly unequal access to education and benefits of culture, state and private media promoting a consumption-oriented value system and the ideal of immediate success at any cost, the formation of the so-called 'post-book culture' in society. A transition to a 'society of knowledge' with its specific social and network structure has not yet begun.

3. As a result, REM as a mass social movement has practically lost its constituency and become politically marginalized. Today it exists in form of NCO communities and networks of two main types: the 'transnationals', who advocate ecologization of production of gas, oil, timber and other natural resources in keeping with international standards, and 'localists', who defend their respective local ecosystems and the local human communities connected with them from destruction by raw-material mega-projects (transnational pipelines, etc.) and by businesses seizing free public spaces (such as squares inside blocks, urban parks, suburban forests, various kinds of reserves) by all means. 'Localists' are active in big and small cities as well as in the countryside where examples include indigenous small ethnic groups in Siberia, in the North, and the Far East of Russia.

4. Hence two types of political action or, more exactly, sub-politics (U. Beck) develop. 'Transnationals' combat mega-projects with legal means: they propose draft laws to legislatures, offer advice and project appraisal services, assist in voluntary certification of timber and other products for export, monitor the implementation of agreements with businesses, etc. It is only in emergency cases and after exhausting every expedient for solving a problem that 'transnationals' resort to mass protest actions. Until 2004, 'localists' could make use of such levers as public hearings, letters and petitions to local executive power bodies. Today, with local authorities refusing to listen to the arguments of the people, 'localists' all over Russia resort to mass protest actions.

5. The government has been exercising increasing pressure on ecological NCOs since 2000, depriving them of fiscal incentives, charging them high rental fees and vexing them with frequent checks by tax, sanitary, fire, technical and other inspections. Some of environmental NCOs were politically marginalized as alleged 'influence agents' of foreign states. At the same time, business and government bodies began to generate and support counter-movements and clone-movements whose actions misled the people. Also, shady and illegal businesses founded quasi-ecological NCOs for money-laundering or plundering funds allocated by the government or businesses for charity. The prefix 'eco-' has lost its meaning, undermining citizens' trust to genuine environmentalist NCOs.

6. There are three more types of 'ecological' actors which are new to Russia. The first type comprises organizations and movements formed by 'educated poor' who became victims of unfair business practices. The most numerous among them is the defrauded home-buyers' movement. In the western media these people are being wrongly referred to as home-buyers simple, while it is essential that they have been fraudulently deprived of their money and homes, forcing them to struggle for their basic right for shelter. The second type are organizations which emerged as a result of conflicts between native inhabitants of cities and villages on the one hand and immigrants (forced migrants, refugees and guest workers), on the other. The third type are virtual communities, meaning not ecological NCOs making use of the Internet, but people (especially young) who 'emigrate' to virtual space so as to avoid life in the real world or, at least, to postpone and/or minimize contacts with it. These communities represent a new form of social-ecological organization with little connection to 'traditional' environmental movement.

7. Like in most countries of the world, the government in Russia renders financial aid to society in time of crisis. However, the situation in Russia differs from that in the US and European Union in that the lion's share of such aid has already been distributed among big businesses and banks. NCOs and local communities enjoy no such aid or privileges to help them overcome this crisis. Unlike the Obama Plan [1], the Russian government's policy does not envisage grant-in-aid for energy-efficiency projects, for modernization of homes to make them more power-saving, for industrial area revitalization projects, forest fire prevention, habitat restoration and other kinds of the Russian environmental organizations' traditional activities.

8. Conclusion 1: in the two to three years to come, 'transnationals' will be transforming more and more into a network of advisory and expert NCOs. 'Localists' will be protecting their immediate milieu, involving for this purpose local resources and academics from universities and scientific institutes who are concerned with civic society issues.

Conclusion 2: the reason why these organizations phase down their activity is not the financial and economic crisis of 2008—2009 but, first and foremost, the overall policy of de-ecologization pursued by the power elite over the past two decades and affecting the government, the business world and the public consciousness alike. Our pilot surveys show that in big and small cities these organizations phase down their activity after being deprived of financial support from regional resource centers. Small (municipal) grants are not accessible to them, businesses see charity as disadvantageous, and the majority of the population is preoccupied with immediate survival issues. Russia's guiding principle continues to be «economy first, ecology later», the Russian economy still being a one-sided, industrial, raw-material-focused one. So far, environmental protests on the part of the population are confined to the purpose of preserving the habitat. But, as the development in the USSR 20 years ago showed, an environmental protest can easily transform into mass political one.

Conclusion 3: it is necessary to think about a new socio-ecological theory which I think should be based on the conflict between a resource and an information paradigm (territorial and extraterritorial).

9. As of today, despite the growing influence of information-communication technologies, the world is still dominated by a geopolitical conflict between countries and alliances, e. g. between the Russian Federation and the EU, or between the Russian Federation and China [2], and so on. At the same time, the current crisis as a struggle for survival has shown that within the general unsteadiness and unpredictability described by such well known western theorists as Z. Bauman, U. Beck and A. Giddens; very solid informal networks of mutual assistance exist. The ruling elites in Russia and abroad understand that a collapse of business would lead to a collapse of the state machinery, and with them social order would collapse as well. It is in understanding this interconnection that the US, the EU and Russia's approaches converge in spite of all differences. Talks about business as being independent from the state, as well as about 'checks and balances' are good only in the times and tides of calmness and wealth accumulation but not in the period of encompassing crisis.

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2. BUSINESS IN RUSSIA: BRIDGING EAST AND WEST?

2.1. INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS AND MULTINATIONAL ENTERPRISES

O.Y. Dyadin

TRENDS OF INDUSTRIAL SECTORS PRESTIGE IN CONTEMPORARY RUSSIA

Based on the institutional approach we determine an industrial sector as a social institute which includes people of different trades, involved in the same or similar economical activities without any correlation to a kind of property as well as structural and legal form possessing similar social and economical interests. The necessity of trends of industrial sectors prestige in Russian society is determined by the specifics of the theory of industrial sector professional mobility which is currently being developed. An important methodological premise allowing us to unite the notion of professional mobility and the notion of industrial sector prestige is Sorokin's²² enlarged understanding of mobility as any movement of individual or social subject i. e. everything which has been created or modernized by human activity from one position to another. In such a way we can discuss movement of the most status positions of the industrial sectors which are represented in units of social structure in stratification scale in the process of society development.

Based on the stratification approach we understand prestige as the basis of industrial sector differentiation of society and determine it as a social phenomenon which helps to consolidate and reproduce an industrial sector as a social institute. Industrial sector prestige is determined by character of a social system and the values which the most important for stable functioning of a society. Thus prestige in our understanding is an integral mark synthesizing all the values attributed by a society to the given kind of economical activity. In that case we deal with the following metamorphosis: the structure of economical activities disordered by nature obtains hierarchical character in people's understanding. Due to the fact that social statuses of industrial sectors reproduced by every generation and are developed and changed in the context of reality we deal with not a strictly fixed social structure but with a dynamically changing one which can be the most adequately described on the basis of the Theory of Structuration by Giddens²³. Taking into consideration the key notion of the theory the notion of structure duality as interconnection between structure and activity we can formulate our own understanding of industrial sector movements. Analysis of structuration (conditions ruling succession or transformation of structures) of the system of stratified industrial sector differentiation of social production means studying of processes of its self-generation

²² Sorokin, Pitirim. Social and Cultural Mobility. — London: Collier-Macmillan Limited, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964.

²³ Giddens A. The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration. — Berkeley; Los Angeles, 1984.

based on conscious activity of economically active part of population (actors by Giddens). Prestigiously hierarchized industrial sector structure of employment is of dual nature: on the one hand it is a mean and on the other hand it is a result of industrial sector mobility as regular social practice simultaneously performing both function of limitation of jobs due to their economical conditionality and regulation of the process of industrial sector professional mobility because of uneven distribution of financial and spiritual remuneration for work in different industrial sectors.

The structure of industrial sector prestige is rather complicated for human interests and needs determined generation of prestigious marks are quite difficult and different and besides they are constantly changed. Some elements of the prestige structure can be lost, changed and get a new meaning. Change in the system of prestigious marks can be evolutionary and revolutionary which is determined by the dynamic of a society development as a whole. The main determinants of industrial sector prestige are culture, politics, economy and technology which act directly and indirectly. Influence of cultural factors is especially strong in the times of social transformations when a traditional system of values integrates new ingredients. Ideals and benchmarks are being changed inside society and a new social and economical ideal is being cultivated. Changes also cover traditional for that society values. Some of them die off, others change and the rest stay intact. Outstanding modern sociologist P. Sztompka developed a concept of transitional conditions which is called 'the Theory of Cultural Injury'.²⁴ We believe that the theory is quite true in terms of description of the transformation in Russian society. Shocking changes cover practically all the spheres of the society and life of ordinary citizens. People are losing the capital of their life experience gained before which made them shocked, the foundations of traditional symbols, meanings and values of social reality are being destroyed, both social and economical individual capitals are being devaluated. In connection with that methodology of industrial sector prestige as value and legal basis of professional mobility research which was developed by Western scientists and widely empirically implemented in stable societies needs to be critically and theoretically changed.

The usage of constructive structuralism by P. Bourdieu²⁵ enables to overcome a certain limitation of structural and functional approach to analysis of industrial sector prestige dynamics in the situation of transformation of our society. The system of stable dispositions structured by the past practices and structuring the following was named as 'habitus' in Bourdieu's theory. In our understanding prestige of an industrial sector is a kind of habitus which enables actor to orient in a social space spontaneously and to react more or less adequately to the events and situation in the job market. Individuals evaluate kinds of economical activity but this evaluation is not random as it is determined by those social and professional structures which during the processes of collecting life experience, upbringing and education formed thinking and behavioral attitudes of individuals. O.I. Shkaratan²⁶ believes that extended social hierarchy of industrial sectors in the context of the system of values of the Soviet times looks as follows: party-and-state apparatus, security services, military forces, industrial sectors of distribution system, military complex, industry, education and culture, agriculture and housing and communal services.

In our country the greatest transformation of an industrial sector prestige happened in the 90s of the last century as a result of reevaluation of social standards and change in economical relationships. As empirical basis we will use the results of national survey 'Social stratification of the Russian society' held by Institute of Social Planning in November, 2004 on representative sampling (15,200 respondents)

²⁴ Sztompka P. Social change as an injury // Sociological research. 2001. №1; Cultural injury in the post-Communist society (the second article) // Sociological research. 2001. №2.

²⁵ Bourdieu P. Social space: fields and practices. St. Petersburg.: 'Aleteya', 2005.

²⁶ Shkaratan O. Inyasevsky S. Industrial sector structure as an indicator of trends of transformation // Social sciences and modern life. 2008. №3. pp.111—122.

in 54 subjects of RF.²⁷ Industrial sectors were ranked in the period mentioned above as follows (the average point out of 10 point scale is given in the brackets): justice commissions(7,78); finance, credit and insurance (7,42); state management committees(7,10); computer service, IT (7,07); media and commercial(6,68); science and scientific services (6,40); culture and art(6,40); construction (6,33); army, police and other special forces(6,14); liaison (6,18); transportation (6,12); tourism and hotel services (6,03); catering (6,03); domestic services (6,02); trade (5,98); industry (5,91); non-profit organizations (5,87); education (5,46); agricultural production (5,39); housing and communal services (5,38); health care services (5,20).

In general the situation in the Post-Soviet times cannot be clearly characterized due to constantly changing social status of industrial sectors. The 90s of the last century were characterized by rapid decrease in prestige of army and military industry whereas positive changes have been traced for the last years. There is an active growth in wholesale and retail trade. High status of finance and banking sectors and oil and gas industry has also been stable. In comparison with that we have observed steadily low status of so-called 'budget' (stately run) sectors: education, health care and culture. However based on our pilot research we can state that during the crisis the status of 'budget' sectors tends to increase due to more stable employment situation there which is much less influenced by the economical situation.

Marina Giltman, Tyumen

CONNECTION BETWEEN ECONOMIC INTERESTS, NEEDS AND VALUES OF THE EMPLOYEES AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE HUMAN CAPITAL

The labor relations are the main sphere of the human capital's formation. The economic interests are the main cause for humans to enter the labor relations. Nowadays the economic interests are treated as the incentive motives of economic activities of the people, caused by their place in system of relations of the property and a public division of labour (the Dictionary of economy and the finance, www.glossary.ru). So the economic interest of the employee, if to consider him as the economically rational subject, is to earn the greatest possible size of wages in the monetary or other form, which allows him to satisfy his needs.

At this case we'd like to point that the category «need» doesn't completely explain the reason of appearance of the economic interest. In general the need is the feeling of shortage of something. Classification of needs includes their various kinds. As an example we can look at the primary needs — in meal, clothes, accommodation. The satisfaction of these needs assumes that economic interest of the employee will be expressed in earning such sum of money that is sufficient for buying these goods. Important is that qualitative characteristics of the goods are absolutely ignored. At the same time in a modern society qualitative characteristics of the goods are very important for satisfaction of human's needs, and they also divide people in social groups with various level of prosperity. For example, speaking about the poor, we mean not only those who have no any meal, clothes and are the persons without a certain residence.

From our point of view the category «value» helps to add the definition of the qualitative part of need's satisfaction. Now there are many explanations of this category. There is the most popular: «Value is the special public relation thanks to which needs and interests of the individual or social group are transferred on the world of things, subjects, the spiritual phenomena, giving them the certain social properties which have been not connected directly with their utilitarian appointment» (The social studies

²⁷ Real Russia: Social stratification of contemporary Russian society. Moscow.: «Journal Expert», 2006.

dictionary, www.glossary.ru). In the sociology Encyclopedia it is told that values allow «to set systems of priorities, ways of a social recognition, criteria of estimations; to build difficult and multilevel systems of orientation in the world; to prove senses». Values can be divided on objective (objects of the valuable relation) and subjective — installations and estimations, imperatives and interdictions, the purposes and the projects expressed in the form of standard representations. The last acts as the reference points of person's activity (The big soviet encyclopaedia, www.slovari.yandex.ru). Thus, we consider that the category «value» connects categories «need» and «economic interest» and specifies «needs». So the category «value», allows to describe more precisely not only structure and quality of the consumed goods, but to define a way of life of the person. That means that «value» clarifies the economic interests of the person in his labour relations.

In practice this conclusion is proved by the results of some sociological researches about values of the rich and the poor in modern Russia. For example one of the basic vital values of the more highly paid employees is their intention to make a good career, and more active vital position in general. This group of employees raised the qualification in the various ways sometimes more often (in comparison with the poor — in 5 times, with the population as a whole — in 3 times), than the low paid employees (Popova, 2004). This forms their own human capital directly. At the same time the higher paid employees have another structure of consumption. They pay for additional educational and medical services (the poor use the last as well but in 2 times less then the rich), for health-improving services for adults and children, for educational institutions and services for children (art, musical school, etc.), for tourist and educational trips abroad. All this helps to form the human capital either of employees and their children. Moreover the higher paid employees are able to update various components of the property (including accommodation) more often, that also allows them to form the human capital especially the human capital of the following generation (their children).

The low paid employees consume only a few services, they don't update subjects surrounding their everyday life and often they have unsatisfactory living conditions (Davidov, Sedova, 2004). So the possibilities of the low paid employees to form their human capital are much less. The respondents of this group name «work, profession» as their basic vital value instead of «achievements, career» named by the high paid employees (Popova, 2004). That speaks about the less wish of success and more passive behavior of the low paid employees. In general analyzing the data of sociological researches, we have noticed that the majority «the poor» doesn't divide new valuable installations and aspire to keep the habitual (developed in a Soviet period) way of life. Thus in a modern Russian society the ability to adapt and to transform values, according to the requirements of the external social and economic conditions, have a great influence to the human capital's formation.

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WORKING LANGUAGES OF TRANSNATIONAL ENTERPRISES

Abstract: The paper deals with English used as a common link in a profession by employers whose native languages differ. Two concepts are emphasized: international team and crosstalk. The former means a staff with different ethic, lingual and social backgrounds

working together. The latter implies a case of misunderstanding. Aims of the paper are: to discuss social problems of international teams that use English as a working language; to specify linguistic, conceptual, semiotic and pragmatic forms of crosstalk in professional discourse; to find out what forms of crosstalk lead to communication breaks in. The paper is based on results of sociolinguistic surveys made in RF, FRG and Malaysia.

Keywords: *crosstalk, international team, English varieties, professional discourse.*

1. An Introduction. An international team is a group of workers or colleagues whose ethnic and lingual backgrounds vary. A number of organizations, companies and jobs that require employing international teams are growing due to expansion of transnational companies over national and geopolitical boards. It can be also seen as a result of internal and external labor migration. Two questions arise: What languages are used as working languages of international teams? How effective they are used for professional purposes to overcome lingual diversity of members of an international team? In order to answer the first question a statistic survey was done to find out how official languages of the United Nations (UN) are used as working languages of International Organizations (IOs) and Transnational Cooperations (TCs). In order to answer the second question sociolinguistic surveys of English used for professional purposes by its non-native speakers were done. On data of 2630 IOs and TCs it was found out that English is a preferable link used by 35% of them in 2004. French was used by 25% of them. Spanish (15%), Russian (11%), Chinese (8%) and Arabic (6%) are used as working languages [1] (Table 1). A combination of two working languages is preferable in IOs & TCs. Thus, 46% of IOs & TCs prefer English and French as their working languages.

The Table 1. Working Languages of an international team within the IOs and TCs*

Working Language	English	French	Spanish	Russian	Chinese	Arabic
Used in IOs & TCs (%) in 2004	35	25	15	11	8	6
Used in IOs & TCs (%) in 2006	37	24	14	10	9	6
Used in IOs & TCs (%) in 2008	36	25	14	11	9	6

*Based on: The UN Statistic data: 2004; 2006; 2008

26% of them use English and German. English and Spanish are used by 15% of IOs & TCs. 5% of IOs and TCs use Russian and English. English and Arabic are used by 4% and English and Chinese are used by 4% of IOs & TCs [1]. Proficiency in foreign languages is an advantage in one's career. Among 12664 VIPs the following foreign languages used for professional purposes were indicated: English (45, 4%), French (33, 2%), Spanish (15%), Russian (3, 2%), Arabic (3, 1%) and Chinese (0, 2%) as important for their jobs and careers (Table 2). A total number of females with proficiency in foreign languages are three times as much than a number of males in general and for each language used for professional purposes.

The Table 2. Knowledge of foreign languages among professionals and VIPs*)

Language	English	French	Spanish	Russian	Arabic	Chinese
Males	1394	1004	565	88	75	5
Females	4315	3159	1443	298	282	18
Total	5709	4163	2008	386	357	23
(In %)	45,4%	33,2%	15%	3,2%	3,1%	0,2%

*) Based on: Who is who in Business (Y2004).

English has become a lingua-franca in social and public spheres of communication in the European Union (EU). It is widely used for shopping, tourism, mass media, long distance calls, SMS and computer mediated communication. English is one of ten preferable languages used in public spheres of the EU (Table 3).

The Table 3. 10 Top Languages are Lingua-Franca in the EU*

Language	English	German	French	Spanish	Russian	Italian	Polish	Turkic	Chinese	Arabic
Used as lingua franca (in %)	40	12	8	5	5	4	3	2	1	1

*Based on: The official data of regional Departments for migrants available in mass media. The official languages of the UN are boldly printed to show their role as common links in the EU in comparison with non-official ones.

2. Methodology. The goal of the study is to analyze discourse in a professional domain when English is used by interlocutors for whom English is not a native language. It took us about two years to collect the data in Russia and Germany. Examples from Malaysia have been supplied by Maya K. David and Francisco P. Dumanig [3]. The principles and methods of data-collection and data-analysis here can be called integrative since various methods encompassing discourses analysis, psychological, semantic and linguistic testing; methods of description, opposition and comparison have been used. A whole corpus of (400) cases of crosstalk was collected while interviewing and testing of international teams with English as a working language. Each example is supplied with socio-demographic data about interlocutors. All cases of crosstalk were transcribed, classified and described as sounding data to be presented as different forms of crosstalk done by 200 informants aged between 25 till 65. There were males (55%) and females (45 %). Most of them (80%) have learnt English as a foreign language for professional purposes. Some of them (60%) work abroad [3].

3. Findings. From the interviews it was found that there are four forms of crosstalk: (1) lingual (e. g., one's accent in English); (2) conceptual; (3) semiotic; and (4) pragmatic. Among 400 cases of crosstalk in professional talks in English used by its nonnative speakers, a number of conceptual crosstalk is minimal (2%) and a number of semiotic crosstalk is 8%. Pragmatic crosstalk (30%) is due to various communicative behaviors (60%) or/and various interpretation of a message (40%). Lingual crosstalk (60%) is due to accent (70%), lexical and semantic interference (20%), grammar and syntax (10%) misuse of English. A case of lingual crosstalk is given below (Example 1). Since consonant junctures are avoided in Turkic the vowel [e] is introduced in initial position and between consonants [s] and [k]. While testing a few Turkic operators recognized [esekerevu] to mean a screw [3].

Example 1. An Azeri S. (34, male, an operator) mispronounced an English word screw as [esekerevu] in a talk with a German operator F. (23, male). S. pronounced an English word ice-cream as [aijsekerim].

S: I have two screws [**esekerevu**] here. Do you see it?

F.: I do not know. What does your esekerevu look like? Is it Russian ice-cream?

S.: I know ice-cream [**aijsekerim**]. It is sweat. I eat it. Nobody can eat screw [**esekerevu**]. It is metal. Ha-ha! It is a good joke.

Discussion: Among languages that are broadly used as official languages of the UN English has become the most popular after the Second World War. It is used as an international means of professional talks in aviation, navigation. It is used for trade negotiations. That is why English for special purposes is taught and learnt to be used in various professional spheres, e. g., R&Ds, pilots, stewards, diplomats, English teachers, interpreters and translators. English dominates also as a link of communication in international teams. With a focus on sociolinguistic analysis of English used by non-native speakers of English at their working places and/or for professional purposes the problem mutual comprehension of interlocutors arises. It is notorious that communication breaks may occur in result due to several reasons, e. g., one's deficit of English knowledge, an accent, lack of proper terms knowledge and because of differences of English dialects and varieties. Both display certain differences in pronunciation, vocabulary and even grammar variables.

Thus, American English is based on the General American (GE). British English sticks to the Received Pronunciation (RP). There are Australian English (AE), Indian English (IE), Malaysian English (MA), Philippine English (PE) etc known now as «Englishes» [5]. English used as a second language (L2) display distinct linguistic, lexical and pragmatic features due to nativization or adaptation of English to norms of native languages (L1) [3]. An accent or misuse of English can lead to communication breaks and crosstalk [1]. To avoid crosstalk in nonnative language a communicative strategy known as code switching and shifting [4] is used. Talks can display two models of code switching: the overt — as a shift from one language or dialect to another [4; 5] and covert — as a result of interference of one's native language into English used as L2 [2]. The role of overt and covert models of shifts on comprehension of a communicative act is discussed. It is argued that a professional discourse is less obscure than a private talk due to common professional concepts, shared thesaurus, competence and experience. Nonverbal signs and visual symbols are to overcome lingual diversity in professional talks. With regards to these hypotheses the study aims to specify crosstalk that can arise (1) when English is used as a foreign language and/or (2) when different varieties of English are used within an international team. The data has been obtained from interactions among English users of international teams working in Russia, Germany and Malaysia, with the aim to specify reasons and results of crosstalk in English for professional purposes.

The concept of crosstalk [1] is used to encompass different types of obstacles in talk. The hypotheses concerning possible linguistic, social, cognitive and pragmatic grounds of crosstalk in professional discourse are argued to assume that they can occur as a result of (1) mispronunciation due to one's native language interference; (2) conceptual misinterpretations of a terms due to semantic and knowledge interference; (3) semiotic interference of a sign's meaning values and (4) pragmatic interference due to various modus of communicative behavior.

5. Conclusion. Labor migration, increase in number of international organizations and transnational corporations laid grounds for international teams of employees. It is argued that English for professional purposes may overcome lingual diversity of an international team. Results of the survey show that communication breaks occur due to misuse of English by its nonnative speakers. Four forms of crosstalk: conceptual, semiotic, pragmatic and lingual are specified on data of interviewing of English users on working place. It can be summarized that crosstalk in English for professional purposes occur mainly due to lingual (60%) and pragmatic (30%) interference. Semiotic (8%) and conceptual (2%) crosstalks are seldom in English used as a working language by its non-native speakers.

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BASIC CONDITIONS OF «INTEGRATION» INTO PROFESSIONAL LABOR CULTURE OF EUROPE

The first conceptual idea of our research states: creative and innovative potential of the modern man is the core component of the formation of general and vocational-education culture, which is based on a developed system of personal values. Historically, and culturally it is determined by laws of formation of continental institutions of a socially oriented market economy, needs and interest of the European Community to counteract to the rise of «mosaic» of labor and vocational culture, in particular, to the extending alienation of the material world of economy and world-ethnic spiritual culture [2, 13]. The efficiency of the taken measures in this area depends on many factors, including total quality of vocational labor, cultural potential of the European labor force, from senior generations and education of contemporary youth. It determines need for sociological research, the subject of which are the real multidimensional trends, opportunities and processes of formation of a single professional working culture and the creative innovative potential of the citizens of modern European society.

The meaning of the second key idea of our research can be formulated as follows: creativity of professionals as two-track mechanism of innovative potential realization and professional labor integration of individuals into a modern civil

European Community is the most productive form of the realization of their ethno-cultural and labor competitive on its nature behavior in the sphere of public production. Because of its multi-dimensionality, this mechanism has a complicated structure, here it is a synthesis of culture, economy, trade, labor and creativity of a man as a worker — a specialist acquires sound from position of philosophy, history, cultural studies, economics, sociology and vocational education.

From a philosophical and historical point of view of economic and social processes of European integration through the creativity of a person concerns the deepest ontological foundation of its cultural essence of labor — the ability of human individuals to think systemically and produce accurate according to the measure of any subject of the objective world [3, 94]. From historical point of view the genesis of professional working culture and creative and innovation potential of European communities (where we refer Russian specialists to) unites a range of factors. The development of creatively charged individual as «historically inevitable» ethno cultural needs of emerging and dynamically developing social community is open [1, 58]. From cultural point of view the ability of professionals to creativity, their willingness to integrate into a specific vocational and employment culture — it is a certain result, which expresses the real possibilities of individuals to adequately (in the exact accordance with the requirements of their specific device socium) to form and creatively transform the process of expansion deepen the professional knowledge, skills, civil and personal activity in the socio-political and cultural sphere of specific society. Thus, we confirm that creativity and innovation potential as a core of professional labor culture of a specialist genetically connected with the culture. The opposite effect of culture to concrete individuals is determined by creative work. Labor activities of the individual — is the first ontological form of its «humanity» and «the sociality», — is a special phenomenon of objective and spiritual deployment of human wealth in the sphere of social production — it is subject expressed public form of organization and presentation of historical integrity of creative development of every person, both as a goal and essence of modern civil society. It systemically expresses measure the whole process of social and professional formation of individuals, their essential power as subjects of a particular national, social and professional community. In this regard, all system of the principals of social formation of professional labor culture and creative and innovational potential of Russian specialists, which are

implicitly aimed at the integration into European production systems should be based on ontological trends of development and interaction of social and cultural mechanisms of formation integrally unified continental institutions of market economy and civil society.

The bases of the above phenomena are the economic and social processes of social production. From this point of view each individual in order to integrate effectively into the European vocational and labor culture objectively has to show his ethno-cultural, professional, creative, innovative and personal qualities, not only as an identity, but also build a range of socio-economic, professional behavior in the labor and social production, responding not only to national, but continental needs to the traditions and vital needs of the cultural possessing of «the surrounding landscape». Sociology of the formation of professional working culture and the creative and innovative potential of modern specialists allow to focus the study for consideration of their professional life as a special area of the intersection of formation, continental and regional; national dyed socio-economic basic factors.

The approach to the creation of professionals from the point of view of sociology of vocational education «quite» concretizes its scientific analysis to complex study of the indirect impact of the integrated basic continental and national socio-economic factors on «conversion» by them the content of training people in vocational school at various levels, up to the refractive index via the identity specific individuals (as the special «prism») movement of the totality physical, social, economic and spiritual values foundations taking place in the world or a country of social, economic and political changes, forming their life content. These processes, as shown by our analysis, result in all spheres of education to a new socio-cultural and logical semantic integration of vocational education content and its methods, as a principle of organization of social and cultural life of society and all its subsystems. These processes, as P. Sorokin has emphasized, serve as mechanisms of effective integration of complex phenomena of social and cultural universe and the sphere of professional labor culture in particular [4, 42—47].

Scientific analysis of data collected allows us to formulate the following conclusions. The system of vocational and labor integration of Russian workers in the European industrial structure should be based on the need for radical transformation of modern domestic productivity, especially in its formation as particular valuable subject-substance as a common and «single» European professional culture of workers. The social cultural mechanism for the conservation of our «Eurasian code» must be implemented in these trends realization and our deepest national interest must be rooted. But, for it, as S.L. Frank pointed out, «... safeguarding should be directed not to the old, as they are, not to ready already embodied forms and relations, but to the continuity and sustainability of the creative development, the vital activity» of Russian citizens, especially youth [5, 270].

Our modern opportunities of the formation of «new professional working culture of the person» are directly determined by the maturity of civil society institutions (including institutions of vocational education) and indirectly — with the expanded reproduction of a culture outside of our country. It is determined by the evolution of a modern market economy and formation of institutions for continuing professional education of youth people in Russia, as a part of the Bologna Process, transformation of our citizens in the subjects of professional labor culture, which is in them, both national supranational elements. In the post crisis conditions of development of our country the basis on these dependences will give us the opportunity to build effective social and economic policies at various levels, including in the area of creative and innovative potential of Russian workers, allowing them to effectively integrate into vocational and labor culture of modern Europe.

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Evgeniya Plotnikova

INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT AS MECHANISMS OF LABOUR FORCE PROTECTION AT THE GLOBAL LEVEL

The demand for the new regulatory framework in industrial relations is determined by intensive expansion of business units across the world. The multinational companies (MNCs) are becoming more powerful due to their financial, political and organisational resources. In this context, regulation of industrial relations beyond the national borders emerged as a topical issue in the debates on global governance. On the one hand, branch establishments of the MNCs have to obey national legislation of the country where they are located, and on the other hand, they are subjects to international norms and regulations.

International Framework Agreement (IFA) is considered as one of the possible tools to balance inconsistency between national and international regulation. This mechanism brings together global union federations and top-management of MNCs which agree on certain standards in labour protection and promotion of good practices at the numerous production chains across the world.

The key intension of such agreements is to regulate industrial relations and to develop social dialogue at the international level in compliance with standards of the United Nations (UN) and International Labour Organisation (ILO). They attempt to create a framework for labour rights protection and to strengthen collaboration between organisations which represent workers' rights from the global to local levels. The first framework agreement was negotiated in 1988 between the 'DANONE Group' and International Union of Food Workers. At the moment there are over 60 similar agreements which is still a minor number considering the scope of international business operations and production units [3]. Most of these agreements were negotiated in the last 5—6 years mainly by the MNCs which originated in Europe. These are the companies in automobile industry (16), service sector (14), construction (13), and petrochemical industry (12). Many of these agreements were developed from the codes of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). The latter are predominantly unilateral statements indicating corporative self-consciousness and good will of the company. While international framework agreements considered to be stronger regulatory instruments. Inclusion of Global Union Federations (GUF) as partners in negotiations appears to be their key advantage. The content of the international framework agreements includes four basic principles of the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work (1998): freedom of association, the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining, the elimination of forced or compulsory labour, the abolition of child labour and the elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation. Apart from this, some agreements refer to recommendations of other international organisations: Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises 1976, revised in 2000), United Nations' Global Compact (2000) and European Union's Directive on Work Councils (94/45/EC).

International agreements could also include additional clauses on wage, working conditions, health and safety issues, and professional development. However, the final content of the agreements is dependent on the process of negotiations and the parties' intensions. The level of trade unions' involvement in implementation of agreements varies from case to case. In general inclusion of trade union organisations (of all levels) is quite

conditional. In most agreements GUFs are involved at the formal stage of their signature. While at the implementation level their participation becomes less visible. Also it is less likely for trade unions at the national/local levels to be active in monitoring and implementation of agreements. There are certain advantages and disadvantages of IFAs. As noted above, comparing to ethical corporate codes, agreements are more effective in monitoring industrial relations in the complex organisational settings of the multinational companies. However, involvement of the stakeholders does not necessarily guarantee implementation of agreements. The legal status of IFA is 'weaker' comparing to the companies' liabilities to stockholders and national laws. There are several strategies suggested to effective monitoring of agreements' implementation. First, MNCs could take responsibilities to monitor agreements and/or to invite independent consultants. Second, monitoring could be implemented only by trade union organisations. Finally, there are some cases of joint procedure established by representatives of the company and workers [2]. The efficiency of all these types is dependent on positions of trade union organisations at the local/national level and their potential to bring up and to settle the cases of labour right violation [1]. There are a number of essential issues which are in the core of policy and academic discussions. These are: What are the motivating factors for MNCs to negotiate voluntary agreements? What is the regulatory power of these agreements? What is their impact on the industrial relations? What are the effective tools to monitor these agreements at the local level (enterprise level)? Certainly, negotiation of international framework agreements is a new stage in development of industrial relations at the international level. Comparing to Codes of Corporate Social Responsibility, agreements by definition have more advantages since they involve trade unions as partners in negotiations [4].

However, the implementation of these agreements in practice is still problematic and to a larger extent depends on positions of management, strength of trade union structures and co-ordination of their activities from the level of GUFs to the level of enterprise.

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Halyna I. Scherba, Lvov

TRANS-BORDER COOPERATION IN THE CONDITIONS OF EXPANSION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION ON EAST

A study of problems of transborder cooperation (TBS) is very urgent for Ukraine in the context of recent expansion of European Union. In May, 2004 ten new members entered to European Union, in a number western neighbors of Ukraine are Poland, Slovakia and Hungary. In January in 2007 another country which is our neighbor — Romania joined in ES. After expansion of European Union both Ukraine and European Union, ran into a new situation on scopes — now a western border of Ukraine is the east border of EU. A process of expansion of EU is due to countries which directly abuts upon Ukraine

opens new possibilities for trans-border cooperation and becomes a shove for economic, political and social changes in Ukraine. The problems of integration in Europe since eastern expansion of the European Union face the needs in a choice of new priorities of development of transborder cooperation between Ukraine and its neighboring states. Transborder cooperation acquires an important value for realization of integration strategy of Ukraine. Therefore today there is perfection of transborder connections of Ukraine and alteration of the European level of transborder cooperation actual tasks. Exactly it can become the first real step of concordance of interests of EU and Ukraine.

The question of transborder cooperation is actively investigated foreign researchers, and recently began more to interest the Ukrainian researchers. The problems of transborder cooperation the followings researchers were engaged in: G Ratti. -M. Chudi (Switzerland), D. Villers (Germany); P. Eberkhardt, R. Fedan, T. Komornicki, T. Lievski, Z. Makela, M. Rosciszewski, A. Stasyak, Z. Ziolo (Poland); B. Borisov, M. Ilieva (Bulgaria); S. Romanov, V. Bilchak, L. Vardomski, Y. Zverev (Russia); P. Kuzmishin, Yu. Tey (Slovakia) and the Ukrainian scientists: O. Amosha, P. Belenki, V. Broyde, V. Budkin, I. Burakovski, M. Dolishniy, V. Yevdokymenko, Ye. Kish, M. Kozoriz, M. Lendyel, P. Lutsyshyn, Yu. Makogon, M. Malsky, N. Mikula, I. Mykhasiuk, S. Pirozhkov, S. Pysarenko, I. Studennikov and others.

These scientists at theoretical level are consider the concept of transborder cooperation and contiguous terms, investigational basic regional progress trends, generalized experience of activity of transborder associations of countries of Western Europe, domestic practice of participation of boundary regions is studied in a transborder cooperation. Sociological researches which are conducted in the sphere of transborder cooperation mainly have nonsystematic character and do not engulf all aggregate of actual problems in this sphere.

The purpose of this investigation is a theoretical analysis of transborder cooperation, and also making of recommendations and pointing in relation to intensification of transborder cooperation on the basis of results of sociological research. Study of public idea in relation to transborder processes is more expedient to conduct on two levels: level of population questioning of transborder territories (with that or other representativeness) and expert level. By an author the expert questioning were conducted from problems activations of TBC, the results of which are published [1, 82; 2, 24; 3, 41; 4, 162]. Let us consider the results of sociological research of wide representativeness of EU conducted in states-members and countries-candidates in May-June, 2006 by Sociological service of EU (By the Euro-barometer). This research was devoted to the question about European policy of neighborhood. Important, for example, there is an index of positive perception by the citizens of EU of relations of Union with countries-neighbors — 68%. In fact 90% of respondents are sure that cooperation with countries-neighbors is important for a fight against the organized crime and terrorism, for economic development (88%), for diminishing of streams of illegal migration (64%). Answering a question, what countries are the neighbors of European Union, citizens name Ukraine (58%), Russia (57%), Byelorussia (50%) and countries of South Mediterranean more frequent all [5]. The results of the conducted research give detailed information about the actual state of transborder cooperation between the noted states, in relation to the comparative analysis of level of its development, estimation of work of consular boundary and services.

Development of transborder cooperation on the new east border of the European Union is determined the complex of geopolitical, economic, civilization, ethnic and other factors. These factors render contradictory influence on TBC, from one side — stimulating processes, from other — restraining them. It is possible to forecast two stages of development of process of expansion and deepening of TBC. The first stage is the stage of adaptation to the European standards. It will be difficult and in a great deal sickly. It is stipulated, at one hand, that by introduction of EU of the visa mode countries and coordinates with it by limitations of free movement of citizens of the East Europe countries in a westward. At the other hand the creation of effective mechanisms of cooperation is wanted. The second stages are an implementation phase stopped up in TBC of potential will bring the real and perceptible results both to the economic and

in social plan. And it, in turn, will lead to forming of new, system quality of transborder cooperation [6, 54]. Development of TBC will not be simple and unproblematic. The high coefficient of macro social differences of subjects and terms of transborder cooperation complicate it considerably. But systematic and purposeful efforts on diminishing of negative factors will provide the effective functioning of new east border of EU, successful development of transborder cooperation.

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2.2. MANAGEMENT, LABOUR MARKET INSTITUTIONS AND EMPLOYMENT

Marina Giltman & Victor Pit, Tyumen

INVESTIGATION OF THE PROCESS OF HUMAN CAPITAL CREATION BY IMPACT OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

At present human capital is usually described in view of three main constituents: welfare, health and lifetime, educational and cultural level. In this connection, trends of scientific researches of human capital, both in our country and abroad, are presented by assessment of efficiency of investments in human capital, research of «human capital» category, analysis of processes of accumulation and use of human capital at micro- and macro- levels, including evaluation of state investments in medicine and public health, science and education, social programs.

It should be also noted that primarily G. Becker and his followers defined human capital as capitalization of wages. It is clear that welfare, health and cultural level depend greatly on people income level, the main source of which (in our country — about 65%, abroad — up to 80%) is wages. Therefore research of human capital implies study of remuneration of employees labor and in the broad meaning — economic relations of employers and employees as economic foundation of wages formation. In addition, if to take human capital as capital itself, it is necessary to review position of many foreign (G. Becker, T. Schultz, E. Wuds, K. Metzger, T. Witstein, L. Dublin,

A. Lotca) and Russian (V.E. Gimpelson, R.I. Kapelyushnikov, N.M. Rimashevskaya, S.A. Dyatlov) economists, who proved more than once that capital is formed in the system of economic relations of employers and employees. Therefore let us assume that this foundation is also appropriate to human capital. While describing interconnection of human and social capital, it should be noted that on the one hand, each actor of economic relations appears as a bearer of the social capital, determining its part in this system of economic relations, and as a receiver of the social capital, that is characteristic for each structure of relations in an organization. (James S. Coleman) [1]. Raising of such relations and social capital level leads to rising of welfare and strengthening of civil society (Robert D. Putnam) [2]. In our opinion, the process of human capital creation, its nature and change as a result of social capital impact haven't been sufficiently studied. From our point of view, since wages is demonstration and also purpose of economic relations of employers and employees, study of the process of human capital creation in the system of economic relations of employers and employees and under the influence of social capital is very topical. And it becomes more and more topical in the modern, post-soviet conditions. It is proved by appearance and distribution of different nonstandard forms of employment, including illegal labor relations (or pseudo-legal, for example, unpaid extension of a working day, unfavorable conditions of vacation distribution, partial payment of medical certificates, work without a labor contract), that exert great influence on the process of human capital creation and discredit the ability of such system to reproduce stably human capital of sufficiently high quality.

In addition it is necessary to pay attention to the modern condition of workload intensity distribution in a lifetime of a concrete worker. At present maximum income is gained during a certain, short enough lifetime at the age of 28—45. Social capital of this group is very diverse. In our opinion it is caused by environmental conditions, their changeability and the necessity of quick adaptation. For most people it is possible only at a relatively young age. In this period workers try to use their capabilities at the most and besides social capital they expend all their resources (mental, intellectual, physical) to gain income. This also impacts ambiguously on the creation of their human capital.

We suppose that we can make conclusions about creation of human capital in the modern Russia and also work out specific methods to build-up human potential of the country only if we study the actual economic relations of employers and employees as well as the degree of impact of social capital on both of them. At present the problems, connected with development of human capital and considered as priority in the public policy, are very topical for the whole international community, including Russia. «Carrying out of institutional reforms, providing stable and dynamic development of human capital» is mentioned among the main crisis management measures of the Russian government [7]. Analyzing alternative suggestions, we can mark out the following. While studying the raw dependence of the Russian economics R. Nureev considers development of human capital to be the main alternative. The author is guided by Human Development Index dynamics. As an example he refers to the successful experience of some countries (e. g. Indonesia), where extra-income was redirected to the global educational reforms [6]. Unfortunately, he doesn't consider the impact of social capital.

I.E. Diskin, analyzing post-socialist transformation of economics, suggests studying social capital in view of social organization contribution into production. The main proposals of the researcher are in the assessment of «reserve» of mechanisms of balancing of production, economic and social interests of economic agents. To increase human capital of the country the author suggests transforming Russia into «the world technological center on production of test and pilot samples of «high-tech» products and technologies» based on fundamental scientific achievements [4]. The idea is certainly interesting, but at present the results of the first stage (study of balancing mechanism «reserve») haven't been received.

The well-known economist M. Delyagin, studying the process of human capital restoration, focuses on the system of education, criticizes the Russian system and suggests creating complex system of continuing education, which will make people competitive at the labor market even at the age of 60. It is interesting that the shortcomings of the education system, in his opinion, are reflected also in poor creation of social capital. «As it was during the Soviet time, the skills of communication and cooperation with other people were practically not imparted to the younger generation» [3]. In general, M. Delyagin's suggestions are close to us and some changes in the system of education take place now (change-over to the Bologna system). However, in our view, due to the large-scale and complexity of the reform there should be more diversified public discussion and a package of proposals thoroughly worked out. Analyzing this point of view as an alternative, it should be noted that we focus mostly on economic relations of employers and employees, occurred under the impact of social capital, belonging to each of them.

The theory of social capital developed thanks to Bourdieu P, James S. Coleman, as well as such foreign researchers as Robert D. Putnam, F. Fukuyama. The most economic definition belongs to James S. Coleman, who determined social capital as an instrument, permitting to use economic principles of rational behavior [1]. Among researchers of the CIS countries it is necessary to mention S.M. Klimov (social capital as a part of human capital) [5], R.M. Nureev (the idea of social capital as a substitute for the raw capital) [6], A. Kolot (the problem of low income in creation of human capital) and etc.

However it is necessary to note some peculiarity. In Russia and in some CIS countries the theory of human capital became widespread with implementation of economic reforms, i. e. in the time of deterioration of many social characteristics. We suppose that due to this fact human capital in the Russian economics is often interpreted close to definition of «human potential», accepted by U. N. O., i. e. as a set of factors: health and lifetime, education, income level. Therefore proposals to increase expenses on social programs and measures are reasonable. Such proposals per se are very valuable, but it should be noted that human capital in the works of founders of this conception is assessed through capitalization of income flow of an individual and study of this process means analysis at micro-level. As a result at present many Russian scientists mix the concepts «human capital» and «human potential», where the first one is practically not studied. There are some developments in the modern theories of motivation because of the micro-level analysis. However, here the matter is human potential (in this case — firm), not the income of an individual.

We suppose that we can make conclusions about creation of human capital in the modern Russia and also work out specific methods to build-up human potential of the country only if we study the actual economic relations of employers and employees as well as the degree of impact of social capital on both of them.

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RESULTS OF MONITORING RESEARCH OF RUSSIAN EMPLOYED CITIZENS' ON THEIR TIME-BUDGET USE IN 1986—2008

The research that was conducted in 2007/2008²⁸ by the Department of Daily Activities and Time-Budget Use Studying (Institute of Sociology of Russian Academy of Science) has been oriented on getting actual present-day data about urban population's time-use. This research essentially was the fifth wave of time-use monitoring in Pskov, the first one was performed in 1965 — the cross-national project in which 12 countries participated²⁹. The population of Pskov was chosen to be the subject of inquiry because its socio-economical characteristics had much in common with average characteristics of Russian urban population. The primary purpose of the research in 2007/2008 was the determination of main tendency in the time-budget use structure, measuring of daily activities' duration for different social groups of population. There is the presentation of main trends in time-use of Russian urban population.

The time-budget of urban employed population in 1986 and in 2007/2008,
hours per person per week

The main groups of daily activities	1986	2007/2008
Men		
1. Work and related time	50,5	51,8
Paid work	43,5	44,8
2. Domestic work, child care, purchasing of good and service	14,6	18,7
Total work load (1+2)	65,1	70,5
3. Private needs (meals, sleep)	68,7	66,6
4. Free time, inc. leisure time	34,0	30,9
5. Others	0,2	0,0
Total time	168,0	168,0
Women		
1. Work and related time	45,5	48,7
Paid work	40,0	41,7
2. Domestic work, child care, purchasing of good and service	27,0	31,2
Total work load (1+2)	72,5	79,9
3. Private needs (meals, sleep)	69,5	64,6
4. Free time, inc. leisure time	25,7	23,5
5. Others	0,2	0,0
Total time	168,0	168,0

²⁸ The leader was T. Karakhanova.

²⁹ The leaders were G. Prudenskye, V. Patrushev, B. Kolpakov, A. Parfenov

We have noticed different trends in the duration of daily activities and in the structure of time-budget of urban population during the period of reforms in Russia. After comparing amount of time spent by urban population on main groups of daily activities in 1986 and in 2007/2008 we have observed that the most significant changes took place in the duration of total work load (the total time spent for paid work, domestic work, child care, purchasing of good and service). The share of total work load in week time-budget of urban employed population has increased from 39 to 42% for men and from 43 to 47% for women. This increasing results mostly from growing of amount of time spent altogether on domestic work, child care, purchasing of good and service. Consequently the share of time for privet needs and free time has decreased. But there are different gender trends: men have decreased mostly the share of free time and women have decreased mostly the share of privet needs.

There is great difference in the total amount of time for domestic work, child care, purchasing of good and service for employed men and women, but this difference has changed from 1986 to 2007/2008. So in 1986 the ration of time used for this group of activities per one woman and per one man was equal to 1, 8, in 1997/1998 — 1, 7, in 2003/2004 — 1, 4, in 2007/2008 — 1, 7. More then half of total time for this group of activities both men and women spend on indoor domestic work and outdoor chores (including gardening). Women spent for these activities in 1986 about 60% of total time for domestic work, child care, purchasing of good and service, in 1997/1998 — 67%, in 2003/2004 — 67% and in 2007/2008 — 60%. Men increased significantly time for these activities to 2003/2004; the percentage of time for these activities was 49% in 1986, 60% — in 1997/1998, 78% — in 2003/2004, 55% — in 2007/2008.

Since 1986 for the last 22 years amount of time, free from paid work and unpaid work in housekeeping, has decreased for employed city dwellers: for men at 3,1 hours per week (on 9 %), for women at 2,2 hours (on 9 %). Now the amount of free time consists 23,5 hours per week for men and 30, 9 hours for women. Besides decreasing of total amount of free time there have changed the proportion of time and value of various leisure activities. First of all it expressed in evolution of the attitude of urban employed population to such daily activities as sports and active leisure which help to restore forces and improve the state of health. For men the duration of this group of daily activities decreased up to 1998 then it not only has been returned the lost positions, but also there has been an increase in time spent for sports and active leisure (4,9 hours per week in 2007/08 and 3,5 hours per 1986) For women there was observed the continuous growth of expenses of time for these activities, but then in 2003/04 there was fixed the reducing and then to 2007/08 also is fixed as well as for men rising till 3,7 hours per a week, i. e. up to a level even slightly above than it was in 1986. Thus during the period from 2003/2004 till 2007/2008 there are fixed the highest expenses of time for sports and active leisure for all period of reforms in Russia.

From 1986 and up to 2003/04, there was a trebling expense of time for men and doubling for women for study and increasing of qualification. During 2003/04—2007/08 women continued to increase the amount of time for these activities (from 0,4 hours till 1,0 hours per week), contrarily, men decreased it from 3,1 hours till 2,3 hours per week, but, nevertheless, there was fixed that men spent for education in two times more time, than women did. The share of expenses of time for mass-media in structure of employed population's leisure has essentially decreased (from 55 % in 1986 to 40 % in 2007/08 — for women and from 60 % up to 39 % — for men). Despite of the tendency of reducing of expenses of time for mass-media, about 2/3 of this time is spent for watching TV. It is equal to 7,6 hours per week per man and 6,7 hours per week per woman. However, time for TV is also decreased. Reading is included in structure of mass-media. On this kind of activity for employed men and employed women it is necessary 16—19 % of total time for mass-media, accordingly 2,0 and 1,8 hours per week, i. e. approximately the fourth part from time of watching TV. The great difference in value of watching TV and reading for urban employed population is obvious.

Social communication takes the second place in structure of a free time after watching TV; it is from 31 up to 36 % of leisure time. To 2007/08 expenses of time for communication have increased four times for men and twice for women. Communication basically is consisted of conversations in a circle of family, with fellow workers, colleagues on study and also visiting and other meetings with friends. Data testify that for women a degree of an urgency of communication is below than for men.

Is it possible to speak about an event of some improvement of use of the decreased free time? Apparently, it is possible, as from the point of view of increasing of time for leisure activities that have restoring and developing function. At the same time, for the last years there has amplified of intensity of time-budget and structurization of activity for employed women in comparison with men. It has led to deterioration of qualitative characteristics of time- use by women. Alongside with it, an attribute of the positive tendency is growth of a share of time for child care and upbringing in structure of household activity for working women.

Lyudmila N. Mordisheva, Penza

TRADITIONAL LABOR BEHAVIOR DOMINANCES RECOGNIZED BY RUSSIAN EMPLOYEE

When speaking of the valuable basis of labor behavior and its formation it is important to remember, that the traditional dominance manifests itself together with the innovative dominance in the people's mind. Both traditional and innovative dominances have their positive and negative aspects. Besides the necessity for bringing out the positive potential and its development, it is also important to have a clear notion of the negative traits, characteristic of some particular society. The formation of the traditional labor ethics of the Russians was affected by many factors: climate and nature, religion, socio-historical conditions and others. Severe climate, difficulties in settlement and the necessity to cope with the agricultural work in the limited time period made the concerted work necessary and obvious. Collectivism prevailed individualism and it became the ideological basis of the nation. Neighbors, relatives and community participation were gaining some particular meaning. A community united the efforts of all its members thus making concerted work the integral part of life in the society. Striving for humanity and mildness, establishing personal relations and one's ability to cope with it affected work relations. It should be noticed that the mutual assistance of Russian workers is based not on the rational comprehension of common interests but on the emotional relations, this fact can be explained by a person's membership of the collective. This phenomenon is called «communication diffusion».

At the same time, the position of aiming at mutual assistance brought up some passivity, inertia in decision making in the worker's mind, it also brought up tolerance for irresponsibility, lack of discipline and tolerance for those who failed in discharging obligations. The negative consequences of the group cohesion are: uniformity in developing ideas and ways for problem solving, tendency to average and lack of criticism. Furthermore in such a group the willing to have good relations often predominates the professional responsibility. Nevertheless the Russian collectivism is called mobilized, it is not only the highest moral value but it is also an essential self-preservation factor. Difficult living conditions give rise to the sense of danger which unites people, creates prerequisites for the constructive concerted action. A person needs support among society and realization of the common idea.

Religion played a vital part in the process of the formation of the valuable labor behavior basis. The following dominances of the Russians' labor behavior were formed under the influence of this circumstance: the specific attitude towards labor; a strong

striving for mutual assistance: an appeal to humbleness and non-importance of the economic laws obeying. The special attitude towards labor manifested itself in the fact that the Orthodox Church deprived labor of its elevated origin, poetics interpreting hard labor as the Lord's punishment for the first sin. Phenomenon of labor was understood as persistent and logical difficulties. The work sphere within the Orthodox Church was considered to be earthy, separated from the great values; therefore success in business was not approved by the society. By tradition a Russian worker is not aimed at earning much money. Initially not property and wealth accumulation had sense for a Russian worker, but calm and righteous life that could guarantee eternal salvation and good name among fellow villagers.

The traditional work ethics is characterized by moderation. A Russian worker is led by the idea of sufficiency, he is not inclined to overwork in order to get more than his idea of sufficiency implies. Money for the majority does not mean the accumulated work and the base for the further work; it is just a means to meet the basic needs. Even today labor activity is associated with the means of earning income, every philistine thinks that here is the predestination and the value of work, thus a consumer treatment of work is created. The orthodox canons stating «Help your neighbor» support the ideas of community and collectivism. One can observe the position of intense striving for mutual problem solving. One more feature of the Orthodox Church which is reflected in labor ethics is an appeal to humbleness, it became a principle. The process of self-actualization of the Russian nation got through patience and humbleness, not struggle and protest. As a consequence a Russian worker is characterized by passive perception of the reality, he takes the position of an observer, not that of an active participant. Undoubtedly, not all the workers strive for the infantile behavior, but nonetheless the majority has to take this position declared by the orthodox tradition. Nevertheless, the Russian nation is traditionally characterized by unpretentiousness and persistence in defending its own interests even in the most difficult situations. The Orthodox Church opposed the material world with the spiritual one; this point of view determined some certain dualism in the workers' behavior. As far as material success was opposed to moral values, the economic laws violation was not considered as a deadly sin. Despite the fact that a Russian is ready to make a fortune in a dishonorable way, he never puts a high value on the material wealth [1, 79—83; 2, 32—33].

A Russian worker is not characterized by a high degree of responsibility, he is not well disciplined, and he is inclined to start work with some delay. Nonetheless in a case of emergency a Russian worker can toil far more than intensive. Everyday incautiousness explains disregard for scrupulous planning. But the unique ability to cope with any task having not enough resources for that determines the positive dominance of the labor behavior. One more factor which influenced the basis of the labor behavior formation was a crystallized socio-historic experience of the generations.

The turns of the Russian history contributed to the lowering of the part, labor played in the value system. Any changes such as introduction of the law of serfdom or declaration of the universal labor liberty were followed by the forced law observance, which was not taken as moral and just. As an instance, the non-economic compulsion which flourished in the 20—30ties of the twentieth century firmly convinced the Russian nation in the thought that «labor» means «working not for oneself» [3, 61]. Such an attitude depresses enterprise, commercial seed and initiative. The laws accepted within numerous reforms didn't correspond to the collective ideals and morals; therefore a willing to break the law was invariably widely spread. It was stated in addition that all rules had exceptions. All the traditional labor behavior dominances of the Russian population, described above appear as stereotypes and mind-set, they are not absolute and they are not spread everywhere. Nonetheless, the labor ethics of the Russian population which has been formed for ages has become an integral part of the mind. On the whole the traditional labor behavior dominances of the Russian population are: collectivism and disregard for the economic laws. A Russian worker can be urged to start labor activity and put laziness aside through «taboo» system or if one has in his disposal enough resources for control and compulsion.

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STRUCTURE OF RELATIONS IN SYSTEM OF SOCIAL OPERATION OF BUSINESS

Social management as a phenomenon inseparably linked with stable public structures which during certain time samples of organizational culture can transmit from generation to generation. These structures are the social organizations, reformative social management from unconscious activity in public institute. So, V.N. Ivanov considers social management of a product of the social organizations [3] to which it is possible to carry and really functioning industrial enterprise. The essence social management is expressed by D.G. Gorin in two aspects: «first, management as the characteristic of dynamics of the depersonalized and formalized social systems, secondly, management as social process of set of human relations which though are built in hierarchy of statuses, nevertheless introduce the important random factor, individual originality and the subjective understanding advanced personal-psychological, socio-cultural, mental and civilization features» [2]. Thus the major function of social management is realized by means of inclusion in administrative activity of the most presented people at different levels of a control system.

The essence of interactions in social management is rather precisely opened by one of founders of the theory of social management of V.G. Afanasev. In his opinion, the person is the subject of administrative activity and though any human activity is subjective, it at the same time and is objective, as administrative effect is directed on any object. And the object is with what the person inter-acts that resists to the subject in its activity that will be transformed by the person in the course of this activity [1].

Many aspects of administrative practice it is advanced by method of realization of the purposes and functions of management, preparation and practical realization of administrative decisions. According to V.N. Ivanov, administrative practice bases on set produced by historical experience, scientific knowledge and talent of people of skills, abilities, methods, means, expedient acts and actions of the person in sphere of management [3]. The major aspect of administrative practice consists in its intellectual character as in the course of development, acceptance and practical realization of administrative decisions the condition and a current of public processes can be changed, and in the end — consciousness and behavior of people. The second aspect of administrative practice is information. Management practice is based on search, selection, processing and the analysis of the social information which advances expediency of administrative activity. The third aspect deals with that administrative practice represents the most complicated is social-psychological phenomenon with a strongly pronounced dominant of will. To the people presiding, it is necessary to make a considerable quantity cogitative and the acts of will connected with the analysis, an estimation, decisions, submission and performance, command and the control. To administrative practice such components as pressure of will, the responsibility consignment, discipline, submission of individuality are inherent in the purposes and management problems. Without these

components influence of corrective actions on consciousness and behavior of people in the social organizations will be ineffective.

It is necessary to notice that social management and management are not identical concepts. Management — process more difficult and multidimensional is social, it is shown in symbiosis of «the social facts» (E. Djurkgejm) and «artificial samples of organizational culture» (V.I. Franchuk), that is natural and artificial social interactions. Thus the enterprise as the object of management, along with many factors of an environment is the artificial sample of organizational culture. Fastening and transfer of samples of organizational culture occurs within the limits of hierarchical, spatial, communicative or information diffusion of innovations. V.I. Franchuk discriminates three types of fastening: informal (natural), formal (official) and mixed; more often in practice the mixed type prevails [4]. At the same time, S.S. Frolov considers that «the artificial organization represents system of communications and the social roles, created according to the certain plan, for achievement of definite purposes, is characterized by rigidity of internal links, stability in relation to external influences, strict fastening of role functions to each status taken by a member of the organization» [5]. In practice the given formulation of the artificial organization is more applicable to the enterprises of sphere of large business.

In the course of administrative activity subjects of management, controls and subjects of activity enter administrative relations which can be divided on two parts: connected with one's purposes and motivations, the information analysis, statement of problems and the organization actually their achievements. Administrative relations reflect exclusive complexity, representing unity objective and subjective, and are realized in activity of subjects of management. In system of social management of the industrial enterprises the structure of such relations is many-sided enough: only in intra-firm interactions it is possible to advance relations of centralism and independence, a subordination and coordination, responsibility, competition, etc. In the course of activity which is realized in organizational relations, interaction with collectives of people is carried out, specialization in certain subjects, the contents and kinds of works that requires cooperation with the purposes of complex realization of the competence of controls and as a whole realization of functions of management takes place. Formal construction of structure on divisions and posts creates only external logic scheme for organizational activity which each time, with allowance for properties of concrete people, should be correlated with informal (human relations and social groups). According to V.N. Ivanov, underestimation of informal relations in administrative practice, the support of chiefs only on own will or an inner circle leads to loss of potential of management, reduces its efficiency [3]. Besides relations of a subordination of type «chiefs-subordinates» are present coordination or relation relations between members being at one level the organizations directed on the mutual coordination of actions, proceeding from joint problems of a management or performance.

Formal the controlling mechanism relations are only at the initial stage of activity of the enterprise: the period of registration of firm, working out of the charter, duty regulations, a set of employees. At this stage the natural organizational culture as informal leaders and self-management have not appeared yet is not generated yet. However through advanced time the indicated attributes of the informal mechanism inevitably arise that can lead to the conflict of legitimate and illegitimate management. Thus an error of some chiefs is application for legitimating of management of methods western «menageries» (dismissal of informal leaders, rotation of shots, etc.) Other erroneous way is aspiration of chiefs to regulate process of self-management which always is natural. The chief should use natural organizational culture along with formal methods for the purpose more efficient control. In achievement of reasonable balance between these methods the management skill consists.

Thus, distinction between management and social management consists that in the first case interactions in the enterprise as socio-technical systems (in technological, formal and informal subsystems), in the second — all set of external and internal corrective actions are considered basically. At social management the ultimate goal of management mediates specificity of approaches to the analysis of administrative

relations and is advanced as improvement of the quality of life of chiefs and workers of the enterprise, their well-being, perfection of a way of life.

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PROBLEMS OF LABOR MOTIVATION AND WORK STIMULATION IN ORGANIZATIONS

Any activity of the organization is directed on the satisfaction of needs not only society as the whole, but also its individual elements, and it is formed on the basis of valuable orientations. In general, the action of the person is based on various reasons, and goes on a definite object, resolves some kind of problem, expresses some kind of relation of the person to the surrounding world. For an organization's success a company management should provide effective actions of social groups and certain workers. For this purpose it is necessary not only to provide functional work loading of groups and workers, but also to create them indispensable conditions, and also to cause the desire in them to commit those actions which approach the organization to the goal achievement. Because of this the company management must perform rather important function — the creation of conditions for workers' motivation and its realization on practice.

It's represented that the motivation in the organization can be treated as impulse of the members of organization to the action. Also, on the one hand, the motivation represents impulse, which was imposed on individuals from without, and from the other hand — it is internal one or self-motivation. The dual nature of motivation consists that the behavior of groups and the person in labor process is defined on cooperation of the various external and internal incentive forces, among which the stimulus and motives should be assigned first of all. The stimulus is represented as the external reason inducing people to the activity, and the motive acts as an internal incentive force. If the stimulus is evident, it can be planned or can be cancelled beforehand, and if the motive is hidden, his action often can be unexpected for onlookers, because of his being deepened on instinctive impulses, inclinations, necessity.

At the same time stimulus and motives are very closely associated with each other. The process of stimulation of activity of a member of the organization is such influence on its behavior which includes in the sphere all the requirements, interests, purposes, aspirations and motives. Therefore, the stimulation basis is represented as the interaction of external conditions and internal structure of the member organization personality. Stimulation is realized through the creation of the conditions, which change a labor situation, to cause the worker's desire, and the aspiration to the effective activity. The key factors of prompting people to work, or motivation are the significant factors of a social and objective environment (stimulus) or a stable requirements, interests, and valuable and the other aims, believes and etc. which are the basis of the person's incentive motives to work.

Work stimulation (from Latin stimulus 'a peaked stick by which animals was adjusted') is a system of moral and material encouragement, a compensation for labor effort. Stimuli are external factors to work, and the main ones are still money. They concern the form of indirect influence on person's behavior, as opposed to direct ones — the command, the order, the task, norms, — which concern elements to the compulsory work management. However,

labor in collective is difficult to divide into similar factors especially that the normalized task is usually connected with the wage charge, which is concerned to material stimulus.

Motivation (from Fr. motif 'incentive') of work is the impulse to the active labor activity, based on satisfaction of the person's important needs, such as a recognition, self-realization, belonging to the socially significant group, career growth, and etc. Motives are the internal factors closely connected with values, as if they grow on their ground. The process of motive formation (or motivations) to the active labor is very difficult and for the present neither psychologists, nor sociologists haven't studied enough this phenomenon. But it does not prevent to build quite efficient motivation systems which are preceded from simplified understanding of the essence of this process. Simplified, or rather — abstracted from the other futures — «the economic person» and «the social person» underlies the western motivation concepts, though nowadays this abstraction raises the doubts of the theorists and of the management experts. The majority of authors, considering a problem of the meaning and the sources (bases) of motives formation, include in them needs, aims, functional person's conditions, that is that potential, both physic energetic, and the intellectual aspect, which this personality possesses, and also external incentives (stimulus). In general necessities are defined as a care of individual in guarantee of means he needs and in conditions in own existence and self-preservation, and aspiration for steady balance with vital and social habitat. There are a range of classifications of the human wants and their basis is: specific object (subject) of human wants, their functional purpose, a kind of realized activity, etc. It is possible to allocate three levels of motivation: (material, cultural, social), it depends on what kinds of requirements are priorities on some phase of the vital and work behavior. Requirements, aims and values are the bases of them, and they are connected with social and economic reproduction of the person and his family. The following motives are included here:

- 1) the motives which guarantee the vital blessings by means of which the prime and most important social requirements are satisfied; they are connected with a material interest, and with orientation to earnings;

- 2) the motives of calling reflecting the person aspiration to connect the labor activity with a certain occupation; essentially this orientation is connected with the interest and by satisfaction of labor activity;

- 3) the motives of prestige express the worker's aspiration to realize his social role, and to occupy deserved social status.

The second group of motives is connected with the realization of the social norms which are adopted by the person. It can be socially significant values which firstly are set by socially economic system and the cultural-historical environment as a whole, secondly, by concrete collective or organization, and thirdly — by concrete professional group. Among motives of labor behavior in this relation civic, moral-patriotic, ideological and political motives are allocated. Last years under the influence of the Japanese experts' a great attention is directed at national-cultural and even to the religious values, which are realized in various cultural environments and which are the basis for very effective motivational work management.

The third motive group concerns to the choice of the individual a wide range of the social and professional purposes, and the optimization of life cycle as the worker. These are the motives of social and professional mobility, age adaptability and etc. All listed motives and requirements, anyhow, are reflected, systematized and studied in various theoretical concepts of the labor motivation which final main task is the creation of effective motivation systems and work stimulation at the enterprises and at the organizations. Their goal — is to involve the worker in the organization, to carry him with work, with enough high earnings, try to convince him of its importance for the organization and for a society, to protect from apprehension and from consciousness of defenselessness before the impersonal public system.

2.3. BUSINESS AND MANAGEMENT IN A TRANSITION SOCIETY

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CONTRADICTIONARY RELATIONS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND PROFESSIONS IN RUSSIA: SOCIOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The stumbling block for Russia is the inability of the civil society to exert control over the public administration. In the country's history there have been only short spells of time during which the society could seriously influence the decisions made by the public administration. In the XIX century there have been several periods like that:

- The initial stage of reforms carried out by the emperor Alexander I who engaged part of the noble clerisy in the public administration reform definition;
- The 1860-s reforms implemented by the emperor Alexander II who also involved the clerisy as experts in the various aspects of the economy, education and public administration reforms.

It should be emphasized that both attempts to involve the civil society in the social and economic reforms process were inconsistent and incomplete. The representatives of the civil society were regarded by the authorities either as experts specialized in a specific field and technocrats; or as fighters against the rigid public administration system. In practice, without the support from the elected institutions the public administration system exceeded the power of the reformers.

If Alexander I reforms affected only a small part of the population, the reforms by Alexander II provided the first opportunity for the development of the civil society on the basis of the elective principle. The county councils (*zemstvo*) were the first examples of the civil society after many decades of almost total absence of opportunities for civil initiative. Representatives of various social groups were involved in the county councils activity, but the most active participants were representatives of the clerisy — doctors, lawyers and teachers. Thus, in the county councils function professional communities showed themselves as independent groups with their own civil values and ethics. Many of the elements of the professional ethos of doctors as individuals fulfilling public duty were accurately described by the Russian writers Chekhov, Veresayev and a bit later Bulgakhov. By the time Nicolay II came into power, the importance of the county councils (*zemstvo*) has decreased; but the activity of professionals as individuals defining social policy has revealed itself quite clearly. Firstly, the county statistics has been developed. The statistical data gathered in the counties (*zemstvo*) made it possible to carry out effective planning of the local social policy. Secondly, the county council activity proved that there is an opportunity to implement social policy in Russia (construction of schools, hospitals; agricultural and technical assistance to peasant households) without the participation of the public administration, but through civil initiative. Thirdly, the operations of many of the county councils showed that they are efficient managers in the social policy sector and can serve as a better alternative to the public administration.

A new impetus to the development of the civil society was given after the first Russian revolution in 1905 and the creation of the State Duma. Reputable representatives of professional communities — university professors and lawyers — became the most notable liberal participants of the Russian parliament. By 1917 the professional associations of lawyers and doctors in Russia became powerful civil organizations, which influenced to social policy. After the October Revolution in 1917 and the Civil War the repressive and ideological pressure on the professional communities has increased.

As a result, by the end of 30s professional unions and organizations fully integrated in the soviet ideological system and the soviet system of public administration were created (the Union of Writers, Union of Architects, Union of Painters, etc.). They had little opportunity to actually influence the current social policy. At the same time, these professional communities often encouraged measures aimed at exerting institutional control over the sphere of their professional activity. In this way, professions tried to monopolize their respective field of activity. This trend was especially recurrent in the activity of communities in creative spheres — the Union of Writers, Union of Composers, etc. Members of these professional unions were granted priority in the publication of their works. Professional communities of lawyers and doctors were kept under the state control and were used as a tool to exert ideological and administrative pressure over the representatives of these professional groups. Hence, during the soviet times a unique framework for the regulation of various professional activity spheres and measures for the social policy implementation have been developed between professional communities and the public administration. In the mean time, professional communities retained the possibility to influence the social policy implementation, but could do it only in return for political and ideological loyalty to the soviet regime. Apart from that, certain professionals were used as experts on a consultative basis.

Unfortunately, the situation with the role of professional communities in the context of social policy formation did not change after the disintegration of the USSR. Of course, some of the professional communities were granted certain degree of independence (attorneys), but others proved not to be ready to become full-fledged representatives of their professional interests in the society and in the process of the social policy definition and implementation. New occupations (managers, ad makers, PR specialists) formed their own professional associations that would lobby their interests, but from the institutional point of view these systems are very weak. Social policy specialists believe that effective social policy is established only as a result of cooperation between various stake holders including the public administration, NGOs and professional associations. For a long time professions were the conductors of the state social policy in return for loyalty and monopoly over professional activity field. The relations between the public administration and professions can be described with the terminology of M. Foucault: the use of the professionals expert power by the state for the monitoring and implementation of the social policy in return for the loyalty of professionals and certain privileges granted to professionals. The demographic social policy in the J. Stalin's times can serve as one of the examples of this kind of cohabitation in the social policy sphere; when doctors (gynecologists, pediatricians) were used by the state as a tool to realize measures aimed at increasing birth-rate. Another example is the, so-called, «retaliatory psychiatrics» in 1960—80s; when a psychiatric diagnosis became a way of the political persecution of the dissidents. Thus, the analysis of the genesis of the social policy under the influence of the public administration and professional communities in the USSR and Russia is a topical subject of research.

The professional system of the USSR and Russia to a certain extent reduplicates the institutional structure of the public administration organization. The legitimating source of the majority of professions is the state; and professional communities are quite similar to the public administration in character. In this respect, professions in Russia are an example of the Continental professionalism model in its radical form. Looking back, the sociology of professions proposes two existing models of professionalism: the Anglo-Saxon and the Continental. The Anglo-Saxon implies that the professional communities are independent from the state and serve as self-organized social groups. Professional communities regulate their activities independently: monitor their own labor markets, the system of vocational training and practice. At the initial stages of the development of the Anglo-Saxon professionalism model, it was assumed that professionals are self-employed businessmen, independent from the public administration. The Anglo-Saxon professionalism model implies very strong organizational units: associations and unions. The Anglo-Saxon model can be found in Great Britain, USA and some other countries. The Continental professionalism model implies that professional communities are highly

dependent on the public administration. The state is an important source of the legitimating of the professional authority; and it intervenes in the professional communities' activity to a great extent. Apart from that, a considerable number of professionals are involved in the public administration as civil servants, which heavily limits their professional autonomy. France and Germany are examples of the Continental professionalism model. Russia also serves as a radical example of the Continental professionalism model. This determines the role of professionals in the elaboration of the state social policy; while in the Anglo-Saxon model professional communities initiate and promote social policy and seriously influence it, in the Continental model professionals are engaged in the elaboration and the implementation of the social policy as experts with limited authority. However, up until now practically no research devoted to the cooperation between the public administration and professional communities in the process of the social policy implementation in Russia have been carried out.

A.G. Antipiev, D.N. Zakharov & N.N. Zakhatov

ABOUT THE TRANSITION PERIOD IN THE RUSSIAN SOCIETY

Specialists as well as theorists do not have a common opinion concerning the content of the term 'the period of transition of modern Russian society'. According to E. Gaidar's opinion 'transition period' is «... a period of social recession, a fall of gross domestic product, disorganization of economic links, financial crisis, financial stability, the beginning of reconstruction period, launching of the capacities created during socialism...» [1, 1]. One cannot help but agree with such an explanation of the essence of the term 'the period of transition'. This approach to analysis of the modern conditions of the Russian society and prospects of its development is extremely primitive. In the Soviet society there was a struggle against the remains of the past, considered to be the main drag in communism formation. The representatives of today's Russian liberalism do the same, struggling against the remains of socialism, not putting a question if these remains are necessary and inevitable elements of a postsoviet capitalism. The famous American sociologist and economist I. Vallerstein fairly notices that orthodox liberalism is replaced by orthodox Marxism [2, 13].

In our country the second point of view concerning the transition period is that this kind of period hasn't come to the end yet. There are far more supporters of this point of view than those who stick to one position. The fact is that the transition from one social model to another is a difficult and contradictory process, and it can't be turned into the economy only, no matter what it means to the society. To our mind the basic idea of 'transition period' is a systematic crisis of the society. Such a state (situation) is typical of modern mankind, developed and undeveloped countries. Today's crisis is an evidence of it. «Thesis of world and system analyses», — as I. Wallenstein writes, «is the capitalist world and system economics faces the crisis it had never had before. Capitalism as a historical system is far from being successful and victorious; it is in state of structural difficulties at present» [2, 13]. It is noticed that such a conclusion had been made by American researcher long before the beginning of the world financial crisis, where the USA was in the centre of attention. Such a conclusion was also made by the great researchers and representatives of business-community. Thus a famous Russian analyst, supervisor of the institute of globalization problems, M. Delyagin in 2004 considered that 'the society can stand the situation'. But by 2008 'qualitative transition' will come to the end.

Most researchers (authors also join them) claim that the period of transition in our society hasn't been finished'. There are enough arguments which prove it. Reforms started haven't been completed in any sphere of the society. The process of reforming is often chaotic and unclustered. The most troubled thing is that measures concerning

reformation of basic spheres of the society, its systems, structures and institutes are taken separately, without interaction with each other and taking into account social consequences of taking decisions. What's the reason of such a situation? There are many of them. We won't enumerate them. In our opinion, one of the reasons is the main one; this is an exaggeration of the economic role, financial constituent in reformation of the society. By the way it's important to add the reason of not mentioning the social and cultural factor. Social culture is a difficult complex term. It can be scrutinized in the broad and narrow sense of the word. In the broad sense of the word it is a penetrating into the culture of economics, politics, and social sphere. In the narrow sense this is synthesis of social relations and culture, demonstration of social essence of culture. In the social culture the degree of possession of cultural wealth, its production and reproduction and usage in the social activity of a person, who belongs to certain social group and the society in general. Hence, social culture is not only the culture condition, but also the process of activity through which social power of subjects are realized.

Thanks to culture and through culture 'taking down' of social features in economics, politics, ideological etc. Naturally, the feedback exists. Important factor of maturity of social culture is the ability of authorities, business citizens to cooperation, necessary condition is personal and mutual responsibility and high professionalism of all subjects of civil society which is under formation. Social culture existed in the Russian society is the unique phenomenon. In connection with creation of a new model of social development it's necessary not only to take into account this model but its development on a higher level, which could absorb great, positive native and foreign experience. Many West leaders mention high degree of adaptation of the west experience in our country on theoretical level. But that fact is this experience and knowledge are not used in full measure in practice. Great native experience is underestimated. As a result there is a serious risk of returning to the system of authoritarian and totalitarian type. Especially, examples of such practice become more. High level of citizens' estrangement from state and municipal authorities is a vivid confirmation. Situation becomes more difficult because of the problem of social and cultural development of our society which has a weak theoretical base, though there is undoubtedly a need in it. Difficulties emerge in creating appropriate mechanisms and technologies which could 'translate' theoretical researcher into the language of social practice.

Huge amount of difficult questions arise. For instance, why do the great parts of people seize the idea of liberalism? Who is most of our officials and businessmen's professionalism of a low quality? What is the reason of high estrangement of the society from authority? Why is the social culture in the development of the society underestimated? Does the society need ideology? If it exists so what kind of? It's easy to continue asking such questions. On the first sight the answers are simple. We'll comment on it sticking to thesis, by one example. In a new model of Russian social development particular stress lays on the development of individualism, emancipation of a person. Collectivism is criticized. It is scrutinized as the main obstacle in modernization of our society. We can refer to the experience of Western countries, especially the USA. However the real situation in modern countries is different. Not accidentally in the USA on the state level special programmes directed to the development of community consciousness of citizens are launched. Nowadays there is no pure conservatism, liberalism and socialism. The vivid confirmation of a tendency of increasing of correlation of classical ideologies is a concept of 'stable development'. The main lesson from clearly indicated failures in social reforming is that it's impossible to carry out public reorganizations on abstract theoretical formation without sticking to real ground which has inspite of economics and politics socialcultural, national and historical features. Our society is characterized by its devotion to collectivism in the system of life purpose of people. This fact mustn't be destroyed, but work for our benefit and benefits of development concrete individuals.

The fact mentioned above is an evidence of necessity of taking into account the social and cultural factor. In modern reality the conclusion of the outstanding German sociologist M. Veber is conformed. He points out that a person of Economics is the narrow concept. A man is a social creature with its concrete interests and needs. The more they

are taken into account in the union with responsibility of a man for his social actions, the stronger the success in the development of the society and a person in particular. The reasons of nowadays world financial crisis lie mostly in social and cultural sphere. The Russian authorities don't realize the fact. It's busy with distribution of money received at 'good' time, but not the development of real production which makes the crisis deeper. Thus it can be an obstacle for development of the Russian society and successful completion of the period of transition and entering more dynamic way of development.

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DESIGNING OF FLEXIBLE SOCIAL TECHNOLOGIES

Experts in the field of management agree in the opinion that the future is behind flexible, mobile and multifunctional structures of control systems, high-speed reaction to occurring changes and readiness of subjects to unexpectedness. Functioning in the difficult and dynamical social and economic environment within the framework of frequent deficiency of all kinds of the resources many social systems become complicated, dynamic and self-organized. Conscious regulation of self-organized processes for achieving the stable and sustainable development becomes the new administrative purpose. Stability of development is more and more provided by «anticipation functions» in the management structure, carried out by public intelligence. The role of the projective beginning in the process of society development is increasing which in a sociological context acquires the status of social technologies or social designing. It accounts for the urgency of designing adaptive, dynamic social technologies flexibly reacting to processes of self-organizing in social systems.

The characteristic feature of adaptive social technologies is constant accumulation of the information about the process and efficiency of functioning of the social technology itself, an environment and the object of technologization, self-organizing processes, optimization on this basis of administrative process. The optimality is reached because the idea of adaptive management is in the procedure of designing social technology, according to which social technology is pawned, operating as the loop with a feedback and provides a choice in each situation of the best variant of social system functioning in the sense of the set criterion. The social technology ceases to be rigidly determined, becoming the means and the tool of movement of social system to self-development, self-organizing and self-improvement that is the tool of advancing development of the person, cultivation of public intelligence. Such technology is directed to wards creation of favorable of living conditions and is the way to manufacture vital forces of the person, optimization of social spaces both at level of a social cage of a public organism — «social micro district» (S.I. Grigoriev), «social microcosm» (V.I. Patrushev), and at the level of society by means of formation of public intelligence (A.I. Subetto).

New social technologies, in the tideway of social synergetic, include methods, means and tools of self-development of social systems and its conclusion on such

аттрактор where its further functioning will finally and automatically included into the frameworks of optimum modes at the expense of the action of self-organizing mechanisms. The mechanism of working out and functioning of social technologies is carried out in two directions. On the one hand, socially-technological «corridor» of comprehensible society developments of social system is set. Within the limits of this «corridor» the social systems can realize various trajectories of self-development, provoking occurrence of new «dynamics qualities of social system functioning». On the other hand, in points of bifurcation in rather small (local) influence is initiated the necessary place and during necessary time. For this purpose the social system has started to be reconstructed and there appears a new level of the self-organizing, a new condition of system as a whole more or less steady social development in the conditions of revolting changes, both in external, and in internal public relations.

Social technologies act as means of softening evolutionary desynchronize (V.L. Romanov) between rates of technological and social development by means of reflexivity, ability to analyze a consequence, to correlate them to the past and the future «from the past to backlog, from the future — with an advancing», and also to be corrected within a developing situation. The new understanding of the subject of social action — the person as biopsychosocial beings in certain vital space, «culture-centeredness» of its abilities to live, formation and use of the vital potential by it, allows looking at the procedures of role interaction of the subject and object of social technologies in a new fashion.

More and more researchers come to conclusion, that interaction of binarities of a dichotomy of the classical theory of social management (the subject — object) makes «the third factor» in which contrasts are closely interfaced and contradictions of relations are resolved. The object of social technologies ceases to be only an implementer of the social programs developed by experts, the object itself becomes the subject, that is interference, interdependence form the subject-subject relations of social interaction in the form of operating and operated subjects. Technologization becomes interactive process. In this connection there are requirements to subjects of social technologies change. They should possess high socially-technological culture.

The socially-technological culture of managers the is a more or less steady pattern of base representations, values and procedures of organizing informative and converting activity, realized in the social interaction, focused on reception of optimum social result, achievement of the vital purposes, by means of self-organizing, disclosing potential (resources) of social systems. The idea of adaptability is pawned in the methodological procedure of designing of the social technology itself. Thus there are some invariable main principles of social technologies: aim those which the optimize the choice of means and performance methods; a rational partition of social process on stages internally connected between themselves, procedures and operations; the organization of the coordinated sequence of activity and management of social processes. Unambiguity of the social technology itself is lost, as in the process of its constructing the idea of dynamic designing of social technologies is pawned. The innovative approach consists in «reference point» and formation of the socially-technological corridor stimulating formation of public intelligence. The process designing of social technology is being developed not from the beginning to the end, and from an end resulting to the beginning. Similar procedure leaves freedom of chore for the subject, at the same time it outlines «an optimality corridor», setting thereby borders technologization. At the same time of allows complementary coexistence in modern social technology of the rational and irrational, routine and creative, collective and individual, standardized, standard and free, provides overcoming of social entropy, fast and effective achievements of socially-converting activity of people, including reception synergetic effect.

SOCIAL IDENTIFICATION AND MODELLING IN ORGANIZATIONS AS THE TOOL OF ANTICRISIS STRATEGY PLANNING

A special feature of contemporary world development is closely connected with the fact that the countries and world regions in the modern history have faced such a deep and worldwide financial and economic crisis for the first time. As many authoritative scientists (N. Rubini, P. Krugman, N. Taleb) state crisis has a systemic character and can be rather long and heavy in consequences. The matter is that its cause is not so much in tactical errors of the finance administration but it has also been brought about by not easier overproduction of the goods, and system imbalance of the world development, certain exhaustion of possibilities for economic growth based on traditional factors.

Under these conditions there is a real danger that authorities of different ranks and activity fields will prefer struggling against crisis by means of purely financial measures of a short-term character. To overcome these current crisis organisations of any level (small, medium-sized, or large enterprise, region, and country) will need new approaches. The frequent use of sociological methods seems to be one of such innovative approaches involving principles of modern strategic management. In our opinion the 21st century successful organisation management will be concentrated on the long-term balanced account of two main groups interested in this activity — external (consumers) and internal (personnel) as the fullest satisfaction of one group cannot be reached without corresponding satisfaction of the other and its involving into the process. Therefore it is necessary to note the tendency in changing management paradigm of the organisation which has been observed in Russia in last years (Chart 1).

Special attention should be given to the human potential of the organization. Economic situation providing certain (favorable or aggressive) background for its activity and the results of this activity are primarily caused by internal factors controlled by employees of the organisation as all organizations are placed in almost identical environments but operate in it in different ways. Consequently, the essential share of the reasons interfering with effective long-term development of organizations nowadays is defined by the human factor and belongs to the sphere of psychology and lack of knowledge in the field of modern technologies of management (including sociological ones).

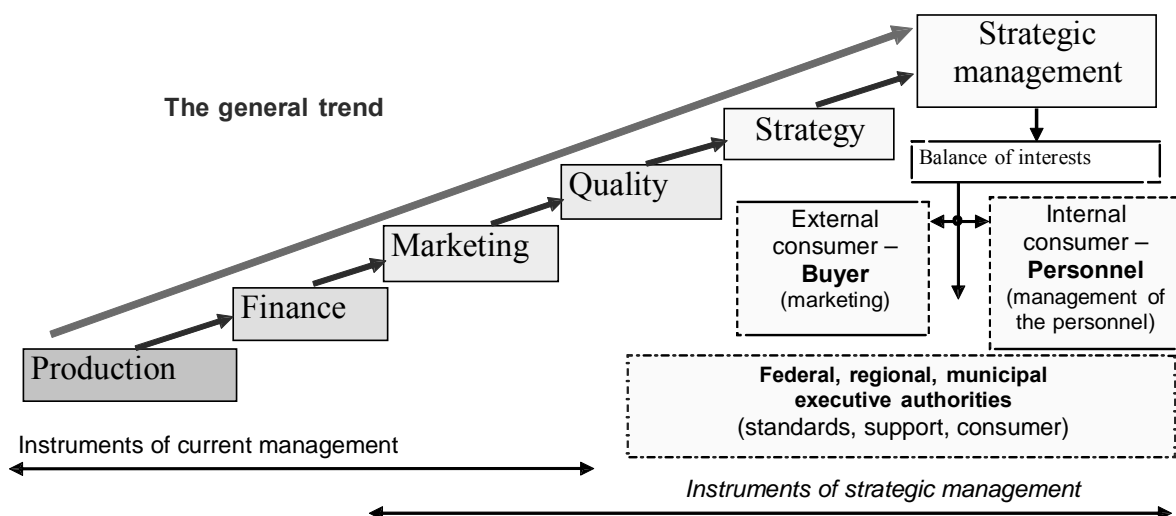


Chart 1 — the Tendency of displacement of the boss's attention at management of the organisation (in Russia 1991—2009)

By now neither technologies nor money (even under the conditions of financial crisis) makes up the main problem, but a man does, being a unique problem and a key source of modern economy simultaneously. Being an integral part of the wildlife, the person plays a special role in it. He is not only the life carrier but also the owner of the reason the essence of which consists in goalsetting and creative design transformation of the world based on one's viewpoint. A strategy for a man is the way to struggle uncertainty of the future. In our opinion a steady system growth begins when people have long-term economic plans. The growth will not take place, if they do not realize their own goals set by means of full understanding of being united by a certain dominant. It is activating human energy and increasing the labor qualities that are able to provide effective organisation development in modern dynamical and turbulent conditions. Moreover, as well known Russian sociologist A. Neklessy writes: «at the heart of modern organizational forms lies the union of the vigorous persons possessing access to financial, organizational, technical, technological levers. The main distinctive sign of the modern company is the synthetic approach to human activity, combination of economic, political, cultural and ideological problems that allows to solve each of them much more effectively at the expense of reached synergistic effect. It is already faster social humanitarian, rather than economic education fancifully uniting different vectors of human activity».

In our opinion the basis of such approach has been put forward by the European socially-administrative schools of thought not only in business management sphere (managements at the enterprise), but also the government. So, the well-known German person introduced the concept «the social state» into a scientific world, studying the state, L. Stein in 1850 [1]. Its treatment of concept of the social state has further been supported by J. Ofner, F. Naumann, A. Wagner. In our opinion, in many respects because of traditional attention to a social factor in management and to universal values, EU now has suffered from the crisis less, than the USA or Russia. The successful overcoming of the crisis will be based on even a greater account of social factors on the basis of the system and synergetic approaches. In our opinion success of any organization can be reached under the condition of formation of the qualified and rallied administrative team, and also of obligatory associations of top-managers' efforts and collective, concentration of efforts and mobilisation of creative potential of collective achievement of strategic targets. For this purpose strategic targets should be known to the group (personnel), understood and accepted by its majority. Requirements to the head-leader of the organization has been especially increased under the present conditions, with them the special role and responsibility correlate. Above all the manager of new time is the highly cultured, highly professional patriot of the organisation. In our opinion to leave crisis successfully (instead of to wait till it's over) organizations should create new social atmosphere with an orientation to interests of the society is created can only. In the last years the European companies have actively switched to the model of the socially-focused marketing and management: from hi-tech to human-tech.

Under the conditions of the crisis the major problem of business managers and high-ranking officials is to study anti-crisis programs and the direct debt of the leader — trust and optimism distribution. The head, in S. Berlusconi's words, should act as «an optimism conductor» without losing the chosen strategy of development in struggle against the crisis. This is especially true for Russia. Considering backwardness of our industry, an aggravation of competitive struggle, to win it, to be pulled out from a vicious circle of problems it is possible only, applying not only financial levers, but also all power of ideology, not financial motivation of the employees which in many Russian organisations is still denied as «a vestige of the USSR». Now mutual understanding between the employees, and especially the management of the organisation, is of critical importance, in the present competitive environment only the companies which are ready to surplus loads, superachievements and fulfillment of breaks will survive. The possibility of it is proved by historic examples when in minutes of danger, through collective and super effort, rallying the victory in obviously failure situations was reached. The spiritual impulse is one of the most powerful jacks of the lack of material resources. We will notice that without the will of the head to perform according to

the defined plans, without his ambitious aspirations to glorify and the organizational strategy, it despite the perfect construction, becomes «non-strategic» because it loses some «fuel» — the power of the leader of the organisation and to realise it it will be completely impossible. The head without testing «drive» cannot be successful itself and cannot lead the organization to success. In each organisation creation and cultivation are necessary for ideology of effective growth based on mutual social responsibility of the state, business and citizens. The effective sociological tool for maintenance of the given position is represented Forsyth's technology in. The social identification of the worker of the organisation (the inhabitant of region) as a member of this organisation, based on understanding of the benefits from participation in it and the high role of success of the organisation inevitably leads to associating itself with the organisation, to growth of loyalty, self-return, social interaction. As result, the display of a positive synergy in the organization is observed. And the strategic planning supported by effective corporate culture, realised on the basis of the chosen model, in turn forms expedient model of behaviour, providing positive social identification of the employees performing the function of mobilization and collective association in a uniform organism on the basis of social programming.

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CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY: CONCEPTS & METHODS OF ANALYSIS³⁰

The phenomenon of corporate social responsibility appeared in the second half of the 20th century. An influence of big corporations and companies on living of local communities and environment began to worry the society.

The World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD³¹) gives the following definition of corporate social responsibility (CSR): it is an obligation of business to contribute to sustainable development, labor relations with employees, their families, local community and the whole society to improve the quality of their lives. CSR is somehow a spread of methods of environmentalism³² on the activity of a company. In this sense an environment doesn't mean only an ecosphere, but also a social environment, and it is necessary to develop a responsible attitude both of common people and corporations towards this social environment. CSR is a new ideology. Practically it means a renunciation of the neoliberal concept of development. «Greed is good» was a popular phrase among businessmen of 1980s. The concept of CSR opposes its ideas to this ideology, and it establishes a basic priority to be followed by every company; this priority is a responsible attitude towards environment.

But another term which is used in different documents of consulting agencies and among businessmen is corporate social opportunities (CSO)[1]. The supporters of this term believe that CSR has too many restrictions, for instance not to pollute the

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³¹ WBCSD is for The World Business Council for Sustainable Development. This association unifies more than 200 leaders of the biggest companies around the world.

³² Environmentalism — a philosophical concept which underlines the importance of influence of the environment to people's lives and activities.

environment, not to disregard the employees' suggestions, not to use nonrenewable resources.[2] This term correlates with traditional idea of the most important aim of any company which is to gain profit. The term «corporate social opportunities» is somehow a variety of the company's activity which does not correlate with gaining profit directly, but potentially in future, it concentrates on social and ecological initiatives. This concept is considered to be a new stage of logical evolution of CSR. By the way this substitution is an attempt to integrate some elements of CSR into the old business model, having removed responsibility from this concept, which is considered to be its nucleus.

Moreover the results of companies' top-managers inquiry shows that CSR is not regarded as a categorical imperative, actions following to the universal moral law. The majority of companies use CSR to attain some definite aims. According to the survey among top-managers, government officials and members of scientific community held in 2008 by BSR together with Cone, the basic reason for companies to join CSR is reputational benefit. The other reasons can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. «What is driving CR today?» (Research by BSR/Cone 2008)[3]

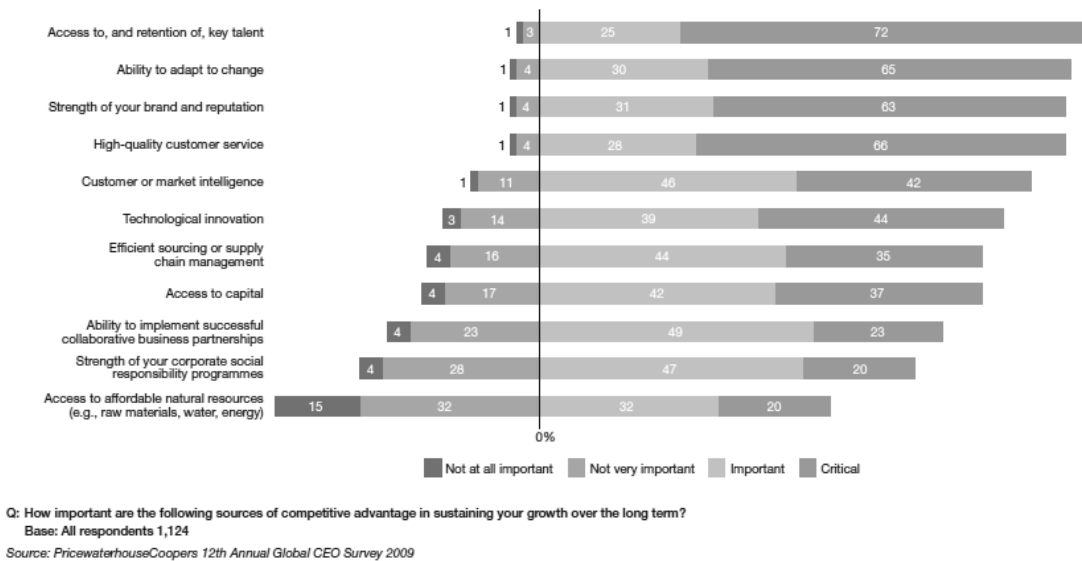
Reputational benefits are increasingly important.	84%
Stakeholder ³⁴ demands are increasing.	80%
There is increased pressure to show a return on investment.	76%
Long-term cost savings or efficiencies are major drivers.	75%
Our corporate responsibility initiatives are driven more by company values and mission than by bottom-line impacts or other factors.	59%
Corporate responsibility is increasingly seen as a driver of innovation.	57%
Corporate responsibility initiatives are less of a priority today.	12%

According to this table among businessmen the term CSO (corporate social opportunities) substitutes practically the term CSR (corporate social responsibility). A lot of scandals in big corporations doubt the authenticity of the sincerity of their authority. The wish to conceal the company's real economic position from investors, state, employees and consumers led to the crisis in such corporations as Enron, WorldCom, Vivendi-Universal and others. Another example is the scandal in the company Apple. Bad working conditions of Chinese employees manufacturing the worldwide famous MP3-walkman iPod are discussed by public. Despite all the company's efforts continuing for many years to make their consumers consider it to be a social responsible company, this scandal shattered seriously the public image of the company [4].

One more very important proof of functional side of CSR is widespread practice of transnational companies to organize production in those countries where the workforce costs are the lowest. Beside cheap workforce civil society is worse developed in such countries; the legislation is less demanding there, and there are a lot of other factors which provide corporations with important competitive advantages. While putting its production in developing countries, corporations are not eager to provide local communities and employees with such social assistance as they do it in developed countries. They also are not eager to provide with the same standards of protection of environment. While taking into account the interests of the West society, corporations implement freely social and ecological initiatives, but while working in the markets of developing countries, some of these corporations resemble social responsible companies very little. While trying to increase charges, such corporations refer to the fact that local partner companies, providers and others are responsible for these infringements. But according to the

³³ Stakeholder is a party in interest, (literally) the holder of interest. A person, group, organization, or system that affects or can be affected by an organization's actions

principles of CSR a company should work with its providers, persuading them to accept the social standards and rules. A pursuit of attractive image of a company eclipsed all other priorities, and usage of the visual attributes of CSR at the same time caused the critical attitude of stakeholders to the today's interpretation of the concept of corporate social responsibility. Besides CSR is criticized from another side, companies themselves are dissatisfied with it. According to the data of the world biggest companies' leaders survey which was carried out by the company PricewaterhouseCoopers, the perception of CSR is deplorable (Picture 1) [5].



Picture 1

In spite of this a lot of international organizations and governments take an active part in promotion of the concept of corporate social responsibility. To inspire the development of social and ecological initiatives, substitute terms are frequently used now. First of all these terms are «corporate citizenship» and CSR 2.0. Corporate citizenship is a mutual dialogue between business and society, which is important for successful development of business and prosperity of the society, as these processes are dependent and one can't be without another. But the fact which draws people's attention is that according to the definition of the term only a necessity of collaboration of business and society is important for economic development of this business. By this fact we can discover the absence of obligations and acknowledgement of responsibility once again.

The principle advantage of CSR 2.0 is improvement in communication, mutual creative work, and ability to accumulate people's knowledge and opinions, quick search of information in the Internet. And this let stakeholders play more important role in business. By the way this model of CSR is slowly integrated into business processes because it is objectively opposite to business aims principles. However, big companies which are interested in their image improvement will use social and ecological initiatives in their PR strategies. In situation of global economic crisis many social initiatives can be transformed by the government into laws. On the whole even the discussion of social and ecological responsibility in society (at the level of government and international organizations) formulates some norms of behavior in business, fashion and tendency to correspond somehow to the stakeholders' expectations. In prospect it should influence positively and lead to a real integration of CSR into a company's activity.

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BUREAUCRACY AS A SOCIAL BASIS OF RUSSIAN DEMOCRACY

Such qualified expert community as National Investigating Council of the USA in the beginning of Putin's democratic revolution confirmed that effective centralization in modern Russia was impossible including the reason of «deficiency of competent and disciplined civil servants».³⁴ How far is this evaluation adequate? What is bureaucracy in Russia? And what role does it play in the modern Russian Federation? The trust for it has not changed in principle since 1990-s. According to the public opinion polls the power as «weak and helpless system» is considered by 20% of Russians. 29% of Russians think their power to be «inconsistent». The Power as «bureaucratic» is considered by 39%, «alien to nation» — by 42%, «criminal» — by 62% of people in Russia. Moreover imperious opportunities of «bureaucratic» and «criminal» part have grown up much lately. In fact «Bureaucracy in Russia is the most socially got up group, — it exploits less organized class of owners using notorious administrative resource. Civil service «business-schemes» foresee the participation in it of such group which can be divided into those who has an access to budget resources and those who lost this access. It's interesting a civil-servant in Russia is a usual owner...»³⁵

Political philosophy of today's fusion of «power» and «criminal» Russian oligarchies is simple. It is a geopolitical isolation of the Russian Federation in order to continuation of their activity and preservation of democratic front. There is such political regime in Russia today which can be characterized as democrature (imperious elite admits pluralism and political competition, but only in that degree when they don't threaten its interests). Democratic forms are unacceptable for those states whose urge problem is based on social inequality.

In result everything over-mentioned: «In the country oligarchs and the subjects of shadow attitudes influence greatly on political process; there are big varieties between rich and poor people, there are sweeping changes among young generations at the expense of gradual closing of channels of vertical mobility, there is no distinct strategy of development ... in economy; political institutions are out of trust...».³⁶ From the history we know: transformation of ruling elite into closed department and acquisition by it the features which were typical for medieval guilds (closed

³⁴ National Investigating Council of the USA. Global tendencies in human development till 2015. Yekaterinburg, 2002. P. 96.

³⁵ *Muhin A.A.* Newsy-Lubyanka-Kremlin. Project-2008. M. 2005. P. 15—16.

³⁶ *Halilov T.A.* An opportunity of realization of «orange script» in Russia for a middle-fixed period perspective//Culture, personality and society in modern world: methodology, experience of empirical research. Yekaterinburg, 2007. P. 29.

circle of interdependency, high degree of formalization for getting position, absence of competition, etc) has never given positive results. It is necessary to agree with Toshchenko S.K. in fact that Russia doesn't have political elite. It is more a caste or a special group. By the way, this «closing» of new elite gives evidence about aspiration of group ..., caused evidently not only rational thoughts, but serious psychological complexes, and continues to dominate over abilities of political ruling. The expressions «no strategy» is nominal nowadays. In this time 88 per cent of population has serious problems with purchasing of consumer goods (it is accepted by people who cannot do it in general). According to the data in the period from 2006 to 2008 a share of people behind poverty line has grown up in 1,5 times. A half of population is simply poor. In spite of rabid income in Russian budget getting from growth of prices for energy resources, great efforts were undertaken against real growth of middle class in the Russian Federation. World economical crisis didn't change anything new for this situation. Crisis will make worse tendencies which appeared without it. What is position of Russian democracy in such situation?

Bureaucracy is a factor which makes a system, especially taking into consideration cultural and historical peculiarities of our country. Any person who knows Russian history will agree to this statement. Moreover modern Russian bureaucracy is enough well-educated to understand her meaning. Events of last years stimulate her self-importance. It is enough to look at the leading staff in regional and local departments of ruling political party to be convinced: this party has exclusively bureaucratic character. Great size of civil-service army makes social base of the power enough wide. The staff of assistants in Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Emergency states, Ministry of justice and Public Procurators Office consists of 2226 000 people. The workers of custom-house, tax-service and other inspections are 1492 000 people. The staff of Federal Security Council and other special services comprises 1458 000 workers. Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other state departments have 782 000 assistants. Other federal departments have 1695 000 civil-servants. Deputies and technical assistants in the Government comprise 1370 000. The civil-servants of checking and giving license organization and others have 1371 000 workers. Clerks in pension, insurance and other funds are 2218 000 people. These data are out of account of regional, municipal and local leading staff.

How much is this army effective? Today in the Russian Federation there is no sense to speak about even the imitation of effectiveness. About a quarter of a million children are considered lost without trace. The number of homeless children is more than in the period of Civil War. The gap in the levels of life between inhabitants of capital and population of provinces reached such position which is suitable for state in front of disintegration. Russia is on the second place in the world in amount of multi-millionaires and in one of the last places in the standard of living. About 6 million people are involved into organized crime. A million from them is active. According to the data of Ministry of Home Affairs organized crime controls today about 40% of Gross Domestic Product, more than 80% of banks, about 40 000 enterprises, almost completely the sphere of service and about a million of trade firms. According to the data of «INDEM» fund headed by G. Satarov the mean value of trick given by a businessman to a representative of power grew in 12 times. The average volume of corruption in business grew in 8,5 times. The economists and experts from the Ministry of Home Affairs confirm that there were not fields without defeating by corruption.

Thus there is a sense to speak about all-round criminal milieu, which is supposed by many people not to be changed with the help of some laws or repressive methods because Russian society doesn't have real forces for their realization. Thus the social structure of Russian society continues to be difficult and problematical. The defects of economical model having been used since 1990-s, are not overcome. In some indices the situation made worse. According to this the social exertion will grow. The factors of crisis are almost in all subsystems of modern Russian society. In such situation the most critical moment can be growing of exertion in any of these parameters.

2.4. PROFESSIONS AND PROFESSIONAL GROUPS IN NOWADAYS TRADES

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RUSSIAN DOCTORS: SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND STRATEGIES FOR ADAPTATION

Introduction The political changes of the 1990s and the subsequent economic problems that occurred as Russia sought to restructure the economy have destabilised existing institutions. These difficulties were exacerbated by the devaluation of the rouble in 1998. The political events themselves have been well documented and commented upon in general terms. However, their impact on the lives of particular sectors and groups within the population is less well covered in the literature. Apart from studies of medical practice in Moscow and St Petersburg, this is particularly the case with women medical practitioners.

The process of privatization of medicine in Russia started in 1985 when some of the medical institutions were put on a self-financing basis. In 1993, the privatization of state medicine was legally underwritten in the 41 Article of the Constitution of the Russian Federation. It gave the green light to all kinds of private initiatives; however the conditions of accreditation and the regional elite's attitudes towards the introduction of private practice varied from one region to another. As a result, the de-monopolisation process towards a mixed market in health care with private as well as state run services unfolded in various regions at a different pace.

This section reports selected findings from the INTAS-funded research project *Russian Doctors: Social Attitudes and Strategies for Adaptation*³⁷ conducted by the Institute of Sociology in Moscow and the Faculty of Health and Community Studies at De Montfort University in Leicester, in consultation with the Institute of Occupational Health in Helsinki. The research aims to investigate the background, work situation, and the attitudes and values of medical practitioners' in contemporary Russia. We are particularly interested in two things. First, in finding out whether Russian doctors felt they exercised autonomy in the work place, whether they looked to their medical colleagues for support or belonged to associations to protect their interests. In Anglo-American sociology, these are taken as attributes of professional practice (Freidson 1970, Larson 1977). Second, we also wanted to investigate the economic resources of doctors, their sources of income, particularly from private practice. Some recent small-scale studies have shown that, at least in certain geographical areas, private practice has increased in response to the changed political and economic conditions of the 1990s in Russia (see, for instance, Allsop, Mansurov and Saks 1999). Linked to these questions, we also wish to consider whether doctors believe that others valued their expertise. The project is ongoing and further data analysis is in its progress.

Research Methodology: The research project was based in three regions within Russia so that comparisons could be made in male and female doctors' responses in different areas of the Russian federation. The case studies were in Moscow, the capital, and a dense urban area, Kirov, a provincial machine-building city to the east and Komi province, an area dominated by coal-mining, oil and gas well to the north of the capital. The regions selected as the focus for the research were selected not as representative

³⁷ The research was undertaken under the sponsorship of INTAS-RHF 98—03—30002 a/1 and INTAS 1997, 1345

of Russia as a whole, but as typical of the regions in which the privatisation had been relatively well developed and insurance reforms had already had an impact on the differentiation of the social standing and attitudes of the medical practitioners. In the research, the difference between Moscow which was expected to be in the vanguard of reforms, and the provinces which were considered to lag behind as far as changes were concerned were reviewed.

The hypothesis was that there would be differences between doctors' working conditions and attitudes in the capital and those in the provinces, for the simple reason that Moscow was characterised by the concentration of financial capital, highly qualified medical help, and higher income. While the Komi Republic and Kirov were quite typical Russian regions with an average proportion of the medical practitioners, an average income of the population and diverse quality of patient care. The inclusion of the two provincial Russian regions also provided an opportunity to question doctors from rural areas.

The context of the research: Theoretical issues and the historical background: In Russia, as in other advanced industrial societies, medicine is an expert occupation. Russian doctors undergo a long training in specialised University faculties, and have been considered as part of the intelligentsia — an educated human resource within society. However, in Russia, medicine has been, and remains, subordinate to the state and has only at the margins been subject to market forces. In a study of professional/state relations in Britain, the United States and Germany Moran (1999) argues that historically, the professions have been differently affected by the state and the market. Russian medicine has been at the extreme pole of state control. Its social structure and stratification system is also different from that in many other countries.

In the latter quarter of the nineteenth century, these differences were not so marked as self-governing professional associations in medicine were widespread in Russia (Field 1957). However, professionalisation processes were interrupted by the October Revolution, when professional institutions were incorporated into the state. Subsequently, in the former Soviet Union, the state controlled the production, distribution, deployment and day-to-day practice of medical work with no countervailing power exercised by organised medicine (Field 1967). Although there has been some opposition from medical groups to some specific aspects of practice such as psychiatry, for example, this was defined as political dissidence rather than a legitimate ethical stance to protect patients.

Aside from state control, there have been other special features of Soviet medicine that have set it apart (see, amongst others, Raffel 1984). The division of labour includes a wider range of paramedics. There are less rigid divisions between different grades of staff and the boundaries between grades, or categories of practitioner, are more permeable. In terms of gender, a much higher proportion of doctors are women than in other advanced health systems and many of these work on a part-time basis. Other historical and geographical factors have also affected the development of the health system. The priority of the former Soviet Union was the industrial base and national defence as part of establishing super power status. In the absence of democratic pressure, no particular priority was given to access to personal, curative health care for the mass of the population, although it may have been for the party elites — a factor likely to have affected the general status of medicine. The size and diversity of the country is also likely to have inhibited the development of nation-wide organisations outside the party and state apparatus.

Selected Findings of the Research

'Feminisation' of medical profession was one of the features of Soviet physicians that set them apart (see, amongst others, Pipes 1961). A much higher proportion of professionals has been female than in other advanced industrial countries. This became one of the most particular features of the Soviet medical profession and was connected in part with state politics — insofar as there was a drive towards equal rights for all (Harden 2001). In 1917, 17% of doctors were women, yet by 1940 61% were women. From the 1950s the figure fluctuated around 65–70 percent (Ryan 1989: 38); whereas in Britain, only 29 percent of doctors are women (Crompton and Harris 1998).

The restructuring of the state of affairs in the medical institutions

The reforms have resulted in the differentiation of the medical institutions into three distinct categories:

- f state-owned institutions financed by the federal and municipal budgets and by the health insurance funds;
- f state-owned institutions with mixed financing partly covered by the state and the insurance fund and partly earned by the doctors in the self-financing departments;
- f private medical institutions. The latter are present in the market in the forms of joint-stock companies, foreign companies, joint venture, and in mixed ownership.

The group of state medical institution with fee-for-service payments deserves special attention. It is important to note that the prices for all types of medical services within this form of medical institution have to be negotiated with the Ministry of Health. The research showed that Moscow doctors are in an advantageous position as regards to the efficacy of the self-financing departments. The reason for this is the larger patients' demand for the services that are of better quality or beyond the scope of those rendered free-of-charge. Thus, the proportion of budget of the Moscow medical institutions that comes from fee-for-service health care is much larger than that in the provinces. Our questionnaire research showed that in Moscow, the profit of the self-financing departments comprises about 25% — 40% of the budget of the medical institution; in Komi and Kirov less than 10%.

Moreover, there is an observable distinction between the profitability of the self-financing departments within the same region. The status and opportunities of the outpatient and in-patient medical institutions differ greatly. (The proportion of women-doctors in the out-patient medical institutions is lower.) The questionnaire research showed that the in-patient institutions are better equipped and suggest a wider spectrum of medical services on a fee basis than polyclinics. This is except for some diagnostic centres which specialise in advanced computer and other types of diagnostics and so-called departmental polyclinics which render services for the 'eligibles' of different kinds, such as ministry workers, and leading military men. The outpatient medical institutions also face a problem of the lack of well-qualified doctors: a large proportion of the qualified specialists have left the primary care for the hospitals and departmental polyclinics, which have improved the composition of their labour force at the expense of the primary care sector. Moreover, respondents mentioned that new recruits, the graduates of the medical faculties, tend to choose a career within a medical specialism rather than general practice which gives less opportunity for private income.

Regional differences

Our findings show that it is only in Moscow that our respondents think that improvements in health facilities since the medical reforms have occurred. Almost half of the Moscow doctors reported that there had been improvements in the supply of technical equipment, its maintenance, and the supply of medical and other goods. In contrast, doctors from the Komi Republic and the Kirov Region said that there had been no improvements since the medical reforms. From their point of view, technical equipment and building maintenance have become dramatically worse and so has the supply of medical and routine goods. Overall, only one tenth of the provincial respondents said that the conditions of work have improved; while almost a quarter of those in Moscow said there had been improvements in working conditions. For the majority of medical practitioners conditions had stayed the same or even deteriorated.

Power resources of doctors

In the former Soviet Union, medical practitioners could not operate as independent professionals. However, organisational changes in health care and opportunities for private practice have possibly created the conditions for change in Russian doctors' standing. It may be that the medical profession has acquired greater autonomy. Our research investigated this by assessing the scope for participation for rank-and-file doctors, in or through the medical administration; in, or through, trade union activity; and lastly through membership of medical associations.

In the questionnaire survey, we aimed to assess what decision-making powers doctors felt that they had within their institutions. Overall, about two thirds (62%) of women-doctors said that their inability to influence decision-making in medicine worried them. The analysis of the questionnaire data also showed that women, especially, in primary care sector felt that they had little autonomy to make decisions in such areas as changes in working conditions, drawing up work plans and setting work pace. This may reflect the systems for payment. Primary health doctors are paid by the number of patient attendances at a level determined by the guidelines of the Ministry of Health. As the interviews showed, many doctors are discontented with this form of piece-rate pay. The prescribed number of visits often does not correspond with patients' demand for care or with the capacity of professionals to provide health care. However, Ministry of Health guidelines are a form of rationing system and difficult to alter.

Cultural resources of medical profession

We were also interested in the cultural resources of doctors as an occupational group. Cultural resources were defined as those that derived from the specialist cognitive knowledge base of medicine. We wanted to find out how women believed their knowledge was valued. Was it a source of respectability? Did they think that the occupation of medicine had a positive image? Were practitioners of medicine sufficiently well regarded to exercise influence over those who used their services and the wider society?

The results of the research showed that doctors were disappointed with the reforms of the state health care sector; however, they were not disappointed in their profession. Overall, 69% of the respondents were not disillusioned with medicine, despite the fact that 85% of them said that they were unhappy about their wage level. The majority of women (52%) defined their work motivation as motivation that did not depend on money: «I do all I can regardless of income». Nowadays still about one third of the respondents were ready to advise their children or other close relatives to follow a career in medicine.

Thus, doctors do not directly connect the issue of 'professionalism' and 'the quality of patient care' with the worsened economic position. The survey picked up the discrepancy between the medical practitioners' sense of unparalleled material shortcomings and rather positive estimations of the professional side of things. In general, the doctors have rated the quality of clinical work of their medical colleagues at a rather high level. The questions on the 'level of qualification', 'quality of medical help', and 'the opportunities to use one's knowledge and experience' showed a widespread sense among the doctors that despite all difficulties, that progress has been made in terms of the growth of professionalism. As the questionnaire survey exposed, the subjective self-assessment of pride in clinical work, professional knowledge and its applicability were rated high.

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SOCIAL STATUS OF MODERN INTELLECTUAL TRADES

Social status of modern intellectual jobs is designed not only by professional experts, but also by bureaucratic managers. The transition period to the market economy is characterized by great changes in any professional field. Concepts of prestige, status positions correlated with a trade, sociocultural stratification are being changed. Even at a level of daily consciousness it is clear, that the Russians have a total restructuring of priorities and activity motivations. The main reason is not only payment but cultural categories (objective, sense, correctness, an ideal, etc.). Sociologists have to reflect about updating tendencies of imperious and social status of the Russian intelligency. Researches of changes in social colleges and professional communities are being carried out; adaptation problems of such groups as doctors, teachers, and engineers to the conditions of the complex transition period to market economy are considered. Researches show how professional social groups are formed and structured, who defines the requirements to the professional knowledge, what mobility possibilities are given to professionals are shaped and how the skill level is corellated to their social and economic compensation.

What is the professional consciousness structure of a modern professional expert? Professionalism is important in all spheres of our public life. However there are destructive tendencies of the domestic market, including a labour market and trades: exclusive concentration of young people on high salaries, low prestige of classical trades, etc. They interfere into the creation of harmonious professional system. And steady adherence to professional culture stir the Traditional approach to professional culture as to the ideal concept «does not work». That is why it is very crucial to investigate trade and cultures, to analyze various approaches, methods, paradigms in a modern society. It is necessary to research the development of this phenomenon in modern Russia because it will help to understand the structure of professional culture and solve crucial social problems. While researching the phenomenon it is essential to take into consideration various sociological paradigms and different scientific directions in professional sociology.

We believe that professional culture undoubtedly can be compared to the dialogue, as well as culture as a whole: it both «inquires», and «answers». Thus, for the researcher it simultaneously should be both the subject, and object. From our point of view the professional culture represents system social formation, internally dramatic by the nature. Professional culture can be a system of values generated and shaped during vocational training and activity, as well as during historical development of a trade. There are also professional subcultures with their own structures and principles of functioning. According to some opinions talented people can have professional culture without any education and some educated people do not have any professional culture at all.

Thus professional culture is a complex phenomenon which requires further investigation.

RESEARCH OF STEREOTYPES IN SOCIOLOGY OF PROFESSIONS

Stereotypes, their nature and perception in the society have always been the object of investigation of psychology. It is connected with the fact that psychology mainly deals with human beings inner nature of cognition either in the condition of informational richness (that provides individuals vitality) or in the condition of informational vacuum. Stereotypes are inseparable part of everyday mental activity of a person. The theme of this research is the conditions of comfortable existence of individuals when they systematically use stereotypes in all stages of their life. It is worth stressing that in the mass consciousness there is belief that all stereotypes greatly influence the formation of all social processes.

W. Lippmann characterizes stereotypes as regulated schematic «pictures of the world» influence individuals saving their efforts in cognition, comprehending the complex of social phenomena, defend their values, status and rights. Not any social stereotype reflects a real situation. Stereotypes, their idea and content are formed with the help of active influence of mass media. They are definitely purposed in different social groups in their relation to social activity. This process becomes more complex if there are not any additional informative resources for the formation of social opinion.

Nowadays it is possible to think of various socio-psychological mechanisms that form certain cliché-ideas of professional activity. The image, the portrait of the representatives in different professions (their way of living, social activity, aims, results) is likely to be the main guiding line for a young man when choosing profession. As a rule the portrait is seen as a whole of three components. Typical personal features of the representative, the set of his competence and his vision of the social standing of his profession (the report is executed at support RSSF (The project №08—03—00028A). These components are formed in the course of time and they are inseparable elements of ordinary consciousness. No individual can value (appreciate) by himself all the variety of professional spheres only according to his personal experience or empirical knowledge of his close surroundings. It is stereotypes that accumulate some standards of collective experience and transfer it to individuals in the course of their socialization, education and communication. Stereotypes turn out to be unique vectors for individuals in their socio-cultural environment; they determine behavior and sometimes individuals' choice of profession.

The dynamics of intensive social development, globalization of cultural processes lead to the formation of similar stereotypes in different societies as well as similar perception and similar social patterns of interaction in various professional spheres. Stereotypes are always involved in the social process; they influence mass consciousness and determine wishes and actions of people, their social reactions. Stereotypes are formed on the historical socio-cultural basis. They are created and transmitted by mass-media (communication). They are hardly to be transformed or changed. The research of stereotypes in different kinds of professional activity in modern sociology is phragmental. In our case we understand the word «profession» in its wider meaning — «occupation». In the Russian scientific school «stereotypes of profession» are mainly investigated in two ways — separate profession, certain professional group in the context of everyday practice, customs, folklore of different professional milieu (according to Russian phenomenological tradition). The other way is to investigate professional communities, groups of specialists, their inner and outer transformations, professionalization in the context of socio-cultural changes in the modern society. However it takes serious theoretical and empirical consideration to study stereotypes in the structural — functional paradigm. We believe that it is necessary to answer the following questions: What represents the stereotyped image, idea of the certain profession to any individual? What are professional stereotypes for

the society, for various social groups, for professional communities, for the profession as a social institution?

As the high level of social interaction stereotypes are included as one of the factors into the social-professional stratification. These factors determine the prestige of some kinds of activity related to others, that influences status characteristics of any professional group. Most people know professions and their knowledge is social but not professional or technical. It is stereotypical image, portrait that influence or reflects gender characteristics of various professional spheres as well as their social meaning. Stereotypical ideas of certain professions are formed in the society on the historical basis and in the course of every individual growing up. Stereotypes become more significant as far as the development of definite profession is concerned. They play a decisive part in the process of groups' interrelation. Any professional has always been categorized as a member of definite community and accordingly certain expectations are formed in the society about certain individual and his sphere of activity in certain community. Very often stereotypes make some damage to a particular profession because the information of a profession is not true or irrelevant to the real situation. Sometimes stereotypes intrude the inner sphere of a profession, for example, recruiting when managerial decisions are taken with the view of prejudice or stereotypical vision of an applicant as a person or as a professional.

Stereotypes that are considered to be an inseparable part of traditions may appear a means of constructing of social reality and ideas of a certain professional or group of professionals. So the idea of different professions gives grounds for the formation of interests in social groups and even for an individual. That also depends on the social status the individual has: professional-client. In the inner sphere of every profession there is its own set of stereotypes that is connected with the functional, instrumental and conceptional sides of activity. In this connection professional stereotypes become very important for any individual. Most people consider the world of professions in the terms of professional stereotypes. Moreover, it is stereotypes that influence the choice of profession and professional determination for young people. Very often young people are influenced by stereotypes with the reason popularity and prestige of the profession or the occupation if it is more preferable in their surrounding. Also young people are influenced by stereotypes of preferences image of professional (demands competences, social-demographics characters, etc.). Thus, the choice of profession or the educational institution is mainly dependant on stereotypes. Thus we can conclude that stereotypical images, ideas greatly influence on individuals determination in life, stereotypes are integrated in the formation of modern professional groups, they influence the activity of professional spheres, they determine the process of new kinds of professions and finally they effect the social demand. The research of stereotypes in sociology of professions opens new perspectives of finding out and studying their regularities and general tendencies that determine the institution of professions.

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AUTONOMY IN WORK IN DIFFERENT PROFESSIONAL GROUPS: TRENDS OF THE DECADE (1998—2007)³⁸

Autonomy in work is linked in this paper to the issues of flexible employment (flexibility). In Russia's conditions, flexible employment, that is, its size, roles and institutionalization — is insufficiently researched so far. Meanwhile, Russian situation makes for actualizing not only resources and potentialities of the flexible forms of

³⁸ This text is a part of author's article «Autonomy at work as a feature of flexible employment» (in print).

work organization, but also for character of this flexibility, its impact on various social processes, including evolving socio-professional structure.

My research of some trends in work autonomy as a characteristic of flexible employment in different professional/occupational groups has been made on the basis of the international monitoring survey «Social differences in contemporary Russia» (1999 and 2007 surveys have been made by the Institute of Sociology, Russian academy of sciences using comparable methods in an All-Russian representative sample). Three types of autonomy were analyzed (basing on self-estimates of workpeople) — in the contents of work, in its organization, and its total autonomy. Analysis thus made permitted to conclude that evolution of the autonomy types is changing during the recent ten years in characteristics of workpeople of different professional/occupational groups, as well as in conditions of their work and workplaces. Overall character of the changes in the structure of autonomy may be defined, as some traits demonstrate, as a transition from a state of crisis (1998) to a more regulated situation (2007) basically determined by the situation in the production units of government-owned property forms. Its various forms in different professional/occupational groups have been differentiated. In 1998 this question served as filter for classifying autonomy according to two types (the questions were repeated in 2007). One of them was articulated as follows: «To what extent can you determine the nature of a product or a service that you produce?» We defined this type as autonomy in the contents of work. Another question defined a degree of autonomy in time management of one's work: «To what extent can you determine the pace and time of your work?». In our research this type was defined as autonomy in the organization of work. Respondents were included in one of these groups on the basis of high evaluation of one type of autonomy and low evaluation of the other. Cases in which respondents provided high evaluation to both types were characterized as total autonomy. According to research data, during the recent decade autonomy at work has been considerably growing. And in 1998 it was quite a widespread evaluation of one's work: autonomy in general was acknowledged by 26% of employees, and in 2007 portion of such employees increased to constitute almost 40% among the working population³⁹. At the same time, changes in the correlation between the abovementioned types of autonomy are evident. The proportion of total autonomy has decreased to some extent: from 60% in 1998 to 51% in 2007. Simultaneously, autonomy in the contents of work increased almost to the same degree (from 22% to 30%). The group of respondents with autonomy in the organization of labor turned out to be the least numerous and more stable: its proportion varied from 14% to 18% in the years of the research.

Consideration of changes in autonomy by socio-professional groups⁴⁰ (this is, essentially, an integrated expression of specified characteristics of occupational status) opens one more perspective of growing autonomy and changing correlation of its types. Only one of socio-professional groups remained stable according to these characteristics — a group of specialists with higher education⁴¹. Only autonomy in the organization of work considerably increased in it. Probably, this is an indicator of this autonomy and stability of its regulators, on the one hand, and that of prevailing development in the group of flexible employment, on the other. In the rest of socio-professional groups the general trend of growing autonomy as a whole reiterated, with total autonomy decreasing and autonomy in the contents of work growing in its frameworks (see table 6). Changes in the group of managers and major officials are of interest. This is the most autonomous group in the sampling which is quite predictable:

³⁹ It means the total proportion of the economically active population practicing in their labor activity all three types of autonomy studied. At the same time in 1999 as well as in 2007 respondents gave practically the same positive answer to the general question: «Does your work permit you independent decision making concerning how and what to do and how to put your ideas into life?»

⁴⁰ Main socio-professional groups were singled out according to the methodology based on International ISCO-88 classification. Eight socio-professional groups were analyzed.

⁴¹ This group includes specialists in occupations requiring higher education and qualification in the sphere of science, technology, law, art, education, medicine and religion.

the general level of this characteristic of work constitutes 70%; growth of its autonomy was also quite considerable, but originated from growing autonomy in the contents of work, with the level of autonomy in the organization of work remaining unchanged. Simultaneously, self-evaluation of total autonomy was lowering considerably. It might be a sign of certain reduction of absolute power of chief executives at enterprises, typical for the 1990s, in favor of strengthened legal regulation of employment relations. At the same time it is important that growing autonomy involved the majority of socio-professional groups, especially, those of technical specialists and operators (it grew two-fold); even representatives of elementary occupations⁴² felt this growth (by one-half). However, as a whole, workers with both high and low qualification feel decreasing total autonomy accompanied by growing autonomy in the organization of work (autonomy in the contents of work remained practically unchanged). It also may be an evidence of strengthening flexible employment in these groups (similarly to that of specialists). Obviously, the flexibility in this group as well as in the group of specialists should differ both by forms and purposes of the organization of work. But, as a whole, it is these groups in which the need in growth and fixation of flexible employment primarily emerge. In these years, technical personnel with secondary specialized education (including services sector) has experienced, primarily, growing autonomy in the contents of work with simultaneously decreasing total autonomy. It might be a sign of functional flexibility growing in these groups, for instance, due to widening scope of functional responsibilities and activities.

Table 1. Changes in types of autonomy by socio-professional groups
(in % from the total group in the line)

Socio-professional groups	Total autonomy		Autonomy in the contents of work		Autonomy in the organization of work	
	1999	2007	1999	2007	1999	2007
1. Managers, major officials	79.7	63.7	6.8	22.5	13.5	13.7
2. Specialists with higher education	59.5	58.9	31.5	25.6	9	15.6
3. Technical specialists with secondary specialized education	59.2	49.4	18.4	29.2	22.4	21.3
4. Clerical employees	64.7	52.2	11.8	34.8	23.5	13.0
5. Employees in services	65	43.3	25	40	10	16.7
7. Qualified employees	59.5	41.4	33.3	37.1	7.1	21.4
8. Operators, assisting technical staff	60.9	50	17.4	35.3	21.7	14.7
9. Elementary occupations	33.3	22.2	41.7	44.4	25.0	33.3

On the whole, processes of regulation of autonomy have resulted in the situation when a certain privilege of a socio-professional status (by education and position) characterizes rather groups of employees with autonomy in the contents of work. The status of groups distinguished by total autonomy is, rather, declining. The status of employees with autonomy in the organization of work is remaining and, probably, becoming more characteristic of officials with low educational level and professional status. Social quality of trends in autonomy at work can also be revealed in changing

⁴² Elementary occupations consist mainly of simple and routine tasks which mainly require the use of hand-held tools and often some physical effort. Most occupations in this major group require skills at the first ISCO skill level (a primary education which generally begins at the age of 5, 6 or 7 and lasts about 5 years) (прим. пер.)

characteristics of employees practicing it. As a whole, two types of employees and two corresponding approaches of achieving autonomy can be distinguished. One of them was formed in the 1990s and prevails today. It considers autonomy at work as a resource which has been formed due to accumulation of other resources, an aim achieved in the process of adaptation in the years of crisis and helping to maintain favorable and even privileged socio-professional status. In their turn, two positions based both on authority (management of the enterprise or its separate levels) and on high professional level can be distinguished in this approach. Typically, processes of change (regulation) of total autonomy involved, primarily, professional groups with high status (top managers and officials) while leaving the situation practically unchanged in groups of specialists with higher education (professionals).

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STUDYING THE ACTIVITY OF PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS OF TRADITIONAL MEDICINE IN MOSCOW

Within the limits of our study which has been made in three large regions of Russia, in Moscow 10 experts and 25 specialists of traditional medicine and healers have been polled. Doctors have noted that they or consist in professional associations, or know about their existence, or now undertake the certain steps for their creation. Thus, a large number of associations have been named: «Moscow Professional Association of Manual Therapists», «Public Association of Reflex Therapists», «Russian Homeopath Association», etc.

One of the doctors working in the system of Ministry of Health and Social Development and being the President of one of the associations of manual therapists, has told in details about what questions can independently solve his association: «Our Moscow Association will create a certifying commission, it will be independent. Its basic purpose becomes certification which will confirm qualification of the doctor. Besides, there is a problem as Ministry of Health and Social Development raises a salary of the specialists after own certification. After our certification the doctor only receives acknowledgement of the level... To spend certification we have taken the basic requirements of the Ministry of Health and Social Development, and our positions are even more rigid».

The expert from Institute of Phyto-therapy so has stated to us the point of view concerning creation of association: «We now work at a problem of creating association or a society. Such association is necessary to solve the problem on our position in the system of the Ministry of Health and Social Development. Besides, value in the dialogue is also great. Now we run conferences. It would help to be engaged in this activity even more actively».

A group of reflex therapists, the members of association, have noted that, in their opinion, it is necessary to create such associations where all the branches of traditional medicine are presented. Then there will be an advantage of their activity: «The only thing that, certainly, is impossible to do — to create highly specialized associations because the reflex therapy is good in any branch... If we shall work in isolation, even less will know about it».

By estimations of respondents while a role of associations is scanty. All marked that the decisions of the association have recommendatory character. Association is not the real defender of the rights of the doctor.

Having analysed the received results we have come to conclusion, that it is necessary for us to find such association where all the branches of traditional medicine are presented, and to try to study its activity — and we have managed it. At studying activity of the «World Association of Psychologists, Doctors, Spiritual and Folk Healers» such methods as the participant observation and analysis of documents have been used.

Participant Observation

The given method has been applied during work of the Symposium, Practical Conference and Congress in 2008. Symposium «European Commonwealth — Uniform Space for Professionals of Traditional, National Medicine, Psychology and Healing in the Service of Humanity» has passed in the end of January — beginning of February of last year. Symposium was held in a holiday house «Svetlana» in the Moscow region, and we had the opportunity not only to attend sessions, but also to live together with specialists of traditional medicine and consequently to conduct observation over them almost around-the-clock within a week. Participants of the Symposium represented not only various regions of Russia, but also the countries of Council of Independent States, Baltic and India. After sessions we met with healers — they have accepted us in their community and relations were very kind. Among the participants of a symposium 48% constituted traditional doctors, 30% — psychologists and 22% — spiritual and folk healers. In the evening they exchanged experience, spent master-classes, demonstrated methods of improvement of an organism, elimination of negative consequences of communication with clients. We told them about our study, work of healers in the western countries, especially how they build the mutual relations with the state, doctors of official medicine and consumers of services.

At sessions of the Symposium participants not only have heard 25 reports on the newest achievements in the field of traditional medicine, but could take part in carrying out the master-classes in all branches of traditional medicine. Upon termination of work of a symposium all participants have received diplomas for outstanding achievements in the field of spiritual education, doctoring of souls and human bodies, affairs of mercy and charity.

In the end of June of 2008 there has passed Scientifically-practical Conference «Psychology of Health». Participants of Conference were representatives of various regions of Russia and also the countries of Council of Independent States, Baltic and India. Conference was spent in Moscow, and we could meet healers only prior to the beginning of sessions, during sessions, in lunch breaks and after sessions. From conversation with healers we have learned that they live in different places in Moscow, and they do not have opportunity of communication in the evening, therefore they exchanged recipes, practical knowledge and various methods of healing during work of the conference. During breaks some healers have conducted the following master-classes: treatment by dances, treatment by the improving exercises strengthening a backbone, and disclosing of power channels of the person — an obligatory condition of normal operation of an organism.

At sessions 20 reports on the newest achievements in the field of traditional medicine have been made, and the following master-classes: methods of bio-information diagnostics in medicine and national healing, work of the healer in a legal ground, practical advices of the healers on improvement of an organism have been also performed.

Congress «State-and-Legal Aspects of Activity of the Specialists of National Medicine» has been conducted in first half of August of 2008. Participants of Congress were representatives of various regions of Russia and also the countries of Council of Independent States, Baltic and India. Congress was spent in Moscow and has been directed on how to help specialists of traditional medicine legally competently build the mutual relations with the state, orthodox doctors and consumers of services.

At sessions of the Congress reports and master-classes have been made on following themes: urgent questions of the protection and rights of specialists of traditional and national medicine, independent medical examination on the guard of health of the person and work in traditional and national medicine, recommendation and certification of specialists, legal aspects of activity of specialists of traditional and national medicine, preparation for recommendation and certification of specialists of traditional and national medicine, prospects of development of traditional and national medicine in the Russian Federation, Europe and western countries. Upon termination of work of the Congress all participants have received certificates for outstanding achievements in formation of traditional medicine of the world.

Analysis of Documents

We had been studied the following documents: Charter of the organization, the forms of members of association, plans of running actions for 2007—2015.

«World Association of Psychologists, Doctors, Spiritual and Folk Healers» performs the activity in the market of medical services since 1990. Nowadays, it totals 11,200 specialists. Constantly there is a rotation as someone leaves association for the different reasons (from non-payment till exception for gross infringements), and someone enters association. In the gender aspect men constitute 30% and women accordingly 70%. Among specialists of traditional medicine doctors make 43%, psychologists — 17%, spiritual healers — 15%, folk healers — 25%. On an educational level: with higher education — 70%, without higher education — 30%.

The plan of running actions for 2007—2015 includes 21 items: scientific activity, preparation of specialists, increase of a professional level and skill, running of symposiums, congresses, seminars, conferences, schools, trainings, master-classes and so on. In first half of February, 2008 training seminar named «Christian Practices in Healing Soul and Body», the first and second steps, has been held for the spiritual healers. In the end of April of 2008 the seminar-training «Psycho-technique of the Changed Conditions of Consciousness» has been held for healers. The participants of a seminar-training can receive the recommendation for the introduction into the higher elite of the Higher European Academy of Prospective Sciences after M. Nostradamus to pass trainings in the Centers of the European Union and western countries. Then training seminar «Psychological Practices» has been held for psychologists and healers. In the beginning of June of 2008 seminar «Christian Practices in Healing Soul and Body 'Art of Doctoring of Soul and Body'» has been organized for spiritual healers.

The association has concluded the agreements with the state higher educational institutions on professional retraining of specialists of national medicine and healing. Now all wishing healers get the higher psychological education. In addition, a question on mastering by a new profession (more correctly *occupation*) in healing «Business in Sphere of Psycho-correction Services and Healings» and getting of the state diploma has already solved.

The sanction to work of specialists of national medicine is a diploma of the healer. The association helps healers to get such diploma in the system of the Ministry of Health and Social Development and in the further adjusts work of healers.

In comparison with other associations, the World Association of Psychologists, Doctors, Spiritual and Folk Healers, in our opinion, is the real defender of the rights of specialists of traditional medicine.

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THE ISSUE OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF COMPLEMENTARY AND ALTERNATIVE MEDICINE IN OFFICIAL HEALTH CARE IN RUSSIA

Complementary and alternative medicine is defined here as covering those therapies that are not at present part of orthodox medicine — that do not typically, amongst other things, receive significant state research funding or figure prominently in the training programmes of health professionals (1). This is a politicised definition distinguished from that based on the common intrinsic characteristics of the therapies involved, which range from acupuncture and aromatherapy to homoeopathy and reflexology. The latter definition is not favoured here as such therapies are very heterogeneous — varying greatly, for example, in the extent to which they are holistic and/or traditional in nature.

Russian medical orthodoxy, similar to other industrialised countries, is based on biomedicine and largely centred on the use of drugs and surgery. Russian 'complementary

and alternative medicine' embraces approximately the same scope of therapies, which in the Western countries are united under this term, spanning from acupuncture and homoeopathy to healing and naturopathy (2). There are formal restrictions imposed on CAM practise, as it is in most states of the European Union. The practice of complementary and alternative medicine in Russia, except by statutory recognised health professionals, is illegal (3). Nonetheless, the statutory documents which deal with CAM are ambiguous and have given place to various interpretations; as a result some lay alternative practitioners still practise in the open market. Political marginality of complementary and alternative medicine is accentuated by the fact that it is excluded from the list of therapies that are free for patients at the point of access, except for acupuncture and manual medicine that do not carry charges for some categories of patients (4).

CAM therapies in Russia were largely integrated into the practise of orthodox medical practitioners until the coming of the Soviet power (5, 6). Since then, doctors have been subordinated to the perceived interests of the socialist state aimed at modernisation and urbanisation of the country. The cardinal principles of the Soviet health care system were defined as follows: (1) medicine should serve the masses; and (2) prevention should come first (7). These goals provoked in the first quarter of the twentieth century the move towards 'hospital medicine' in the Soviet Union. Similar trend occurred in the Western countries earlier. This new phase meant the change from treatment of individuality towards effective and quick treatment of the masses and the change from the earlier focus on the individual as a whole person towards generic classification of diseases and standardised treatment.

Complementary and alternative medicine in Soviet Russia was neither prohibited nor encouraged. It simply lost the pre-revolutionary significance as the twentieth century unfolded, as it did not fit into the modernised socialised medicine based on biomedical principles. Lay alternative and complementary practitioners lacked state sanction — they could not practise in state medical institutions and were mostly confined to the low prestigious rural private fee-for-service sector. Despite sophisticated centres of excellence in major cities, Soviet official medicine in rural areas starved of resources, and part time lay alternative and complementary practitioners supplied patients with first-aid medical assistance. However, this began to change with the growing public demand for complementary and alternative medicine from the 1980s onwards.

At that time CAM in Russia underwent a resurgence despite its longstanding marginalised position during the Soviet period. There is a range of indicators of this trend. Similar to Britain, for example, these include increasing over-the-counter sales of unorthodox remedies and the rising uptake of CAM by the public (8). There is a national variation in the extent of participation in complementary and alternative medicine, with, for example, between a fifth and one half of the population of Western countries typically going to consult a complementary or alternative therapist at some point in their lives. According to the research done in Russia in July 2002, about a quarter of the Russians have consulted with specialists in CAM (9).

Reasons for the growth of demand for complementary and alternative medicine in Russia

The concept of medical counter-culture understood as a subculture set up in opposition to the dominant culture of medicine seems to be applicable to the situation in Russia, where complementary and alternative medical knowledge was welcomed as part of a search for new values in the period of economic reforms of the 1980s when the market was introduced, and liberal democratic state of public opinion was strengthened (1). There have been various indicators of medical counter-cultural trends starting from the popularity of healing and naturopathy to the increased reliance on self-help practices. Central to this movement were the widespread criticisms that were made of materialistic, secular notions of progress under the guise of technical rationality at the time when social conventions were re-examined. And if the protest against the dominant values in the Western society was connected with the Eastern mysticism and meditation, in Russia it was paralleled with the revival of the established Orthodox religion.

The decline of the Soviet period was accompanied by the discontent with existing Soviet socialised medicine, which was, similarly to the Western medicine, highly reductionist,

symptom-based and illness-oriented. It may be argued that the health service in the USSR had many characteristics in common with those of Western countries as a result of the impact of universal influences: the biomedical scientific approach to the disease and medicine, the acceleration of technical progress, and the growing specialisation in the medical field (7). However, medical counter-cultural movement, probably, would not have manifested itself so strongly in Russia, if the health sector had not suffered from shortages of medical equipment, machinery and instruments, which existed throughout the Soviet health and were increased in the period of reforms. In the 1980s, the drug supply, for example, might cover only about 20 percent of the needs of patients, while the equipment was old and overloaded (10). All this left considerable scope for alternatives, and doctors were becoming increasingly interested in natural, low-cost, non-drug therapies, not so much because of the holistic vision but more from the practical concerns of delivery of health care in difficult circumstances.

The processes of the upsurge of demand for CAM in Russia and in the Western countries had some differences. The re-emergence of complementary and alternative medicine in the West started out as a middle-class movement, the prerogative of those who could afford private consultations. This was in contrast to Russia, where the revival of complementary and alternative medicine was prompted by the growth of the very poor social strata. And as a result, Russia had not yet experienced the corresponding empowerment of the consumer which had occurred in the Western countries, where more patients could afford purchase of medical services, had higher expectations for the quality of private medical services and even participated in representational roles with the national health services. In Russia, only a small number of patients became more consumerist and they could choose whether they would be treated by their local GPs or privately by CAM practitioners, as most of the latter do not render free services.

Demand for CAM in Russia, similar to other European countries, represented a challenge for the medical mainstream expressed in a counter-cultural onslaught against modernist conceptions of technocratic rationality and the monolithic believe in biomedical science (1). By the 1980s, Russian medical profession could be regarded as illustrative of an occupation that had secured a privileged position in the state health care sector. However, the challenge posed by outsiders contested the boundaries of orthodox and unorthodox medical knowledge and the medical establishment began to defend its own professional interests.

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3. SOCIAL POLICY AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

3.1. SOCIAL MOBILITY IN AN AGING SOCIETY

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SOCIAL MOBILITY IN RISK SOCIETY

Problems in development of modern society related to increasing risks are being viewed in the framework of the theory of risk society. This theory has being developed as an attempt to understand qualitative changes in daily life and culture as well as in social organization and structure of global systems, of the modernwestern society. Socially hazardous situations appear with distribution and growth of risks. Risks of modernization also affect, sooner or later, the ones who produce them and make profit out of it. Social conditionality of risks allows for discussion about their role in the structurization of society in general and in formation of the subjectivity of society based on the qualities of a set of risks in the society. On one side, risks of the modern society are conditions, which facilitate and amplify social stratification significantly (Each social group adapts to modern environment in its own way, thus has its own risks. These risks distinguish the social groups). According to the German sociologist U. Beck: «The history of risk distribution shows that like wealth risks adhere to the class pattern, only inversely: wealth accumulates at the top, risks at the bottom. Risks at certain levels can strengthen but not abolish the class society» [1, 35]. On the other side, however, a characteristic feature of the risk society is individualization. As remarked by P.A. Sorokin [2, 500], on modern civilization, with its «integral human rights» lies a stamp of individualism.

A stable family framework does not act as a connection between social classes any more. Instead, an individual becomes a unit of reproduction of the social elements. Social mobility facilitates the increase of the individualism. It breaks the isolation of a single social cell. An individual, moving from one social layer to another, often becomes a part of several intersecting social groups. In this case, it becomes difficult to characterize an individual by its membership in a certain social group. In order to identify an individual it must be studied as a separate entity with its own characteristics [2, 501]. With other words, by means of individualization an individual gets into the power of external governing and standardization, which were unknown to subcultures of family and social classes. In the risk society an individual must see himself as an active center, which can be characterized by an active behavioral model concentrated around its own «I». In this case, social mobility is changing. Now it cannot be seen as movement of individuals from one big social group to another. The significance of the individual success increases as part of social mobility characteristics. Social institutes, which act as channels of vertical circulation, are also transforming. For instance, obtaining a degree in a high vocational education does not guarantee an increase of social status (as it used to be before). Therefore, a professional qualification is on one side an obligatory and on the other side not sufficient part of social mobility. Thus, the institute of education loses its function in status determination.

In the individualistic society, besides quantitative increase of risks, arises a new form of personal risks, which are determined by certain decisions. Furthermore, individualized existence depends more on circumstances and conditions, which are out of a person's control. At the same time arise hazardous, conflict and problematic situations. The formation of risk solidarities acts as person's response to challenges of the risk society. These solidarities emerge under the influence of a combination of various risk factors, which have non-static spatial and temporal characteristics. The risk solidarities, however, can be positive as well as negative [3, 128—131]. They emerge in certain situations and with a certain purpose and therefore, they represent a mix of individuals from different social groups and with different social status.

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Anna Chigrina

SUPPORTED EMPLOYMENT AS A FACTOR OF INTEGRATING PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES IN SOCIETY

Providing employment for people with disabilities remains a topical issue in every country of the world. Although some countries try to reduce the problem by placing people with disabilities (PWD) in jobs at special segregated enterprises most countries have chosen to facilitate the social integration of the disabled rather than isolate them. Current Russian legislation stipulates employment quotas for disabled workers. However, the quota system has not brought any significant change into employment practice. It appears more economical for the employer to pay a fine than hire a person with a disability, and under the latest version of the law employers do not even face a fine. This is why only individuals with moderate levels of impairment, that is, those who do not need accommodations to enable them to perform their duties, have a chance to get a job under the quota system. If the efficacy of the quota system is to increase it is the State that should assume the responsibility of providing accommodations in the workplace. It is imperative that the actions be synchronized to speed up the workplace modification and adjustment and minimize employers' expenditures and efforts.

The current situation is as follows: the state covers the disabled person's expenses for attending college or vocational school, then PWD enter the open labor market where they face restrictions rather than assistance in their competition for a decent job, government support being mere suggestions for employers (through the employment quotas legislation) to hire impaired people. Supported employment (the term coined by James O'Brien) introduced worldwide has already proved more effective than employment quotas. Supported employment is currently defined as integrated jobs in community settings where people with disabilities could work alongside employees without disabilities and receive individualized support to facilitate their long term success. The 'supported employment' model has proved effective and is being implemented by an increasing number of organizations in many countries throughout the world. The key element of this model is 'place and train' approach in contrast to the 'train and place' practice of traditional vocational rehabilitation when individuals are trained for competitive labor market in special centers or at special segregated workplaces. The 'place and train' approach is indeed more effective compared to the traditional one. Impaired people are able to perform a wide spectrum of jobs, but the problem is rooted in employers' perceptions and attitudes towards anyone with

a disability. They a priori tend to stigmatize an impaired person as less likely to fit the position. Therefore, the first step is to identify an employer sharing human values who is willing to hire a person with a disability and only then to select a job seeker with a profile matching the position available and train him or her for the position. The best results can be achieved if the search of a potential employer is performed by a special group of experts from an employment agency or non-profit organization with a positive reputation in the field, accompanied by appropriate government agencies' support. The advantage of this model is that it can be used to assist people with little or no work experience and for those with few vocational skills to improve their chances in the open labor market.

It is important that in the course of 'on the job' training it is easy to understand if the person with a particular disability will be able to perform his or her duties in the position he or she is being trained for because the job seeker is involved in practical activity. Thus, supported employment focuses on:

1. Identifying an employer willing to hire a PWD;
2. Matching the job to the potential of the PWD seeking employment;

3. Providing «on the job» training and individualized support to ensure the success of the placement. However, the strengths of this model are also its weaknesses because the disabled are more likely to be hired for the jobs that can be learned fast. This model tends to work for semi-skilled labor market but is less effective for professions and occupations taking longer to learn. Most impaired people with full mental capacity have no limitations in the field of skilled intellectual labor. It is obvious that in this case the job search should be performed with a particular disabled job seeker in mind to ensure that the position matches his or her physical and mental abilities and, most important, his or her profession and qualifications. It should be noted that, mostly due to the low motivation of PWD, there are much fewer of them choosing to work in the field of skilled intellectual labor. However, their role cannot be underestimated for it is they who, through their successful social integration, perform a most important job of enhancing positive attitudes towards the disabled and demonstrating their capacity to work.

The 'supported employment' model seems more costly than the quota system. However, efforts and resources involved in providing PWD with proper vocational training often fail to result in their placement while in the 'supported employment' model professional training costs tend to give a healthy return leading to positive employment outcomes. Job placement expenditures can be reduced through identifying employers who are able to provide more than one similar jobs for impaired workers. Thus, the costs of training a person with a disability are likely to decrease. It seems obvious that the leading role in addressing the issue on a systematic basis should belong to public agencies rather than profit or non-profit organizations.

Julia Lezhnina, Moscow

RUSSIAN PENSIONERS' EMPLOYMENT

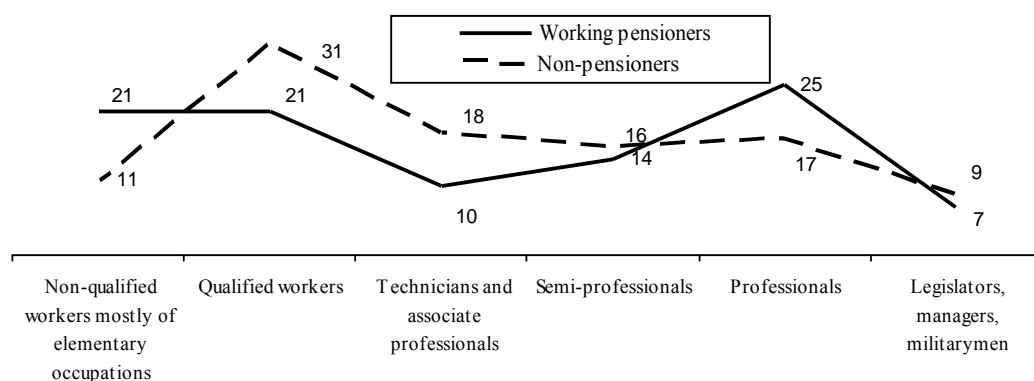
Problem of labor activity of elderly people is raised all over the world⁴³. In Russia it is especially actual as Russians retire relatively early (pension age is 55 for women and 60 for men). In 2007 nearly 23% of Russian pensioners worked (27% of men and 22%

⁴³ For example, *Auer P., Fortuny M.* (2000), *Aging of the Labour Force in OECD Countries: Economic and Social Consequences*, Employment Paper 2000/2, Geneva: International Labour Office; *Lindley et al.* . *Ageing and Employment: Identification of Good Practice to Increase Job Opportunities and Maintain Older Workers in Employment*, Final Report Submitted to Commission of the European Communities DG EMPL, 7th March 2006.

of women)⁴⁴. Those who got military or equated to it pension⁴⁵ worked more often (49%) then pensioners by age (20%), pensioners for disability (17%), but main part of working pensioners (76%) consists of age pensioners.

Pensioners' employment is more popular in large settlements⁴⁶ — 27% of pensioners from region centers and other cities, 20% from urban-type settlements and only 15% from villages worked. That is connected with employment of non-city population in subsidiary holdings compensating salary on the one hand, and more opportunities of labour market in cities on the other hand. At the same time discrimination of elderly persons in general and pensioners in particular by employers is widespread in Russia. That is why pensioners have to possess high qualification to compete successfully with all other workers or pretend on unclaimed by others working positions. Thus, working pensioners work mainly in two segments of labor market. Almost one third of them worked on positions of professionals (25% of all working pensioners) and managers of different level (9%). Another part (23%) occupied positions that need no qualification: janitors, concierges, stallmen, yard-keepers, liftmen, cloakroom attendants, etc. Other professional positions were filled by pensioners remarkably rarer then by non-pensioners (Graph 1).

Pensioners that continued working keeping their pre-pension professional status are the most qualified ones. Mostly of them (36%) were employed in so called budget sphere (teachers, librarians, medical personnel of state hospitals, etc.), in organizations of education, science, culture, medical care and social care. Pensioners worked in budget spheres on positions of managers, specialists, clerks. Readiness of budget sector to attract pensioners is explained, on the one hand, by salaries that are much lower here then average one for the country and a limited demand by youth on these working positions. On the other hand, qualification necessary for the employees of organizations in these branches is quite high. That creates some difficulty in searching for suitable personnel. That is why the problem of pensioners' discrimination in these spheres is less sharp.



Graph 1 Professional positions⁴⁷ of working pensioners and non-pensioners, RLMS, 2007, %

According to Russian social policy pensioners' support is provided mostly by contributions of employers and working population to Pension Fund of Russia (PFR)

⁴⁴ Here the data of Russia Longitudinal Monitoring Survey (RLMS) for 2007 is used. RLMS is a set of national representative surveys hold for monitoring the effect from reform on health and economic situation of individuals and households of Russian Federation. Demographic characteristics of the sampling of nearly 12000 people (more then 4500 households) are representative. See about the sampling of this survey in details on www.cpc.unc.edu/projects/rlms/rlms_home.html. Further the data of RLMS, 2005 is used if other is not remarked.

⁴⁵ Military pensioners can work as their pension age is much less then 60 years and depends on experience and position.

⁴⁶ For the analyses throughout this article statistics χ^2 at the 1% level was used to infer statistical significance.

⁴⁷ Professional groups are formed by modification of enlarged code ISCO-88.

and state transfers. In 2004 a decision to decrease the rate of Uniform Social Tax was taken and incomes of PFR fell⁴⁸.

Pensioners' incomes differ from working incomes of non-pensioners more and more. If in 2000 average size of month pension was equal to 31% of average salary, in 2006 this rate was only 25% ⁴⁹. This is incontestable proof of failure of pension system in Russia. It is not surprising in these conditions that the tendency of decreasing the level of prosperity characterizes a large part of Russian pensioners — in 2008 25% of them told about the worsening of their economic conditions during last 5 years⁵⁰. However they did not evaluate their perspectives better. 24% of pensioners said that their economic conditions in the next year would become rather worse than better.

It is connected not only with the fact that retirement leads to changing salaries by pension payments which are less in size and which indexation does not catch price increase. Pensioners' life standard falls also because those durable goods in their use are already quite worn out and have to be changed. However their change is impossible in case of income decrease. Thereupon it is necessary to note that in 2008 working population had a wide range of durable goods — at least half of them had not less than 11 of them (from 23, availability of which was checked in survey), 7 of which were bought during last 7 years. Pensioners had quite different situation. 50 % of them had not more than 7 types of durable goods, only 2 of them were relatively new. More than one forth of non-working pensioners not only didn't have a full range of goods that is considered necessary in Russia and the absence of even one item from which is the sign of poverty (refrigerator, washing machine, vacuum cleaner, carpet, furniture and color TV set), but they also practically did not renew those goods they had⁵¹, because pension payments did not allow them to do it.

Moreover decrease of contacts after retirement and pauperization of social networks leads to the situation that pensioners loose opportunity to solve the problems with their help.

Table 1 The source of money in case of non-free operation or expensive treatment, IS RAS, 200652, %

	Pensioners	Other population
Would use own resources	7	17
Would ask for help of friends and relatives	34	50
Would ask for help of state organizations	7	6
Would ask for help public organizations	2	6
Can not imagine what to do	57	36

So they mostly just wouldn't know what to do even in case of necessity of payable operation or expensive treatment on which sometimes the life of pensioners can depend (Table 1).

As can be seen non-pensioners have some own reserves and enough social capital that could help them to solve appearing problems. Their networks include colleagues; school and university friends who are in working age and have more financial opportunities. Pensioners can rely on friends' help much less because they have them in the same environment.

⁴⁸ As a result of it already in 2005 53% of expenditures of PFR were financed by subventions from Federal budget.

⁴⁹ http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/2007/b07_11/07—01.htm.

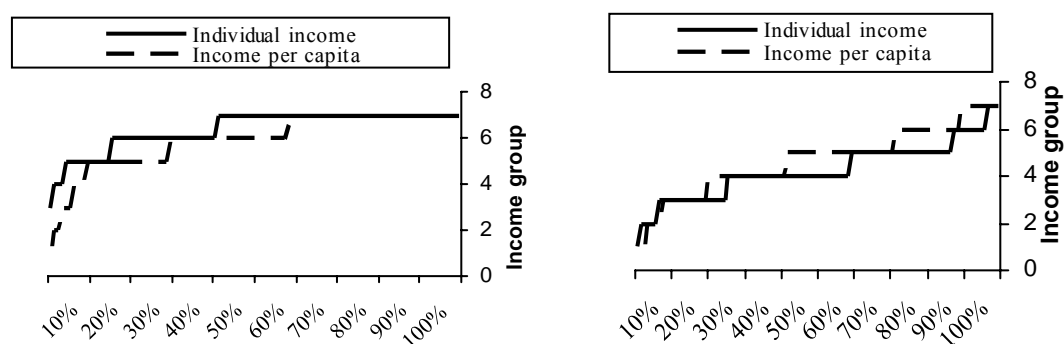
⁵⁰ Pan-Russian representative research of IS RAS «Neediness in Modern Russia», 2008.

⁵¹ «Neediness in Modern Russia», IS RAS, 2008.

⁵² Pan-Russian representative research of IS RAS «Social Policy and Social Reforms with Eyes of Russians», 2006; several answers were possible.

Also pensioners mostly couldn't expect the support of relatives although one third of pensioners in Russia lived alone; others lived together with younger relatives. Thereupon it is necessary to note that 42% of Russians lived in households with pensioners⁵³, and dynamics of their situation influenced the position of household in whole. Notably that in 1990-ies the situation when all the family lived on pension payments of one of the members was popular but today it is quite different. Families consisting from working people and pensioners evaluated dynamics of their situation worse then families without pensioners. So living with relatives is easier for pensioner but she becomes a load for the family or at least objectively decreases its life standard. As a result income per capita in households of pensioners was equal to 6190 rubles, in households with pensioners — 6418 rubles, in households without pensioners — 7067 rubles. At the same time lonely pensioners or members of families consisting from pensioners only in 33% of cases got no help from relatives and friends. Financial help was received by only 25% of lonely pensioners⁵⁴.

But as it was noticed in literature⁵⁵ household's income per capita but not the size of pensions itself has relatively great meaning for taking the decision about continuing labour activity after reaching retirement age. Actually as graph 2 shows individual income of working pensioners often was higher then average households' income, so working pensioners «supported» their families. If average individual income of working pensioners was 11788 rubles, income per capita in their families in average was 9387 rubles, at the same time these indicators were equal to 4290 and 5449 rubles accordingly for non-working pensioners.



Graph 2 Individual income and income per capita for working and non-working pensioners, RLMS, 2007⁵⁶

Meanwhile, if non-working pensioners in 66% of cases got such or another type of support (psychological, financial etc.) from relatives and acquaintances and provided it only in 56%, i.e. much rarer, for working pensioners these figures were 49% and 66% accordingly, i.e. they more often gave this support then received it.

So transfers from relatives are ineffective way of saving from poverty for Russian pensioners. Taking into an account the fact that state transfers can't redeem from it too, significant part of pensioners decides to continue labour activity (in Russia legislation allows to get salary and pension payments at the same time). Pensioners work first of all for not being a burden for their households even in cases when their situation is not so bad on the first sight. Lonely pensioners or pensioners from households consisting from pensioners only are made work usually only by hard need.

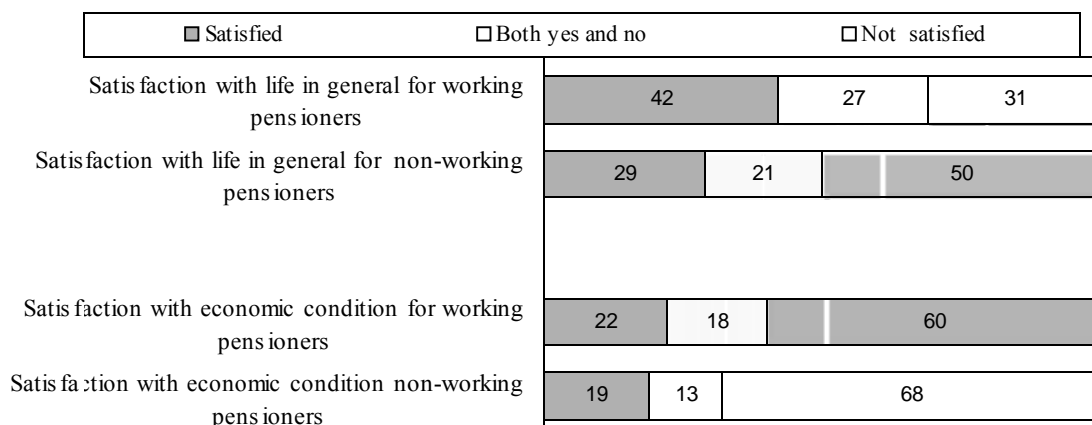
⁵³ «Neediness in Modern Russia», IS RAS, 2008.

⁵⁴ «Neediness in Modern Russia», IS RAS, 2008.

⁵⁵ Higgs, P. (2003), *Older People, Health Care and Society* // *Sociology as Applied to Medicine* / Ed. by G. Scambler, Fifth edition, Elsevier Science Limited.

⁵⁶ Income groups divided as: 1— less then 1500 rubles, 2 –1500-2000 rubles, 3 –2001-3000 rubles, 4 –3001-4000 rubles, 5 –4001-6000 rubles, 6 –6001- 9000 rubles, 7 – more then 9000 rubles.

However, in case of continuing labour activity pensioners also get feeling of being included in society, from which otherwise they drop out⁵⁷ and it is fair for Russia too. Fall out of social life leads to depression and diseases on the base of experience of personal neediness and usefulness. In Russia problem of bad social feeling of pensioners is especially actual as leisure time of elderly population is practically not organized at all, so ways of its integration in society as inclusion in different clubs, educational communities, etc., widely spread in Western Europe, are not developed. Leisure of pensioners is not in priorities of Russian social policy but self-dependent organization of leisure demands significant costs. Evidently this situation determines principal difference between satisfaction with economic condition and life in general for working and non-working pensioners (Graph 3).



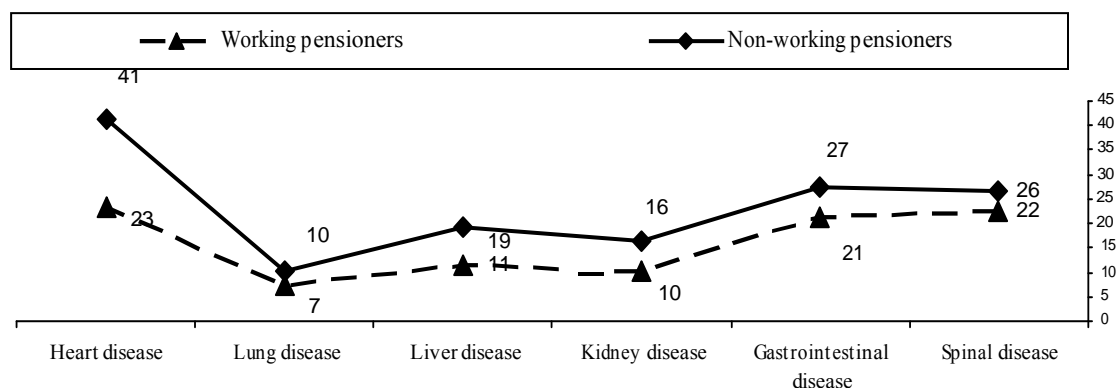
Graph 3 Satisfaction with life in general and economic condition for working and non-working pensioners, RLMS, 2007, % from groups of pensioners

In case of inclusion into labor process pensioners' self-feeling increases, sensation of personal validity appears, feeling of social comfort rises. Employment not only allows pensioners to increase their incomes but is also the way of struggle against exclusion and raising self-appraisal. Another way to struggle against these problems for Russian pensioners is absent at present time. Everything mentioned earlier allows stating that even today having an opportunity to continue labour activity after reaching the retirement age Russian pensioners work for keeping the life standards of their households, preventing of further moving to poverty, negotiation of exclusion and improvement of socio-psychological conditions. However the opportunity of continuation labour activity after reaching pension age is absent for most of Russian pensioners because of bad health (health evaluation was made with a help of the EQ-5D methodic⁵⁸): 51% of pensioners can be considered as sick.

Graph 4 shows that working pensioners had chronicle diseases of any kind rarer than other pensioners (although significant part of them had chronical diseases too). Chronicle heart disease had strongly marked blocking effect for labour activity. Its existence was found two times oftener for non-working pensioners then for working ones. Those pensioners that worked with these diseases were employed firstly in sphere of education and health care, considered their work useful for society and were satisfied with working conditions.

⁵⁷ Also see *Armstrong, D. (2003), Outline of Sociology as Applied to Medicine, Fifth edition, London, Arnold; Higgs, P. (2003), Older People, Health Care and Society. Sociology as Applied to Medicine. Ed. by G. Scambler, Fifth edition, Elsevier Science Limited.*

⁵⁸ Analyses was carried out within the framework of project INTAS Ref. Nr. 03-51-3769 (lead by N. Manning, N. Tikhonova). «Health, Health Policy and Poverty in Russia: the Dynamics of the Health Capacities of the Poor and the Social Policy Response (2004-2006)» on the data RLMS, 2005 (the sample is similar to RLMS, 2007). See *Health and health care in the new Russia / ed. N. Manning, N. Tikhonova. London: Ashgate publishing limited, 2008.*



Graph 4 Chronicle diseases of pensioners, RLMS, 2007, %

Moreover bad health of Russian pensioners needs additional expenditures for medicines and medical treatment but it is often unavailable for elderly people due to low welfare that worsens situation even more. Opportunities of health supporting for Russians of prepension and early pension age were blocked by lack of money.

So employment is the most effective way of solving the problems of poverty and exclusion for Russian pensioners and there are some segments of the labour market for them. But bad health of elderly population is a strong restriction for this employment. Thus, retiring elderly population of the country in large scale risk to find them in zone of poverty, exclusion and further worsening of health. These three problems are either causes or consequents of each other and go round in circles.

Ekaterina V. Schanina, Penza

CONDITIONS OF MILITARY RETIREES INVOLVEMENT IN THE SMALL BUSINESS⁵⁹

A small enterprise is one of the most important fundamentals of the stable social and economic development of any country. At present a sector of small enterprises greatly impacts economic development of a country. Small enterprises embrace practically all types of economic activity. The most attractive sphere for small enterprises is the sphere of trade where the share of their activity is 37,9%. Besides, the small enterprises got a substantial development in the processing industries (15,3%) and real estate operations, as well as in the sphere of rent (17,6%). The small enterprises extend considerably low in agriculture (3,2%), health protection (0,9%) and education (0,4%). [1] This ratio concerning different fields of human activity is indicative of the fact that non-production branch (trade, first of all) remains the most profitable for business in comparison with the production one.

Small enterprise development should be one of the most perspective trends of market reforms in most of the regions, because the small business is one of the main sources of tax contributions, establishment of new jobs, increase of people's income and it also favors the reduction of the social tension. Therefore, from our point of view, it is necessary to create conditions for involvement of businesslike and active people, which may include the numerous groups of military retirees, into small business. They have great difficulties while adapting to the modern economic conditions after their retiring from the armed forces. We must especially note that the military men are pensioned off 10—15 years

⁵⁹ The article is prepared with financial support from Russian Fund of Humanity and Science in the network of this fund's project «Factors determining social activity of older generation», project 09—03—95276 m/MI.

earlier than the regular pensioners, i. e. when they are 40—45 years old. This category of pensioners has good professional skills and a high level of self-organization; they have higher or special secondary education, an experience in operational management work and in the solution of economic tasks, etc.

The group of retirees differs from the other pensioners. They are inclined to the assimilating the new knowledge and skills, including those in the sphere of information technologies; some of them have the potential of becoming a manager. The use of this group's potential establishes a certain base for further development since the society acquires additional resources, as a result of such use, and the retirees themselves obtain an opportunity of self-accomplishment and providing their family members for all necessary issues. It is important that the motivation of the military retirees for the labor activity should be assumed as a basis, as well as the establishment of necessary conditions for possible application of their potential, when implementing the managerial solutions. A retired serviceman has to search for a job today under conditions of increasing competition. It goes along with a probation period and a psychological test for professional capability. The employment of ex-military professionals in medium and small towns is a very crucial moment.

In our opinion, there are several solutions of this problem. First, it is necessary that people could get a good, advanced additional education within the period of three-four years of military service, so that when they retire in their forties, they can have a possibility to determine their future occupation and do not have any problems with their pensions. This method is indispensable for managers and engineers, in the great extent, than for those who have contacts with the outside life and know, how business operates and, how to establish the relationships between people, and as a result of it, they settle their problems faster and efficiently, when they leave the army. The managers and engineers, who graduated from academies, the commanders of platoons and regiments, hardly adapt to the civil life after retiring, and, therefore, they mostly go to the firms that deal with security.

Second, it is necessary to develop the small and medium businesses in garrisons, in which wives and children of the servicemen participate. During this period, they could have an opportunity to get to know, how to make business, the things necessary for it, is it simple or otherwise, and then, retired from the army, they can organize their business themselves.

Third, it is needful to use the business-incubators — self-repaying structures, which are not financed by the state authorities — for a successful adaptation of military retirees. The business-incubator is an organization that offers its manufacturing and office sites to small enterprises, and, also, it supplies them with the office services referring to their businesses, such as the access to financing, marketing and management. The subject of supporting the small enterprises in the business-incubator consists of establishing the favorable conditions for their development, i. e. the minimizing of financial expenses and risks during the starting period. The idea of the business-incubator should be in its ability and capacity of self-repayment in a year or two, i. e. the exceeding income over expense. The concept of the Business-incubator development is that the local authorities lend their premises and, at first, release the local tax burden. The business-incubator should conform its activity to the program of Penza region's economic development, to implement the infrastructure, to get investments, to recreate the real sector of the economy and to fill the local budget.

Therefore, the creation of the business-incubator for 'officer' enterprises is the opportunity to not only solve the problem of the retired servicemen's social adaptation, connected with minimal losses and expenses, but, also, while creating the infrastructure of small enterprises, to create the real sector of economy.

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THE STRUCTURE OF RUSSIAN SOCIETY: CHALLENGES FOR SOCIAL POLICY⁶⁰

Abstracts: The article is focused on the role of a state in social policies in Russia, changes in the structure of Russian society and an analysis of the situation in the area of social policy in Russia today.

State Contribution to Social Policy

In the USSR, the social policy was in line with the ideology of the governing political regime and state-controlled economy that served for the benefit of the political establishment and ensured a minimum level of consumption to the rest of the country's population which shadowed the services available to the political establishment but was inferior in quality. It was a sort of a system of measures aimed at dealing with urgent social problems. The social policy of the former Soviet Union may be characterized as a social institution with all attributes and manifestations of this phenomenon. Those of the country's population who were born and raised in the Soviet times are still nostalgic about the social guarantees of employment, leisure, education, medical care. Under the model of the country's transformation adopted in the early 1990s, the state was increasingly less involved in the social policy, only to result in negative consequences. However, democratically oriented researches hoped for the possibility of a multi-subject social policy, and actors of social policy in Russia.

But 20 years since the inception of market reforms in Russia, the people still find no real alternative to the state in social sector. Many of them have never learned to rely on themselves or simply can not afford it. In addition, we should take into account incredibly strong path dependence which has been developing in Russia (in the context of path dependence theory) for many centuries and which implies deep-rooted expectations of a vertical social contract and top-down decision-making.

Structural Transformations in Russian Society

At the same time, the Russian society has undergone serious structural transformations over the last two decades. The Russian social science community has strongly responded to these changes by way of new surveys, research of the emerging strata of 'new rich', 'new poor', 'new financial, political elite', social exclusion, etc.

Each of the foregoing strata or social phenomena, while being new for Russia, was a cause of social policy transformation and claimed to be its direct object.

As regards the typology of social policy objects and subjects, each of these groups has been affected by the changes. Technically, social policy objects have remained the same. Generally speaking, this group includes the entire country's population. Though individuals (households) which for specific reasons couldn't afford normal consumption (the disabled, the retired, large families, the youth, etc.) were qualified as primary objects of social policy, the current list of those to be covered has been considerably extended. The process of total marginalization of the country's population in 1980—1990 has resulted in utmost poverty of the working population. New and huge risk groups are migrants from former Soviet republics. Although most of them are not residents of Russia, they inevitably come to be included into the list of social policy objects.

It should be noted that, while remaining apparently unchanged over a number of years, the structure of social policy objects has undergone qualitative changes, on the one hand, and drastic changes in provision of social services, on the other hand,

⁶⁰ The article is based on the presentation made at the 9th European Sociologists Association Conference in Lisbon on 2—5 September 2009. The presentation was made with the support of RHSF (grant «Contemporary cultural orientations» (Russia and Ukraine)).

which was primarily manifested in the introduction of a wide range of paid social services tending to replace free ones. For example, with regard to the key social policy recipients — retired individuals — the benefits paid to them in the pre-reform (Soviet) period allowed them to feel socially secure in a situation of truly free health care, low passenger fares and utility charges, etc. In other words, retired persons were offered decent benefits (provided they had the necessary length of employment) and free services. This is, of course, very relative, especially against the living standards in the western countries. Nevertheless, retired individuals in the Soviet era could afford vacations at resorts (not of high-class, though), fruit and berry diet in summer, etc. The current situation of retired people in Russia is desperately dim. There is no way the contemporary, ordinary retired individual with decades of employment can afford a decent life without being supported by his/her children or relatives. Now people in retirement can afford only the simplest medicines, while the list of free medication for the disabled was shortened recently. District out-patient clinics are overcrowded with retired seniors on a visit to medical specialists who are low paid and lost their qualification long time ago. People in retirement complain of being forced to save a part of their benefits to be able to afford fruits and berries in summer, while having to give up even the simplest repairs of their apartments.

Going back to changes in the structure of Russian society, I'd like to mention that it is not only the content but also the quality of the existed strata that has been changing. The list of these qualitatively transformed recipients includes employees who are paid from the state budget and unable to resolve their social-related problems by themselves. It should be taken into account that a strong trend toward habituation of a large group of the population to the subculture of poverty and low living standards is threatening to enlarge the social bottom and provoke new forms of exclusion and bigger social differentiation. At the same time, Russia has seen the emergence of new strata of upper-income groups. Representatives of these strata have their requirements as to the course of a new social policy, among which, besides social sustainability, are availability of high-class real estate, development of an up-to-date, high-priced recreation industry, introduction of the best practices into the local healthcare system, modernization of the local education system, as well as finding solutions for pension provision in the future (which is relevant for middle-income individuals), building up of a reliable funded pension system. Unlike lower-income individuals, who have to think in terms of survival, the 'new rich' and related groups are concerned about the issues which are typical of better-off communities. They live in Russia and wish to see domestic social security structures running smoothly, which is a normal and reasonable desire of these people.

New Risk Groups and New Factors of the Division between Rich and Poor

Researches have identified newly emerging risk groups and factors contributing to the division between rich and poor: residents of remote areas (villages); individuals without necessary education and skills; low earners (normally those who are paid from the state budget); retired seniors with small benefits. Following are new factors contributing to the division between rich and poor: availability / unavailability of information; availability / unavailability of different types of services (health to library services); availability / unavailability of employment options; availability / unavailability of different types of transport; cities which are rich / poor in resources⁶¹.

Challenges for Social Policy: Are there any Alternatives of Social Policy Development in Russia?

In general, the above are the challenges for the Russian social policy, particularly, for the state as a social policy actor. This country has inherited a fairly society with a very complex structure. However, there are still few hopes for emergence of civil society and related institutions in Russia as the federal government is

⁶¹ See.: *Grigorieva I.A.* Rossiiskaya socialnaya politika v poslednie godi: mezdy proidennim pytem i neopredelennim bydyshim // *Jurnal issledovaniy socialnoy politiki*. 2007. V. 5. №1. P. 14—15.

reluctant to support establishment and strengthening of a welfare community and related institutions (NGOs). In 2006, the legislation on various types of NGOs was revised to wipe out any mention of 'municipal social activity', 'municipal social services', only to result in reduced financing of municipalities. The idea to introduce corporate social policies has proved a failure. The transfer of social assets from large enterprises of territorial and urban importance to municipal governments has had extremely adverse implications, with transnational corporations being the best positioned to offer corporate social insurance schemes to their employees. Under the circumstances, the federal government has to reinforce its position and assume larger social commitments. A solution developed by the Russian government is introduction of national projects in healthcare, education, agriculture and housing construction which were launched in 2006. This is a potent solution which gives the country's population some hope in resolving social problems. Obviously, this is a turning point of the Russian government to strengthen the vertical social contract in governance of Russian society, in particular, in the light of a well known saying: «He who pays the piper calls the tune».

Lilia K. Zhdanova, Saratov

SOCIAL MOBILITY AND SOCIAL IDENTITY: RELEVANCE OF ANALYSIS

According to Z. Bauman's opinion each person moves in social space, in a society in which he or she lives. Sometimes these displacements are easy felt and identified, for example, individual moving from one place to another, transition from one religion to another, the household position change. The position of an individual in society may change. One is to move in social space. However there are such movings of the individual which are difficult for defining not only by people surrounding him or her, but also by him. For example, it is difficult to define change of position of the individual in connection with growth of prestige of its trade, its business, increase or reduction of opportunities of use of authority, change of the income. At the same time such changes in a position of the person finally affect his behaviour, system of attitudes in group, needs, installations, interests and orientations⁶² [1]. According to this fact it is important to define mechanisms and ways of individual moving in social space, in particular processes of mobility.

All the social movings of the individual or social group are included in the process of mobility. As P. Sorokin considers [5] «social mobility is any step of the individual or a social object, or a value, created or modified by the activity, from one social position to another». P. Sorokin [6] points out two different types of mobility: horizontal and vertical types. Horizontal mobility is the individual or a social object moving from one social position to another, which is situated on the same level. Within these conditions an individual does not change his social level he belongs to, or a social status he has. Vertical mobility is the most important process, which can be defined as the combination of interactions that promotes the individual or a social object from one social level to another. Here is for instance work promotion, essential improvement of well-being or transition to higher social layer, to other level of authority. A society can raise status of one individual and lower the status of others. And this fact is understandable: one individual, possessing talent, energy, youth, must displace other individual from high status, not possessing this quality. Depending on this fact there are rising and top-down social mobility, or social ascent and social fall. We should note that modern social structure could not be represented as stable, firm phenomena. There is radical change in trend and directions

⁶² Frolov S.S. Sociology. The textbook for higher educational institutions. M.: Education, 1994, p. 68.

of social mobility. The essence of this change is in economic transformations, happened at period of postsoviet modernizations. The result of the process was the appearance of the new social structure, deepening of property differentiation and improvement of the social structured relations. Recently expressions «high and undermost classes», «advancement on social stairway», «his social position is high», «they are very close by social position», «there is a big social distance» etc. are often met both in everyday judgements, and in economic, political and sociological works⁶³ [2].

The social space differs from geometric space. People, residing near each other in geometric space (for instance, a director and a secretary), in social space are separated by huge distance. Conversely, people, residing much far in geometric space (for instance, two brothers or scientists from Poland and France), can be very close socially. A person can pass a thousand of the miles of geometric space, not having changed his positions in social space; conversely, he can radically change his social position remaining in the same geometric space⁶⁴. In the world, we live in; distances are seemed to have no importance. Sometimes there is the sensation that they exist only for that to be possible canceled; as the space every minute offers us to neglect it. The space is already not hindrance: it may be conquered in one minute. «Natural borders» do not exist anymore and there are no «free places». Wherever we are at the moment, we know that we could be anywhere. We have fewer reasons to stay in any concrete place (and therefore we often feel irresistibly to find or invent such reason)⁶⁵ [4].

At present time «global civil society» is been arranged. The observable growing of transnational civil association, ubiquitous striving for democratization and unsuppression, enormous difficulties of the national states in conservation of their popularity, as well as variety of increasing global trends — all these factors promote the registration of «the global civil society». Such set of social transformation must form the base for «the global civil society» and development of «the sociology of mobility». Identity is ambiguous worldly and scientific term, conveying the idea of constancy, identity, receivership of the individual and his consciousnesses. Social identity can be determined as sufferings and realization of its accesories to one or that social group and generality. The identification with determined social generality transforms the person from biological person to social individual and personality, allows him to value his own social relationship and accesories in term «We» and «They». The personal identity and selfidentity are unity and receivership of vital activity, goals, motive and installation to personality, realizing itself as a subject of activity. This is not some special line or collection of devil, which the individual possesses, but his independance, compromised in term of own biography. It appears not as much in behaviour of the subject and reaction of other people on it as in its abilities to support and continue certain history of its own «I am», saving its unity, in spite of change of its separate components⁶⁶ [5].

The notion of identity originally came up for psychiatries in context of the study of the phenomenon «crisis of identity», described condition psychic sick, which lost beliefs about themselves and the sequences of events in their lives. American psychologist Eric Erixon carried it in psychology of the development, showing that the identity is a normal phenomenon of the development of the person. At period of adolescence each person anyway outlives the crisis, connected with need of the self-determination, in the manner of whole series social and larval choice and identification. If a young man can not solve these problems, inadequate identity is formed. Unpaid identity is a condition, when a young man has taken determined identity, having passed a complex and nerve-racking process of the self-awareness, he is already enclosed in system of the adult relations, but this choice is made not conciously, but under influence from outside or on ready standard. Deferred identity or identification moratorium is a condition, when the individual is found right in process of professional self-determination, but he postpones

⁶³ Sorokin P.A. Major Tendencies of Our Time, 1964, p.33

⁶⁴ Sorokin P.A. A System of Sociology. 1920. T.2, p. 67

⁶⁵ Bauman, Z. Globalization: The Human Consequences. M: The world, 2004, p.112—145

⁶⁶ Kon I.S. Search of itself. The person and its consciousness. M., 1984, p. 21

taking the final judgement on afterwards. Reached identity is a condition, when a personality has already found itself and has entered at period practical self-realization⁶⁷ [6].

The theory of Erixon has got broad spreading in psychology of the development. Different types of identity have not only individual special characteristics, but also determined stages of the development of personality. However this theory describes normative beliefs about the way the process of the development runs, the psychological reality is much rich and variable. «Crisis of the identity» is not only and not as much age as social-historical phenomenon. The quip of its sufferings depends on both the individual particularities of the subject, and the rate of the social renovation and on that value, which culture gives individuality. According to traditional presentation the person behaves on rule and abutment of the social level of the society, which he belongs to. European and American society has transgressed the devil, under which visual difference between person of the undermost class and person, who belongs to layer of aristocrats, had importance. As for Russian society, it is in condition of permanent transformation. The main steps on direction to achievement of the situation in Europe are made, however differences are seen. Among indicators, confirming attribute any person to determined social group, it is possible to select: style and quality of the cloth, type parfume and footwear, model of the car, manner of the behavior. One's status is a role and position of the person in society, ordered certain conditions. Prescriptive status expects the behaviour of the person in correspondence to that position, which was reached by his relatives. And person needs to support this position up-to-the-mark. Ascriptive status has opposite importance, which is reached by the person due to its personal achievements and action. In accordance with this person, raised on several social steps, searches for the visual acknowledgement of its status, tries to confirm its идентичность. We have organized empirical study of the consumers of the facilities of the water transport, which results have confirmed the hypothesis: the presence of the water transport is a marker of the individual identity. Due to this study different consumer groups were revealed. Prescriptors pay no regard to little things, additional options of the water transport (the motorboat, boat). For them an exterior of the motorboat is more important, rather than technical features. While a person with ascriptive status carefully studies the technical possibilities of the transport facility. In our opinion the subject of social mobility in structure of social identity becomes more urgent at present that particularly concerns Russian Federation.

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⁶⁷ *Erikson E.H.* Identity: Youth and Crisis, M., 1996, p. 93.

3.2. SOCIAL PROTESTS AND SOCIAL CONFLICTS

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WHAT DOES DETERMINE THE LABOUR SOCIAL PROTEST TODAY?

(The framing hypotheses)⁶⁸

The economic and political transformation, which has been taking place in Russian society over the last 20 years, significantly influences the labour status in industrial relations and in society as a whole. Today the workers' status in the social hierarchy is characterised with the high rate of unemployment, low salary, poor working conditions, limited access to continuous professional development and frequent cases of labour rights' violation [3]. Increasing personal and professional dissatisfaction, uncertainty and depression double the negative attitudes of workers at the individual level as well. The results of previous studies concluded that degrading of workers' status in social stratification did not cause the growth of the class-consciousness and did not activate the labour movement. On contrary, it resulted in a quite passive strategy of adaptation to severe conditions. This behaviour pattern is based on paternalism and traditional reliance on informal social networks at the working place [1].

However, in recent years a number of positive trends have been emerging. Firstly, economic stabilisation at the national enterprises causes the growth of workers' expectations. Secondly, the expansion of multinational companies at the local markets allows to promote international standards for working conditions at the domestic enterprises. Moreover, the growing collaboration between international trade unions and national counterparts create conditions for dissemination of good practices in labour rights protection. In recent years there were several successful collective actions organised by workers to protect their labour rights. These cases identified some essential changes in forms and mechanisms of collective protests which became more frequent covering a broader range of issues [2]. In this context, the research interest grows to the factors and future prospects of labour movement in Russia. In particular, it becomes topical in the current economic crisis affecting trade, production and, as a consequence, workers as well. The current studies (conducted in Russia) indicate a growing potential for social protests which is caused by the worsening leaving conditions. Since September 2008 the expectations of the social protest have been increasing from 18% to 31%. At the same time the willingness to participate in such forms of action has grown from 18% to 26%. [4]. However, the traditional forms of protests as strikes are not seen as effective mechanisms as previously. For instance, the percentage of population who think that 'there is nothing to achieve with going on strike' has doubled from 17% to 31%. [5]. Therefore, one could suggest that the negative attitudes might emerge in different forms other than strike, for instance: absenteeism, dismissal, restrictionism (decreasing productivity and creativity at the working place), poor discipline, appeals and petitions, organisation of public actions and obstruction.

The number of studies were conducted in Russia and abroad which aim to analyse the factors of workers' motivation and the process of protest mechanisms selection. The key points are summarised below. The readiness to participate in protest action is dependent on the self-perception of the current social status and its determinants. The low level of social optimism jointly with compassion to the employers' interests decreases the protest activities (hypothesis 1a). Alternatively, workers' negative attitudes are transformed

⁶⁸ Research funded by the Russian foundation for humanitarian Research, project №09—03—00206 a

into other forms of protest outside the working place (hypothesis 1b). The growth of the protest activity is caused with the unsatisfactory conditions at the working place: 'unfair' system of labour remuneration and labour assessment, violation of labour rights and a hazard of dismissal activate protest behaviour (hypothesis 2). However, this does not necessarily lead to collective forms of protest.

The transformation of individual dissatisfaction into collective action is rooted in solidarity and common beliefs among workers in fighting for their rights. This joint position is emerging when the workers' interests are seen as distinctive from the employers' interests. Therefore, those workers, who recognise the opposition between 'employers/employees' interests, are more likely to accept and follow collective forms of protest (hypothesis 3). The participation in such actions is determined with the workers' expectations. The probability of collective protest is obviously growing if workers do belief in its positive outcomes (hypothesis 4).

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RATIONALITY AND CONFLICTOLOGY: POSTCLASSICAL APPROACH

The phenomenon of conflict gradually shapes into a national form in a relatively new branch of science known as «conflictology» that realizes one of the variants of the comprehensive approach. Humanitarian and common sociological aspects of conflict are closely connected with the central core of the western civilization — with *Rational (Racio)*, with classical rationalism formed in the context of the new European stage of development of the western civilization, which supposes not only rational arrangement of society and person but also their cognition. But social cataclysms of 18th-20th centuries have convinced the humanity of the fact that enlightenment and prosperity by no means not always promote minimization of conflict; furthermore, in the most enlightened 20th century confliction ran up to unprecedented dimensions.

Let us pick out the basic principles of postclassical approach, connected with conflictology. In compliance with the western classical paradigm of social-humanitarian science there still exists an aspiration to lead: subjectivity — to individual; individual — to personality, personality — to behavior, behavior — to something outward — material and spatial, but not only material and spatial but also dirigible and reproducible from the outside. This postulates the existence of theoretically rational models of management, which are possible to realize to control the behavior of a man, a group, a society. At the same time the absence of ontological limits for the realization of the behavior control is assigned. Taking into consideration the above-stated the rationalization of the behavior as a task of theoretical (scientific) mind is «added» in experience to reality, in this case — to behavior.

In conflictology the usage of classical rationalism is based on the objective transfer from the valuable rationality of the traditional society to the purposeful and then to the formal rationality of western new European civilization (according to *Max Weber*), in other words the rationality of «classical» capitalism with its rationalization of all basic spheres of social life, including spiritual sphere and the whole behavior of an individual. The main question is — how much is this situation universal? For example, the situation of post-soviet Russia allows affirming that it represents a transitional intermediate-rational country, where there is immeasurably more between than rationality: there is already no former quasi-rationalism of the «party-soviet» model, but there is either no new market-democratic one yet. But an original method of management on the assumption of absence of powerful central authorities, steady economic, social, cultural-ideological structures has formed, what makes both soviet and western conflictological models inapplicable. Under such conditions it is conceptually possible to use only empirical models of interaction and contradictions, with control and monitoring of development of both real situations and models themselves.

As development of western civilization's rationalism manifold spheres, which are inaccessible to the procedure of rationalization have appeared discovered, and limitations of concrete types of perception have become visible. Thus the brightest one in the social-humanitarian sphere is the incommensurability of valuable and purposeful rationalities or the mutual «impenetrability» between the western civilization and the civilizations of the East. We have in view the spiritual incommensurability on the one hand end non-rationalization of the spirit on the other. The given experience as well as the inner development of the philosophy of science have led to another, postclassical gnoseological position: subject which is cognizing and / or communicating has no normal output to the object omitting his own cognitive and communicative energies, there are either no guarantees of success of these energies on behalf of the transcendental subject.

Oppositions «rational — irrational» and «rational — non-rational» relate to the feature of classical rationality. Postclassical vision of the relationship between the given categories in the form of triad can be formulated in the following way: the category of the irrational fixes conceptual and factual remainder which doesn't keep within the acceptance of the scheme of the sensible and systematized scientific knowledge. In this case two cases are possible: firstly, we mean irrationality which shows remainder which hasn't been assimilated because of the historical limited nature of the methods of scientific perception — the historical irrational; secondly, irrationality also means the remainder which can't be expressed in the context of fixed set of procedure — the logical irrational. In reality the irrational is the attribute of cognitive activity and its results, which shows itself in turning — points of science's development (the irrational is in the opposition to rational). Rationality and forms adversarial to it form a trinomial row «rational — non-rational — irrational». In these terms the bigger part of East seems to be predominantly irrational, and Russia turns out to be the border between rational and non-rational. The opposition «natural — constructivist (reflexive)» is the opposition of classical rationalism (and classical conflictology). Later on the above-mentioned pair of classical rationalism (unified «conscious — unconscious») has been reflected by *Sigmund Freud* into a triad («Id — Ego — Super-Ego»). When interpreting the chord «Id — Ego» as an opposition of conscious to unconscious and tying up the axis «Ego — Super-Ego» with opposite of reflexive and non-reflexive conscious it is possible to unite the levels of the unconscious (natural), reflexive and non-reflexive conscious. *Karl Marx* has broadened the analysis of subjectivity into the «triad», examining three levels of conscious: ordinary (practical), modified (ideological) and scientific (enlightened, absolute).

Postmodernism simply throws away the third instance. Postclassical rationalism insists on the preservation of all three instances, but also on the uncrowning the absolutism of the third, leaving one unenlightened primary and two systematized. The triad is defined by the necessity for the choice being made by the less enlightened consciousness between two more enlightened, with the help of this both pluralism and the possibility for relative progress are preserved. As applied to conflict, besides two obligatory sides, in the modern epoch of globalization there exists, at the least, the third side which pretends absolute, but as a matter of fact it is one of the relatively rationalized sides of

conflict. From the position of postclassical rationality, it is possible to affirm that between the real attitude (or the thing itself — *Ding an sich* by *Immanuel Kant*) and the things the way they appear in the consciousness there is a field not covered by contemplation and filled with social mechanics, the product of action on which is this or that man's knowledge of the reality — both outer and inner. Other variants are also possible — every thing depends on where and how we draw a border between the members of this triad. For example, if we leave concept of consciousness as only meaning of local phenomenological observer, the rest can be «given» to postclassical subjectivity. Then consciousness in the large sense of the word is the individual consciousness (observer) plus operational-communicative field (postclassical subjectivity).

Let's demonstrate how postclassical rational approach is applied to social interactions. Analyzing social interactions are examined from fixed standpoints, including as intercourse (communication), as exchange (of material and cultural wealth), as opposition (conflict), as collaboration (cooperation), as union (fusion). One of typological principles of classification of social interactions is their division into confrontational and unites. In their turn, confrontational interactions can be divided into destructive (conflicts, wars, etc.) and constructive (competition, contest, etc.) interactions. At the same time disruptiveness means absence of controllability, threaten for not only participants' but also confrontation eyewitness existence, impossibility for reaching a compromise and a mutually beneficial decision, constructiveness on the contrary, means controllability of confrontation and therefore its possibility to rationalize itself. Though the last is potentially supposed in practically every conflictological model the real development, conflict relations transform from non-rational into irrational-total chaos which inevitably leads to a social catastrophe.

There is a hierarchy from five basic levels of human vital functions' determinations, which corresponds to the hierarchy of human behavior and social relations. This also relates to the confrontational type of social (as well as ethnic-national) interactions. Ethnos' and nations, that have analogous hierarchy of existence and enter into conflict interaction, also demonstration confliction in five spheres: (1) in objective-natural sphere (the conflict of needs concerning possession of these resources); (2) in objective-social sphere (the conflict of interests); (3) in the sphere of the unconscious (the conflict of aims and stereotypes); (4) in the sphere of non-reflexive consciousness (the conflict of ideologies); (5) in the sphere of reflexive consciousness (the conflict of reflexive strategies). At the same time the removal of the conflict in any of the spheres doesn't lead to its complete removal. Rationalization of conflict, its neutralization, softening of its negative consequences are possible, firstly, if at the levels (1), (2), (5) there are compromise decisions; secondly, if at levels (3), (4) where, as a rule, there is valuable-semantic incommensurability, either some tolerance or the submission of this level of conflict to three above-stated levels is achieved.

If one of the sides of conflict doesn't relate to the western civilization even in modern time the escalation of social conflict doesn't proceed along the above-stated path. Most often the conflict which has started energetically has not resulted in an evident victory of one of the sides and has exhausted the resources, turns from an active form into a «sleeping» form. It is clear that a certain potency of study and application of conflictology as a positive classical science also remains under modern conditions. But this method is not universal and it is effectively applicable within the limits of western social rationality, where controllability of a society and individual is guaranteed by basic western social institutes. With the charge of global and local conditions of this or that variant of development a certain social sphere of process can exceed the bounds of idealization of conflictological approach are true. Certainly this doesn't mean that conflicts disappear, this only means that static, spatial, objective, homogeneous universal and isotropic models of conflict resolutions can be applied not always and not everywhere.

SOCIAL PROTEST: POTENTIAL OF MODERN RUSSIA

Stable social development is an indispensable condition of viability of the state, its possibility to act according to inner and external challenges at political, social, economic and other areas. Notwithstanding the relative economic and political stabilization in Russia in the beginning of 2000s, a lot of problems that arose in the 1990th are still being. Among them there is a problem of extremely social stratification that is typical for societies that have changed their trajectory of development from socialistic to capitalistic. Decimal coefficient that displays the proportion between the incomes of 10% of the richest part of population and the incomes of the 10% of the poorest part of the population and measures the extent of the social stratification, at the end of the Soviet period was 4, 9 times. [1, 14] To the end of the 1993 its proportion was 11 to 1, that exceeded the crucial value for world practice 10 to 1. In 1994 was 15 to 1, in some regions it reached value 27 to 1. [2, 5]

According to the official data of the Federal service of the state statistics of the Russian Federation, the decimal coefficient was 15,3 to 1, not falling lower than 13,5 during the whole period of the 2000th. [3, 1] So the excessive social stratification became an integral characteristic of the modern Russian society. According to the words of the director of the Institute of the economy of the RAS Ruslan Greenberg, as the decimal coefficient reaches value 10, conditions for social disturbance arise. [4, 1] Therefore, Russia must be the country of the increasing and instant social protest. But the reality is quite on the contrary. According to the WCIOM data, social protest degree in Russia in November 2007 was the lowest during the whole time of its measuring. Only 21% of the population supposes that social disturbances are possible. [5, 1] But such weak protest mood of the Russian citizens should not make an impression that the protest potential of the population is very low. Really, the obvious protest activity in form of meetings, pickets and demonstrations is not significant. But the potential of the social protest must be considered as a probability of displaying the social protest in response to increasing deprivation of the population. This approval makes it possible to consider the problem of the social disturbance in the modern Russian society in other way. According to the results of investigation by WCIOM, conducted in September 2007, one in two respondents (52%) suppose that new-elected president must adopt more socialistic policy, he must be a supporter of the social justice, 22% prefer market economy, 43% prefer socialistic economy [6, 2]

One can make certain conclusions. First, considerable part of the society is not satisfied with the present situation by the ongoing moment. Objective dissatisfaction with the existing socio-economic order creates potential for social disturbance. Second, growth of a number of dissatisfied people may occur in case of not implementing the expectations, connected with the power, especially with the new president and prime-minister. So we got a paradox of the social protest in modern Russian society. Though we have low protest activity, its potential is rather high. There are no forces in the modern atomized, individualized Russian social universe, to create broad social movement. Scholar of the Institute of the sociology of the RAS and civil activist Karin Kleman supposes that state paternalism, absence of the civil solidarity and mutual distrust of the citizens are the reasons of it [7, 74]. But it doesn't mean that such kind of mobilization is impossible ever. Extreme inner and external challenges to the state — downfall of the standard of life [8, 3], external military threat are capable to mobilize latent protest potential of the considerable part of population and evoke just other global changes in Russia's development.

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NATIONAL STATE MODELS USED AS PSYCHOLOGICAL SOLUTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS

In nowadays world a significantly large quantity of various types of political conflicts, internal and external, different in scale and covering a variety of geographical territory, involving different ethnos, social and political strata, and political systems, are arising simultaneously, undergoing all kinds of degrees of escalation and fading away. With each and every new conflict, that has reached an institutional stage as a result of political action to resolve it, experience is gained with respect to the impact it has on modern day conflicts to try to prevent the conflicts from escalating into a destructive stage for society. Today various countries garner their efforts together to resolve international conflicts, various international institutions are in effect that enable a third party to foster resolution to the conflict. However, despite the amount of experience gained, the number of current conflicts is hardly on the decline, on the contrary, their numbers are dynamically growing, and in some cases so quickly that the system of socio-political relations of modern day society simultaneously have become more complicated.

Today's existing models and means of impacting conflict situations have clearly expressed ethnic and state peculiarities. The belief is that government differences in technologies for mitigating modern day conflicts are linked with the types of political system of the government that is embroiled in the conflict dictating a particular tactic on the part of politicians on how to react to the conflict situation. Nationality differences are related first and foremost with the political world view and mentality of the people and ethnic groups that make up the populations of the country, including the traditions and customs deeply rooted in these ethnic groups with respect to social and political behavior, the social and cultural traditions of that nation in mitigating conflict, that are well grounded in the depths of psychological archetypes, and with the historical experience of interactions (including conflicts) with other ethnic groups.

Intergovernmental differences in models and means used to have an impact on a conflict situation lie, first and foremost, in the political course, which that particular government conducts in relation to other subjects of its foreign policy, particularly with respect to its relative peaceable disposition or aggression. The political course is formulated by the ruling elite, i. e. a rather small circle of citizens of the country who hold the reigns of power. Moreover, the course itself may not, not only not coincide with the declared humanitarian principles of a democratic society, but may in fact be in complete contradiction with them: we see that in the USA, the administration of George Bush Jr., consequently is leading an aggressive course of action directed undoubtedly toward the USA forcing other countries and their allies to be subordinate to the USA, despite the fact that the absolute majority of the country's population does not approve of it. Thus, under current conditions «open» countries are capable of conducting a harsh forceful line in the international arena to suppress conflicts and any other protest movements in general, while the countries traditionally known as «closed» societies (e. g. the so-called «countries of social outcasts») are capable of demonstration their capability

of being fairly flexible in changing their political course, while adapting to the conditions of the conflict.

In examining the first criterion (the political course), it is possible to come to the conclusion that, overall, a multitude of tactical combinations witnessed by the reaction of various countries to conflict situations can be combined into three main groups:

- Political combinations, exercised with respect to conflicts among states that are leading an action foreign expansionist policy;

- Political combinations, applied with respect to conflicts among states that are striving to support the existing balance, while allowing insignificant fluctuations relative to the state of balance;

- Political combinations, used with respect to conflicts among states, whose political position in the international arena changes for the worse as a result of upsetting the existing balance of powers by the aggressor state.

In the first case, the aggressor-state, regardless of whether it is totalitarian or democratic, conducts itself in the following behavior model:

- in the sphere of geopolitical interests of the aggressor-state a number of minor political and ethnic conflicts are initiated, which create political chaos, cripple, discredit or minimize the role of political institutions, supporting political stability, dividing and polarizing the various directions of political forces, and bring into its realm third-party participants;

- the aggressor-state enters into the political vacuum that has been created in the role of the sole arbiter, utilizing information psychological warfare technologies to manage the field of political conflicts.

An example of this behavior model is the USA in the Yugoslav conflict, as a result of which created a breeding ground for instability in the very center of Europe (and it was long-lasting, mind you), and the European Union refused to get dragged into this acute ethno-political conflict.

Here it is worth mentioning several nuances:

- the aggressor-state is not interested in mitigating all the political conflicts that have arisen: many conflicts simply do not represent a direct threat to it, and any others are seen by the aggressor as an object of political control and as an instrument of political influence, both over its competitors, as well as over its allies;

- the concept of conflict control stops being effective, if there is no plurality of individual conflicts, even in the case of escalation it does not have the potential great enough for political disorganization. Moreover, the more conflicts there are, the greater the number of instruments of political influence;

- the political conflicts are convenient for masking the application of information psychological warfare technologies.

With respect to the role and place for technologies of information psychological influence in models of how an aggressor-state reacts in a conflict situation, the following can be noted:

- both conflict management technologies, in the basis of which lies the western concept «Crisis Management,» and technologies to establishing manageable political chaos, which are based on using comprehensive technologies for informational-psychological impact on mass and individual consciousness of populations in conflict zones. However, the predominant reason for their use is to mitigate a conflict along the aggressor's terms;

- in practice the aggressor only uses information psychological technologies in crisis management, when either the goals of the aggressor have been achieved, or the crisis as an instrument of political control has been completely exhausted and has lost its practical value.

In the second case, the government striving to preserve the existing political balance generally adheres to the following models of behavior:

- avoid a political crisis and the destructive processes that flow from such a crisis into institutionalizes political process, i. e. build the transforming crisis into the political system of the region, in which the crisis arose, as if the crisis process was there from the start (in unstable regions the political system is constantly in flux, such that where

yesterday there was reason for conflict, tomorrow it could become commonplace in the society's political organization);

- intertwine the political crisis with other processes in the region, that are relatively politically stable, ensuring, thereby mutually agreed up changes at a rate not exceeding the flow of stable political processes;

- introduce into the playing field of the conflict, rules of the political game adhered to by all parties of the conflict, excluding plunging into political chaos, even if it is managed chaos;

- place the conflict under the control of international organizations, by transforming them into official mediators to mitigate the conflict, and thereby avoiding a direct conflict with the interests of the aggressor or any other dominating power in the region.

However, it is namely this category of states that are the primary object of international politics that favor the use of information psychological technologies to influence the crisis, including with the intent to mitigate political conflicts.

In the third case, countries whose political situation is unstable, including because of a result of a crisis situation on its own territory or near its borders, overall behave in the following manner:

- In a case of emergency of a crisis, the limits of time and means to be used to prevent it can be seen as related to it. It leads to greater efforts being dedicated to solving problems that occur between the oppositions of a conflict and to providing resistance to efforts to escalate it. As a rule, crisis management under these conditions cannot even be considered.

- Among those information psychological technologies that can be used, there are certain methods that, as a rule, do not require lengthy preparation. Thus, there are primarily methods of political propaganda, spreading rumors, and disinformation.

- The information is not disseminated to all layers of society, but rather to the leaders of certain opinions and their followers, i. e. targeted. There often are not enough resources to do some mass outreach.

- Subtle, multi-pronged combinations of methods for using information psychological warfare technologies are built only with regard to potential allies, their public and their leaders of international organizations, capable of serving a mediator-function.

- In the event of a direct threat of armed aggression it is possible to apply the principles of informational deterrence, from demonstrations of various threatening actions to using psychological government black mail (e. g. KPDR, the threat to use nuclear weapons).

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LABOUR CONFLICTOLOGY AS A THEORETICAL BASIS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SAFETY MANUFACTURE IN THE MODERN RUSSIAN SOCIETY

Labor conflicts are one of the first areas of a life of a modern society in whom there was a radical transition from practice of «social wars» to a recognition of inevitability and necessity of «the conflict of interests», to creation of legal institutes and pre-judicial regulation of social conflicts. Thus there are questions on a place and value of labour conflicts in the modern world, about social justice rules and the social device of a society. Without statement and decisions of questions on work and creation of institute of the labour conflict adequate to market economy, cannot be successfully solved neither a problem of constant economic growth, nor a problem of construction of the stable and prospering state. In this context «the social labor conflict» acts as alternative to «class war» the mechanism of social interaction of hired workers and the employers, allowing the basic subjects of labour relations to assert the interests and positions, to put and solve on the basis of mutual benefit challenges in sphere of work. On the other hand, the «labour

conflict» resists to concepts boundless «the social world», not suitable to the decision of modern acute problems market economy. At the same time such understanding of the labor conflict more corresponds to world practice of regulation of labor relations in which «labor dispute» on «conflict of interests» wage labor and the capital is the fundamental mechanism of social and economic development of leading countries economy of the world. Transformation relations of the property and institutes of the market economy, occurring in Russia, demands change of the methodological approach for understanding of essence and value of labor conflicts in the modern industrial organizations. Below we allocate and argue the four aspects of the problem.

First of all, it is necessary to recognize conflicts in sphere of labour relations natural, objective, though quite often painful, the phenomenon in social ability to live of the enterprise. Basically it is impossible nonconflict development of organizational system of the enterprise, firm, establishment which provides self-preservation in the form of dynamical continuous process of a disputed antagonism of subjects of social — labour relations. As alternative to this postulate representation of the Russian philosophers and sociologists about harmonious existence of social systems, including industrial acts. Secondly, not only the conflictness of labour relations, as its attribute, but also potentially positive, constructive role of last in its perfection is inherent in the modern organization. Sociological researches of 2004—2008 fix widely widespread negative attitude to labour disputes and disputed situations, both on the part of management, and in opinion of many trade-union functionaries, first of all economically profitable companies. Certainly, it is not necessary to go to extremes, ignoring destructive consequences of various collective labour strikes, but, nevertheless the positive estimation of labour conflicts on manufacture in the greater degree takes into account specificity of market economy in Russia.

Thirdly, marked above negative attitude to *social conflict* dominates, in our opinion, owing to action of some factors. It is still poorly advanced the institutionalisation of social — labour conflicts (first of all normative-legal base), and competent application of procedures. Their rationalization, use of mechanisms of negotiations and mediation has not turned to constant practice. Underestimation of a resource of rationalization of disputed situations at the enterprises in turn causes spontaneous character of origin and development of labour confrontation of the personnel and top — management. Accordingly almost from the very beginning process of social struggle between opponents on a level of «*superconflictness*» of labor relations, it becomes a dysfunctional and socially — inexpedient process.

Fourthly, Russian managers insufficiently professionally carry out the role of managing subjects of regulation of arising labour disputes and conflicts of interests to the personnel. An effect of administrative influence on the prevention or the resolution of sharp disagreements with workers when practical actions of heads are late as the third party (the arbitrator, the intermediary, etc.) is frequently reduced. For example, if antidisputed actions start to be carried out, when disputed process between opponents has accepted destructive character and has transformed them into irreconcilable opponents. Besides the data of our sociological researches show, that at a choice of means of administrative influence on disputed behaviour of the parties representatives of administration still prefer power pressure, instead of achievement of the compromise or a consensus more often. However and hired workers are not less inclined to application of force actions instead of constructive partnership and mutually advantageous cooperation. In a result the aggressive disputed antagonism of opponents gives to the proved labour dispute a destructive direction, exhausting it in impasse of mutual animosities.

Reforming of the Russian economy is continuous and painfully proceeding over ten years, has generated set of factors and the reasons of industrial disputed situations. However, in our opinion, the main circumstance is that it occurred and occurs to a great extent due to superintensive prodigal use of resources of «the human factor» manufactures, instead of due to improvement of *quality* of professionalism both the hired personnel, and management, and employers — proprietors. Therefore resources of adaptation of the majority of workers to evolution market economy have not allowed

to take from her material benefit expected by them and to reach prosperity. Precisely as new owners of the enterprises, firms and the companies, potentially having significant financial resources, poorly use them for modernization of the equipment, updating of technological park, etc., that is decisions of modern innovative problems. Stable shortage adaptable, reproductive, innovative institutional and social — psychological resources of workers, destructive contradictions between them cause *accumulation protest potential* in sphere of the manufacture socially dangerous to got stronger Russian market economy. Therefore, from our point of view, labour conflicts and collective strikes are consequence of social — negative tendencies in the economy, developing as a result of irreplaceable, prodigal operation of social resources of normal ability to live and work of workers. Occuring thereof transformation of potentially positive, local disputed situations at the enterprises in spontaneous protest movement of workers contains danger of irreversible degradation of «the human capital» Russian economy.

As the productive methodological approach to a substantiation and construction of effective strategy of management by various elements and mechanisms of the labour conflict the author's concept of «resource mobilization» acts. It promotes deeper judgement of genesis and dynamics of disputed situations for corresponds to specificity of the resource nature of the labor conflict.

According to offered model during a disputed antagonism each party «inside a field of the conflict» spends own resources for an exhaustion of the general potential of the opponent and itself sustain the certain losses because of reciprocal actions of the last. Outside of «a disputed field» the opponent hires supporters for reflection of attacks of the opponent and increase of efficiency of the attack. From here the constructive approach to the sanction of labour dispute by means of negotiations bases on understanding of that it resource character dictates participants principles of «calculation of resources», measurement of «expenses — benefits» at each stage of process of an antagonism, acceptance on itself of mutual obligations on *satisfaction* of requirements showed each other. Thus, transition of the Russian society from the scheduled centralized economy to a market economy occurred in conditions of a system economic crisis of 1990th years which consequences as recession of real manufacture, a continuous rise in prices and decrease in a standard of life of the majority of the population are not overcome till now. Privatization the state enterprises, political instability, struggle financial — industrial groups for authority and new repartition of a public property have generated steady social intensity and the mass social protest. Let us look statistics of dynamics of strike movement in Russia for the period of 1990—2006 (Table 1).

Table 1. Dynamics of strike movement in Russia (1990—2006). Based on: the Data of Federal service of state statistics (ROSSTAT). M, 2007.

Years	Number of organizations on which passed strikes	Number of workers participating in strikes		Amount of time unfinished by workers participation in strikes		Number of unfinished days on the average on one participant of strike
		One thousand	On the average on one organizations the person	One thousand	On the average of one organization	
1990	260	99,5	383	207,7	799	2,1
1992	6273	357,6	57	1893,3	302	5,3
1995	8856	489,4	55	1367,0	154	2,8
1996	8278	663,9	80	4009,4	484	6,0

Years	Number of organizations on which passed strikes	Number of workers participating in strikes		Amount of time unfinished by workers participation in strikes		Number of unfinished days on the average on one participant of strike
		One thousand	On the average on one organizations the person	One thousand	On the average of one organization	
1997	17007	887,3	52	6000,5	353	6,8
1998	11162	530,8	48	2881,5	258	5,4
1999	7285	238,4	33	1827,2	251	7,7
2000	817	30,9	37	236,4	289	7,6
2001	291	13,0	45	47,1	162	3,6
2002	80	3,9	48	29,1	364	7,5
2003	67	5,7	86	29,5	440	5,1
2004	5993	195,5	33	210,9	36	1,1
2005	2575	84,6	33	85,9	33	1,0
2006	8	1,2	149	9,8	1231	8,3

Sociological researches of last years yield interesting results. For example, the research of «Levada-center» which has been lead in November, 2005, has shown that the majority of the interrogated Russians were justified anyhow with strikes. The most part from them counted, that strikes — «an extreme measure, but in present conditions it is impossible to avoid» (29 %), others — that it «normal means of the decision of the ripened problems» (19 %), and for the some people is «a unique way to achieve satisfactions of the requirements» (14 %). And only each third Russian has been adjusted against strikes. The main argument will be, that «strikes nothing can be achieved» (29 %). Occasionally there is also one more reason: «strikes in Russia are non-admissible» (4 %). The attitude to strikes depends, according to the received data, first of all from an occupation and political orientation of the person. The positive attitude to labor strikes prevails among workers (pro — 67 %, contra — 25 %), learning youth and students (72 and 22 % accordingly). Prevalence of the negative attitude is typical of independent businessmen (54 % and 46 %) and the unemployed, temporarily not employed persons (55 % and 39 %). In consciousness of learning youth, students the motive «cannot be avoided» (39 %) is expressed more intensively, than «nothing can be achieved» (22 %). On the contrary, independent businessmen more often than other groups consider that «by strikes nothing can be achieved» (43 %), and less often that «it is impossible to avoid them» (32 %). Idle pensioners (31—21 %), and also employees of power structures (36—34 %) are solidary with businessmen in the given question. On the side of learning youth representatives of other occupations, such as workers (25—31 %), experts without supervising functions (27—31 %), heads, administrative workers (22—27 %).

Thus, in all professional groups surveyed by sociologists *moderate positions* meet less often, than radical, and strikes are considered as «normal means» than as «it is unique an effective way» is more often. Among heads, administrative workers the opinion about «normality» strikes meets twice more often, than opinion on them «necessery» (26 and 12 %). The same picture is observed in group of experts (25 and 11 %), but almost on equal both variants of opinion in the environment of workers (21 and 16 %) are submitted.

Strike for them is more often, than for other professional groups; it is a unique way to achieve satisfactions of the requirements. One of parameters of preservation of an acuteness of labour conflicts and collective strikes in modern Russia is readiness of workers to take part in strike. As have shown researches in 2005, significant number of Russians today is ready to become participants of strikes. (29 % of them are «pro» and 56 % are «contra»). Thus, the problem of labour conflicts in modern Russia has not lost the urgency and during the present period. Still enough significant part of the interrogated Russians (about 30 % on the data of «Levada-center») is ready to take part at any moment in strike movement that certainly does not speak about stability of an economic situation of able-bodied population of Russia.

Therefore suggested by the author «the resource concept» management of labor conflicts represents itself as productive alternative to an outlined approach of large business on interests and rights of hired workers to what the Labor code of the Russian Federation testifies. Solutions based on conceptual, methodical and technological tasks can more efficiently control and prevent labor conflicts in modern organizations when they are taken especially by means of forecasting, preventive maintenance; the warning of disputed situations opens significant prospects of formation of the *Russian labor conflictology*. New interpretation of labor conflict from positions of the subject–action approach and «the resource theory» as multifunctional social struggle (economic, organizational, ideological, psychological) allows to refuse mainly «administrative power decision» of sharp contradictions in sphere of labor relations for the benefit of «rational resource managing» influence on value, norm and motivation of disputed behavior of hired workers.

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3.3. SOCIAL PROCESSES IN RUSSIA: INTERNAL CHANGES AND EXTERNAL CORRELATION

A.O. Blinov, B.Y. Zakharov, I.V. Zakharov

RESEARCH OF A COMPANY'S INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS

Let us consider the results of the research conducted in 2002 to 2005 in Nizhniy Novgorod (Russia) which related to the analysis of communication problems arising in the course of company transformation. We were pursuing answers to the following questions: How satisfied are employees with information received? What channels do the employees receive information through and what channels they would like to receive it through? We compared the obtained data with the MORI research results outlined in the work by Peter Hutton [1]. Low level of information awareness of employees is always indicative of the need for changes in the communication system of the enterprise. Here are two situations which developed at different times in a Russian industrial company and in the English company Hoechst UK [1, 108]. The following answers were received to the question: *Please estimate whether the enterprise provides you with too much, too little or as much as needed information about...*:

Table 1. Awareness level of employees of enterprises (in %)

Too little about ...	Russian company	Hoechst UK
...reasons for key decisions	82	77
...plans of the enterprise for the future	81	64
...new products of the enterprise	74	56
...upcoming changes at your workplace	64	50
...your immediate job duties	48	57
...operation of your department, shop floor	43	51

When Hoechst UK faced a 25% staff turnover the interview showed that in this upswing company employees feel inadequately informed. In 2002 restructuring began in the Russian company to help it out of the crisis situation; staff turnover exceeded 30% and employees obviously needed more information. The similarity of the awareness level estimations by these companies' employees comes under notice: both the general level of dissatisfaction with the received information, and the structure of this discontent are much the same. These companies are of different types; they operate in different markets, have different strategies and are at different stages of their life cycle. Both companies perform fast and radical transformations which change their structure and position in the market. Employees of the both Russian and English company most of all lacked information about reasons for decisions adopted by the management; they were convinced that they were little involved in taking of decisions which immediately concerned them. It may be suggested that the level and the structure of dissatisfaction of employees with information awareness is predicated upon not so much market specificity, type and life-cycle stage or strategy of enterprises, as profoundness and velocity of performed transformations. The older the employees are and the longer their period of service in the company is, the lower their education level and social status, the higher the level of their dissatisfaction with the received information. Managers of these companies developed a program of communication with shop floors which focused on commitment to skilled and high quality performance. As a result the level of awareness of employees increased, particularly in relation to information about their immediate job and operation of their respective department.

Table 2. Dynamics of information awareness of Russian company's employees (in %)

Too little about ...	2002	2005
...reasons for key decisions	82	70
...plans of the enterprise for the future	81	67
...new products of the enterprise	74	61
...upcoming changes at your workplace	64	52
...your immediate job duties	48	32
...operation of your department, shop floor	43	32

For the estimation of communication channels the following question was used: What are your sources of information? From which sources would you like to receive information? Table 3 shows the results of the interview which we conducted in 2002, and the data received by P. Hutton regarding foreign enterprises [1, 117].

Table 3. Preferential and current channels of information receipt (in %)

Primary communication channels within the enterprise	Russian company A		Foreign company B		Foreign company C	
	Preferential source	Current source	Preferential source	Current source	Preferential source	Current source
Staff meetings	54	28	14	25	41	27
Immediate superior	52	55	44	18	55	37
Director	40	7	15	44	25	11
Newspaper	30	4	24	8	5	16
Talk, hearsay, gossip	3	78	1	68	2	55

The main source of information for employees of all enterprises under consideration experiencing transformation is *gossip and hearsay*. Excessive dependence on hearsay is obvious. We can also see that employees of the enterprises prefer to use direct and personalized means of communication. To what extent did they succeed in bringing current communication channels closer to preferential ones?

Table 4. Sources of information for employees of the Russian enterprise in 2002 and 2005 (% of the number of respondents)

Information sources	I currently receive from		I would like to receive from	
	2002	2005	2002	2005
Talk, hearsay, gossip	78	38	3	21
Immediate superior	56	45	52	21
Staff meetings	28	23	54	13
Director	7	26	40	38
Newspaper	4	24	30	43

The role of *gossip* reduced significantly, however every third employee continued to rely on gossip (38%) and every fifth one (21%) wanted to use it in future. Employees now relied less upon information from their *immediate superiors*. The analysis of this problem based on focus groups demonstrated that information obtained from team and shop foremen did not always later prove true in relation to decisions adopted by top-management. Three years later employees were no longer interested in staff meetings: only 13% of the respondents would like to receive information through this channel. However for younger personnel (under 30 years of age) staff meetings remain the main source of information. *Corporate newspaper*, to the contrary, proved to be an efficient instrument of information transfer. In 2002 only 24% wanted to use newspaper, whereas in 2005—43%. In 2002 40% of the company's employees wanted to receive information immediately from the *director*, however only 7% did so in fact. The head of the enterprise took it into account and three years later 26% of employees received information immediately from the director, but that was insufficient. Under the conditions of deep-rooted and quick changes employees give preference to channels providing most reliable information.

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MODERN POLICY OF CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN RUSSIA⁶⁹

Development of corporate social responsibility (CSR) in Russia has relatively short history. The formation of Russian business fell at the early nineties; that short in terms of economy period has seen the foundation of new and reconstruction of Soviet enterprises, and western corporations have come into the market. The orientation of business towards stability, predictable and sustainable development put forward the necessity of establishing long-term and mutually beneficial relations with the authorities, staff, partners, and local communities. At the beginning of the 2000s the term corporate social responsibility became popular among managers and government officials. The peculiarities of business formation and economic development in our country, as well as the short period of the corporate social responsibility development has determined the specific features of the Russian companies' social policy.

The research undertaken in 2008 made it possible to look more closely at the specificity of CSR development in Russia, particularly at how business and state representatives understand the nature of social responsibility, motives of CSR realization, and the influence of stakeholders on social initiatives being implemented by business. The motives of corporate social responsibility realization: First of all, companies are aimed at controlling their reputation on the market, creation and support of the image of their products and services. Secondly, expansion into the world market, joint projects and involving western investors urge enterprises to conform to the world standards of doing business, and maintain the image of stable and dynamic developing companies. In order to resolve this issue companies release nonfinancial reports, introduce various international standards in their operations, and provide active help to the local community. Thirdly, business is preoccupied with solving the human resources tasks it is facing, such as attraction, keeping and raising young specialists. The realization of the policy of social responsibility contributes to the attraction of new employees and building personnel loyalty. Also to make efforts in this direction companies offer help to the local community on their base territory, supporting leisure programs, encouraging sports and active lifestyle. Fourthly, large corporations implement social initiatives by «contract» with the administration.

First of all, the policy of corporate social responsibility is building around the business-government relations. Orientation towards the authority structures lies at the very core of CSR understanding by Russian business representatives, and is more a necessity than a true feeling of responsibility. The results of in-depth interviews with the business and authorities' representatives show that experts see CSR as an opportunity for the state to hide the «gaps» in its activities, i. e. to involve business in the spheres where the state is unable to work independently because of the lack of financial, managerial, and human resources. «...*too many state obligations that we are not able to be fulfilled*» (from an interview with a deputy of the Perm City Duma). On these grounds social responsibility of Russian business can only be interpreted against the background of relations between the commercial sector and the authorities. For the time being, because of immaturity of institutions and steady rules in the interaction of business and the authorities, priority is given to informal practices. As a rule, formal interaction prevails in the relations of regional authorities with large Russian corporations, and the informal one — in the relations with regional proprietors.

One of the CSR directions is business information policy that is intended to demonstrate transparency of activities and openness in communication with the interested parties. Various reports (environmental, financial, etc.) and corporate websites serve as the main sources of information about the company's operations. At the beginning of the 2000s the experience of publishing non-financial reports in this country was adopted as progressive and is gathering pace. In 2009 the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs entered in the National register non-financial reports of 67 companies. The top positions in social accountability are

⁶⁹ Research funded by the Russian State Scientific Fund, project №07—03—82306 a

occupied by the power industry (20 companies), oil and gas (11 companies), and metallurgy (11 companies), to be followed by finance and insurance (7 companies). [1] As a rule, large enterprises operating or just planning to operate in the world market are interested in having their reports drawn up. The companies prefer social nonfinancial reports, less developed are environmental and sustainable development reports.

Environmental focus of social responsibility of the western companies has not gained universal support on the territory of Russia for historical reasons. The Soviet environmental regulations had been unbearably strict what was made up by the system of minor fines. The same approach was applied in the nineties when the majority of Russian companies were set up. The first environmental reports of the Russian companies where they decided to reveal some results to the public appeared only at the beginning of the 2000s. In Russia enterprises have no drive to develop information policy, as there is no urge on the part of stakeholders. Such direction of social responsibility as charity has the motives somewhat different from other social initiatives. Representatives of social organizations underline that normally the solutions concerning holding charitable events or one-off donations are made on the basis of the CEO's preferences. Besides, managers and proprietors are more willing to offer help anonymously. Such kind of managers' behavior is mostly connected with low legitimacy of the property formed during the starting up period of Russian enterprises and with public disapproval of the so-called «legitimate resources» monopolized by modern officials and owners of large companies. [2]

Nowadays business prefers to invest in short-term projects that are likely to bring quick returns. As a rule, such projects include sporting and cultural events, as well as one-off support of the community groups on the territory of operation. Experts explain this phenomenon by the unstable position of business itself and the absence of tools and stimuli for the realization of social initiatives. As a result, social events can be described as chaotic and sporadic, and corporate social responsibility is not incorporated in general strategy of an enterprise. The Russian policy of CSR has been forming under the influence of relatively small number of interested parties; as a rule, they are represented by the owners and the state. The involvement of other stakeholders (e. g., financial institutions and social organizations) is more an exception than a rule for Russian companies. Nevertheless, the infrastructure of corporate social responsibility is being actively shaped and consulting agencies, funds, social organizations, etc. that help companies realize various social initiatives start to appear. Consulting agencies provide services of an expert in working out the strategy of corporate social responsibility of an enterprise, and trainers for instructing the staff involved in the realization of that policy.

The advent of social funds helps in accumulating the resources of business (more often, of several companies), the authorities, and local movements. Quite often enterprises set up their own funds to solve some particular tasks. Noncommercial and scientific organizations supply business with more specialized support. In Soviet Russia the tradition of enterprises supporting their employees and local communities was largely developed. Besides, our country has a deep history of charity and patronage of arts. In transition to market economy we have lost most social practices, enterprises have been quick to give up unprofitable objects of social infrastructure (kindergartens, sports grounds, etc.). In our time social initiatives of business look like the companies' response to the attempt of the authorities to «raise» corporate social responsibility artificially. We have rejected the previously existing models but yet have not adopted the alternative norms of socially responsible business. The CSR development in Russia is trying to «catch up». We take on western practices, adapt them to Russian reality, transform them in our own way in an attempt to assimilate shortly the experience that has been acquired and developed by western companies for quite a long time.

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TOLERANCE AS ONE OF THE FACTORS OF STABLE POLYETHNIC AND MULTICONFESSIOAL SOCIUM

The phenomenon of tolerance as well as factors it is based on is one of the most urgent topics of the present day, attracting scientists from different fields, both in sciences and arts. Today it is difficult to overestimate the importance of the question of tolerance saving. More and more experts turn to examining the problems, connected with the formation of tolerant conscience, tolerant behavior and tolerant personality. The very circle of questions concerning the term «tolerance» is being widened. In scientific prose we can come across such terms as «ethnic tolerance», «political tolerance», «and socio-cultural tolerance» and so on. The new connotation of this term becomes very important nowadays, when in the beginning of the third millennium there are known the main features of global civilization, appearing in the terms of forming quite a new level of intercultural and mutual humane problems, dealing with the shift of industrial society to informative society, followed by close connection and interpenetration of different cultures. The meaning of the word «tolerance» has been forming through centuries, and the process is still going on. Acquiring more and more meanings, this term aims to correspond to the up-to-date items, when different kinds of intolerance claim for new special means. Owing to UNESCO the term «tolerance» became international. «The Declaration of Tolerance Principles» was signed on November, 16, 1995 in Paris by 185 country-members of UNESCO. This word means peaceful attitude towards people of other nationality, race, and skin color, sex, age, language, religion, and political views, national or social background and so on.

The problem of forming of tolerant conscience has an important practical meaning for poly-ethnic and multi-confessional society. The survey of international relations for some decades shows that misunderstanding and conflicts often take place in multicultural and poly-ethnic societies. Under such circumstances the analysis of tolerance problem gets a more remarkable value. It is evident today, that peace and concord in multinational and poly-ethnic societies can be achieved not by force or arms, but with the help of maintaining close ties between nations, based on ethnic, religious, moral and other norms.

The urgency of this problem is caused by the necessity to answer the challenges of intolerance and growing differentiation of the society within the growth of interethnic and inter-confessional tension. In modern society the dislike to strange groups — xenophobia — acquires mass features and becomes one of most serious problems. The most wide-spread forms are: ethno phobia, religious phobia, phobia of migrants. In the history of the mankind intolerance always took place, thus leading to wars, religious prejudices and ideological resistance. The basis of intolerance lays in overgrown attention to people of other nationality, religion, opinions and points of view. It can be expressed in a wide variety of senses — from slight discomfort and irritation, not even seen through the behavior, to different forms of discriminating conduct or even clashes of wrath and hatred.

The problem of tolerance and intolerance is always the problem of attitude of one ethnic, religious group to another. That is why, bringing up the society in the spirit of tolerance is an important factor of adaptation in poly-ethno-confessional society. It is generally accepted, that studying other cultures is the most effective mechanism in forming tolerance. On the international scale, the priority in this field belongs to UNESCO, in Russia this problem is mostly the concern of public organizations. Due to social differentiation of the Russian society, its confessional differentiation and so on, the necessity of development of culture of tolerant relations, aimed to forming a single idea of world picture, spiritual, cultural and moral values in their national and general sense, becomes of top value. Many specialists nowadays suggest different approaches

to nomination of «tolerance». Tolerance is understood as «lack or decrease of reaction on some unfavorable factor as a result of decreasing acceptability to its effect» (Concise Dictionary of Psychology. M.:1985. p. 357). Thus, professor N. Lebedeva states that ethnic tolerance is considered to be the absence of negative attitude to other ethnic culture, as well as having in mind both positive schemes of another culture and one's own culture, i. e., ethnic tolerance is not the result of assimilation as the refusal of one's own culture, but it is a characteristic feature of inter-ethnic integration (Lebedeva N.N. Theoretical and methodological bases of research of ethnic identity and tolerance in poly-cultural regions of Russia and CIS // Identity and Tolerance, M.: 2002. p. 26).

Ethnic tolerance is closely connected with the problems of interethnic interaction and ethnic identity. Ethnic tolerance and ethnic identity are the reflectors of interethnic relations. The accepting of one's ethnic group mostly depends on their surroundings: whether they live in mono-ethnic or poly-ethnic society. The conditions of interethnic communication give the individual more advantages to have knowledge about peculiarities of his/her own and other ethnic groups, help to develop interethnic understanding and forming communicative skills. The lack of experience in interethnic communication leads to less possibility to such contacts, on the one hand, and on the other, less interest to one's own ethnic group. Thus, if a man lives in poly-ethnic society, his ethnic identity is known more precise, and he knows about differences between the groups in a shorter period of time. While communicating in every day life, in official or informal spheres, people in practice can feel equality or inequality, partnership or condemn, respect or humiliation, all that we call tolerant or intolerant, friendly, neutral or tensed relations.

The development of tolerance principles gets a special meaning in the conditions of Dagestan, where live representatives of more than 100 nationalities, following Islam, Christianity and Judaism. These religions helped to keep national cultures and national self-conscience of the Dagestan people for centuries. Many scientists think that Dagestan is historically a brilliant example of international concordance, peace and tolerance to beliefs, as there is the experience of more than 15 centuries of peaceful living of peoples, keeping their cultural traditions, religions, customs, and examples of tolerant conduct. We can underline that there are three main objects of the analysis of tolerance within the sociological paradigm:

- 1) Tolerance can be considered as the system of values, comprising the structure of social conscience. In this connection it is possible to analyze the state doctrine in this sphere as well as general types of social conscience, the conscience of different social groups, population groups and so on. While analyzing tolerance as one of the components of social ideology structure, special attention should be paid to the problems of classification both the social conscience itself and its users — classes, social groups, population groups, etc;

- 2) Tolerance can be analyzed within the framework of some certain institution, important for studying ideology of tolerance, for instance, educational, mass media, and so on. Analyzing this process of functioning within some sociological theory, we can examine peculiarities of influence of tolerance (intolerance) values, norms and models of behavior on views and behavior of certain individuals or groups;

- 3) The object of studies can also be presented by the system of interactions between the groups (nationalities, ethnics, confessions, etc.). Here we mean, first of all, big social groups marked by social-demographic principles. There can be experimental researches of relations between the members of such groups (interpersonal relations between two certain representatives of national or religious groups or the attitude to a man as the representative of this or that group). The above-mentioned objects of research do not exclude each other. However, each of them has its own peculiarities. They should be taken into account while working out the theoretical model, within which we can conduct the experimental research.

CONFLICT LEVEL ASSESSMENT IN LABOR COLLECTIVES OF RUSSIAN INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES

The modern stage of development of industrial enterprises of Russia is connected with a new view at the labor force as one of the most important factors of development. This approach is based on increasing importance of human factor under the conditions of technological stage in scientific and technical development when there is direct dependence of the results of production on the quality of the working life of employees. From our point of view one of the important elements of labour relations which directly affect the working life quality is the conflict level in labour collectives. The authors studied labour relations in Russian industrial enterprises of cooperative type in 1998, 2000 and 2008 according to uniformed methods. In 1998 300 persons participated in the questioning, in 2000—320 persons and in 2008—1120 persons. The questionnaires included a number of questions and the analysis of responses made it possible to determine the conflict level in work collectives and the extent of its influence on the working life quality of employees in enterprises.

The performance of enterprises under principally new conditions of managing formed in 1998, caused tension in the relations among employees, separate social groups and management mainly on problems of terms of payment for labour, housing, health protection, etc. It was confirmed by the results obtained in the course of questioning. In a number of cases the interviewed employees mentioned acute conflicts, satisfaction with the relations among administration and employees was at a very low level, 33,1% of respondents regarded the relations as tense but not reaching an open conflict, while 29,8% of respondents believed that the relations were tense and accompanied by acute conflict (Fig. 1).

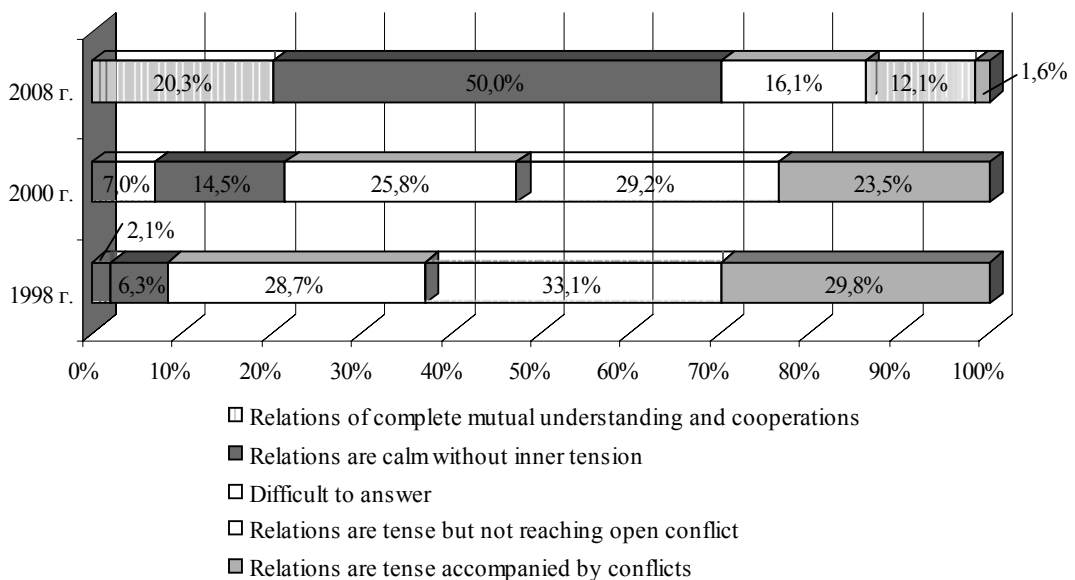


Fig. 1 — Conflict state evaluation in the labour collectives of enterprises (1998—2008)

No doubt increasing business activity and improving economic indicators of the enterprise performance after 1998 favourable affected the state of social and labour relations in the enterprise work collectives. Conflict level in the relations among the administration and work collectives has greatly reduced. Increasing the rates of industrial production, searching for concealed reserves and activization of labour potential were the unification factors in

the process of solution of complex production tasks. The common vector of development and reduction of tension practically at all level of management was noted in all enterprises under research. Satisfaction with the state of relations among the administration and employees has significantly increased. In 2008 only 1,6% of respondents believe that the relations are tense reaching open conflict (reduction by 28,8% compared with 1998).

However one can't help mentioning an important change of the general state of intraorganization climate. We noted constant improving relations among the enterprise administration and employees. In 1998 positive assessment was given only by 8,4% of respondents while in 2000 — by 21,5% and in 2008 — by more than 70% of respondents, 20,3% believed that there appeared relations of complete mutual understanding and cooperation.

We have analyzed the main conflict zones according to the management hierarchy levers (Fig. 2).

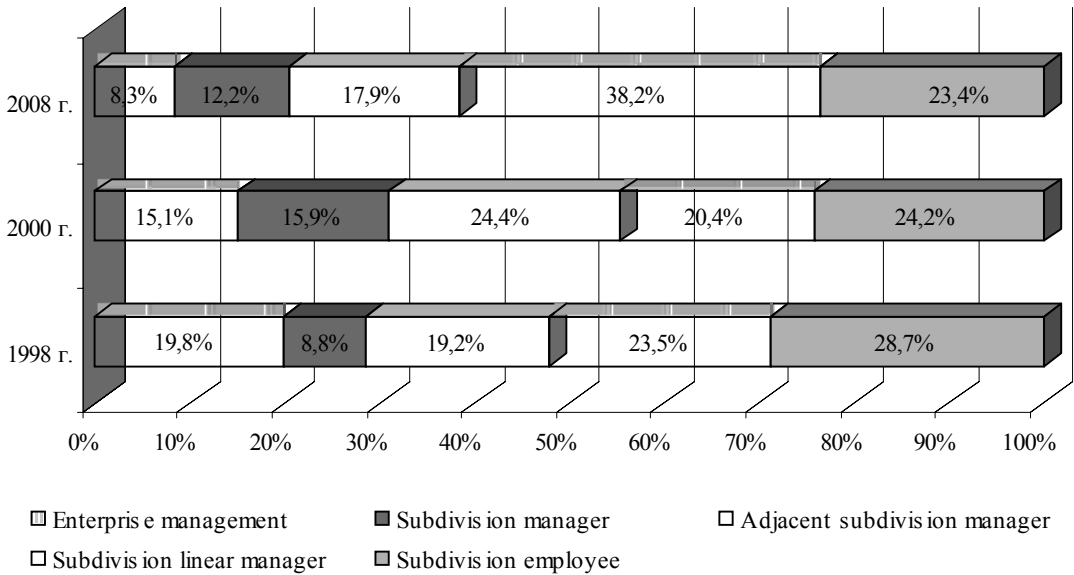


Fig. 2 — Assessment of the most probably conflict initiators in the work collective (1998—2008).

Distribution of responses showed that the main conflict zone arose in the relations at the very first hierarchy level (as a rule among employees and linear manager in subdivisions). In addition we have assessed the importance of this conflict zone as a degree of influence on the normal course of labour processes in the collective. At the maximum influence this importance is 1, at the minimum influence it is 0. In 1998 the importance of this zone was 0,45, besides, the initiators in most cases were managers of adjacent branches. However, along with the normalization of relations and reduction of conflict level in collectives, the importance of this conflict zone remained practically unchanged (0,41 in 2000 and 0,56 in 2008).

In order to assess other possible conflict zones we have analyzed responses of different groups of employees. Thus the conflict importance did not increase 0,2 in the relations of enterprise managers and specialists. This importance was even lower in the relations of managers and other categories of employees. Exception was 1998 only. In this period the conflict importance among enterprise managers and employees was 0,43.

The research conducted in 2000 showed that the stereotype of dependent economic thinking remained unsure mounted in most industrial enterprises. Most employees were oriented not on the search for new ways of profit by the collective but on distribution of the remaining resources in the enterprise. Employees became accustomed to the situation that their well-being, social status to less extent depended on their own labour

and initiative and to greater extent on the government and its policy. Such position could not help provoking conflict in labour collectives. No doubt their acuteness and importance reduced compared with the period of 1998 but still remained rather great.

The research conducted in industrial enterprises in 2008 according to the previously used methods allowed to obtain results characterizing the modern idea of employees of the conflict level. No doubt the changes that had taken place in recent years in social labour sphere had positive trend.

Relations of linear managers and employees within particular branches remained the most conflict ones. Intervention of managers of adjacent branches is often mentioned as one of the reasons (18% of respondents noted this reason of arising conflict situations).

In this context one should emphasize that labour organization in enterprises under research is built on the principle of closed autonomy. Intra-organization communications are not paid proper attention to. In this connection there arise situations of diverse interactions of branches aimed at fulfilling one task and achieving common organizational purposes.

The comparative analysis of the data obtained in the course of long researches made it possible to characterize changes in the social and labour sphere in terms of conflicts. The general trend of changes is certainly positive. However the established positive changes in the sphere under consideration are the results of economic recovery and stabilization observed up to the second half of 2008. In order to systematize the given positive changes it is necessary to concentrate managers' attention on both organizational and economic effectiveness of production and on the needs of employees, support of their participation in decision-making directly affecting their own work. In increases employees' s and understanding of social importance of their labour, allows to consider labour process in terms of its contents and humanization aimed at satisfying employees with their labour. Practical achievement of the above mentioned task is possible within the framework of social management which provides integrity, quality specificity of the organization, its reproduction and development.

Lessya Vasilieva, Moscow

CONTEMPORARY RUSSIA AS A POLITICAL PROCESS: «ELITE» AND «ERSATZ-ELITE» AS THE SUBJECTS OF SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

In the life of societies, memory of the past, anticipation of the future, and the present intermingle like determinism and events that may have uncertain outcome. We observe the idea of a linear and deterministic world, which is contrary to everything. Society should be non-linear because everything each person does influences what others do and vice-versa. Evaluating the future plays an essential role when a person makes a decision. There are two main criteria connecting the person, the group experience and social environment. These are volume of information and values that are shaped by cultural patterns and individual choice. All qualities of person are based on these criteria. The instability as a quality of self-organization systems demands such quality as diverse range of behavior. The unforeseeable implies undergoing effective social adaptation as adjustment. The volume of information that person is able to receive, appears to be effective when he has sophisticated cognitive intellect. The character of values determines individual activity aims, satisfies basic needs, and facilitates self-actualization and creativity in social interactions. The non-equilibrium derived from deficiency motivation, which can be compared with bifurcation mechanism of individual behavior. These phenomena are connected with expressive components of behavior and social movements, social conflicts and revolutions of rising expectations.

Nonlinearity is particularly clear at times of crisis. It is a clear effect of non-linearity. The larger society is, the more important are the non-linear effects, and the greater is

the number of points of bifurcation. The notions of the *structural stability* and *order through fluctuations*⁷⁰ are important notions for discussion here. Such mental qualities as *sophisticated cognitive intellect*, *diverse range of behavior* and *social causes* can perform the function of preadaptive⁷¹ elements and play a clear evolutionary role. It is possible to discuss if we introduce the category of «Information». Sociological theories of elites are regarded within synergy approach in the binary system in particular. «Elite» and «Ersatz-elite» are described as structural elements of society which assign certain qualities to social actions. These elements are the subjects of historical-evolutionary development of the mankind. Elite and ersatz-elite aren't separate society strata. Their representatives are presented on all levels of social hierarchical pyramid. The representatives of elite have such mental qualities as *sophisticated cognitive intellect*, *diverse range of behavior* and *social attitudes* and *aims* allowing them to bring maximum benefit to the society. The ersatz-elite have some common qualities with elite. But its representatives haven't diverse range of behavior and their ideas of values are mainly targeted at satisfaction of personal interests not regarding public interests⁷². Possessing such qualities along with better social adaptation, ersatz-elite become an incomprehensive replica of elite its social antipode.

Social system is a system, which receives and uses information inside itself. Since, any social group consists of individuals with their own patterns of receiving and using information. There are two main types of people who are able to influence historical and evolutionary process. As far as evolutionary process is concerned these types of people ensure two types of evolutionary mechanisms such as *adaptation* and *bifurcation*. Development of social systems is subject to mechanisms enabling *specialization* and *universalization* of main solutions of social problems. *Adaptation* is a mechanism of decision-making within standard conditions and in the usual run of things whereas *bifurcation* comes into effect in period of crisis. The ersatz-elite transform the *unique* and *specific* actions of elite into *repeating* and *universal* ones⁷³.

Now let's look at basic tendencies of social development in the cases of elite and ersatz-elite activity. The representatives of elite are «Open Authorities», they unite and develop their social space. The representatives of ersatz-elite, on the other hand, are «Closed Authorities. They break social connections and relations because they are always inclined to associate with periphery. It happens because such social system concentrates on very small quantity of problems⁷⁴. When we consider the bifurcation mechanism of social development it is important to have certain idea about quality of opinion leaders. The elite always choose the values while the ersatz-elite choose short-term aims of development.

The definition «political elite» is usually used to relation of conglomeration of political functionaries which are able to influence into all State organizations. These political functionaries decided what to do in political structures, but quality of these decisions and their consequences do not take into consideration. Hence, the meaning of the notion «elite» makes vapid. We are not able to have a conversation about *representatives of «elite»* without taking into account their *motivation*, *values*, *professional qualities*. The political elite are the group of persons with such qualities as beings with *sophisticated cognitive intellect*, *diverse range of behavior* and *social aims*. They consolidate into such foundation as definite political ideas and social base. The *representatives of political elite* are

⁷⁰ These notions are considering in detail into: I. Prigogine, I. Stengers. *Order Out of Chaos*. Bantam Books, New York, 1983.

⁷¹ **Preadaptation** — beginning into evolving system the useful signs before they should stay really useful to its.

⁷² In detail about basic-needs graduation and self-actualization by: Маслоу А. Мотивация и личность СПб, Питер, 2003 С.80—96. (Maslow A.H. Motivation and personality. N.-Y., Longman.).

⁷³ In detail about basic-needs graduation of elite and ersatz-elite: Васильева Л. Теория элит (синергетический подход). // Общественные науки и современность, №4, 2005. (Vasilieva. L. Synergy Approach to the Theory of Elite).

⁷⁴ In detail about it: Васильева Л. Кто он — Homo politicus? // Социально-гуманитарные знания, №4, 2007. (Who is he — Homo politicus?).

able to institutionalization into political realm the relations and decisions of their groups. The *representatives of political elite* occupy top levels of social pyramid because they should perform their *functions of institutionalization*. The quality of political institutes of society depends from qualities of *political leader as a representative* of elite or ersatz-elite. The quantity of representatives of elite in the political power is a key factor of political life for progressive development.

Ersatz-elite possessing political power creates social phantoms in policy and economy. Representatives of ersatz-elite cannot play the role of those responsible for people who confide and delegate them protection of their interests. They always have inclination to encroach power and replace delegated interests with their own interests. Ersatz-elite introduce or develop social mechanisms depriving people of any control over political machinery. Hence, in political sphere the people are deprived of their political rights and opportunity to influence political process. It turns out that in political and economic spheres of society deficient motivation and deficient satisfaction of basic needs are displaying through political indifference, social frustration and economic clientelism.

Social groups in political sphere have many resources to institutionalize and legitimize their interests. When ersatz-elite is in power it happens by means of strict ideology. It has always been ideology that reduced receiving and using of information and strengthened political, social and economic dependence. The *social phantom* serves to declare high social causes, but it is only a mask for real aims and actions of ersatz-elite. In these conditions the social system isn't able to give adequate response to challenges of external environment. Hence, social phantoms are extremely unstable states of social systems; they are characterized as loss of structural stability of system. During periods of crisis in such systems *new order gained through fluctuations* appears to signify *elite coming to political power*.

4. INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION: BOLOGNA PROCESS IN RUSSIA, EUROPE AND THE WORLD

4.1. CROSSROADS AND COOPERATION IN EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT

Galina A. Cherednichenko, Moscow

EDUCATION OF THE RUSSIAN YOUTH ABROAD: INFLUENCE ON A CAREER

Russia is more and more actively involved in the processes of globalization of education and science. Lately learning of Russians abroad has received a wide application. A sociological research carried out during 2007 at the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Science has been devoted to a study of efficiency of a practice of receiving education abroad. The research has been carried out as a qualitative one by a case-study method. There have been received 22 interviews of young people who were students, the receivers of degrees of the Master and PhD, the specialists being trained or heard a course of learning abroad. On the base of the data taken from the interviews and describing stages of an educational and labor way of an informant there have been constructed trajectories of life ways for all being polled. This analysis shows that a career of an informant is formed depending on what human capital he possesses and how much his qualification, specialization, knowledge and skills meet or do not meet the demands of a labor market. And this basic moment, this collision of a demand and a suggestion predominates in a career irrespective of used or not used the specialization of learning (basic at the Native Land and/or received abroad), the received additional knowledge and skills, the achieved qualification. Several types of professional careers were separated on this basis.

Ascending careers: There are examples of straight, ascending careers during which the knowledge and specialization received abroad serve as means of promotion at a labor way. There are noticeable Natalia's and Igor's trajectories when the advanced professional knowledge and skills received during learning in the West and that do not have analogs in Russia find a direct application at the Native Land. So, Natasha, a young medical worker trained for one year in one of the leading German clinics in the sphere of genetics. After returning home, owing to the received newest knowledge she was accepted to the leading medical organization in this sphere and simultaneously was invited to work in a private clinic and has prepared the PHD dissertation. Here, the main career-forming moment is a connection of the acquired experience and a corresponding professional cell when the newest scientific knowledge received by Natalia in Germany has found application at the adequate structural division within the frames of the Academy of medical sciences. Igor, a pilot independently studied English language during some months trained in the USA and Holland where he trained to work at the new model of the American plane. This new plane was purchased by Russia and Igor received a work of a pilot at the flights to the USA. Owing to the accumulated high qualification the impulse of which was preparation abroad

he being a citizen of a small town goes to Moscow and now works at Sheremetievo-2 at the International flights all over the world. Thus, the advanced preparation received in the West in a case of connection with the adequate structures of reception in the Native Land and with the assistance of favorable personal factors gives an ascending trajectory of a professional career.

«Niche-forming» careers: The advanced narrow-specialized knowledge and experience being acquired during studying in the West only at first sight seem to be an indispensable value, achievement or advantage for a person. Really, it appears to be greater but quite ambivalent resource. Such resource can work as the capital when the received unique or rare knowledge and skills meet a demand in the Native Land. Then it turns to the unconditional value for their owners. At the same time the accumulated narrow-professional knowledge and skills even the most progressive and advanced can not turn to the capital and remain to be unused reserve at least for some time. Among those being polled we also observe such cases when those who have this experience are pushed out of the frames of the traditional places in the sphere of their activity or this experience is used only additionally to the main labor activity.

After studying at the school of vanguard architecture in the USA, at his Native Land the young architect Sergey does not find a place at the design organizations or architectural workshops where his specific experience and knowledge corresponding to the vanguard of profession could be used. He starts to work in the international architectural magazine, positions himself in the Internet and participates in the international research architectural projects, acts as the critic of architecture.

Denis being a graduate of the philosophical faculty of the Moscow State University after studying in Paris defends DEA diploma on sociology. Having returned to Moscow he works as a teacher in philosophy and sociology at the leading technical higher institutions (DEA diploma is not reflected in a qualification form of labor paying). Periodically as an additional employment he translates theoretical articles and works as a synchronous translator of a high level. He prepared a dissertation on sociology but could not to protect it as he does not support their schools and authorities and supports the other one, here not yet apprehended system of ideas, styles and methods.

The general line in Sergey and Denis's situation is that in the West they have joined to the progressive world scientific knowledge corresponding to their specialization. However, the narrow-professional advanced education received abroad appears to be poorly profitable both for a person himself, and for the Russian society so as in the society there have not yet ripened corresponding structures of reception which would meet the realized needs of a person and would satisfy him by working conditions.

Careers on the base of conversion: Alongside with the careers when people remain within the limits of their profession there are also such ones when the basic education received in Russia and the professional knowledge acquired in the West are not used. These are trajectories during which it is observed a conversion of a complex of additionally received knowledge — mastering by foreign language and business culture, studying of culture of the country, practice of familiarizing with norms and institutes — to the new profession and career. Here the specific role belongs to the foreign language. Practically, all received interviews testify that the main achievement of those studied abroad becomes mastering foreign language. During the stay in the country of the studied language the communication itself becomes the exclusively effective way of perfection and mastering foreign language. As a result, at the presence of the preliminary training through certain period there comes the free possession of foreign language.

Foreign language is a working tool of the modern qualified specialist. At least in the capital at a labor market concerning the qualified work it is brightly enough expressed a tendency: the «more» English (foreign) the better work for which it is possible to be applied. The English language is especially necessary in the field of marketing, work with clients, sales, IT, office administration. Employers in these fields of activity spend greater money for training of the personnel to business English that assumes knowledge of etiquette in work with foreign partners and clients and skills to communicate with them, correct

drawing up of the resume, conducting of interview on a post, business correspondence, etc. These knowledge and skills are appropriated for those who returned from abroad already owing to the fact of staying there, passing through formal institutions of west education and environment of living, communication with the carriers of language.

A number of trajectories (physics, mathematics, engineers) shows that training for which respondents directly went abroad appear to be not applicable at the Native Land. Here we don't speak about that at a labor market these specializations do not find corresponding places. On the contrary, there are places, but that segment (science or engineering specializations) which does not give a worthy estimation of this qualification, offers too low payment and consequently does not maintain any competition to the alternative career offers going from the sphere of business.

The connection of the human capital and the demand at a labor market during career occurs always in such a manner that if it is not possible to apply or apply profitably the highly specialized preparation, the person finally tries as it is possible to sell more expensively an available cumulative resource of knowledge and skills. Accordingly, in these conditions professional training, specialization can appear not to be involved. So, this situation actually occurs and among many humanists trained abroad, which after returning home do not use his high specialized knowledge but realize the received general humanitarian preparation and unique knowledge of foreign language in the international organizations and companies.

Mastering foreign language becomes a resource of accumulation of human capital that testifies to the big efficiency of the received training. This phenomenon is observed in parallel and irrespective of the efficiency being received as a result of the basic professional training which was the main purpose of a trip. Mastering foreign language occurs as a result of the purposeful expenses (preliminary training at the Native Land, continuations of study in institutional forms abroad, independent expansion of a lexicon and knowledge on grammar), and spontaneous — on the fact of contacts — perception of speech forms and senses in foreign language during daily dialogue. Thus, there is observed a definite excess of a result over formal expenses.

The presented interviews show that similar «sublimation» of efficiency is also observed in the influence which the training abroad renders on a career of those who return home. That of a component of the human capital which is accumulated by the fact of stay abroad (passages through formal institutions and acquiring of culture, norms, forms of dialogue) in a combination with knowledge of foreign language on the Native Land is converted in advantages at employment, more highly paid work, the accelerated professional growth. The majority of the humanists as well as the representatives of technical professions polled by us irrespective of the professional training received abroad after returning home are successfully arranged first of all in the foreign companies and in the international business. This fact is the most obvious effect of the receiving education abroad in the cases considered by us.

O.M. Dudina, Moscow

FORMS AND FACTORS OF PROFESSIONAL ADAPTATION OF YOUTH

(Some results of a research: Graduates of the Russian and Bulgarian
finance universities in the labor market)

The study of professional adaptation of youth with higher education is of interest for some reasons to solve the totality of social contradictions: 1) between labor market needs and capabilities and orientation of higher professional education; 2) between the increased demands of young people to earn and employment and to employers' demands

for professional competence young specialists, and 3) between the desire of young professionals to participate in social production and the lack of interest of employers in their hiring (for the absence of practical experience). Comparison of forms and factors of professional adaptation for the graduates from the Russian and Bulgarian financial institutions (for example, graduates of the Finance Academy under the RF Government and D. Tsenov Academy of Economics became one of the tasks for longitudinal sociological project «Formation of a new economic intellectuals in Russia and Bulgaria in a market economy». The research was led by the Sociology department of the Finance Academy under the Government of the Russian Federation (Moscow) and the Department of history, philosophy, sociology (in Svishtov, D. Tsenov Academy of Economics, Bulgaria) with the direct participation of the author. Research Project Leader: PhD, Professor Emeritus G.G. Sillaste, Honored Worker of Science of the Russian Federation, the Head of the Sociology department Finance Academy under the Government of the Russian Federation.

We understand «profession» in connection with a complex labor; we consider professional adaptation as a process and determine three major phases (as well as within them — the stages): 1) the primary choice of profession; 2) formation of a specialist, and 3) occupation as a mature professional. There were identified forms of professional adaptation: a consistent and alternative (in the form of socio-occupational mobility that is «changing profession», or change of a profession for more than a simple occupation («occupation»). The specificity of the professional adaptation of young people now is that: 1) the stage adaptation of vocational students «overlap» one to another, and 2) the adaptation is often as the form of professional mobility, that is changing the profession and adapt to the new profession on the basis of the first higher education, and then consolidate the positions in a new profession with the help of a second higher professional education.

1. The analysis of professional adaptation to objective indicators show that the majority of graduates from both universities have high-and middle-adaptation in professional employment, professional form of adaptation is sequential (work by profession, specialty, which have been educated, or to close to therein), are employed in large and medium-sized, prestigious and stable organization. However, a marked group of Bulgarian graduates (1/3) is forced to use an alternative model of vocational adjustment, due to the fact that they were unable to find employment in the profession and / or specialty. This was due to an objective situation in the employment market, employment and occupations in Bulgaria, underdeveloped financial and banking sector.

2. Comparison of the job structure of the Russian and Bulgarian graduates shows that among the Russian graduates, more than half (54.6%) occupy more than an ordinary office specialist, and nearly 3/4 of Bulgarian graduates employed in positions of privates and specialists below. It seems that among Bulgarian polled nearly 2/3 (65.2%) were bachelors (4 years), rather than specialists (5 years) as among the Russian graduates.

3. Subjective indicators of adaptation show that in general, most young professionals, both Russian and Bulgarian, are satisfied with the terms of the activities in the organization which they are employed.

4. The influence of professional adaptation with the macro social factors are given: 1) the state of the Russian and the Bulgarian labor market, employment and occupations; 2) the labor market in the finance and banking, development finance and banking sector in Russia and Bulgaria; 3) the state of the regional labor market, employment and occupations; 4) perspectives of a specialty in the labor market; 5) the quality of education received in high school; 6) the prestige of the university.

5. The influence of professional adaptation with the micro social factors and personal factors: 1) the social status of the parent family; 2) qualifications; 3) competencies; 4) work experience.

The Russian and Bulgarian graduates possess the resources to adapt and have developed a flexible strategy, with changes in demand for specialist as financiers in the labor market and employment (to improve the skills, try to leave to work abroad, get more education, etc.).

COOPERATION WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Abstract: The paper is focused on recent stage of Russian-Chinese educational cooperation. It deal with the following questions: how Russian and Chinese students enrollment in a neighboring country; what are reasons and motivations of students' choice of country of training and specialization; how they manage to overcome cultural and lingual differences in order to ingrate into social environment of a foreign for them countries; what are the main tasks and ways of further international cooperation that both countries face in the fields in the field of higher education over the past decade.

1. The recent stage of cooperation between Russian and China within the context of international education began in 1980-ies. And it lasts till the present. Since 1978 China embarked on large-scale socio-economic reforms. Almost at the same time, the USSR started in the political restructuring that led to the destruction of audit and internal socio-economic structure and change of priorities in foreign policy. During the period between 1980-s and 1990-ies a new form of cooperation between Russia and the PRC has developed on more pragmatic grounds. The changes its parameters and in the field of education were since the late 1970's that came out as intergovernmental exchange of students and scholars in the 1980-ies. Added to the bilateral agreements between the various research institutes and universities on academic and scientific cooperation in the 1990-ies was backed by energy and goodwill of those who had more freedom of choice of profession and place of study.

2. Quality of education was always associated in China with bigger wages and better quality of one's life. Chinese families currently spend more money on education than on other needs. Increasing household incomes and clever savings allow many Chinese parents to send their children to universities abroad. From 1978 to 2002 about 580.000 young continental Chinese become students of universities in the 103 states abroad at their own expense⁷⁵. According to statistic data Chinese students prefer education in the United States. As it is witty remarked once by academician Sergey Kapitsa, when visiting American universities one does not leave an impression that all students in USA are Chinese, and that all professor there are Russians. Each year twenty five thousand young Chinese go to USA to study, taking for this purpose 4 billion Yuan (about 482 million U. S. dollars)⁷⁶. On average each Chinese spends between 140 and 180 thousand Yuan. That is why USA sees China as a big potential market for the sale of educational services. The export of educational services brings to the U. S. annually more than \$10 billion. The «Industry» of education and training makes 10% of GDP of the USA⁷⁷.

3. New challenges of cooperation between China and Russia in the fields of education open into the 21st century. The both countries ratified the principles of Sino-Russian media working group and film working group, and agreed to submit the principles of Sino-Russian tourism sub-committee to the eighth regular meeting between the prime ministers of the two countries. In 2002 Russian and Chinese governments praised the establishment of the Sino-Russian working group on archives. It is already a mechanism of the China-Russia Cooperation Committee on Education, Culture, Health and Sports. It opened new lines for students and experts exchanges between China and Russia. Even if education in Russia is not as attractive for Chinese Continental youth as education in the United States, there are certain

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⁷⁶ China Daily, 21.03.2000.

⁷⁷ Танян С.А. Неoliberalная глобализация. Кризис капитализма или американизация планеты? — Москва, 2004. С. 149. (*Tanqian S. Neoliberal globalization. — M., 2004. P.149*).

advantages that make it more accessible because of the proximity, especially in border areas, the cost of educational services and living in Russia (except mega-cities like Moscow) cheaper. It makes good practical reasons to come to Russian Universities to get proper educational learning in most disciplines and sciences, especially in mathematics and natural sciences because of still very high qualified levels of natural sciences in Russia. The last but not least pragmatic reason that makes education and training in Russia more attractive and more comfortable for Chinese students is recognized as the history of long traditional and cultural closeness that exists between the both peoples from very old times. The certain general lines that come out as a result of cultural cooperation and that closely linked two countries in the 1950s and early 1960s. Perhaps the factor of proximity is not very informed, but it is fixed at the collective unconscious level and can be seen that the present generation of adults and young Chinese aged 18—45 years seem to be better informed about Russian culture and Russian traditions than about the Western culture.

4. Russian youth as potential students of Chinese Universities is another perspective of educational cooperation between China and Russia. Youth from Russian Central Asian republics of the CIS that border with China consider the Chinese universities as promising for learning and further employment. Visiting Russian students in the China in addition to philology, philosophy, medicine take interest in learning business management at universities in China. It is worth while to mention that during the 1980—1990s a majority of experts who went to China were mostly interested in the humanities. They stay in China not for a longer than one year. Meanwhile in nowadays there is a practice to send students along the lines of exchange between to the Chinese and Russian universities for 2—4 year and to deal with more broad scope of disciplines connected with studies and research in some Far Eastern and Siberian high schools. Exchange of students and experts between countries improve better understanding of each other. The question is how it can affect the standards of higher education in both countries? There are new trends in education of Russian students in Chinese universities that require proper estimation.

5. The aims, tasks and targets of numerous Chinese students that come recently into the Russian higher educational establishments mostly at their parents' expenses also require estimations. One can speculate about assumptions made on the basis of the results of sociological surveys done to find out one's personal (subjective) and carrier (objective) motivations of listeners of the preparatory Courses, students and postgraduate students of the Moscow State University. The results show that a majority of Chinese students (65%) come to Russia with a «dream» to settle and organize own business. Experience of learning Chinese masters at the Faculty of Pedagogical Education (FPE) of the Moscow State University (MSU) and data of other faculties reveal some alarming symptom: for many Chinese students the learning, even in such a prestigious institution like MSU is not the goal, but a merely starting point for living in Moscow. At least 70% of interviewed say that they would like to stay and live in Moscow or/and other towns of Russia. Among reasons for their wish to stay in Russia the following ones are pointed out: the better trade and sale perspectives (30%); the better ecological situation in Russia than in China (20%); better connections with local business networks through Chinese friends and relative in Moscow (10%). The rest 40% have mainly personal motives and plans to marry and settle in Russia.

6. The problem of a language as an instrument of education arises in connection with exchange in students. A choice of foreign languages for education is based on pragmatic reasons. One of them is an access of a language to knowledge information in sciences and about sciences in the world that is important. Language's coefficient of its possibility to open an access to international scientific information and to data banks of the world knowledge sciences can be calculated taking into consideration the qualitative and quantitative parameters [5]. A number of speakers and users of a language for professional purposes in sciences; a number of students and scientists educated in it and a number of projects done in it and translated into

it; publications in fundamental and applied natural and social sciences; licensees and patents registered; scientific contribution of nations into the world knowledge, etc. It is no surprise now that English, with the coefficient 1.8, is a leading link of scientific information [1; 6]. It is a surprise to know that the Russian language, with the coefficient 3.0, takes the second place as a link of information about sciences. The third place is taken by Japanese (3, 8). French (5, 6) and German (5, 9) take the fourth and fifth places correspondently [5, 51—52].

7. The Russian language is an instrument of University education in Russian Federation for native and foreign students in the post-Soviet period. It is well equipped and elaborated to be an instrument of education as any other European language does. Possibilities for students exchange stimulate their motivations to learn foreign languages. Russian students planning education in other countries, have to master their knowledge of foreign languages either in Russia or abroad. There are also Summer schools and preparatory courses for foreign students who need to learn Russian to be educated in Russian universities. Talks about using English for teaching foreign students in Russia have no grounds. Moreover, it is not obvious that English would be a better instrument than Russian to teach Chinese students. It was shown by testing that knowledge of English among Chinese students is rather poor with a few exceptions of postgraduate students who got Bachelor degree in China. Moreover, since a number of English varieties are growing [6, 126], there is a danger of misunderstanding among non-native users of English even within the limited framework of professional discourses [2]. Lessons of Russian for Chinese students in MSU are supplied with proper text-books, audio-visual and digital technologies. One of the tasks of teachers of Russian to foreign students is to help them to learn how to avoid any types of interference of their native tongues into Russian usage.

8. What is an image of a Chinese student? Under the auspices of the international club FPE «Debate», the question was introduced recently for discussion to find out students' opinion about the image and authority of well-minded, educated Chinese students of the MSU. Their ability to explain and argue their position, to dwell on the topic logically expressed admiration for students from China, Singapore, Malaysia, who participated in the debate with Chinese teams from other countries. In fact discussions like that are positive for breaking the ice between students from different countries and cultures. Since the discussions are done in Russian, they help students to overcome their shyness and hence difficulties in understanding and to improve their capacities to speak Russian. Their occasional passivity in the classroom is often explained by the fact that Chinese students are shy to ask Russian teachers if they do not understand what the teachers say in classroom. Surveys show that Chinese students give priority to the acquisition of narrow specialization. This can be partly due to the characteristics of Chinese thought: a lack of territorial space narrows the scope of their imagination and perception, but the needs to carefully handle each piece of land develops capacity to concentrate on hard care of each transaction. Hence one's ability to work in a team and one's adaptive behavior in order to refine their abilities, talents and capacities. One can also argue that the pragmatism of modern China is linked with eagerness of young people to start earning on their own and to provide support for the family that invested huge money in their education.

9. A shift from the traditional perception of knowledge and learning as the highest value to a more utilitarian and pragmatic approach occurred in China in 1980—1990-ies. A survey conducted in 1998, the Institute for the promotion of scientific knowledge, showed that the level of general knowledge of young people in China was extremely low. The study showed that only 0.2% of Chinese had the basic scientific understanding. For comparison, in Europe and America, this figure was higher at 22 and 33.5 times⁷⁸. American scientists expressed concern about the paucity of general knowledge probation Chinese students in America. They noted that many Chinese students and graduate students, showing good results in English and

⁷⁸ Inside China Mainland. Vol.21. №5. — Taipei, 1999. P. 73

science and technology, while at the same time have a very weak knowledge of history and geography, do not know classical Chinese philosophical theories⁷⁹. Chinese scientists also recognized that even though the country made great strides in raising the level of education, general knowledge of common population is below developed countries and sometimes lower than in other developing countries⁸⁰.

10. The current Russian labour market is characterized, on the one hand, by the shortage of skilled manpower and technical staff, middle managers, and on the other hand, by a surplus of specialists in a number of professions. The situation in the labour market in China has also undergone during the past few years, significant changes. But if Russia changes occur against the backdrop of demographic decline, the People's Republic of China faces a different situation. The proportion of young people aged 6—22 years in 2005 was 27% and only by 2020 would drop to 21%⁸¹. The proportion of entering the Chinese universities in the relevant age group rose to 17%⁸². Although the percentage is considerably lower than in highly developed countries (50%), but when presented in numbers their quantity is equal population of a whole country. One is to consider those numbers very properly. They are important for understanding the differences emerging in the approach to learning Chinese within their own country and abroad. In recent years, higher education does not guarantee receipts of a prestigious work in China; the extent of structural unemployment is rising. Intensified competition among graduates in the labour market contributes to China; young Chinese are studying in China, after trying to build the intellectual capacity to improve their competitiveness.

11. Chinese students in Russia do not suffer any psychological pressure or «call» of the labour market, so their academic education mobilization and commitment is much lower than that of their peers in China. While in China the current generation of students is different from the generation of the 90s years of the last century, more breadth of knowledge among the Chinese students in Russia, this progress has not been observed. In this situation it is important to understand the interests of the Chinese. New strategy is wanted to be used by the Russian universities for training Chinese students. There are no grounds to speak about some unified strategy to be used in international educational cooperation. And it is up to Russian universities themselves to try their best in order to clarify the objectives of these universities for the future. It is quite possible that some Russian universities, which would face some shortage of applicants because of the «demographic pit» in Russia, would likely take accept foreigner students, just to support their certificate of graduation from high school in line with the formal requirements.

12. What are the plans of the Moscow State University (MSU) for the future? Recently it was done a lot by MSU to enhance the scientific and academic cooperation with universities in neighboring countries, including China's universities. Thus, a joint post-graduate course in Beijing University on a reciprocal basis, information centers in Beijing and Moscow, in the MSU Confucius Institute were opened. Proper further cooperation could facilitate the opening of the Moscow State University and the Institute of Foreign Universities «Lomonosov» as well as the establishment of the first Forum of University Presidents of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization as it was done by the rector of Moscow State University academician VA Sadovnichy this May in 2009. The Institute «Lomonosov» opens the start for new scientific projects with the goal to acquaint young generations of students with the achievements of culture and art of Russia. The other question is how to make the Moscow State University capable to keep its higher levels of scientific research contribution, its broad and well known self-respect among other universities of the world and to supply the best

⁷⁹ Inside China Mainland. Vol.21. №8. — Taipei, 1998. P. 62

⁸⁰ 中国人口知识 / 中国人口出版社. 2004,12 (12月), 27页

⁸¹ 2006 年中国人口 / 中国人口出版社. 2006 年 12 月, 68页

⁸² Ibid. P.72.

qualities of knowledge to its students who come to be the Moscow State University's students? The prestige of University is supported by its former students' success and achievements known as their contributions into the world knowledge of sciences. No matter from what countries students come to MSU and to what countries they go to work, it is necessary to improve learning Russian by foreign students taking into consideration peculiarities of their native languages and cultures. It is possible to look for cooperation with universities in Russia and in European and Asian countries. This will allow more effective use of educational resources, and it will be also good for supporting infrastructure, such as dormitories, sport clubs, and outclass learning activity and student services. For those who successfully pass the entrance test for the Russian language and specialty, it is necessary to develop individualized path for learning in professional programs. Some subjects, particularly humanitarian and social, should be held separately from the Russian students and with the specially designed tools. Such an approach is not discriminatory towards foreigners; on the contrary, it merely opens up the possibility to achieve the same for all students of the university training and retention of high-prestige of Russian education in the world.

13. In conclusion, it is desirable to note that the learning of Chinese in the Russian universities, including the MSU, is increasing as well. And it can not be seen simply in terms of providing paid educational services. In the border regions of Russia the Chinese presence has become an objective reality, and most likely within the next 20 years, the Chinese migration to Russia will increase. Let us hope that the Russian-Chinese cooperation in the fields of education would allow in the nearest future to increase a number of Projects that opens new perspectives for mutual cooperation between China and Russia. We also expect that in future highly literate, loyal-minded, respectful of the laws and traditions of the both countries students and post graduate students come out of the Russian system of education to become qualified experts and brilliant professionals demanded by the recent internationally broad labour market.

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Olga Karpenko, Margarita Bershadskaya, Moscow

HIGHER EDUCATION IN COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD: THE ANALYSIS OF INTERNATIONAL STATISTICS AND THE RESULTS OF THE GLOBAL RATINGS IN EDUCATION

The purpose of the study is to define the strengths and weaknesses of the Russian educational system in the context of international indicators. It gives a chance to compare the positive and negative aspects of development of national educational systems and to identify the global trends of educational development in the world. Besides the data issued

annually by the UNESCO Institute for Statistics, in the analysis there were considered the results of the global ratings characterizing the basic aspects of world education. In order to highlight a group of countries-leaders in tertiary education, the following boundary conditions are offered: 1) Index of education, describing the educational potential of the population — not less than 0.95; 2) The ratio of 25-to-64-year-olds with tertiary education (level 5A/6) — at least 15%; 3) A number of university students — no less than 0,5 million; 4) A share of university students in population — no less than 2%. Only 12 countries out of 191 world countries meet these requirements: USA, Russia, Japan, Korea, Germany, United Kingdom, France, Spain, Canada, Australia, Netherlands and Poland.

Taking into account the dynamics of the educational system and the indicators of global ratings it makes sense to add four more countries to a group of leaders: India and China, coming out at the forefront in terms of the number of university students, students growth dynamics and distance education development; Finland, leading in three ratings: the quality of secondary education PISA-2006, the accessibility and affordability of higher education (2nd place); Sweden — the leader in affordability of higher education.

The indicators characterizing the level of Tertiary Attainment of Population in the countries-leaders are shown in Fig. 1—3.

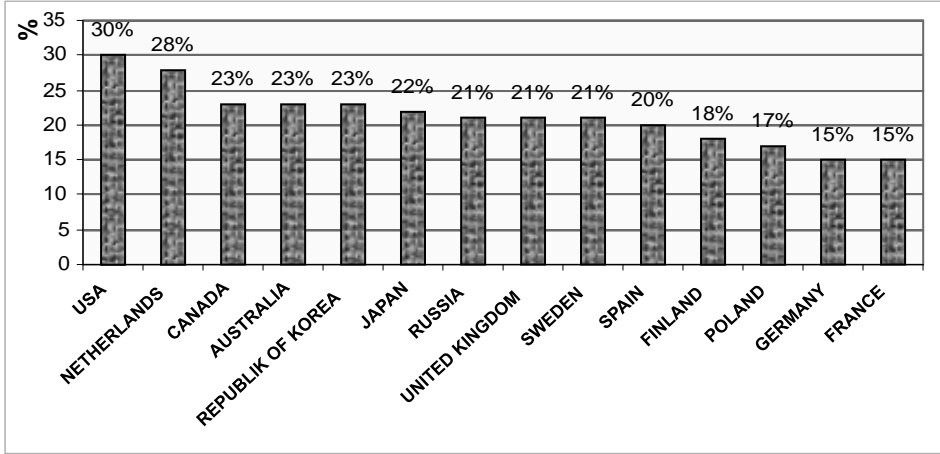


Fig.1. Ratio of 25-to-64-year-olds with tertiary education (level 5A/6) — 2005

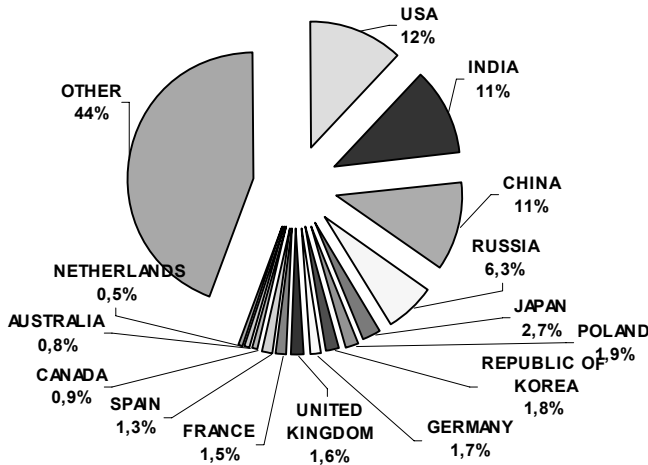


Fig.2. Distribution of world students' population by countries — 2006

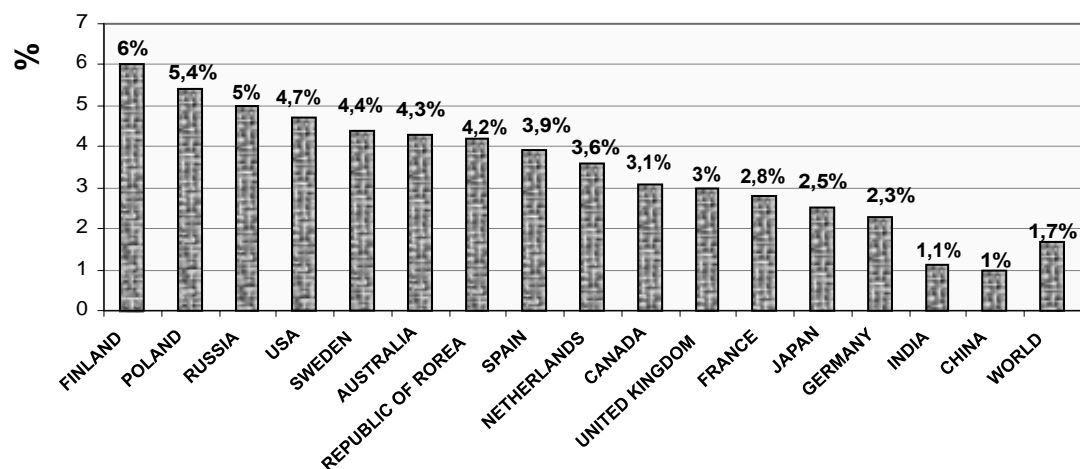


Fig.3. Share of university students in population — 2006

Export of education reflects the current reputation of the national system of higher education on a global level. Eight countries from the selected group are about 70% of all mobile (foreign) students — Fig.4 (calculated according to the UNESCO data 2006). Another five countries in this group can be attributed to the relatively large host countries: China (1.3%), the Netherlands (1%), Korea (0.8%), Sweden (0, 8%), Spain (0, 7%). Only three countries (Poland, Finland and Korea) do not make a statistically significant contribution to the global number of mobile students.

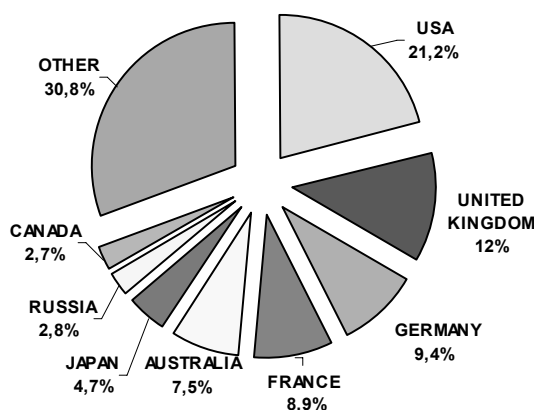


Fig.4. Distribution of foreign students in host countries

Global ratings of educational opportunities, proposed by Canadian researchers⁸³, are based on the separation of the concepts of accessibility of tertiary education and its affordability (ability for payment). Fig.5 shows the results of the authors' project and an approximate estimate of Russia in these ratings.

⁸³ Alex Usher, Amy Cervenak, Global Higher Education Rankings: Affordability and Accessibility in Comparative Perspective. Toronto: The Educational Policy Institute, 2005. 77p.

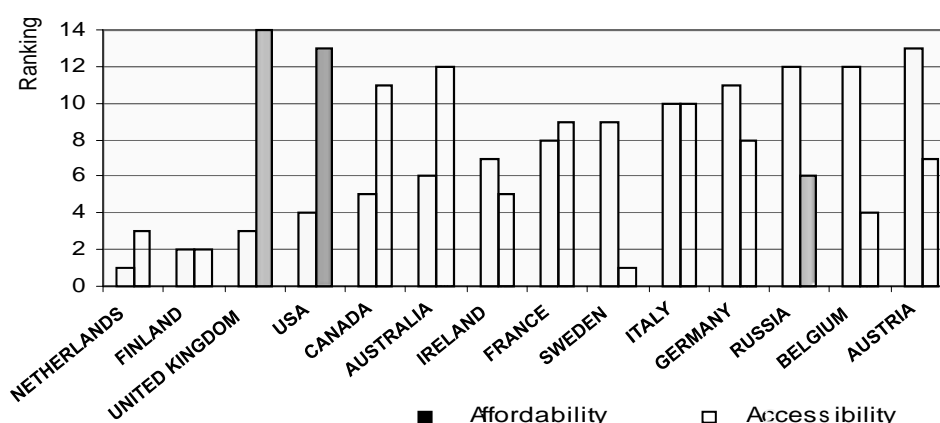


Fig.5. The results of the global ratings on accessibility and affordability of tertiary education

World university rankings not only assess the quality of higher education of any country, but also affect it globally. In two academic rankings — Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU)⁸⁴ and World University Rankings of Times Higher Education Supplement⁸⁵, covering 500 and 200 universities, respectively, the leading position among the top world universities belongs to the United States. The second place, as in the previous years, took the United Kingdom, followed by Japan and Germany; good positions are in Canada, the Netherlands, Australia and France. From a dedicated group of leaders Russia, India and Poland showed the poorest results.

Essentially different in respect of the methodology is a world university ranking based on the analysis of universities' websites (Webometrics Ranking of World Universities)^{86, 87}. It has a broad coverage of universities (5000—6000) that allows to evaluate the education system not only by separate universities-leaders, but as a whole, by all the body of educational institutions entering the system. Only 10 countries out of 191 have more than 100 universities among the top 5000 (fig.6). By this indicator characterizing the scale of the system, Russia as is evident, comes out on the advanced position. It is important that universities from all regions of the country are among the best Russian universities (Fig.7).

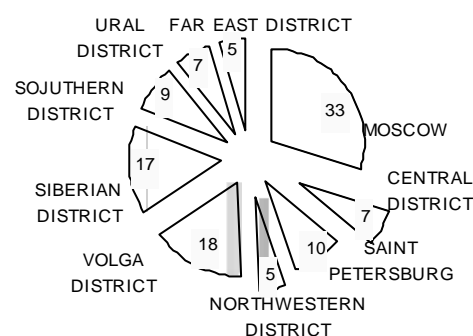
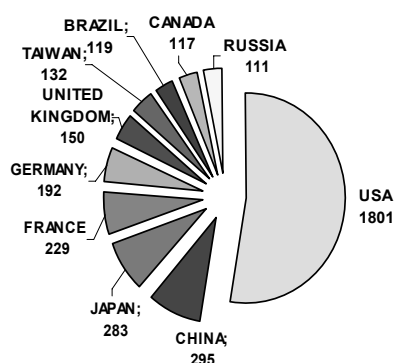


Fig.6. Ten leading countries by the number of universities among the top 5000 world universities

Fig.7. Distribution of the top 111 Russian Universities in the federal districts.

⁸⁴ Academic Ranking of World Universities -2007. Methodologies and Problems/ N. C. LIU and CHENG Institute of Higher Education, Shanghai Jiao Tong University, Shanghai 200240, China <http://ed.sjtu.edu.cn/ranking.htm>.

⁸⁵ Times Higher Education Supplement <http://www.thes.co.uk/>

⁸⁶ Webometrics Ranking of World Universities. <http://www.webometrics.info/index.html>

⁸⁷ O.M. Karpenko, M.D. Bershadskaya, Y. A Voznesenskaya. A Role of a Web-site in University Integrated Characteristics: Results of the World Ranking. | Sociology of Education. . M., 2008,#2, p.4—16. http://www.muh.ru/.Docs/niipo/17_2008.htm

Results of international research of school education quality PISA⁸⁸ (Programme for International Student Assessment) considered in a context of higher education⁸⁹, have shown the backlog of some countries that have so far been recognized leaders in education (USA, Russia, Spain, France, Germany). Consideration of the particularities of the differentiations in the quality of school education within the country reveals its «narrow» places and clearly demonstrates the need for greater openness and accessibility of education to the general population.

The level of development of distance education based on Information Communication Technologies (ICT) is closely connected with the problems of improving of all the indicators. Comparison of the level of development of distance education in the world countries, based on a quantitative estimation of activity scale of mega universities⁹⁰ (major universities with distance learning), shows the absolute leadership of developing countries and the special role of China and India (fig.8, 9). In the future this trend will grow.

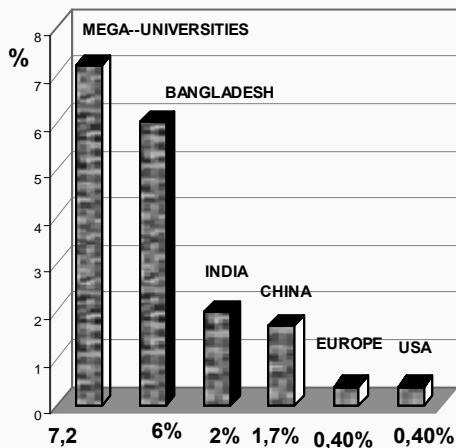


Fig.8. Share of mega university students in total number of students in the world

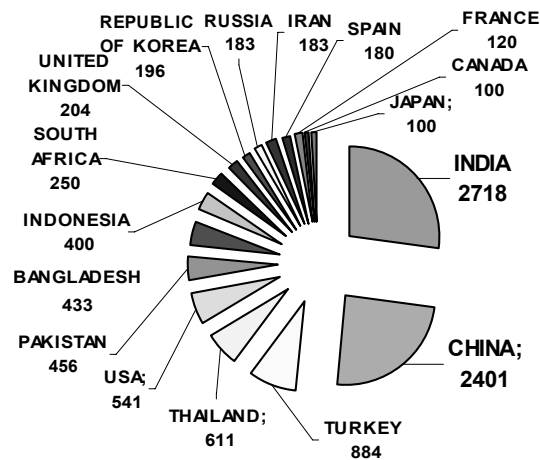


Fig.9 Number of mega university students in the world countries (thousands)

David L. Kostantinovsky, Moscow

RUSSIAN UNIVERSITIES AND INTERNATIONALIZATION OF EDUCATION

Internationalization of education, particularly inclusion into pan-European educational system is one of the most disputable themes in Russian academic and educational communities. On one side of the argument are the employers as the main customer on labor market confirming the importance of internationalization and insisting that university graduates must have professional skills enabling them to work in international environment, to participate in international projects. We also see that international activities of the university might have a real influence on the home region: it is more actively involved into international cooperation

⁸⁸ PISA 2006: Science Competencies for Tomorrow's World.

⁸⁹ Karpenko O.M., Bershadskaya M.D., Voznesenskaya Y.A. International research PISA and the problems of the development of higher education // The Russian Public Opinion Herald. M., 2007. №5, p. 38—47.

⁹⁰ Karpenko O., Bershadskaya M. Higher education in the world countries: the analysis of educational statistics and the global ratings in education // Distance Education in the world countries: the scale factor. M., 2009. 250 p.

and integration; the region gets an access to foreign scientific achievements, new materials and technology, obtains a possibility for intercultural communication.

At the same time there is a need of evaluation both as positive and negative consequences of such education internationalization, appreciation of cultural traditions, keeping of achievements of the Russian educational system. Many experts are concerned that existing educational model would be destroyed, but new one might not have evident advantages. Important argument of the opponents of university's international integration is a fear of «brain drain». Such apprehensions have some grounds, though international activities of the universities can't be considered as an only reason for the «brain drain» — there are others significant causes.

The conducted research shows what courses are chosen by Russian universities; what attitudes Russian academics have toward innovations in interaction and communication with foreign universities.

The object of the research consisted in the revealing of the basic strategy of an involvement of the Russian high schools in the international educational space, influences of an involvement into the international educational space on the educational and scientific potential of high schools, consequences of internationalization of high schools (both positive and negative) and degrees of readiness of the Russian high schools to internationalization.

The theme of internationalization of education has the special importance for Russia. Many Russian high schools have already joined to various processes of internationalization, including — in development of academic mobility, harmonization of educational programs, the international accreditation of programs; some became full participants of communities of the international education. Nevertheless, it is necessary to recognize that the process of internationalization of domestic high schools goes more likely spontaneously.

Characterizing the bases of interaction with foreign partners within the frames of the international research projects the majority of representatives of high schools in their answers indicated on the complexity of the bases of interaction with partners where there are different forms such as : an agreement on cooperation in a perspective for 3—5 years; an agreement on a joint activity for a short term perspective of 1—2 years, a license agreement on using of objects of intellectual property and objects, protected by the author right; an agreement on the partnership and validation of educational programs; an agreement on rendering consulting services etc.

What are the strategies of promotion the Russian universities to the international education market? The analysis allows reducing these strategies to the following main types. The mobilization strategy bringing all university resources together allows the university successfully moving to the international educational market. The situational strategy depends on a current situation — often university promotes the particular set of activities, for example the most successful or conventional. The wait-and-see strategy is the strategy when the university does not take any initiative in the international cooperation field. The causes for such strategy might be the rejection of these activities in principal, lack of resources, unclaimed university's graduates on a labor market or previous unsuccessful experience of realization of the international joint programs.

The Moscow and regional universities participated in a survey and interested in cooperation with foreign universities face the following difficulties. Very often they don't have enough experience in building international cooperation in education sphere. Moreover, there is a lack of information regarding opportunities of such cooperation. Employers are interested in internationalization of education, but don't provide the real support. Many universities experience the lack of financial resources. The Russian academic staff and students have a lack of knowledge of foreign languages. The joint educational programs seem to be too expensive for many Russian students. The significant problem is the attitude of academic staff toward the integration — many are alerted by innovations, mainly because they consider them as a threat to their status.

As the researches have shown, the following typology of high schools in relation to the international activity can be constructed. This typology bases on exclusively on the results of realization of programs reached by a high school. It is a typology by a high school experience. It includes the following types of environments:

1) Favorable environment of development. It is formed by high schools with an exclusively positive experience of realization of joint programs — these are such university environments in which joint programs develop systematically, without the expressed recessions, without meeting on a way of the development of serious obstacles. In some cases such development is connected with a simultaneous development of several joint programs, in others — the rates of development are caused by the ability of a high school to involve additional resources under new programs. In a sample of the surveyed high schools this group of university environments is presented by the various types of educational institutions; among them the majority of the investigated cases.

2) Ambivalent environment of development. It includes high schools having an ambiguous experience of realization of joint programs — the educational institutions in which the part of joint programs was closed owing to these or those reasons but the part of programs continues to be realized and developed. Such ambivalence regarding to realization of joint programs continues to remain a rarity — much more often an attitude of a high school concerning a joint educational activity either is entirely positive or negative. Closing of one program often involves closing of the others.

3) Adverse environment of development. It is formed by the environments of educational institutions in which all realized earlier joint programs were closed.

4) Opaque environment of development. It includes high schools which do not have experience of realization of joint educational programs. The prospects of development of the international cooperation should be considered exclusively prognostic on the base of an estimation of a social, economic, cultural and material resource base available at a high school.

As the carried out research has shown, the university environment of realization of joint educational programs is not closed. It directly depends on a specificity of regional economy, a saturation of an information field, socially-demographic and cultural-historical features. These «external» in relation to the university environment factors can create more or less favorable conditions of the subsequent development of joint educational activity. However, nothing so brakes the high school development in a direction of cooperation with foreign partners, as a presence of vacuum — administrative, normative, informational — being formed because of the absence of interaction with the state structures and with labor market institutes.

The representatives of more than half of the researched high schools complain of an absence of a support (including financial). Having shown an initiative in making of contacts with foreign partners, they expected counter steps from structures which could give «interaction contexts», formulate «game rules» existing latently, under the mutual arrangement with the foreign partner. The unclear situation causes the opacity of actions of the university. Basically the high school does not undertake strategic steps, does not plan long-term programs until feels a confidence of stability of political and economic context of such cooperation, and a sign of stability for it could become, for example, the guarantees encouraging realization of joint programs.

The economic context — is the second problem. The appeals of domestic high schools to the Russian business community have on the whole appeared ineffectual. The international business community assists in development of joint programs in those concrete cases when feels an interest in it (it often happens with the strategy of «unique programs», it, as a rule, appears to be advantageous with the participation of foreign business structures). This problem is closely connected with the previous one — it turns out that business and education exist in parallel. Probably, because of that the part of the asked representatives of high schools see a way out in a creation of public funds and sponsorship systems.

Anyhow, the further institutionalization of joint programs (and the results of the conducted research do not give the grounds to doubt that development of joint programs will proceed by similar rates) will demand the decision of «a vacuum problem», its «filling» with the new organizational structures called to unite institutes of business, the state and education in a search of optimum forms of the international cooperation.

Anton Zapolski, Moscow

BOLOGNESE PROCESS AND NATIONAL HERITAGE OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN RUSSIA

Signing the Bolognese Declaration in 2003 Russia saddled itself with the responsibility to implement its fundamental provisions. Apart from heavy material costs required for all-round and painless improvement of Russian higher education system under Bolognese principles, the country is facing another problem of great concern: the need to adjust the foundations of the Declaration to the established national traditions and institutes. Nowadays it is the subject of wide public speculation which divided Russian educational community in two warring parties: conservative traditionalists, on the one hand, and liberal globalists, on the other. The conservatives believe that Russian (actually «Soviet») higher education system adjusted to the free market economy is ideal for Russia and shall be the basis for any reforms and innovations introduced in the area of education which makes it consistent with modern human needs. On the contrary, liberal-minded lecturers and public officers, scientists and students correctly suppose that the present-day system of higher education has become morally obsolete and is an atavism of the totalitarian model of power collapsed many years ago. The Bolognese Declaration for them is the «life ring» which will allow reconstructing the existing higher education system in Russia bringing it into compliance with social, economic, industrial and scientific needs and integrating it into the global and single European educational space at the same time.

This results in a situation when the changes made according to the improvement program for the Russian higher school based on Bolognese educational rules come across with opposing traditionalists and public opinion where conservative sentiments are still prevailing. Beside the two warring parties, higher education establishments can be also divided based on their attitude toward the Bolognese Declaration. Some of them readily become engaged in the development process, others, on the contrary, try to resist or at least somehow to slow it in every way.

Russian education is very specific due to the fact that different higher educational institutions deal with well-defined branches of science. Many institutions of humanities are in favor of educational development according to Bolognese principles, while technical institutes are dominantly against. In such a situation much of it is owed to Russian history. With the primary role of ideology in the Russian («Soviet») society, such humanities as sociology, marketing, public relations and others had been banned for a long time and were actively studied only in western countries. Therefore, the teaching practice with regard to these subjects is based on observation and generalization of foreign experience. It is this fact that explains the tendency of Arts Schools to a more close cooperation with foreign scientific schools of thought and higher educational establishments.

On the other hand, higher technical schools developed almost independently of the national ideology and, moreover, were largely financed by the government to break new ground in the field of military technologies and arming. Russian higher school is still the world's leader in the area of both scientific developments and

training of highly-skilled specialists. In this context, technical higher educational institutions of Russia shoot out the lip in anticipation of the loss of their own originality, educational traditions, methods and programs, and the entrance into the global educational space.

If the traineeship overseas is vital for a specialist or an undergraduate studying human sciences and is in every way encouraged by the institution, a talented technical student leaving for a foreign country to undergo a training is looked awry in most cases. The competition between Russian and western colleges in economics, sociology, psychology and other branches of science practically doesn't exist since the countries have different subjects of inquiry. The local approach determines the unique character of technologies and knowledge in each country. At the same time, engineering sciences attach a greater importance to the technology as its application field is all-round. Thus, leaving his homeland, a highly-qualified specialist tacitly devolves all his developments, knowledge and technologies to competing scientific organizations and laboratories. Moreover, the local higher educational establishment no longer has the young expert who would pick up the baton from the senior professorship to teach and carry out new scientific research thanks to his new views on subject areas and instruction methods.

All the listed factors allow stating the problem of mismatch of fundamental goals, tasks and needs set by higher liberal and engineering education in reforming the Russian higher school as a separate subject for research and scientific discussion. To my mind, it is possible to solve this problem by developing differentiated approach to realization of the provisions of the Bologna Process and making individual modernization programs for separate subject fields and disciplines. Modernization of higher humanitarian education shall be mainly based on stimulation of the international academic mobility, unification of educational standards, and encouragement of further education programs. Basic objectives for higher technical education are as follows: encouragement of research and teaching activity of talented graduates of Higher Educational Institutions Russian universities and laboratories, liberalization of contractual relationships in the sphere of commercial research projects of Higher Educational Institutions, nationally oriented patent right securing intellectual property of domestic research scientists, modernization of material and technical base of research and school laboratories, better financing of fundamental studies.

Regulation of the Bologna Declaration on two-level system shall be also adapted to the specific character of the subject fields. If Bachelor's Programme is quite competitive as a final training stage on a majority of humanitarian specialties, for a majority of engineering specialties it can be just an intermediate stage, because an engineering specialty provides for a much heavier and labor-intensive curriculum than in today's Bachelor's Programmes. This problem can be solved by creating for Bachelor's Programme a curriculum to the maximum consisting of fundamental social and humanitarian components after mastering of which the student could chose to continue learning on applied specialization (Specialist's degree programme) or on research specialization (Master's degree programme).

On other spheres of modernization the specific character of each subject field shall be taken into account not less strictly and with responsibility and only in this case a positive long-term effect can be achieved from modernization of higher education on Bologna Principles.

4.2. CONTENT AND QUALITY OF EDUCATION: TOWARDS A PAN-EUROPEAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM?

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BOLOGNA PROCESS IN RUSSIA: ON THE RESULTS OF SURVEYS IN 2006—2008

The Bologna Process as an element of the European integration policy in the sphere of Higher Education Institutions (HEI) is an enormous flow of benchmarking and exchange of well structured scientific information. An ability of a socium to survive and to develop itself is determined according to the Neo-Institutionalist conception (D. Nort) by the velocity of adaptation process in a society which are in turn stipulated by the level of informational exchange culture development within the socium as well as by the openness of the society to perceive external influences, the social organism being related and integrated enough viewed as an ability to defend its inner interests.

Sociological surveys of recent years: vast International and All-Russia ones, including such projects as the «Monitoring of the Russian HEI participation in the Bologna process»[1], «Bologna with students eyes»[2], «Joint International Programmers Implementation» [3] and local surveys [4] (either in the line of separate areas and/or surveys on individual higher education institutions practices) as well as comparative research studies of such surveys make it possible to answer the question of to what extent the Russian Academic (University) Community (Society) is able to adopt values of the Bologna Process as well as ready to accept its idea as a whole and to make it useful for higher education development at the national level.

The integration policy is a goal- seeking effort of the State to introduce new norms which would lead to unification and comparability of the National Education System with the European patterns of the higher professional education established by the Bologna Declaration. The integration policy implementation at national level is being viewed as legitimization of these new norms and new mass practices establishment within the educational process based on co-operation between key stakeholders in the sphere of higher education. The main aim of the research projects mentioned above is to discover how the formal norms appearing as the result of the state educational policy are interpreted by higher education institutions in the context of their educational practices. The norms perceived within the society as legitimate ones are then realized through the mass practices and then become elements of the institutions. Those appreciated as unjust are denied by the society, or sabotaged. Their denials lead to counterproductive results.

The progress of the educational system modernization as a whole is based on a comprehensive understanding of its mechanisms, attitudes and specifics of interactions between key stakeholders involved. The main actors of the viewed reform are turned to be presented by different university teams and units. Therefore, individual actions of concrete academicians and students in its complex are becoming a social force that is able to fulfill the reform, i. e., the institutional transformation. Along with other types of the resources which guarantee the effectiveness of this reform as the main resource should be considered the realized support provided by the HEI academic community to the reform. The monitoring of opinions of the participants of the process should be considered as an important element of the

reform as a whole. The viewed research projects were supposed to evaluate the overall level of awareness of the HEI academic community concerning the Bologna process and statements of its Declaration; level of participation, e. g. involvement of HEI into the Declaration's practical implementation; as well as to reveal and examine main obstacles and barriers for the higher education system modernization. On the basis of the research one can make the following conclusions.

Implementation of the positions and regulations of the Declaration within higher education institutions differ from one institution to another, representing different stages of implementation as well as different combinations of their elements. Each case is usually representing an individual practice of realization of integration policy which is not turn to be a common model or shared pattern for other higher education institutions. Practical implementation of key Bologna instruments in Russian HEI is related with considerable obstacles and problems which do not have a unified way of being solved within the nearest future.

An intensive development of the Bologna process leads to a significant differentiation of higher education institutions by level of their awareness about basic principles of the Bologna Declaration. Its realization shows the insufficient level of the information awareness of the academic community about its goals and involvement of the institutions into the process of modernization. According to the results, there is no single-valued understanding of goals as well as scales of needed organizational changes currently. With respect to the barriers impeded the Bologna principles implementation it is possible to make a conclusion that the way of the realization of the normative prescriptions is interpreted differently by different institutions. In addition, there are no standard or commonly accepted approaches and arrangements in relation to the key regulations that control the function of the system of the higher education, goals of the institutional reform as well as mechanisms of its operational implementation within the academic community across higher education institutions in Russia. There are different estimations (attitude) of advantages from the Russian Federation involvement into Bologna process within the academic community.

The most difficulties are related to the clear understanding of the credit system utilization within the educational process as a mean of guarantee the academic mobility both among students and academicians. Samplings showed the lack of understanding of goals of the introduction of the credit system into the educational process of the institution. The involvement into the processes of academic mobility is being hold back because of the lack of normative basis as well as insufficient resource support of the academic mobility. Co-operation and attraction of investments, including foreign ones, according to the respondents' opinions, are necessary, but, at the same time, there must be norms able to limit the supply to the Russian market of educational services of low level. The overwhelming majority of the respondents are in favor of standardized and officially financed higher education system at the level of baccalaureate. Almost half of all respondents notify that they are rejected the idea of a standardized content of educational programmers of the MA course; one third of them accept the lack of standards for future professionals. An insufficient funding along with disapproval of the standards by the majority of academic community could lead to a risk of reduction of the overall management system effectiveness. In general, one must make the conclusion that at the period of the deployed reforms of the educational system it resulted clear the insufficient level of forming of the basic resource as well as the conditions of effectiveness of the changes that are to be introduced (the reforms), i. e., the conviction of the academic community of necessity of these reforms, their equitable characteristics and their orientation towards the public benefit, as well as to the readiness of the academic community to follow the legislation principles and to promote its execution.

Higher education institutions, according to the respondents' answers, are ready to form a conformal attitude towards the realization of the integration policy. Within this situation, the State as the subject of social interactions in the sphere of the

higher education is not considered as the entity representing social interests of the academic community of HEI, while higher education institutions are not considered as subjects of educational policy. Besides, the majority of HEI do not possess any considerable volume of resources that would determine their independency (subjectivity) within the process of the integration policy and, therefore, do not want to depend on in full on their own possibilities and keep on orientating on the State.

The main conclusion that follows on the basis of the samplings and analysis of the All-Russia Surveys on the HEI information awareness on the possible changes, involvement in them and the attitude towards them is as follows. There is a risk that the reform oriented to change the contents of the education, the methods of educational activity and the way of thinking can probably limit itself with a formal observance of new norms, superficial adaptation to new rules of the game as a condition of realization of educational activity. All the efforts can be reduced to the minimization of expenses within the interactions between the State and the higher education institution.

Processes of the reflection of an idea within the public conscience are limited by the cycle of the adoption on the time being. Any artificial or forcible acceleration of them do lead neither to the maturity process nor to possibly effective results. The necessity to follow a direction without understanding goals of activity is often finished with search of optimal ways out of the situation, with active imitation of such an activity or an accommodation of the real practice to the law, without changing the essence of the matter. Modernization of the educational system can be perceived as a necessity to describe the existent and traditional system a la Bologna without changing anything in the contents or in methods of the educational activity in higher school. New forms of such a «social performance» will replace the content, i. e., essential social interactions on the value of education within the society.

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S.V. Goncharova

HIGHER EDUCATION AND SOCIAL MOBILITY IN RUSSIAN MODERN SOCIETY

The connection between education, social stratification and mobility is provided by the economic and political factors, as well as traditions all of them play the important role to form education as institution of certain social system. Higher education in modern Russian society executes the instrumental function to guarantee rising social dynamics. The contemporary system of higher education plays especially import role in such situation to provide social mobility. The most significant fact is that founders of sociology as O. Cornt, G. Spenser, E. Durkheim in their researches took into consideration the questions of education. For instance Durkheim set a question of dependence up-bringing (as special preparation individuals to carrying out the

intending function in according to the existing division of labor and as socialization of young generation) of belonging to social class, social category of inhabitant. [2, 244—264]. Weber makes accent on «formal education with practical or theoretical teaching and learning of corresponding way of life» one of the criterion of social prestige connecting with the social status of individual [1, 156]. P.A. Sorokin considered education to be a social institution «which tests, selects and devises individuals inside the different stratus and layers», defects of the education system inevitably generally influenced on society and, in contrary, a successful function of the given social institution leads to its prosperity. [4, 405—405]

These contradictory functions of education are to pass social status from one generation to another and change it to become the object of interdisciplinary researches. Employers are ready to hire graduate students having brightly expressed charismatic features, and step by step the selection is becoming harder. Increasing number of graduate students implies intensifying distinction between higher education institutions since the market of labor gives the opportunity of faster progress to the higher posts for ones and non-perspective mass work for the others.

The youth is striving for increasing its symbolic cultural capital to find a well-paid job. At the same time great number of graduates feel the difficulties in finding a job, they forced to work not by their specialty, they have to change their jobs that considered by experts as the tendency for decriminalization.

The problem of quality of higher education, its conformity to the social realities in conditions of transforming Russian society really exists. The experts often remark it is need to develop complex models of preparing graduate students at the university. In my opinion, one of the actual methods of such projecting is a componential approach which realizes the active character of education. The componential approach ascends the attention on result of education, on ability of an individual to make independent decisions in various critical situations using knowledge and inventing new skills. The acquisition of social competitions is supposed that the graduate students are able to determine their future social-professional trajectory; they will be ready to social mobility; to stage-division in reaching career aims and success in life.

The other aspect of research is connected with the accessibility of higher education and with the motivation to get higher education. The results of the last years of researches confirmed dissemination the social standard or so-called «fashion» on higher education in the Russian society. [3] The employers demand that their workers have higher education. It is an imperative requirement for the majority of work places except simple manual labor. The majority of the employers count that higher education determines the following characteristics of the worker: discipline, community, responsibility, motivation, aspiration to gain new knowledge. Nowadays the main differences in the accessibility of higher education are not only in opportunity to get higher education in general, but to get higher education of proper quality. The knowledge is important not only for itself but as far as it generally need for market; it depend on a lack of specialty or overage salary for that sort of specialists.

The values of diploma and higher education will increase in future, a social status will grow on the base of cultural capital that exists in a form of qualification and skills acquiring at university. The higher education has to decide the impotent problem to develop educational environment that takes into consideration all the needs of individuals, state and society.

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MAIN ASPECTS OF MOSCOW STUDENTS SELF-PRESERVING BEHAVIOR TRANSFORMATION: SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Abstract: The goal of the article is to analyze the transformation of Moscow students' self-preserving behavior. The main aims of this article are: to describe further dynamics of our respondents' behavior changes, which we named the «self-preserving» one; to summarize all the information and change peculiarities of the students' self-preserving behavior which we got during the research period of the development; to make basic conclusions according to the results of eight-year monitoring.

Self-preserving behavior of a person is the system of actions and attitudes, which mediates the individual's health and lifetime. The data comparative analysis of the three-staged monitoring, titled «The students' health», was made to get the most complete picture of dynamic changes, concerning the Moscow students' attitude to their health. The first stage of monitoring was carried out in 2001—2002 (1200 respondents were questioned). Next monitoring was surveyed in 2004—2005 (as to 400 respondents), and the last, third monitoring, was conducted in 2007—2008 (436 respondents were questioned).

Monitoring data have shown the main reason that makes students take care of their health is «feeling worse». The major part of the respondents, taken part in the investigation, takes care of one's health from time to time. According to the data, the number of the respondents, who visit medical centers only when it is necessary, was relatively stable from 2001 to 2008 and made 80%. The number of respondents, who usually visit a doctor once half a year, made 13% at the first stage, and 11% at the second and third stages of research respectively. At the first stage, 8% of respondents visited a doctor only once a year. And at the second and third stages 6% of respondents also made the same. The above makes a researcher come to the conclusion that the attitude of students to their health is more passive than active because the students visit doctors with preventive aim very rarely. In 2007—2008 and earlier it was revealed, that a third part of students of Moscow institutes is «not entirely satisfied» with service at state free of charge medical centers (hospitals and polyclinics). About 60% of respondents are satisfied «sometimes only» after visiting hospitals and polyclinics. 30% of the respondents at all stages of monitoring told that they preferred visiting private clinics because they hope to get a more qualified medical service there. As a rule, these are private dental, gynecological and ophthalmologic clinics. As our empiric data show, in 2008 the number of respondents with chronic diseases increased almost by 8% compared to 2004—2005, and by 10% in comparison with 2001—2002.

It means that there is a stable and intensive growth of people with chronic diseases among students. And moreover, the number of senior students with chronic impairments is more than that of the first and the second courses. During all the period researched, we have such graduation: as to spreading there are gastrointestinal chronic impairments such as gastritis and colitis at the first place, throat and pulmonary diseases are at the second place, and cardiovascular impairments are at the third place.

The analysis has revealed the relationship between availability of chronic diseases and the well-being of students. So, the quantity of healthy respondents with mean income makes 15% more than that with low income. Every second student with low income has chronic impairments, while only every third student with mean income is ill with chronic diseases. As per harmful habits among students, the comparative three-staged analysis has shown that the common number of people who smoke is between 40% and 50%. As to alcohol, taking of drinks was not changed

in 2007—2008, that is the number of students who take drink is very high (86% at the first stage, 83% at the second stage, and 87% at the third stage). And as per drug addiction the situation is the same. At the first stage of investigation 4% of respondents told that they used light drugs, at the second stage 2% used light drugs and 6% used light drugs at the third stage. First of all, the individual's self-preserving behavior character is determined by the way the person evaluates the effect exerted on his health keeping by such a subjective factor as «person's efforts», compared to objective factors. In this graduation of importance it was revealed that the factor of «person's efforts» was placed by the respondents to the third place after the factors of «life conditions» and «heredity» at the first and the second stages of research. And at the third stage of research «person's efforts» were placed only at the fourth place. Therefore, the respondents consider the social reality objective factors to play the main role in forming the person's health.

Main conclusions of investigation are:

- 1) self-preserving behavior of Moscow students is transforming towards the growth of health passive care;
- 2) the students consider the environmental factors, such as «life conditions» and «heredity» to be responsible for person's health and state, but not the person's own efforts;
- 3) as a negative aspect, we consider smoking, drinking, and drugs addiction to play a destructive role in self-preserving behavior;
- 4) the students spend their spare time in a «traditional form» (watching the TV, contacting with relatives, listening to the music). At the same time, there appears a constant growth of computer-depended students;
- 5) there is stable increase of chronic diseases among Moscow students. There are 50% of students with chronic impairments in the group with low income, and there are about 30% of students ill with chronic diseases in the mean income group.

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O. Karpenko, M. Bershadskaya, Y. Voznesenskaya, Moscow

RUSSIAN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN THE WEBOMETRICS RANKING OF WORLD UNIVERSITIES (WR)

Ever-increasing interest to the Webometrics Ranking of World Universities (WR), where the estimation of higher education institutions is defined by the content and popularity of an institution web site, is, to a great extent, brought about by a wide coverage of the world higher education institutions and a transparency of the WR results, published twice a year. This enables a great number of universities to constantly analyze their strengths and weaknesses and on the basis of such analysis not only to regulate the university web policy, but also to objectively assess the competitiveness of its educational and scientific activities.

In 2009 ranking in the first hundred of the world top 5000 institutions comprising 70 universities from USA and 15 from Europe there are no Russian universities. Lomonosov Moscow State University is in the second hundred. Only three Russian universities are in the first thousand (Lomonosov Moscow State University — 186 position, Saint Petersburg State University — 927 position, Novosibirsk State University — 949 position). In every successive thousand a portion of Russian universities increases by 0, 5% at an average. In the last WR (January 2009) there are two Russian universities: 2% among the top 5000. According to this indicator (the number of national universities among the best world institutions) Russia is among the top ten countries like it was in the three previous rankings (July 2007, January

and July 2008). In our opinion, this is a very important aspect of leadership that reflects the magnitude of the system and its readiness to absorb new information technologies allowing to judge national system of higher education not by individual leading universities, but as a whole, by all the body of educational institutions entering the system. As a criterion for the selection of the leading countries, we have adopted at least 100 universities of a relevant country among the top 5000. It has appeared that only 10 from 191 countries correspond to this criterion. Russia is among them (145 universities in July 2007, 123 — in January 2008, 130 — in July 2008, 111 — January 2009). However the position of Russia among other countries in the last WR has considerably declined: from the 7—9th positions in 2007—2008 to the 10th in January 2009 (see fig. 2).

Fig. 1 shows the number of Russian universities in 1000, 2000, 3000, 4000 and 5000 top world universities in the four ratings periods 2007—2009. It is evident the results are relatively stable. The last rating (January 2009) has been a marked deterioration in the results: the threshold of 1% of the number of the best world universities is passed only in the top 3000, the threshold of 2 % — in the top 5000.

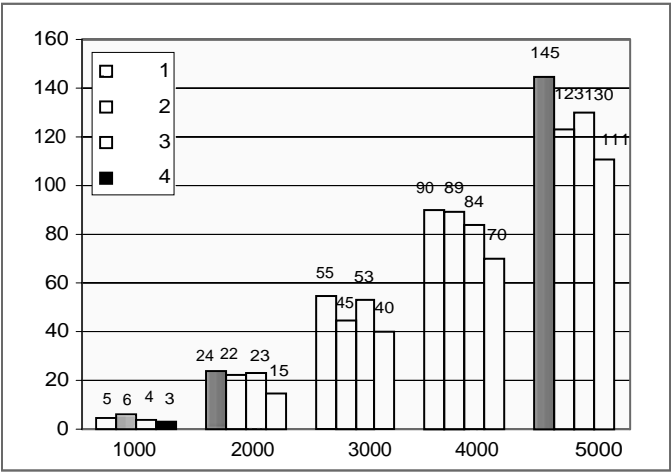
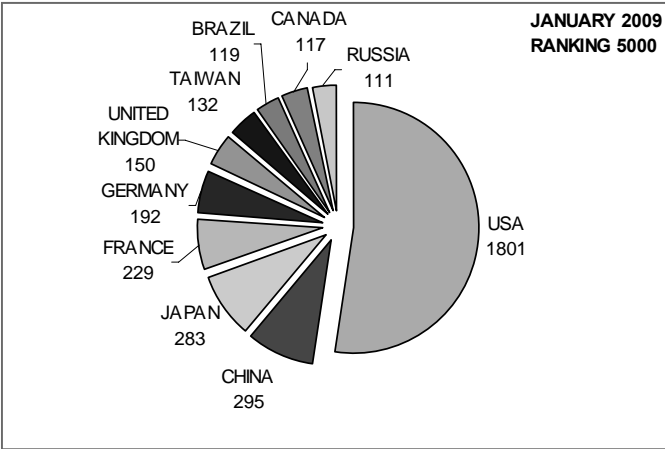


Fig. 1 Number of the Russian universities in the world top universities (July 2007 — column #1; January 2008 — column #2; July 2008 — column #3; January 2009 — column #4)

Along with the publication of results for the top 5000 universities in WR-2009 there appeared data for ranging of the top 6000 world universities. The share of Russian universities in this rating has considerably increased: it has made 2, 5 % (150 Russian universities among world 6000).

Countries with the greatest number of national universities in ratings of the top 5000 and 6000 are presented on the Picture 2 (January 2009).



a)

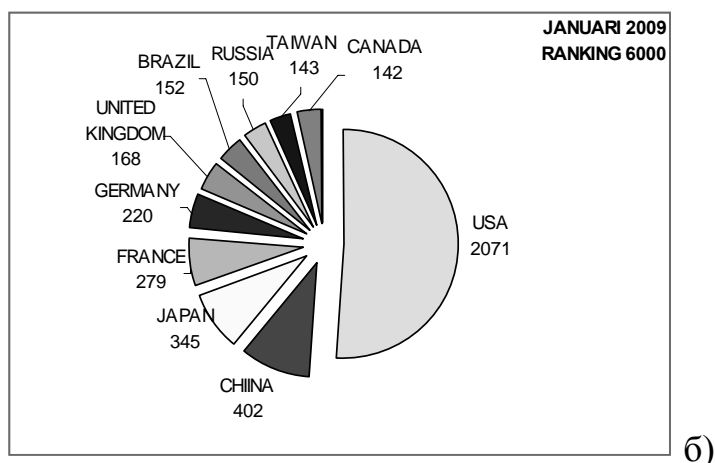


Fig. 2. The countries, leading by number of the national universities included in the top 5000 (a) and top 6000 (b) world universities.

Relevance of the Webometrics project is defined by the obvious role which an Internet site plays in a higher institution development, expanding dialogue possibilities between scientists, forming new communications in scientific community, making the process of scientific publications for teachers and researchers much easier. The basic ideas incorporated in the project are particularly relevant for Russia with its vast territory and uneven population density. In this context, it is important not only to increase the number of universities, recognized for various parameters in the global education community, but also the even distribution of such universities across the country.

Figure 3 shows the distribution across the federal districts of 111 Russian universities which have entered into the top 5000 world universities in WR-2009. As in the previous ratings (July 2007, January 2008, July 2008)^{91, 92, 93} a backlog of the Ural, Southern and Far East federal districts takes place, although for these regions strengthening of an institution web policy appears to be particularly important. At the same time we can see an obvious improvement of the Southern district positions in the last rating in comparison with two previous ones.

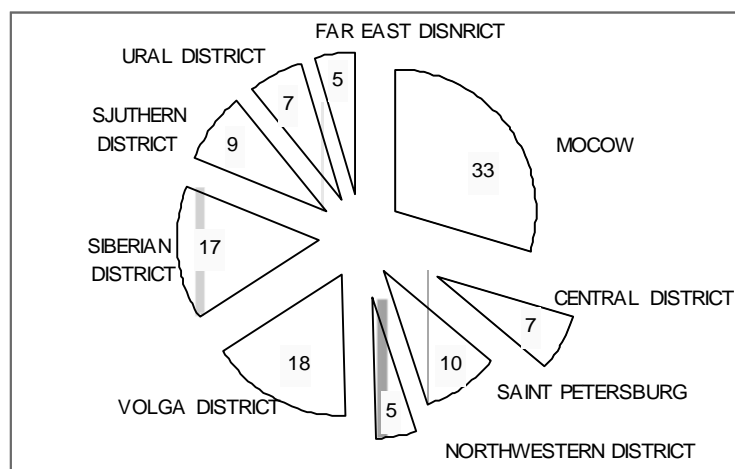


Fig. 3. Distribution of the best Russian universities across the federal districts

⁹¹ O.M. Karpenko, M.D. Bershadskaya, U. A. Voznesenskaya. The Role of a Web-site in University Integrated Characteristics: Results of the World Ranking. || Sociology of Education. M., 2008, #2, p.4—16.

⁹² O.M. Karpenko, M.D. Bershadskaya, U. A. Voznesenskaya. Russian universities in the World Ranking of Web-sites. In: «National Priority Projects and Maintenance of the Nation». M., INION, 2008, p.591—601

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As a whole positions of Russian universities in WR-2009 have considerably declined. Only 5 universities have improved their positions in comparison with the July 2007 rating: Modern University for the Humanities, Russian Academy of State Administration, Far Eastern, Southern Ural and Saratov state universities.

A change in positions of the universities which have improved their results for the considered period more than by 10 %, are shown in fig. 4. (a position in the July 2007 rating is taken as 100 %). Modern University for the Humanities is in the lead (position improvement — 21 %); the second place takes the Russian Academy of State Administration (position improvement -12 %). Both universities have improved their results in the most difficult-to-get criterion V⁹⁴, which has the greatest weight in the summing-up of indicators (50 %). Considerable improvement of positions by this parameter has defined the leadership of Modern University for the Humanities' web-site in terms of the development dynamics. For further progress in the Modern University for the Humanities' site development it is necessary to get improvement of criteria S⁹⁵ and Sc⁹⁶ positions. The backlog by these criteria shows to the institution authorities the drawbacks that need to be taken into account when adapting a web policy. Among the drawbacks of the Russian Academy of State Administration web policy is the decline of positions by the criterion Sc. During the considered period positions by criterion R⁹⁷ have improved at both universities.

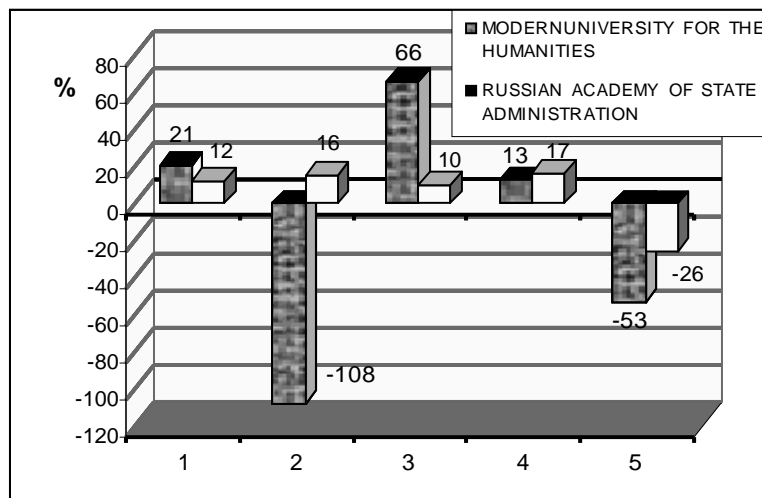


Fig. 4. Change of positions of universities leading by dynamics of web site development during the period July 2007-January 2008: 1 — a position in a rating; 2 to 5 — positions by separate criteria: 2—criterion S (weight of 20 %), 3— criterion V (weight of 50 %), 4— criterion R (weight of 15 %), 5 — criterion Sc (weight of 15 %).

Many Russian universities constantly monitor their positions in the ranking, placing the analysis on its website. The analysis of Webometrics' results and working-out of recommendations on how to improve the positioning of the university in the network can expect that Russian educational system will hold its position in this ranking, and the universities will be able to realize the basic ideas of the Webometrics project.

⁹⁴ Visibility (V) -the total number of unique external links received by a site obtained only from Yahoo Search, Live Search and Exalead

⁹⁵ Size (S). -size of a site or a number of pages recovered from four engines: Google, Yahoo, Live Search and Exalead.

⁹⁶ Scholar (Sc). — a number of papers and citations for each academic domain provided by Google Scholar. These results from the Scholar database represent papers, reports and other academic items.

⁹⁷ Rich Files (R). — the availability of different file formats such as Adobe Acrobat (. pdf), Adobe PostScript (. ps), Microsoft Word (. doc) and Microsoft Powerpoint (. ppt).

UNIFIED EUROPE FOR THE SCHOOLCHILDREN

Both political and economic unification of European countries is the constant theme for mass media and political disputes. Do the European regions converge or diverge? Europeans are at a loss while watching the disputes about national sovereignty refusal, prosperity of certain national branches of economy etc. Political fuss threatens to overshadow the idea of unified Europe, first accomplished after signing the treaties about establishing European Economic Community in 1957 in Rome. Can we view European community as cohesive entity or it is a division of nations, classes, ethnic groups, regions, genders and other significant and differentiating units? Nowadays European communities lose interest in the idea of a unified Europe. In the conditions of the global financial crisis they suggest to reject euro and return to national currencies, so national state remains the most acceptable unit for European community research. «European idea» is not supported by all people of the Old World as neither in Rome, nor in Maastricht did they discuss the formation of the unified European Identification. There has been a gap here and the first «Manual of European history» appeared to make up for a deficiency. F. Delouch, the initiator of the manual, has experienced European antagonisms of interests while a schoolboy. Identification of a person or of a nation is being made up on the basis of history, and every nation has its own manner of dealing with it. At school they pay attention to the history of a native country. Thus, identification is being formed within national categories.

F. Delouch was born in England in 1942, his mother was Norwegian, and his father was French. He attended both English and French schools and has always experienced conflict of loyalty. During history lessons in English school they discussed a battle with the French near Quebec, Trafalgar and Waterloo, and in a French school Englishmen were blamed for burning French national heroine Jeanne D'Arck. Age-old antagonism, that became a history long ago, is still alive in schools. How can we move to forming unified European identification? History lesson is a proper place to convince the young Europeans in commonness of European past and create a foundation for associative identification. In November 1988 F. Delouch and eleven Historians met in the Institute of European culture to design a manual combining textbook, manual and reference book. F. Delouch designed a manual as being appropriate for Irish, Greek, Polish and German schools. Every participant told about History teaching in his country. Difficulties were revealed as absolutely different historical traditions clashed. It was necessary to find a compromise between English traditions of historical narration highlighting famous people and events and more up-to date approach of Italy, Germany and other countries. History is taught there through social-historical orientation, teaching is more analytical, problem-oriented, and structure-oriented; it is associative, working out thinking patterns and behavior in modern conditions. Every author had to compose one chapter of European History from prehistoric times till present day. Afterwards all the participants discussed and edited the chapters. All the authors faced the same difficulties as F. Delouch did in his childhood. Despite the intention to think in general categories their perception of History remained national. The Irish author wrote a chapter about French revolution in the way which was not approved by the French author. It's no wonder, the French view that epoch as the great period of national history, the main item of their national identity. The Irish, Englishmen and Spaniards believe it was an epoch of violence and aggression for the whole Europe.

As a result the manual reflected several points of view and several interpretations of that period, demonstrating multilateral perception of the events. The authors realized that their knowledge of the significance of different historical periods for different European nations was not enough. Despite divergence of opinions about the manual's content and structure, the authors showed tolerance, mutual respect, and readiness to learn from each other's experience. The manual highlighted commonness of European nations, it

also emphasized national and global historical issues. Ordinary manuals usually describe a country by country; this one presented histories of different countries as fully interrelated process. For example, feudalism and knighthood were represented as phenomena common to all European countries.

The origin, expansion and different variations of State system, trade, labor relations, agriculture, architecture, the Renaissance, religious split, absolutism, the Enlightenment, liberalism, nationalism, revolutions, industrialization are all common European notions and events which had no borders and happened in every European country. Schoolchildren watch commonness of European civilization from the cradles of Greek, Roman, Christian civilizations to present day. Notwithstanding ethnic and linguistic diversity of European national cultures they realize commonness of some facts. But it's necessary to note that from the point of view of the didactics the new manual was not innovative at all. It lacked scientific approach because international consensus made the authors refuse from problem orientation, general questions, definitions study, comparison of sources, analyzing which schoolchildren learn to understand the multi-value estimation of history. The authors didn't intend to change school curriculum and remove national history from it; they just wanted to supplement it with comprehensive approach.

It's possible to conclude that formation of Unified European identity and European countries integration is a complex process. It's difficult to think by European categories and deny national history perception. It's also hard to define roles of national states and consensus leading to European integration. But there is no way from open discussion. International press comments on results of European integration in different ways, as countries are at a loss and want independent statehood. Reasonable intention of national states overcame European ambition and there occurred struggle for power between nations. They determine new areas of influence and new separating lines in Europe. Thus there are divergent and convergent processes within European territory depending on geopolitical situation in Europe and in the whole world.

4.3. RUSSIAN EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS: TRADITIONS AND INNOVATIONS

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IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF SOCIAL MANAGEMENT IN SPORT-IMPROVING AND MASS WORK AT HIGH SCHOOLS

Student's life has many dimensions. After ending studies a student has free time, which is used for development of intellectual and physical abilities. A chair of physical culture of Perm State Polytechnic University together with sports club «Polytechnic» carries out the large sports-improving and mass work in our high school. The founders of the Chair were the Honored worker of physical culture of Russia I.V. Pugachyov and the excellent worker of physical culture and sports N.N. Orlov. Now the chair has 44 highly skilled teachers, among which 7 senior lecturers, 2 Honored trainers of Russia. The effective work of the stuff is marked by assignment to 8 best teachers of a rank «Excellent of physical culture and sports»; 20 teachers have ranks of the judges of a national category on various kinds of sports. Sports club has deep traditions since 1960. The elite of student's sports is made

by the champions of Olympic games deserved foremen of sports Vladimir Alikin (biathlon PSPU), Michael Devetyarov (ski races, PSPU), participants of Olympic games, foreman of sports of the international class Yrii Velikorodnii (PSPU, marathon race, Munich and Montreal), Alexander Nosov (PSPU, ski combination, Capporo).

On celebrating 55- anniversary of PSPU there have arrived the former graduates of high school becoming the chiefs of the enterprises, organizations. So, for example, the former governor of the Perm area, the minister of natural resources of Russian development of intellectual and physical abilities. A chair of physical culture of Perm State Polytechnic University together with sports club «Polytechnic» carries out the large sports-improving and mass work in our high school. The founders of the chair were the Honored worker of physical culture of Russia I.V. Pugachyov and the excellent worker of physical culture and sports N.N. Orlov. Now the chair has 44 highly skilled teachers, among which 7 senior lecturers, 2 Honored trainers of Russia. The effective work of the stuff is marked by assignment to 8 best teachers of a rank «Excellent of physical culture and sports»; 20 teachers have ranks of the judges of a national category on various kinds of sports. Sports club has deep traditions since 1960. The technique of questionnaire as a sort of sociological research included two parts: interview and questionnaire, carried out in parallel. 2682 students of various faculties of high schools of the Perm area and cadets of military institutes were interrogated. As a list of questions the developed questionnaire was used.

The results of questionnaire have shown that the majority 86 % of the students were engaged or are engaged in sports (88 % of the young men and 83 % of the girl). 95 % of the respondents positively concern to sports (96% of the young men and 93 % of the girl). And many — 35 % (27 % of the young men and 48 % of the girl) would like to be engaged in swimming, if there were suitable conditions. The popularity of swimming is explained by the increased interest of the majority of the students to this kind of sports, as there are a lot of rivers, lakes and ponds in the Perm region, and it is not enough of swimming pools, especially in high schools. The popularity of such kinds of sports, as aerobics, the sports games, tourism is very high. Having entered the high school, the young people usually stop to be engaged in sports actively. Only 16 % (20 % of the young men and 12 % of the girl) respondents are engaged in sports «of maximum achievement» at the international, regional and city levels. Now for improving of health the students are engaged in physical culture and sports actively enough. The negative attitude to drugs — 68 %, and to smoking — 63 % is observed. Occasionally use spirits drinks 58 % of the students. Probably, it is necessary in this age in high schools to strengthen propagation of sports style, healthy image of life.

During the carried out research was revealed, that the majority interrogated 46 % (49 % and 41 % accordingly) positively appreciate the quality of training on physical culture -. They are satisfied on the whole with the form of training, the contents, except for discrepancy of sports base of high schools to the modern requirements. The financial position of the students practically completely depends on the parents and relatives (87 %). Only 12 % of the respondents manage to live within the limits of their scholarship in our difficult time. The part of the students earns additionally (24 %). The future occupation for the majority of the students is connected with one's better paid work (66 %). Only somewhat between 7 % and 5 % of respondents want to become trainers in sports. For a choice of their future occupation and jobs a majority of students consider different factors: high earnings, pleasure from work, opportunity to travel, high prestige, and opportunity to open their own business (45 %). The sociological analysis has shown, that the students of high schools of Perm area mainly conduct a healthy image of life, are engaged in sports, try to improve their health, do not use the drugs, but do not have enough rest and, irrationally use the leisure.

The Chairs of physical culture, sociology and political sciences of PSTU during 1998—2008 have carried out a common sociological research. The urgency of the given research approves that more than 60 % of the students of humanitarian faculty is released from training in the basic group on physical culture. In special medical group are engaged the majority of the economists, political sciences of faculty. According to the data of sociological research the students before entering PSTU were engaged in

sports; 85 % and now would like to be engaged in swimming and in aerobics, tourism, sports games (35 %). Unfortunately, in educational time it cannot be made, it is a pity but there is no a swimming pool at the university and the coming years its construction is not planned. To course an increase of motivation of students of the Chair of physical culture a pedagogical methodical complex for discipline Physical culture is introduced. Good working educational program for special medical group is prepared considering individual program to be applied to each group of diseases, taking into consideration the condition of health of students.

The complex tests on special physical preparation are developed. They enable to develop the correct recommendations to the students on correction of a functional condition and development of the professionally important qualities during study and to form a healthy image and style of life. These measures allow increasing motivation to be engaged by physical culture, which is objectively expressed by the data of sociological research.

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EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT TOWARDS REDUCING EXTREMISM

The modern higher education becomes a focal point of innovation economy as a center of creative ideas and projects as being a system of training of specialists who are directed toward high technologies. The higher education system should be seen as a multilevel model for preparing specialists whose competences may diverse. Nowadays education is not only the system of learning and upbringing. It also is used as a remedy to resolve some social problems, e. g. extreme behavior of the young people. Extreme behavior of the young people is an urgent problem widely discussed. It's an indicator of economic development of society, showing of entry into postindustrial phases. The measure of expansion of extremism in the world shows presence of some necessary social prerequisites for that phenomenon. In the modern society the term of professional training is extended noticeably, so that physically young people' growth takes a long time meanwhile they remain socially depended on their parents.

It's necessary to add that minimalism and heightened emotionality of young people. It becomes clear why they demonstrate their energy and power by asocial means. They can not yet react adequately to economical problems, national troubles, and political disorder. In addition to it there is one more motive for extreme behavior of young people. We come into a society of knowledge with its permanent innovations. It's typical for of the youth to novelize experiment and even run risks. Extreme behavior presents the active, creative essence of young generation. It's necessary to have a pedagogical influence upon the young people so that correct excess creative behavior of the young people. Extremism has its negative and positive consequences. It can be considered as manifestation of creative essence of the young people. Postindustrial society generates extremism as ground of innovations. It is known that innovations can hardly come without deviation [1].

In the modern Russia a fact is established increasing of extreme behavior of the young people. That indicates as Russia' joining to postindustrial era so as oppositions of proceeding of social-cultural reforms. Plenty of the young people don't consider extremism as a grave problem for Russia. And so is impotent to transform extreme behavior into social adapted forms. The education system has to play the leading role. It has to modify the forms of learning, contents of lecture-courses, curriculum, and methods of studies. It is necessary to establish of educational institutions intending for interests of young people, energetic living, substantial leisure, giving a chance to bring about their identity and social activity. There are tendencies of modern educational system for giving knowledge and skills for social adapted life: long-life learning with the object of adaptation to continuously changed social conditions; humanization of studies, intellectual development, perfection

of ethical and physical identities; differentiation and personalization of learning and upbringing, arrangement of conditions for appearance of creative abilities of every person; democratization of educational system for the purpose of administration of guarantees of free access to education.

Russian educational system has some particular qualities of postindustrial society that help to settle problems of extreme behavior. There are any-level education for achievement various competencies; being equipped with computers and the system of distant education for involving of all sections of the population into the intellectual activities; active methods of studies for settlement of burning questions; team-work and joint actions of teacher and student. Educational institutions move to studies-scientific complexes that are able to solve neither no learning questions but else problems of development of social relations, realization of positive social energy.

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SOME PROBLEMS OF THE MODERN RUSSIAN SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

The problem of the shaping modern Russian managers becomes urgent particularly at the period of global and Russian crisis in condition of the market system of the management. The successful business executive, effective managers, the dynamical businessmen, responsible politicians are a strategic resource of steady economic development of the country and material welfare of the population. Specificity of development of domestic economy aggravates recently the problems which have arisen at representatives of this category of workers. To number of the most obvious problems it is possible to carry inability of managers-heads to adapt to varying conditions; their weak professional competitiveness; block in actions at decision-making in extreme situations; absence of the creative beginning; weak knowledge of laws and management principles; inability to be guided in difficult labyrinths of constantly operating changes of market economy etc. The New conditions of the management, appeared at the period of the global crisis, require the study of the system of preparation specialist management sphere. Exactly renovation of the contents of the business formation, to aim it on real existing situations to labor activity will help to solve the problems, connected with backlog in production, social, cultural area modern society. The Important characteristic as business formation is — a change the profound process of the teaching, existing forms of the education in accordance with requirements market.

Process of the education must be based on:

- Active forms of education (business plays and etc);
- A pupil's rights by to control the process of education;
- One's flexible use of new educational technology;
- One's professional competence required for future jobs;
- Modeling of labor situation in one's professional activity;
- Assistance in spiritual, moral and psychological quality;
- Shaping skills of innovative activity connected with risk.

The whole process of the education must be gradually integrated in international system through exchange new educational technology. The typical devil of such education and its methodical and methodological basis must be:

- raised science-capacity in process of the education, connected with increase amount studies by interactions of the business and sciences;
- rationalism as the unity of theoretical & applied competence;

- strategic directivity of education on need of human activity;
- innovative, supporting non-conventional, creative approaches to decision of the concrete practical problems;
- culture-capacity based on humane spiritual production.

The optimum combination science-capacity, innovative, rationalism, culture-capacity are a future quality of the business formation. The system of the formation must possess also such specific quality, as flexibility, skill to maneuvers, self-adaptability. The knowledge got in process of the education, must correspond to the leading scientific achievement. In this connection it is necessary already on initial stage of the education to support the scientific relationship with other educational institutions and with foreign partner particularly. Scientifically information exchange is necessary actively to realize through national cooperation, by participations in the international conference, congress, seminar. The main function of the formation this is shaping the specialist, possessing professional knowledge, skills, skill, culture of the economic thinking and possessing humanistic outlook. The main purpose of modern preparation, on our glance, is a creation educational space; promoting competitive self-determination in accordance with need market society. The Professional self-determination is realized through own belief about the world profession; the determination business interest, aptitudes; psychological readiness to creative self-determination. Training must form the skills and abilities for real practical activity, know how to adjust the rapport between partners in labor activity, have modern social technology, reflect social-technical aspects to activity, know how to reach the result on professional field. Important is and stimulation training for their longing to self-improvement, to the whole leading, progressive, to shaping the civil position. All this will help to form business, talented specialist, will form and will raise its professional level. The level of preparing the specialist must answer the present-day requirements and, as minimum, include following components:

- system thinking in professional, scientific, social activity;
- high level of the professional claims;
- longing to professional growing;
- high degree to complacency to its professions;
- many-sided knowledge and skills to realize in practice.

Important forming process of the formation must become the high level social-psychological literacy, ability to independent decisions and action. On change narrow specialist must again come the specialists quickly adapting to modern condition and new technology; the stress-steady, knowing how respond to all change, occurring in society; the diplomat with standpoint of the expansion of the relationships; dynamical in plan of the growing its qualifying level.

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PRESENT-DAY RUSSIAN EDUCATION IN PRACTICE: FEATURES OF PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

To reveal the creative potential of personality has been declared one of the ultimate purposes of education in present-day Russian society. The conventional concept of Russian education implies cultivation of rational, mostly logical-verbal thinking, and acquiring fundamental sciences. The major attention in this concept is paid to logical

distribution and consequentiality. What is typical for this paradigm is the authoritarian leadership style, and consequently strictly standardized initiative and creativity are which restricts the opportunities for self-expression [3, 275]. Unlike traditional notion of education, the innovative concepts are formed on the principles of self-organizing system based on nonlinearity of embedded processes and directed at making education creative. In philosophy of education, four main innovative trends can be marked out: (1) Directing the value system of education to creation of cultural pattern in all spheres of personal life activity; (2) Humanization of educational process; (3) Application of intuitive perception in educational process [1, 7].

The influence of such innovative trend as the directing the value system of education to creation of cultural pattern in all spheres of personal life activity is quite essential and it is stipulated by destruction of former conventional ideals of the society, which has caused the spiritual gap. Value system reveals actual motivation of human behavior and characterizes relations between a person and environment as well as significant social and moral qualities of a person. If personal values are not contradictory it indicates the stable personality, otherwise it testifies the person is inconstant, immature or marginal. Spiritual orientation meaning spiritual values shared and internalized by a person stand as ideals and purposes of life and basic means for their achievement, and in situations of moral challenge they serve a person as reference criteria for making vital decisions. The next important trend in establishing new Russian educational paradigm is the humanization of educational process. Herewith the notion of humanism is filled with new content. In the concept of humanization the personality-oriented approach in education gains major significance. This approach mainly focuses on directing the educational purposes at a person as the diversified personality.

Another trend of innovation implies the application of intuitive perception in educational process. It is based on modern achievements in psychology. For instance computer simulation techniques enable to test hypothesis by intuition and intuitively perceive the obtained results. The virtual reality technique provides real interaction between a person and imaginary computer world in both in precise and intuitive mode. Computer graphics are used to represent the ideas as visual objects, which stimulates creative intuition. Computerization of cognitive process enriches the capability of super-consciousness to perform emotional and intuitive estimation of the novelties. Essentially, here occurs a different situation in cognition defined by redistribution of relations between the reflection and creative work, intellect and intuition, logic and imagination, conceptual formalized thinking and emotions, the rational and the irrational, the real and the artificial, the probable and the real. Actualization of interaction by means of computer technologies enables to put education on the level of active creativity. On the one hand it extends the opportunities for personal development, on the other hand is contributes to integration and processing of various information in the social system. Hence it is clear that traditions and innovations are two sides of the same process. Successful realization of this process is only possible on condition that innovations are introduced under careful adhering to traditions in educational system. The possible fidelity criteria for such a choice are the following: succession in the advancement of education; gradual change from traditions to innovations and subsequent turning the innovations into traditions; and continued functioning of the system of education and upbringing.

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TRAINING OF THE PERSONNEL UNDER CONDITIONS OF FINANCIAL CRISIS

Training and development of personnel is spread in many companies. The acting programs, the regular and invited trainers, training techniques, the equipped classes — all this was recently the pride of the enterprises. But the changed financial situation has introduced its corrections in a system of training of the personnel. Financial restrictions demand a revision of training programs. Whether it is necessary to invest money in personnel training? — A question over which the heads of the companies even more often reflect. It is not necessary to forget that training is one of the major business processes in the company. Let the non-trained employee will sell products of the company or supervise over branch and it possible to predict the easily losses, as direct one as well as from missed possibilities. However, the personnel training — is a rather expensive affair and often requires own large budget. According to data of the company AXES Management, 40 % of companies are going to reduce expenses for personnel by 14, 1 %, including for training.

In the poll carried out on a site [www. zarplata. ru](http://www.zarplata.ru) only 22 % of respondents have answered that their companies are ready to spend money for training of the personnel under conditions of crisis, 12, 0 % have declared that the company is ready to pay training partially, and 43 % recognize that in their companies the means for training are not provided now, and 23 % have answered that in their companies personnel training is not absolutely supposed. Thus, a great number of respondents (43 %) recognize that financial crisis has affected the budget allocated for development of the personnel. During the last several years the costs for training tended to decrease (per one employee) basically at the expense of optimization and increase of a system effectiveness of training, however, now, it is a question of reduction of activity in training as a whole that should affect results of the company. In fact, the efficiency of employees of the company without a system of corporate training decreases in course of time. It is caused by the absence of the additional motivating factor to development, and «moral obsolescence» of the available knowledge. From a point of view of anti-crisis management the company should minimize expenses and concentrate on the most effective directions of the activity.

The most reasonable decision for the company in a view of specified above factors is the use of a system of training, instead of the numerous isolated training programs which have no the common purpose. However, as practice of work of the Russian companies shows, there are still problems namely in this direction. The arguments proving the above mentioned seem to be the conclusions of the research carried out by the author with a support of the Department of personnel of the Joint-Stock Company «FARMAMED» in 2007. Within the limits of the given research it has been carried out two polls — the heads and employees of the companies. 15 managers of a different level have taken part in the poll of the heads from 5 pharmaceutical companies of a city of Moscow (Joint-Stock Company «PROTEK», Joint-Stock Company «FARMAMED», Open Society «NIZHFARM», Open Society «Sanofi-Aventis» and Joint-Stock Company «Schering»). The mass poll of employees was carried out on a casual regular sample, the volume of a sample of 100 units. The results of a poll have allowed quite substantiated to declare that there are some reasons negatively influencing the development and personnel training at the modern Russian enterprises on an example of the pharmaceutical companies.

First of all, it is possible to speak about the discrepancy of theoretical conceptions about efficiency of development of personnel being formed in the world management, to those real practices which help the Russian companies realize personnel training. The second reason — absence of a system approach to training and development of the personnel. As a result in the majority of the companies there is no regularity of training, the companies has no a continuous plan for development of personnel. If such plans

are available, they are formed without a coordination of purposes between employees and administration. The third reason — absence of preparation of employees taking into account a career prospect. The fourth limitation is a low level of personification of training. The research allows say, that in many Russian companies of pharmaceutical branch there are no the definite criteria of decision-making on training and development of this or that employee. In many respects it is connected with that the initial level of knowledge and skills is not estimated properly, or estimated non-objectively.

The carried out sociological research allows make some recommendations to the heads and services of personnel of the companies. The first and basic recommendation — to improve a quality of professional training the firm should co-ordinate plans of the management and the Center of training with the purposes of the employees. The mutual completeness of these plans should be regarded as a paramount importance strategy of training and personnel development. The arguments in favor of this strategy are rather simple — it is important that the employees could identify themselves with the purposes and the actions of the organization rather than simply trained using the out of date knowledge. Only in this case the value of training will justify the means invested in it.

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SOME PROBLEMS OF THE RUSSIAN EDUCATION

Problems in the system of education can be found in all countries every century. In the recent past in USSR there were problems between the system of education and employers: the fact is that the system of education was closed from democracy and the Soviet system of education didn't pay attention on labor requirements. Nowadays in Russia all economical, political, and social problems reflect on the system of education. Because of the education being associated closely with the process of development of every state it can't be separated from governmental policy, economics, and the progress of society. The system of education is guided by modern state system, social conditions in the country and reproduces all the negative sides of the present situation.

The lack of qualified teachers is one of the most serious problems in Russia and in many other countries. There are several reasons for it. As the prestige of teaching profession was reducing, there are less young people who want to become specialists in the field of pedagogic. About 40% of students of pedagogical Universities are not going to work as teachers after graduating. If we take a look at the structure of the pedagogical staff we'll see that 63, 2% of teachers have been working at schools for more than 10 years and more than a half of professors are in their 60-ties. Due to opinion of Skobkin V.S. those young people who haven't succeeded in entering some University join the pedagogical ones. Thus the laborer market receives low-skilled personnel. The most of school teachers are girls so they create working groups of a certain type. The pedagogue's position in the social structure isn't high and that is proved by public opinion polls. The consolidation of the situation above is described in sociological investigation «Stratification of the Russian society» of the Institute of Social Planning and the company «ROMIR Monitoring». Russians who work at the field of education are divided into two groups: the first should be considered as a lower segment of the middle class (along with qualified workers); the second one (which is smaller) as a «zone of poverty».

The loss of public recognition by the educational field as a part of social activities has been developing in Russia since 1990. It has reflected not only on the social structure but has also seriously influenced on the social opinion and the students attitude towards pedagogues. Teacher's career is more limited than professor's one. The attempts of the Department of education were to change the situation by introducing the new system of payment. But it hasn't given any positive results yet. The system

of education is always ideologized. Significant changes occurred in the educational system after USSR disintegration. Communists' ideals, ideas of Marcs and Lenin were taken away from the educational program. Unfortunately there weren't following by any ideologies or views of patriotism. The former youth organizations known as «October children», «Young pioneer» and «Komsomol organization» were banned and closed, but no alternative structures were created on their places. Recently several youth political parties appeared. However they could not create adequate substitution for primary and secondary schools. That is why the schools became a mere centre that charged by functions of lost organizations. But schools can not cope with such task because educational process is one of its main functions and it takes almost all resources of educational institutions. It turned out that the personality formation without any ideology was an overwhelming task.

Another problem is the influence of social changes in students' life. Nowadays our society becomes more and more divided as ethnic and cultural minorities as well as immigrant communities. Such changes in the social structure are rather dangerous. Today pupil's life is much more complicated than before. Obviously we have to admit that schools have to resist to increased number of social and personal problems. The intensification of migration made poly-cultural constituent territories of Russian Federation and Russian typical provincial towns. For example the social composition of Yaroslavl region involves more than 70 nationalities. Many migrants tend to adapt very quickly to new social conditions and to help their relatives to settle in a new place. At the same time they don't want to get lost and to assimilate to foreign people. This problem should be taken into account in the pedagogical activity. The influence of new technologies on the development of education causes unsusceptible complications. Methods of education, relationship between students and teachers, the independence of students are significantly affected by informational and communication technologies. Positive sites of the influence of new technologies are known but we can't predict its negative impacts and its dangerous consequences.

Unfortunately students of either schools or Universities often prefer to use the Internet where they download ready-made texts without doing any creative or analytical work. The fight against the plagiarism is widespread in some schools and at Universities. Though, plagiarism isn't a penal action. The most of Russian families were subjected to economical difficulties and crisis. People have to take extra work and to do overtime. Family relationship, leisure-time and social activities are suffering from it. Such socially unprotected families are very sensitive to economical and social problems. We can't also forget about the influence of the Internet and mass media. Young people are charmed by the Internet. In the world of the Internet they can chat or receive any kind of information without any considerable efforts. The interruption of the school education becomes widespread. Solving this problem there was created the system of study for an external degree which gives a possibility to complete the education earlier. Recently the popularity of such type of education among pupils has significantly grown.

The inefficiency of the Russian system of education is expressed by numerous components. The quality of the education depends on the educational staff, on teaching methods, technical equipment, educational programmers, etc. Each of these components needs to be improved. Educational institutions often aren't able to give equal educational services to the world wide standards, they can't use and assimilate the progressive methods and study techniques of foreign countries. The problem is in lack of knowledge on the one hand and in using of teaching literature of low quality and in part adoption of materials on the other hand. Reforms of the Department of Education in the field of remuneration of labor and of schools financing sometimes lead to deterioration of the present situation. Pupils with low intellectual faculties who often can't learn but can pay for their education enter Universities and receive certificates of degree. The capitation of schools will lead to the fact that soon schools will have to accept such pupils just to survive.

Students and pupils employment is another serious problem. Students have to pay for their education; they want to have a job after graduating from University and to

have cash. And about 30% of full-time students find a permanent work. Recently the number of working pupils has grown too. Such pupils or students have no possibility of attending lectures and practical trainings, normally preparing for seminars. Thus the educational level goes down. In the modern system of the Russian education there are numbers of serious problems linked to the discipline, physical and psychological state of young people. The number of such problems is growing incredibly fast. Drugs and computers addiction, alcoholism, early smoking can be mentioned among them.

To sum, we have to notice that the educational quality depends not only on internal demands in this field, but it is also influenced by social and cultural processes which are linked with Russia-Europe relationships in their turn. Thus the administrative and particularly financial measures aren't enough to ensure the high educational quality. The quality of the Russian education (the first of all regional) will be at the same level as European only if the sociocultural conditions change. That is the social attitude towards the education as a part of social activity, towards specialists of the educational field and towards the education position in the system of social and individual valuables. The solution of economical and political problems should be mentioned among such changes because of the education being directly linked to these fields of state development.

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5. CAN SOCIOLOGY CHANGE SOCIETY?

5.1. SOCIOLOGICAL EDUCATION: STANDARDS, HISTORY AND THEORIES

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FEATURES OF THE NEW STANDARD ON SOCIOLOGY IN RUSSIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

New drafts of Programs and Standards of lecture-courses on Sociology, as a discipline, are developed by a consortium of Russian universities with the participation of employers. Working group on a project was established at the State University — Higher School of Economics. The new standard takes into account the requirements of the Bologna Process and international experience in training sociologists. New ideas embodied in the projects include:

- expansion of academic freedom of universities in establishing the content of study programs;
- the establishment of study credits on the basis of ECTS;
- application of competence-based approach in creating of study programs;

The main features of the new standards compared to current are as follows:

1. Instead of three levels of training (Bachelor-Master-Specialist with the time of training 4, 5 and 6 years respectively), there will be two levels: Bachelor (4 years) and Master (6 years);
2. The workload of study program in general and the individual cycles is expressed in terms of credits based on the rate of 60 credits per year;
3. Each cycle provides the basic and variable part. Total workload of basic courses should be no more than 50% for the bachelor and 30% for the master degree;
4. Requirements for the result of learning outcomes of a study program are established in the form of competencies — the general and professional.

In Russian universities the introduction of new standards is not only the acquisition of long-awaited freedom in creating study programs for training sociologists, but also the need to address a number of challenges. The most pressing of these can be the development of methods for assessing competencies of graduates with different levels of training. Obviously, it would require unification of the global community of sociologists.

V.I. Franchuk, Moscow

CONTEMPORARY ORGANISMIC SOCIOLOGY: MAIN PROVISION

Contemporary organismic sociology (COS) represents attempt of modernization of organismic theory of G. Spenser on the basis new organismic model of a society (NOM) and the new knowledge from sociology, social psychology and the modern evolutionary theory. NOM can be described by the following characteristics.

1. A society is the form of existence of people which it is necessary to consider as rather steady social generality (integrity) showing reasonable behavior is similar to a reasonable alive organism. A reasonable behavior means ability of a society to answer calls adequately, or in other words to satisfy the social needs or to solve the social problems understood as a deviation from the standard social norms.

2. Societies have their natural, artificial and combined origin. First natural societies on the Earth appeared that were to be characterized as based on self-organizing principles. The artificial and combined societies appeared later as based on the grounds of natural societies which were patterns for their creation.

3. Despite of a variety of different types of societies, any society includes system of basic values and social norms (P. Sorokin) corresponding to them and latent or semi-latent social mechanism (A. Compte), protecting base values and norms. In the modern societies-nations the social mechanism is shown as a machinery of government; however the latter is only the legitimate part of social mechanism.

4. Social mechanism reveals social problems as deviations from social norms and it solves them with the help of samples of public culture (SPC) such as laws and legal acts, social institutes, social values and norms, innovations, organizational system, national projects, etc. Social mechanism can create new SPC or use old (or another's) SPC. Taking into account that public culture consists of the various SPC that are used as means for decision of social problems, the public culture can be considered as some required answers to the calls of social needs and problems.

5. To each new call and to every newly recognized social problem the social mechanism answers with some new SPC which are entered in public culture, replacing or superseding old SPC. Similar process provides reproduction of public culture and human resource, caused social development. It should be steady, i. e. to be capable to answer the calls by providing satisfaction of reasonable public needs.

6. Social mechanisms of natural societies are forming by chance due to action of the «social facts» (E. Durkheim) representing an appreciable part of public culture. Then on the basis of the «social facts» artificial SPC are created. The significant contributions to public culture are innovations, scientific inventions and knowledge. With the growth of cultural heritage people can create more and more complex social mechanisms, and therefore, more complex societies.

7. The social mechanism of a society consists of political system and executive mechanism. Political system plays a leading role in a society as it reveals social problems and chooses for each of them the means of solution. Except for that it forms the executive mechanism and transforms it (if necessary), and also it watches (keeps up) all socio-cultural space of a society and protects its base values and norms. The executive mechanism consisting of economic, financial, military and others institutions carries out the activity under the control of political system.

NOM gives contemporary look at the societies and people culture, allows to recall such important (but nearly forgotten) notions as «social mechanism of a society» (A. Compte) and «system of base values and norms» (P. Sorokin), also allows to carry out scientific diagnostics and modernization of working societies and being capable to design some new types of society if necessary.

The social mechanism provides vitality of society and it consists of two parts — state and not state ones. Last includes institutes of a civil society (political parties, public movements, churches, etc). It is not less important, than the first part. Social mechanisms consist also of political system and the executive mechanism. The political system plays the leading part in a society as it defines the most important problems and makes of the decision; gives the tasks to executive mechanism; forms socio-cultural spaces of a society; should protect base values and norms. Public culture (PC) has complex structure. It is subdivided into material and abstract; natural, artificial and combined. On the other hand, PC includes every means (tools) of the decision of social problems. From the third party, PC it is focused on satisfaction of social needs, including economic, political, military, medical, educational and others. Thus, PC can be treated as all

that is created by people (purposely or inadvertently), is accepted by a society and used by it for the answer to calls-problems, i. e. for satisfaction in public needs. In spite of the fact that PC constantly changes under influence of calls-problems, these changes should not concern «nucleus of PC», i. e. system of base values. The social mechanism reveals and solves social problems-calls, creating for new samples of PC or using already existing SPC. Solving problems the social mechanism aspires to keep the formed order in a society, and the main thing, the system of base social values and norms of a society on which it is «leaning».

Therefore the state first of all should be engaged in strengthening of system of base values (and norms) and social mechanism, paying the main attention to a problem of moral education of people. NOM must help in diagnostics and treatment (therapy) of ill society. Comparison NOM with working society allows carrying out its diagnostics, to reveal lacks (pathologies) and realize elimination of these lacks by put into practice of new reforms. The last should concern, first of all, strengthening of system of base values and social norms corresponding to them, and also strengthening of the social mechanism of a society, including state mechanism.

In contrast to the organismic sociology of G. Spenser SOC take into account new look at process of evolution. The modern evolutionary theory (Lima-de-Faria, A. Subetto, etc.) considers social evolution as process of speciation of societies with the help of universal mechanisms of evolution (selection and assembly, natural selection, disintegration). This process has convergent character when of more simple social units are assembling more and more complex units (families, communities, settlements, cities, the nations, the world communities)

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THE SOCIOLOGY OF LIFE FORCES OF A PERSON FOR MODERNIZATION OF SYSTEMS OF SOCIAL PROTECTION OF POPULATION IN MODERN RUSSIA

Such branch of sociological knowledge as sociology of social work became the new phenomenon on the boundary of the 20th– 21st centuries, what was determined, at the minimum, by the following reasons:

1. obvious expansion of problematic, aggravation, complication problems of social protection, technologies of social assistance of various population groups, where today included not only poor, but also representatives of other layers, having problems, life conservancy;
2. intensive development of sociological knowledge, its differentiation, specialization on branches of various spheres of society;
3. new integration of sociology in system, processes of development of modern social humanitarian knowledge, interaction of its main enterprises: sociology and psychology, sociology and right, sociology and economy, sociology and pedagogic;
4. shaping three main strategies of the development of social work, practice of its organizing-technological provision:
 - theories and practice, so named, structured social work, where public-state approach is prevail;
 - theories and practice of psychosocial work, where individually-larval strategies and technologies help requiring are dominated;
 - theories and practice of holistic, complex development strategy and technology of the social work, their psycho-sociological and cultural provision;

5. accumulation of experience of the realization of social help of different group, generalization of main trend of this activity in 20th century in condition of the new combination of global, national and regional, as well as public and private.

Origin, development, using of such concepts of the modern sociological knowledge as vitalism sociology of social work, providing formation and development of vitalism models of organizations of social work, social help of population as a whole became the phenomena. In main this occurs in consequence of action of such factors and conditions:

a) system nature of intensifications of problems of social protection of lives in modern society that removes the given problem from social-home sphere. They enter economic, political, spiritual-cultural as well as social-ecological life of the modern person, all spheres of his/her vital activity;

b) growing of spreading of social deviations, social diseases of the modern person, their intensification in modern Russia, new influence upon physical, psychological and social health of the people;

c) development of sociologies of life forces of the person as paradigms of the social thinking, development not only of Meta theories, but also special sociological concept;

d) development of new sociological concept, oriented on problem of life forces of the modern person and society;

e) evolution of vitalism ideas in modern philosophy, ecologies, other social sciences.

Vitalism sociology of the social work:

1. orientates the researchers and specialists on complex approach in choice of strategy and technology of realization of requiring social help. This complies with world trend of the development of the social work as the principal activity in system of the social servicing of population, organization of help;

2. increases the possibility of the rendering social help to people in all sphere of their vital activity;

3. orientates organization of new social management, new social culture of the interaction society, state and business, where social health and safety of personalities and society are provided;

4. forms new approach to comprehension and organizations of the interaction of life forces of the person and his/her life space.

Thereby, the growing of the variety not only technologies of practice of social work, but also strategy of their development within the framework of different models of social politicians and context of social cultural to evolution at present occurs.

Ludmila G. Guslyakova, Altai

SOCIAL WORK IN CONTEXT OF SOCIOLOGY OF VITALISM

In present time consideration of social work in context of sociological concept of vital forces, individual and social subjectivity of person is topical. It is realized through vitalism model of social work, including theoretical model of complex vision of social work. This model is connected, firstly, with overcoming of aggravated reaction of clients, maintenance of client ability of looking at himself/herself as to be ready to make practical solution (or participation in the solution) of the problems; secondly, with localization and abolition of blocks of braking of positive development of situation of client, amplification of support of successful decision of his/her problems, belief in success; thirdly, with allowance for necessity of increase of knowledge, awareness of client about opportunities of decision of his/her problems, first of all, about rights, creating basis for that; fourthly, with formation of conviction of client in abilities of social worker to render his/her real help.

Decision of these problems assumes realization of vitalism model of social work on structural and psychosocial levels of organization of social work. Theory of evolution of

vital forces of population in modern society, formation, realization and rehabilitation of subjectivity of person, family, collective, social group, society in the whole in certain public conditions is the basis of realization of structural social work in this instance. Laws of becoming, realization, maintenance and rehabilitation of individual and social subjectivity, and also specificity of its realization in condition of crisis and thoroughgoing reforms in the society should be taken into account in addition. On psychosocial level of organization of social work vitalism model of practice of social work acts in the form of integrative basis of different models and technologies, focused on optimization of process of ability to live of person. This activity is realized in special social services. The most important feature of practice application of concept of vital forces, individual and social subjectivity of person is taking into account requirement level of development of ability of every person to live in traditional or extreme situation, determined living space. This requirement to formation of effective technologies of social assistance, rehabilitations of everyone among requiring subjects of life is determined by basic content of modern techniques of support of population.

First important problem practically meant for social worker in the context of vitalism technology of social assistance is examination of level of development of vital forces of person, any social subject, to which support is rendered. Degree of development of individual and social subjectivity of person, social group is determined in connection with it, also «diagnosis» is given, examination of degree of longitudinal dihedron of individual and social subjectivity is realized, i. e. skills to protect the interests, satisfy needs of maintenance of life-support and active existence with individual-personal or social, public-organizational means.

Second important problem, decided by expert on social work, acting in the context of vitalism strategy of rendering assistance requiring people is problem of examination of major characteristics of living space, where client existed and exists, object of cares of social worker. Not only set of elements of microhabitat, material-material environment of inhabitation of family, client, but also development of social sphere, infrastructure of population, micro-district, and also his/her communicative relations are researched and valued.

Third problem is studying of evolution of vital forces of subject, genesis of becoming of it vital forces, «anamnesis» of its degradation changes. Fourth problem in the context of preliminary practice-expert assessment of the situation is establishment of typical forms of ability to live of object of help, i. e. major characteristics of its image and life-style.

Far development of theoretical-methodological bases of vitalism model of social work will let overcome, firstly, dissociation, fragmentariness of measures of social support social protection of population, secondly, existing un-conjugation of separate forms of social work.

Roman Lunyov, St.-Petersburg

P.F. KAPTEREV ABOUT INFLUENCE OF THE STATE AND A SOCIETY ON A RISING GENERATION DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION

Major of positive features of modern formation is revival of interest to an originality and originality of domestic pedagogical thought, revaluation of its bases from positions of national and universal values and ideals. In the midway of these processes scientific rehabilitation of many outstanding domestic teachers has been made, their true place in gold fund of domestic pedagogies is defined. To their count concerns the well-known Russian teacher and psychologist P.F. Kapterev (1849—1922).

Prevalence of the universal maintenance of a pedagogical ideal over «national values» which are various for each estate was P.F. Kapterev's deeply developed in its

educational books leading idea. In the analysis of a parity of biological and public, age and individual P.F. Kapterev in education has closely approached to opening of the mechanism of interaction of external and internal process making a basis interiorisation the acquired knowledge and ethical standards. By P.F. Kapterev educational process was considered as «development of abilities» and should promote creative self-realization of each pupil. For this reason the major condition of the organization of pedagogical process should become, according to P.F. Kapterev, freedom of school from pressure of the state and religion of the figure (that is its autonomy), school self-management as one of ways of formation of the free citizen and public.

The teacher in the scientific researches of a children's organism places emphasis that if we will more deeply penetrate into sense of pedagogical process, that, undoubtedly, we will understand, why the ideal of the perfect person is connected, the integral image, with a human nature. It reveals in P.F. Kapterev's thesis about two elements of pedagogical process — personal and public. Personal originates in anthropology, and public — sociology. The general human lines receive prevailing value in an ideal. Development of the public man, kind, able to store and increase the inherited cultural property, it is supplemented with other lines: respect of the person and the person of another, amateur performance, a sense of responsibility, justice in a combination with right on activity freedom. Logic course of intellectual development of the growing up harmonious person represents following steps: 1) initial (elementary) formation; 2) General preparatory (average); 3) the general and special definitive; 4) the higher academic⁹⁸.

In system of educational interaction of the state and a society the combination of national and universal values was expressed in second half of the 19th century:

- In class regulation by the state of a social composition of pupils, in orientation of the government to reproduction through formation of the social support — nobility and officials which had the cultural-historical genotype torn off from national traditions;

- In the state of politician -ideological support of classicism in the high school, understood as the developing and protect -bringing up means strengthening rupture of valuable systems of the Russian intellectuals and weights;

- In political imposing through an education system of the general guarding ideal class's services to the state as unique patriotism⁹⁹.

According to P.F. Kapterev the further development of Russian pedagogical consciousness consists that pedagogical process is included seriously and deeply into the state, playing it a leading role. Formation questions — questions not separate families, and all Russian people, questions extremely important consisting in civil formation.

«Thinking highly of the state communication between people and caring of its all-round strengthening in consciousness of rising generations, the teacher should be especially sensitive to growth of internal socially-moral consciousness of youth as from this consciousness expire public relations, and the most state union is only external cover, one of its external expressions. The root of the public for the teacher is together a root truly humane, fine and ideal in mankind as kindly, neither the beauty, nor an ideal out of a society are impossible».

These reflexions of the scientist bring us to thought on the importance socially-moral (or as it still names Kapterev, civil) the education, which unique problem Peter Fyodorovich marks preparation «the vigorous fighter for the basic properties of

⁹⁸ The state and society in their relation to народному to formation. //Kapterev P.F. New Russian педагогика, its pivotal ideas, directions and figures. — SPb.: printing house I.N. Скороходова, 1897. With. 70.

⁹⁹ Shevelev A.N. National of value of formation in system of interaction of an educational policy of the state and socially-pedagogical movement of Russia second half XIX century //National values of formation: History and the present. Materials of XVII session of Scientific council on problems of history of formation and a pedagogical science. / under the editorship of a member-barks. Z.I. Ravkina. M, 1996. With. 69.

humanity and the pivotal blessings of culture»¹⁰⁰. The fair, developed citizens prepared by good school for a public life and for public service are necessary to the state and a society. Priority of pedagogical problems over political, the leading part of universal, universal values in education have given to P.F. Kapterev's pedagogical sights oppositional character in relation to post-revolutionary Marxist-Leninist pedagogies.

Value of researches of P.F. Kapterev in the field of educational process, a parity of the material and formal parties of formation and development was so convincing, and construction of its textbooks on pedagogies and a material statement in them differed depth of scientific thought, logic structure, reasonableness of the maintenance thanks to what in the twenties they remained the basic textbooks for pedagogical high schools¹⁰¹.

Natalia Nemirova, Russia

RUSSIAN NEO-KANTIAN SOCIAL SCHOOL: BACKGROUND

At the turn of 19—20th centuries a new important philosophy school called Neo-Kantianism appeared in Russian social science. Forming-up sociology as an independent science, the logic of the science development itself plus social challenges — that's the background of new school occurrence. By that time sociology was in analytical phase as a second stage of its establishing. Analytical phase is determined by revision of positivist foundations of social knowledge, naturalism denial and excluding methodology of natural sciences from social and human science. Also the attempt was made to apply gnoseological and epistemological basis of social knowledge. The criticisms of positivist foundation occurred not only due to the positivism pioneers could not meet expectations that stop the development of sociology as an independent science, but there was a tendency to review positivist principals in all categories of knowledge. Positivism was based on the achievements of mechanic natural science that stopped being a doctrine with the help of breakthroughs in physics, chemistry, and biology. Furthermore the philology and history made a progress that greatly influence to the revision of positivism ideology. Many Neo-Kantians followers pointed out that the reasons of revision were social challenges and ethic problems rather than scientific researches.

Simultaneously society began to raise new challenges to social science because of the changes in economy, politics, and culture. This is a time of global crisis. Capitalism step up to form monopolies that resulted in complexity in international retaliations and then to World War I. Unstable economic situation and financial conditions led to political changes and monarchy deposition. There was an increase in work movement, Marxism theory became wide spread. For short period of time three revolutions happened in Russian. Radical changes in traditional values were taking place in that time. The first priority became to find moral and ethic consciousness while progress and evolution lost urgent requirement. The Silver Age and Russian Renaissance were seeking for social and moral ideals. «Idealism problem» and «Vekhi» were published during that time, telling about social and philosophy tendencies. In the existing situation I. Kant views never better could satisfy the social challenges. Russian Neo-Kantians took a lot from so-called Baden School led by Heinrich Rickert and Wilhel Wildelband. But they didn't simply copy in someone's theory of society, culture and personality; they understand the partnership and competition: it's necessary to learn from others to create something new and original.

¹⁰⁰ Kapterev P.F. About socially-moral development and education of children.//the Selected pedagogical compositions. / under the editorship of A.M. Arsenyev. M, 1982. With. 56.

¹⁰¹ Kondratyuk E. Natsionalnye of value of education in P.F. Kaptereva and P.P. Blonskogo's uchebno-pedagogical works.//National values of formation: History and the present. Materials of XVII session of Scientific council on problems of history of formation and a pedagogical science. / under the editorship of a member-barks. Z.I. Ravkina. M, 1996. With. 121.

In Russia Neo-Kantian school is established 90s years of the 19th century. It's necessary to highlight that «Russian Neo-Kantians» were combined together in their common approach to positivism, considered to be a limited concept, but they were not combined to collaboration, similar beliefs and outlook [1, 684]. Representatives of Russian Neo-Kantianism were not a single direction and differ in their academic view and professional interests. B. Chagin [2, 256], considers Russian Neo-Kantians to be divided into three groups: 1) the orthodox methodologists with ideas to create a sociological gnoseological approach (A. Lappo-Danilevskiy, B. Kistyakovskiy), 2) near-philosophical irrationalism (P. Novgorodians, V. Khvostov), 3) individual psychologism (L. Petrazhitsky), with a well-known sympathy to psychological positivism.

Russian Neo-Kantians School of Sociology appearing in the significant stage of social science development existed only until 1917. But during this short period Neo-Kantians contributed a lot to elaboration of complex and major problems of Russian and world social science, it's not accidentally that they were working under words: «To understand Kant — means to go far beyond him».

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5.2. QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE APPROACHES

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NON-LINEARITY AND SYNERGISM IN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

In sociological research a correlation analysis is widely used. And, therefore presence or absence of dependence basically is understood as a presence or absence first of all linear dependence as the most simple and evident. And when the variables are dichotomy the linear dependence becomes the only variant in general. Thus very frequently many interesting dependences (for interval variables), being non-linear, are missed since for them the coefficients of correlation are small on an absolute value and fit to a hypothesis about equaling to zero point of a coefficient of correlation.

Attempts to advance hypotheses (with the purpose of further check) about a particular kind of non-linear dependence result in the solution of separate particular problems (for two variables). Thus there is a problem of the form of the received functional dependence should be to interpret, to determine the qualitative contents, since in any case n of points it is possible to connect by a curve, presenting a polynomial to N th power, and formally to have a functional dependence for any case (any interval data). We offer the new approach to concept of statistical dependence (non-linear and linear) in sociological research (when variables are not dichotomy, but interval) by means of usage the generalized (or alternative version from three) version of a method of multiple comparison for quintile splitting of the data (objects) on each measured parameter, rejecting from preliminary formulating a hypothesis about a form of dependence (linear or any particular kind of non-linear dependence), i. e. for a studied matrix of the data are determined as forms

of dependences and degree of their expressiveness on different sections of scales of considered variables. We shall stop for a substantiation of necessity of investigating of the elementary non-linear dependences with a demonstration of their quantity by the example of a sociological research. If we choose dependences with the coefficient of correlation more than 0.5 (our factor of the connection strength also more than 0.5) such dependences are observed 123. While non-linear dependences with factor of the connection strength more than 0.5 and small coefficient of correlation (at least on the module twice less than our factor of the connection strength) we have 385. Thus, the elementary (dependences with a maximum and a minimum, monotonous, but not linear) non-linear dependences appeared more than three times more, than linear. So it is possible to speak about an opportunity of synergetic paradigm in sociological science directed on the investigation of non-linear effects. «Non-linearity» is the fundamental conceptual unit of a new paradigm. It is possible even to tell, that the new paradigm is a paradigm of non-linearity. In conditions of the modern world the linear thinking dominating till now over some areas of a science, becomes essentially insufficient and even dangerous.

In our example from the questionnaire of the young specialist were chosen 75 estimations with interval scale, characterizing on answers: the role of the educational institution in training the specialist, features gained by the graduate at the period of the education, characteristics of the educational institution and professions, characteristics of the enterprise (the job place) and their role in labor activity, characteristics of the job position and their role in labor activity. There were estimated expectations before entering the University and before getting a job, real results and personal importance of the feature. On each diagnosed parameter were determined two quintiles, dividing data set on triads. As a result has been received the data set divided on 225 ($225=75*3$) intercrossing groups.

For comparison of the given groups was used the generalized variant of the method of the multiple comparisons for all ranked pairs: «The chosen triad on parameter X — a parameter Y». As the result there was received the general distribution of such pairs with the determined «Comparative weightiness» for them. If a quantity of the investigated parameter is N, so the selected quantum (the triads) on all parameter will $3*N$, but ranked pairs of the «Chosen quantum (the triad) on parameter X — a parameter Y» — $3*N*N$. For convenience of using the information it is necessary to structure it. To select three comparative weightiness, characterizing the dependency of the parameter Y from parameter X, from the general distribution $3*N*N$ ranked pairs «The chosen quantum (the triad) on parameter X — a parameter Y» in the beginning choose $3*N$ pairs referring to one parameter (so we get a distribution of importance of the parameter Y for all $3*N$ groups-quantum, determined for all considered parameter), but afterwards choose 3 groups-quantum on the parameter X. Thereby, we have chosen three comparative weightiness, displaying a comparative value of the parameter Y for three quantum (the triads) determined for parameter X. These three comparative weightiness is possible to consider as a model for dependencies of the parameter Y from parameter X.

For making a possibility to compare the results of estimation of relationships through the multiple comparisons with the result of the using of traditional correlation analysis we shall enter the factor of the connection strength. The factor of the connection strength of i- and j-parameter (the dependency of i-parameter from j-parameter), considered at the realization of the procedure of the multiple comparison of quantum (triads), we shall define the following expression:

$$SV_{ij} = \angle V_{ij}^3 - V_{ij}^2 \angle + \angle V_{ij}^2 - V_{ij}^1 \angle,$$

Where V_{ijg} — is the comparative weightiness of i-parameter for g-quantums of j-is for parameter. The value SV_{ij} for single correlation is defined both as quantity parameter, and amount of the quantum (the triads, quarts, quints) of the partition data set. Thereby it appears a necessity to norm factors SV_{ij} in such way for the maximum for monotonous dependencies factor of the connection strength, corresponding to a single correlation, was is 1. Then all considered above dependencies are possible to characterize the incorporated factor of the connection strength SV_{ij} and interpret the strength of dependence on its value.

We note the motivation of need of the study of the simplest non-linear dependencies that demonstrate their quantity under structured consideration data. If we choose the dependencies with the coefficient of correlations more 0.5 (our factor of the connection

strength also more 0.5), that such dependencies exists 123. While non-linear dependencies with the factor of the connection strength more 0.5 and insignificant index of correlations (at least once modulo in two times factor of the connection strength less) have 385. Thereby the simplest (the dependencies with maximum and minimum, monotonous, but not linear) of the non-linear dependencies turned out to be in three times stronger than linear. But particularly significant that linear dependencies exist practically only within the framework of separate question block (104 dependencies from 123), where dependencies are forecasted already contents of the questions itself. Crossing dependencies for the parameter from different question block far less (19 from 123). But with coefficient of correlations more 0.6 there were no such dependencies.

Signifies, it is possible to speak of possibility of the synergetic paradigms in sociological science, directed on the investigation of non-linear effect. Synergetic style of thinking — a style of the thinking in the post-nonclassic sciences. It represents the modern stage of the development of the system and cybernetic thinking, many elements which are subjected to essential alteration. «Nonlinearities» is a fundamental conceptual node of the new paradigm. Possible even to say that the new paradigm there is a paradigm of nonlinearity. In condition of the modern world the linear thinking, hitherto dominant in some area of the science, becomes insufficient and even dangerous.

We shall consider for example specifics non-linear relationships between two groups' parameter: «Characteristics of the enterprise» — characteristics of the enterprise (the job place) and their role in labor activity, characteristics of the job position and their role in labor activity. We shall show the strongest dependencies of a parameter «Characteristics of the enterprise» from parameter «The job position». Us will interest in the events, when considered factor of the connection strength $SV > 0.6$, but linear correlations in 2 and more times less (close to zero). The events, when $SV > 0.6$ and simultaneously $SV > 2 \cdot \angle R \angle$ turned out to be 3.

N1 N2 SV SV' R triads parameter

(N1) (N2)

1) 62 54 0.75 (0.33) 0.21 Pos-1(per) Ent-3(Imp)

2) 62 57 0.63 (0.14) 0.14 Pos-1(per) Ent-4(Imp)

3) 74 49 0.61 (0.49) 0.29 Pos-5(per) Ent-2(exp)

Let's show the identifications, which will be used in the offered tables: N1 — number of the parameter, for which is made splitting on triads; N2 — number of the parameter, which values are determined for the distinguished triad of the parameter with number N1; SV — factor of the connection strength determining the dependence of the parameter of the number N2 from the parameter for the number N1; SV' — factor of the connection strength determining reverse (in relation to SV) dependence of the parameter with number N1 from the parameter with number N2; R — the coefficient of linear correlation between parameters with numbers N1 and N2. We shall present two from three dependencies in the manner of distribution on level of the groups-triads (independent variable) with specified for each level of comparative weightiness of dependent variable The dependency of the parameter Em(Im) «Emotional satisfaction of job (Importance)» from parameter Wor(Per) «Worthy level of salary (Perception)» in the manner of comparative weightiness of the parameter Em(Im) for triads on scale Wor(Per):

Triads	comparative weightiness
Wor(Per) -3	834
Wor(Per) -2	9426
Wor(Per) -1	-7114

The Perception (worthy level of salary) on miscellaneous influences upon estimation of importance of the emotional satisfaction of job for small and greater importance of the studied spectrum. If sharp ascent exists on the first stage of importance of the emotional satisfaction

of job on comparative weightiness from (-7114) till (9426). That is a further growing of the perception worthy level salaries vastly reduces importance of the emotional satisfaction of job (comparative weightiness of the triads is 834).

The first dependency is the analog of the parameter dependency of importance of the development of the abilities and receptions of the professional skills from parameter Perception (worthy level of the salary): initial growing is replaced sharp decrease.

Thereby, importance of the emotional satisfaction of job and importance of the development of the abilities and receptions of professional skills depends equally on perception (is received in reality) worthy level of salary. In presented events are received dependencies with maximum, which is typical particularity is a sharp decline depended variable after the first stage of the joint increase depended and independent variable. Thereby, maximum importance dependent variable takes under average importance of independent variable. This possible characterizes as the effect of the saturation and cutting the change (the bifurcations) forming at first the idle time and easy interpreted to dependencies, when linear approximations can bring about simplified and wrong understanding the under study phenomena. But linear correlation will simply point to weaken relations between parameters.

Viktor G. Denisov, Samara

A WAY TO EXPLICITNESS IN SOCIOLOGY

The status of sociology in a society is sore oppressed. The science discipline created to be an alternative to theology and other non-scientific thoughts is unable to identify itself in social development. Sociology, as is well known, has origins in the works of Aristotle, Plato and other philosophers. However, something has likely to be missed by wise men and their followers which resulted in appearance of a science made of individual additions.

There is no matter whether we like it or not, but it should be corrected better earlier than later. I would like to suggest one very difficult and long anti-recessionary way out with minimal losses. Let us analyze the current situation. Modern sociology used to borrow a ready made material from the last centuries which led to unstable and multi paradigmatic development of social studies and consequently resulted in impossibility of finding its place in the modern world.

Let us handle the problem by other means. What if we provide a sociological basis without leaning against antecedent scholars and philosophers? We shall create a kind of a building's projection without internal furnish, and subsequently when the framework of a building will appear, we shall build up walls, partitions and doors where it'll be necessary and to our taste. The overall objective is to make up a single whole structured building under united social laws. In a consequence we'll distribute the works of our predecessors to various rooms. There is nothing but choose the project basics of our building. The question is what it should be made of and what criteria the project should be grounded on. Here arise some vital issues.

The states consist of societies, (however, some people adhere to the opposite opinion), which in turn consist of set of individuals incorporated by both social and other relations. What is in common among these three existed social subjects? The author, using sociological imagination (by Ch. Mills), has found out some congruent criteria, forming analogy. The first one is space. All three subjects require space: geographical, social, economic, political, national, etc. The second — all three subjects create conditions for protection the space and solve numerous questions on expansion of this space. The third — spaces are operated from one and the same point. Having united the listed criteria in a single whole, we shall receive a pyramidal figure. A small figure is for an individual and a greater one — for the state.

Another fundamental aspect in sociology is stratification. From times immemorial scientific community have considered the state stratification as a pyramid divided into a set of horizontally unequal striations. I shall not go into details of my disclosing the formation law of public associations and the states, but modern representation of stratification mismatches

a real kind. The mistake is that modern division considers only an economic component, but does not notice social, professional, cultural, political, etc. That essentially deforms methodical work as well as complicates solving social and other problems.

Socially and professional pyramid made of some components can help to get rid of the nagging problems in sociology and, accordingly, in a state. The components go as follows:

Industrial — a pyramid basis;

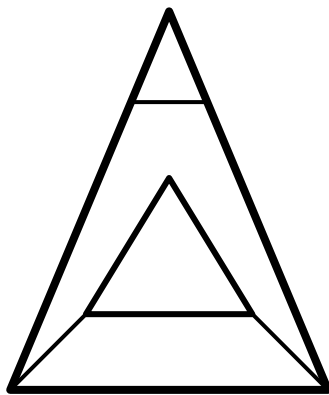
The protection and attack component is placed along lateral faces;

The management component occupies the top part;

The intellectual component occupies the internal part.

Industrial component consists of blue collars. *The protection and attack component* is formed from the militarized divisions. *The intellectual component* is represented by white collars — teachers, sociologists, ideologists, etc.

Each component has own representations of differential division.



This kind of the state and socially-differentiated pyramid enables the representatives of humanities to see translational dynamics of the state during the different historical periods.

What does the political and civil society mean? *Intellectual* and *industrial* components form the civil society whiles the *management*, *protection and an attack* components — a political one.

The way out bodes well for humanitarian disciplines. That is strategic vision, the uniform law of the whole creation genesis, long-term state planning, etc.

The offered way is based on the sociological and theoretical idea.

We are on the track of a solution to the thousand-year problem.

V.K. Finn & M.A. Mikheyenkova

QUANTOFRENIA BY P.A. SOROKIN AND FORMALIZED QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Quantofrenia¹⁰² is a concept introduced by P.A. Sorokin — due to its meaningfulness — should be considered as informal manifesto of practical sociologists. The principle of universal quantitative science — pantometriya — «Any truth is understood by measuring only», — is cogently refuted in the paper. Considering different aspects of this principle realization, P.A. Sorokin shows how dangerous is it's thoughtless application to analysis and interpretation of psychological, social, political and

¹⁰² Quantofrenia // Sorokin P. Fads and Foibles in Modern Sociology and Related Sciences. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press Publishers. 1956. P. 102—130.

economical phenomena. The problems of methods adequacy to studied social reality naturally appear to be in the centre of his attention.

Elevation of mathematics to the «queen of sciences» throne (historically justified) as a result led to dominating quantitative studying of psycho-social phenomena. The author characterizes contemporary status of psycho-social sciences as «an age of quantofrenia and numerology». Being absolutely reasonable and effective for quantitative phenomena analysis, this approach to the analysis of phenomena of other nature proves to be «empty quantofrenic idea», not ensuring the objective picture of the world. In this connection non-quantitative investigations should take up a fitting position, being delivered from the labels of subjectivity and inaccuracy. Certainly, formalization of qualitative investigations should contribute this process in a great extent.

Particular part of the paper is devoted to the criticism of seeming quantitative studying when real mathematical approach is substituted by empty symbolization. This approach is often considered to be progressive movement of psycho-social sciences to objective, «mathematical» stage of its developing. Typical for modern researchers attempts of application of well-known mathematical instruments to psycho-social phenomena also bring about serious P.A. Sorokin's non-acceptance. This phenomenon, well-known since XVII–XVIII centuries (from works of great thinkers), in our days leads to inhibition rather than to increase of knowledge on psycho-social phenomena. The weight of mathematical apparatus puts into the shadow a lot of delusions and non-justified analogies between phenomena of physics, mechanics, mathematics and psycho-social spheres. Unfortunately, it should be admitted that modern applied mathematicians introduce considerable contribution to such approaches forgetting the significance of the term «applied» in solving real problems.

The next problem in development of methods of social phenomena analysis (as P.A. Sorokin states) is the «cult of numerology» when quantitative researches and calculations are postulated to be universal instruments for fundamental appropriateness revealing. Indeed, calculations and simple mathematical analysis at times permit to reveal conformities to the laws in relations of studied phenomena. But the problem is that these results are considered to be impeccable, infinitively applicable and reliable instruments of psycho-social world cognition.

At last, P.A. Sorokin supposes «false quantitatively of non-scalar qualitative data» to be the most bright display of «metrofrenia». Giving quantitative appearance to qualitative phenomena becomes apparent, by P.A. Sorokin, in striving for measuring the intensity and quality of convictions, dispositions and so on¹⁰³, in constructing «mathematical models», in quantitative theories of factor analysis, in use of continuous «latent classes» and so on.

P.A. Sorokin's problems of «pseudo-quantification» are the problems of adequacy of the method and social reality. Just «scaling of non-scaled phenomena», «ranging of non-ranged concepts», «combining and measuring» of not suitable variables lead to appearance of «half right (true) observations of insignificant importance». Thus, the success of psycho-social phenomena studying on the higher level of formalization is connected with primary structurization of data and knowledge, forming the relations system for it and choice of adequate formal means of analysis. In correlation with P.A. Sorokin ideas, it means that necessity is ripe to create the methods of formalized qualitative analysis of sociological data for extraction the interpreted dependences from empirical data.

¹⁰³ Let's note that after P.A. Sorokin's work publication, «fuzzy sets» and, correspondingly, «fuzzy logics» have been suggested by L. Zadeh (Zadeh Lotfi, *Fuzzy Sets // Information and Control*, 1965, N8, pp.338–353.). The problem of qualitative variables scaling is solved (to some extent) in this approach. In our days American sociologist C. Ragin has the serious achievements in fuzzy sets use in sociology (Ragin C.C. *Fuzzy-Set Social Science*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

The JSM-method of automated hypotheses generation¹⁰⁴ is supposed to be adequate approach to the formalization of qualitative analysis of sociological data and its following realization by Intelligent Systems (IS) means. The foundation of JSM-method use for such analysis is the thesis on means adequacy to the problem's nature, being expressed in ontological presumptions concerning types of studying fields. Statistical instruments are applicable to the fields represented by sets of random events. But there are a lot of social phenomena that are supposed to be causally conditioned. The analysis of such events should be fulfilled by deterministic methods. Of course, determination of social phenomena (individual behavior, for example) should be discussed with the accuracy. Determination here is assumed to be rather predispositions to behavior (actions, purposes or intensions, opinions). Moreover, these predispositions are realized in the absence of counter-influences (internal — individual — and external — situational) absence.

The main interests for social science (according to M. Weber) are, at first, the studying of persons' (individuals') actions (especially, in their social relations), and the second, generation of causal explanations of action, its direction and results¹⁰⁵. The JSM-method solves both these problems generating determinants of behavior and giving the possibility to construct the automated typology of the society on the generated determinants basis. By formal language tools (infinite 1st order predicate logic for finite models) the synthesis of cognitive procedures is realized. These procedures are: empirical induction (formal generalization of John S. Mill's Methods of Causal Reasoning¹⁰⁶; the method is called in honor of J.S. Mill), causal analogy and Charles S. Peirce's abduction¹⁰⁷ (acceptance or rejection of hypotheses by an explanation of initial data).

The behavior determination and the following societies' clusterization are carried out in this approach on the basis of person's description by finite set of differential characteristics representing his/her social character, individual traits and details of the biography. This approach to the actual problem of sociological data structuration permits to define the similarity of individuals represented by qualitative parameters. The similarity is supposed to be the source of behavior determination (in accordance with fundamental structuralism principle «the similarity of facts causes the presence (absence) of effects involved and its repetitiveness»). The determinants of behavior (dispositions, opinions) generated by JSM-method prove to be the basis for constructing the model of studied society structure. For small groups the clusters forming social structure can be defined as the communities with the common behavior and common characteristics determining this behavior.

The described variant of formalized qualitative analysis of sociological data realizes the fundamental P.A. Sorokin idea about necessity of correlation between social reality and the methods of its formalization and, correspondingly, investigation. This condition realization contributes both to empirical social research objectivization and to development of methodology and logic of social sciences.

¹⁰⁴ Finn V. K. Plausible Inferences and Plausible Reasoning // Journal of Soviet Mathematics, Plenum Publ. Cor., 1991, vol. 56, N 1, p. p. 2201—2248.

See also: Mikheyenkova M.A. «Application of JSM-reasoning to problems of sociology», 10-th IEEE international Symposium on intelligent Control, Proceedings of the 1995 ISIC Workshop, Monterey, California, August 27—29, 1995, pp.429—433. Finn V.K., Mikheyenkova M.A. «Application of JSM-Theory of Plausible Reasoning to Social Data Analysis and Social Behavior Prediction», EUFIT '97—5th European Congress on Intelligent Techniques and Soft Computing, September 08—11, 1997, Proceedings, V. 1, pp.275—279.

¹⁰⁵ Talcott Parsons, On Theory and Meta-theory // in: Functionalist Sociology, Paul Colomy (ed.), Aldershot: Edward Elgar (An Elgar Reference Collection), 1990, pp. 48—59.

¹⁰⁶ Mill J.S. A System of Logic Ratiocinative and Inductive, Being a Connected View of the Principles of Evidence and the Methods of Scientific Investigation. London, England: Parker, Son and Bowin; 1843. (1st edition).

¹⁰⁷ Peirce C.S. Abduction and Induction // Philosophical Writings of Peirce. Eds. L. Buchler. Dover Publications, 1995, N 4, p. 150—156.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH REALITY AS SOCIAL HISTORICAL COLLIDER OF COGNITION

Some facts of modern reality make the question about perspectives in modern theoretical knowledge actual. The first fact is the Giddens's claim to sociologists to make further development of the sociological concepts to get answers to the new questions made by modern changes in the world [1]. The second fact is scientific achievements: the discoveries in thermodynamics that show a new view on the existing processes not only in the physical but also in the social world; starting a hadronic collider that was made by physicists from all over the world using the latest scientific and technical achievements [2]. These two facts seem to be incompatible because the barrier that divides the material from the social in sociological theoretical knowledge has not been surmounted yet. But we can observe magnetic attraction of social historical and natural sciences to each other in modern conditions. It is necessary to contribute to this process as a perspective.

Realizing that process is between the boundaries of general theoretical sociology and formed scientific habitus society, sociologists need to direct their attempts to overcome the differences between the social and the material [3, 478]. In fact, we can notice the third fact. It is an existing open discourse about the bases of sociology and their recomprehension in conditions of the changed and still changing social reality [4]. The object of this article is to show the latent process of speeding up the knowledge that takes place in sociology. Understanding this process gives the opportunity to improve and increase knowledge.

We should note that natural sciences are more interested in forming the whole scientific position in research. Last decades show that sociological theories are not well-off in describing and explaining the transforming social reality and making forecast for its further development because of absence of the developing sociological theory [5; p.103—119]. Processes of reforms, modernization, and transformation in different countries become more powerful to provide social, political economic welfare of people, but in fact they result in desocialization, giving rise to chaotic, uncontrolled forms of relationships and interactions in the conditions of anomie. Sociology appears under the stroke of those external powers. Science gets in struggle between the stayed bases and the material. Sociology with its old instruments tries to explain all those changes that appear everywhere and sociology resisting until it leaves its instrument as incapable or until a new scientific approach that can solve the problems appears. Everything would be good if sociology solved the problems successfully but we understand it isn't so, that is why it is necessary to act resolutely to get out of the crisis. Special approaches in sociology are required or sociology needs to be invented a new for the 21st century [6, 113]. Social life is surrounded by different objects and modern people's activity can't exist without them. Means of communication, the Internet, notebooks, computers, results of genetic engineering are the objects that take part in a person's forming and socialization. The power of these objects becomes more autonomous and uncontrolled by the people. That is why we have to solve the problem of confrontation among main sociological approaches by creation of new paradigm. 'Turning to the material' realized in the developing academic discipline 'Science, Technology and Society' might be an exit from the existing situation: the world of things and people's world can't be left without deep research [7, 22]. Pragmatic sociology solves the emerged contradiction both in science itself and in the research of further development between people and environment through the 'complex situation' [8, 9].

If we assume the development of sociological concepts from A. Comte to pragmatic turning to the material we will get chronological rank of sociological concepts development that includes basic paradigms and representatives of different scientific schools

establishing special research methodology of social reality. Finally, one and the same social phenomenon will be represented in every analysis from the private points. With combined general social phenomenon representation through all approaches we will get a detailed, extensive picture of social reality. Social phenomenon is a united center, a research core of theoretic' scientific activity and every analysis of it give us a wide-spread presentation of the 'social'. During the detailed analysis of differences we will find out general. Combined research sociologists' activity round a phenomenon of the social. In fact, we can characterize this activity as a whole and deep research of a phenomenon of the social. Making differences between the concepts 'social' and 'sociality' we have to realize that 'the social' is all connections and relationship forms existing in social reality and it is widely represented in sociological approaches. But 'sociality' is a genetic characteristic of a social organization.

Taking into account the fact of existence of sociality's matrix till the moment of human being's appearance, the process of social relationship gets into the environment [9, 171]. Then, a human being acquires skills in cognition and changing environment adapting and contriving the material environment according to his needs since the moment the life realized itself [10, 18]. Sociality is a special phenomenon of existence of intelligent beings reality that includes a human being as well. It is in constant dynamic process of changing. The process of scientific activity round open basis of sociology, sociality is being sped up more naturally by the research thought like artificial hadronic accelerator. Everything coexists side by side with each other in the world. Everything enters special connections, interactions on different levels leading to changes both material environment and the environment of social relationship and human beings. A human being takes special place in this environment. He is a part of the process of a changing world. It affects the goal of social sciences formulated by E. Durkheim 'to investigate the social by the social' and taking into the scientific analysis the material component as a missing element in theoretical process will lead to closing social reality through the interaction on the whole object of the research. And the fifth social interaction human beings as a form of realization of the relationship where a human being is not excluded from the nature but is a part of this world will be included into the existing four open interactions very soon.

Extensive research of main sociological approaches gives a wide-spread proection of the phenomenon of sociality defining a subject field for the next scientific investigation. Sociology as a complete heritage of sociological knowledge contains the latent unused potential that can not only enrich science but also direct investigational activity within the sociology of sociology borders. Sociology can also show the ways to theoretical research integrating with other knowledge branches.

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HISTORY OF LATENT VARIABLE MODELS EMERGENCE IN SOCIOLOGICAL MEASUREMENT

The history of emergence of latent variable models to contribute to sociological measurement development reveals the origins, essential principle and ways of formalization of relations between overt and latent entities and between empirical data and theoretical concepts. The careful study of scientific context and foundations of models emergence leads to understanding of the formalization as a result of considerable efforts directed to solving the conceptual problems and overcoming the methodical and empirical difficulties for the sake of scientifically grounded inference obtaining. Historical point of view explicates the invalidity of formal models treating as rigid and insensitive to real challenges of investigation process, makes clear the question about the extent of radical critique reasonableness and about real potentiality of so called «quantitative» approach to sociological research.

Factor analytical models of Ch. Spearman, L.L. Thurstone and (in more general form) P.F. Lazarsfeld demonstrated essential possibilities for linking manifest data with latent entities. But relation of latent variables as theoretically based concepts and empirical indicators, foundation of measurement techniques and cumulative organization of knowledge in social science had been difficult questions for sociological measurement. Every new latent variable model to some extent reflects one or another endeavor to answer the questions. Thus, P.F. Lazarsfeld presented well-known procedure of reduction of concepts to indexes. The emergence and development of the model of multidimensional scaling due to W.S. Torgerson, R.N. Shepard, I.B. Kruscal, and C.H. Coombs were directly relevant to elaboration of axiomatic foundation of measurement by P. Suppes, D.H. Krantz, R.D. Luce, A. Tversky, C.H. Coombs. Made by H.L. Zetterberg attempts of theoretical knowledge axiomatization and axiomatic deductive system construction did not lead to the emergence of new model of measurement. But — being problematical as such — they influence indirectly on the emergence of modeling approach and the causal analysis model in sociology. The former and the latter — both owed their becoming and popularization to H.M. Blalock most of all. Due to his ideas about necessity of explication of theoretical assumptions into auxiliary theory of measurement there were shown the ways of bridging the gap between theoretical and empirical languages of sociological research. And moreover H.M. Blalock facilitated the shift in understanding the essence of sociological measurement from formal procedure to theoretically grounded process.

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DATA BANK SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEYS AS THE BASIS FOR MONITORING CONTEMPORARY RUSSIA

The Data Bank of Sociological Researches (DBSR) was founded in 1985. It was established at the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The Bank's principal purpose was the storage of empirical data from sociological studies in a way suitable for repeated use. In 1987 the Bank was given the All-Union status under the sponsorship of the Soviet Sociological Association. It was set up with co-operation of a number of investigators interested in the joint use of accumulated empirical data. They represented practically all regions of the former Soviet Union. Materials and data accumulated by DBSR reflect more than 40 years of our society's life and therefore it has tremendous historic, scientific and practical value. It contains essential information on the Russian society as well as on the other parts of the former Soviet Union, from Central Asia to the Caucasus and Baltic States, Moldova, Ukraine and Belarus.

The DBSR refers to multi-functional information and analytic systems aiming at one goal: the accumulation of various types of sociological information in a systematic form, including empirical data, for increased efficiency in its use. Among the Bank's many functions we emphasize the following ones: a) information and reference resource for sociologists; c) exchange of empirical datasets; d) providing conditions for methodological researches, for instance, formulation and solution of methodological problems; e) methodical experiments, social modeling, numerical experiments and etc. The Bank's goals and functions determine how information is stored. It consists of the following databases: a) summaries of studies (topic, time, methods of gathering data, sampling procedures etc.); b) summaries of documents (forms, questionnaires) used in gathering data; c) empirical computerized datasets.

The principle on which the Bank is based is the concept of consolidation and integration of sociological datasets.

Consolidation opens wide opportunities for studying problems and tendencies of contemporary Russia by the accumulation of a large quantity of empirical datasets.

More than 900 studies conducted by the Institute of Sociology and other research centers from 1966 until 2004 are stored in the Bank. These include over 50 union-wide studies and reflect all aspects of our society's life, including the political and structural changes that have taken place over the last years. The DBSR encompasses investigations of social tension, national conflicts, stratification of society, emergence of new classes, strata and groups, problems of the transition to a new political and economic structure, problems of family and children, the status of women, problems of youth and education, structural changes in society, ecology, and demography etc. Most of these data sets are available to those investigating Soviet and post-Soviet periods of our society. Data integration requires the integration of separate data into a system of interdependent indicators, describing society as a whole and in its parts. The project of integration of separate indicators into a system was fulfilled by the Bank's staff. It was based on the empirical information gathered within 1980—1998 timeframe in the course of several large-scale projects concerning problems of social mobility and stratification. The outcome is the catalogue of all variables of these projects put together. Thus the entire conceptual apparatus of sociological studies has been standardized and computerized.

5.3. SCIENTIFIC METHODS AND TRENDS OF SOCIAL PHILOSOPHIES

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NOMINAL VARIABLES AS EXTERNAL FACTORS OF THE GROUP FOR MULTIPLE COMPARISON OF INTERVAL VARIABLES (METHOD OF MULTIPLE COMPARISONS IN SOCIOLOGY)

In standard sociological questionnaires dividing questioning data on two types of variables (two types of questions): nominal variables, those can be transferred by researchers in dichotomic ones, and interval variables, it is possible to put the problems of the building local empirical classifications (typologies), allowing describing the results of the questioning more profound without any additional information. In such classifications (typologies) nominal variable shall be considered as external factors, due to which data sets are divided into crossing or disjoint groups, those can be subject to a procedure of the multiple comparison, describing them with a set of all available (or substantially selected) interval parameters. Local empirical classifications (typologies) allow to consider internal (substantially determined by the questionnaire and purpose of research) sociological structure of the subset of the empirical data of research, that shows insofar lumpy the set of answers to the questions of the questionnaire, submitted by nominal variables, and how this heterogeneity is enlighten and intensified with external factors, submitted with nominal variables, giving to it the certain typological structure.

We shall consider the mechanism of the work variant method of the multiple comparisons for typical sociological questionnaire, in which is often possible to select two types of the questions: 1) Covert (closed) questions with choice from the proposed list of one or several answers; 2) Overt (open) questions with quantitative estimation of the proposed features. Answers to the first type of the questions hereinafter represent the set of dichotomic nominal variable (0 or 1): each question in the data matrix is presented as a dichotomic variable in the amount that is equal to the amount of variants of the answers to this question. Answers to the second type of the questions represent the set of interval variables: each of proposed features (estimated feature and etc) is exposed an estimation on the interval scale (for instance, from 1 to 5).

The problems of multiple comparisons in sociological research first of all arise on a joint of two types of variables of the sociological questionnaire allocated above when nominal variables, considered as external criteria in relation to the multiple comparisons, are used for formation of groups for the multiple comparisons. And interval variables as internal characteristics of the generated groups become the subject of multiple comparisons of these groups. The method of the multiple comparisons that we offer for the decision of such problems is a structural component of our statistical approach developed for construction of typologies with external criteria. The matrix «Comparative weightiness — I» (the first variant) is built as a result of comparative analysis of considered set of groups within the framework of each quantitative parameter. Evident representation of the results of the multiple comparisons is built in the manner of distributions on levels of authentic difference of investigated groups of considered set within the framework of each interval parameter. The matrix «Comparative weightiness — II» of the orthogonal plan in relation to the first variant is built proceeding from the necessity of representation of results as a distribution on levels of investigated interval parameters within the framework of each group. But for appearing more possibilities in comparison to study simultaneously groups and their parameters, the generalized

variant of multiple comparisons are used. The matrix «Comparative weightiness — III» (generalized variant) is built as a result of comparative analysis of elements of direct product of considered set of groups and investigated parameters.

In our example from the first part of questionnaire of the young specialist were chosen 45 interval scales, characterizing through the answer: the role of the educational institution in the training the specialist (A1-A5), features gained by the graduate at the period of the studying (B1-B5), characteristics of the educational institution and occupation (C1-C5). There were estimated the expectations before entering the University (1), real results (2) and personal importance of the characteristic (3). For demonstration of results of the method of multiple comparison we have formed group data for comparison based on a result of questioning on the answer the question №5 from the questionnaire, in which are chosen main motives of the entering the educational institution, was chosen and formed for procedure of the multiple comparison of 13 insignificant groups (from 17). In the remained 4 groups the quantity of respondents are extremely small or answers are non-compatible for analysis.

The fifth question «What are the main motives of the entering in this educational institution?» has following variants of the answer:

1. Realization of the abilities, inclinations
2. The way of temporary escape from military service.
3. The wish to get a profession
4. Weak contest or its absence
5. Prestige of the studying in this educational institution
6. Expansion of the possibilities of job placement after graduating this educational institution
7. Presence of budgetary vacancies
8. Unique position of occupation, being trained in this educational institution
9. The way of temporary escape from unemployment
10. Possibility in the future to deal with an intellectual labor
11. Educational institution is near the house
12. Continuation to family tradition
13. The small cost of the education in this educational institution
14. Personal agreements with administration (teacher)
15. This is the only place where one can enter after graduating a high school
16. No answer
17. Other reason

The interval variables are the answers to three questions of the questionnaire (6, 11 and 20). Five features were estimated in each question on three positions: 1) Expectancy (##-1); 2) Perception (##-2); 3) Importance (##-3).

In consideration of 13 groups (formed with sorting of variants being responsible for the answer to the question №5) and 45 quantitative parameters — an estimation within the framework of 3 questions of the questionnaire (6, 11 and 20), as well as use the generalized variant of the multiple comparison for all ranked pairs of the relations «Parameter-group» (whole 45*13 pairs) maximum and minimum importance of comparative weightiness were got following: $VES/min = -508$ and $VES/max = +563$. From the general distribution of pairs relations «Parameter-group» it is possible to choose the subset or on each parameter (then have a distribution on the level of the groups within the framework of each parameter), or on each group (then have a distribution on the level parameter within the framework of each group). In the beginning we shall consider sharing the groups for the first two parameters.

1. The quality of lectures.
Expectancy (A1—1).

level groups comparative
weightiness

13) (230) G12 102

- 12) (224) G07 94
- 11) (211) G10 78
- 10) (206) G11 73
- 9) (183) G06 49
- 8) (180) G15 45
- 7) (176) G05 41
- 6) (124) G03—13
- 5) (120) G08—17
- 4) (112) G01—25
- 3) (107) G02—30
- 2) (94) G13—46
- 1) (73) G04—78

The quality of lecture (expectancy) has been highly estimated by the group G12 with the nominal answer «Continuation to family tradition» (comparative weightiness = 102). To a lesser extent this concerns the group G07 with the nominal answer «Presence of budgetary vacancies» (comparative weightiness = 94). The least estimation has the groups G04 with the nominal answer «Weak contest or its absence» (comparative weightiness = -78).

2. The quality of lecture. The Perception (A1—2) level groups comparative weightiness

- 12) (247) G05 162
- 11) (207) G06 74
- 10) (194) G03 61
- 9) (190) G07 57
- 8) (146) G01 G12 10
- 7) (127) G08—9
- 6) (105) G10—33
- 5) (103) G04—35
- 4) (63) G11—116
- 3) (30) G13—249
- 2) (25) G02—269
- 1) (7) G15—367

Quality of lecture (the perception) has highly estimated by the group G05 with the nominal answer «Prestige of the studying in this educational institution» (comparative weightiness = 162). The least estimation has the group G15 with the nominal answer «This is the only place where one can enter after graduating a high school» (comparative weightiness = -367). Besides low comparative weightiness possible note else for two groups: G02 with the nominal answer «The way of temporary escape from military service» (comparative weightiness = -269) and G13 with the nominal answer «The small cost of the education in this educational institution» (comparative weightiness = -249). But now the subset shall be chosen from the general distribution of the pairs relations «Parameter-group» on the group with distribution on the level parameter within the framework of each group. We shall bring for example such distribution for one group.

Group «This is the only place where one can enter after graduating a high school» (G15)

level parameters comparative weightiness

- 35) (281) B4—1 563
- 34) (265) C2—3 290
- 33) (264) B4—3 288
- 32) (243) C5—3 145
- 31) (229) B3—3 101
- 30) (221) C5—2 91
- 29) (219) C5—1 89
- 28) (189) A6—1 56

- 27) (180) A1—1 45
- 26) (162) A4—1 26
- 25) (154) A5—1 18
- 24) (148) C4—1 12
- 23) (144) B2—1 8
- 22) (140) C3—3 4
- 21) (139) C2—1 3
- 20) (138) A3—3 B4—2 C4—3 2
- 19) (137) C1—1 C4—2 1
- 18) (136) A3—1 B1—1 0
- 17) (135) B2—2 B3—2 C1—2 C1—3 -1
- 16) (134) A2—3 B3—1 C2—2 -2
- 15) (131) A1—3 -5
- 14) (129) B2—3 -7
- 13) (128) A5—3 -8
- 12) (126) A2—1 -10
- 11) (125) C3—1 -11
- 10) (121) A6—3 -16
- 9) (116) B1—3 -21
- 8) (115) A4—2 -22
- 7) (114) A3—2 C3—2 -23
- 6) (102) A6—2 -36
- 5) (36) B1—2 -234
- 4) (21) A4—3 -296
- 3) (16) A2—2 -316
- 2) (7) A1—2 -367
- 1) (5) A5—2 -377

The Group G15 is characterized by equal representation estimation both with positive, and with negative comparative weightiness, as well as quite a numbers extreme estimation both sign. The considered example of the distribution quantitative estimation for group, defined with the nominal answer to the question №5, gives the peculiar quantitative presented portrait of the group on comprised of calculation ensemble quantitative estimation. Moreover all these 13 portraits of quantitative interconnected general reference system, defined by general zero point for all comparative weightiness on making, as well as account of the measures to central trend and variability for each quantitative estimation for the whole ensemble polled respondent, forming 13 chosen groups. The difference of the measures to central trend (though and under one scale for estimation) quantitative estimation points that it is impossible to compare directly different parameters without their standardizations on the ensemble of all groups.

Irene B. Gaidukova, Kursk

SOCIAL CONDITIONS FOR CREATIVE ACTIVITY

There can be defined three levels in creative activity: scientific and technical, artistic, and transcendental. In scientific and technical creative activity there occurs determination of a difficult scientific task, concerning scientific discovery or technical invention. Poetry, music and painting refer to artwork. Peculiarities of artwork were clearly displayed by N.O. Lossky in his work «The World as an Organic Whole» [2, 400]. Pedagogical, political and other kinds of artwork can be referred to the degree of scientific and technical creative activity, as their orientation and operational style are similar. Of course, opposition of these two kinds of creative activity is improper, because there is much similar between them, but nevertheless, they are of different degree.

Philosophy is considered to be a special kind of creative activity. It is an art work of different kind, as compared to scientific and technical. There can be divided two lines in philosophical creative activity — the first is more bounded with science, and is mostly determined by scientific progress, the other is of higher level, associated with developed intuition and immediate truth detection. All philosophical schools of the first line are scientific and rational. They, as science on the whole, demand evidences, but evidence, as N.F. Berdyaev said, perhaps «stands on the way of truth cognition as an obstacle to met necessity» [1, 285]. The second line in philosophical cognition and creative work is religious philosophy and different intuitionism. This line also includes all irrational and nonscientific lines, such as existentialism, life philosophy, and personalism, which are close to that kind of creative work, which can be called transcendental, mystical, and moral. The main emphasis is concentrated especially in intuitionism, unconscious, and irrational. Rational, logical moments are not rejected, but they play side roles and when the whole creative process is finished, it is necessary to make clear its results for the public. All three kinds of creative action (scientific and technical, artistic, and transcendental) have the same nature, they are followed by flashes of inspiration, but «duration» of these moments is different, either as their results.

We consider scientific creative activity as creative activity of the first degree, restricted by material world, assigned to its conversion. That is why scientific creative action is always socially conditioned that is every scientific discovery and technical invention is prepared by society's previous development. And when it is ready, it waits for a personality, who having done it, will make everything clear, and implement some creative breakthrough. Moreover, it is always socially significant: it helps to make our life comfortable. That is why every «trifle», each detail, improving our life, making it comfortable, is important. Those «good things of life», which are provided by our contemporary civilization were produced due to the progress of scientific and technical creative work.

Artistic creative work has no such tight ties with the material world, but it is also connected with society, and is determined by the surrounding world, forming in it. The society has many factors, which assess creative activity. The level of material and technical, scientific and economical development determines the possibility of definite kinds of activity, the form of realization, and sometimes even the contents of creative ideas. For example, the possibility of personal realization in the cinematography appeared only in 1895, when the cinematograph was invented, and the atomic research was impossible for an ancient Greek due to the absence of necessary equipment, though the theory of the atomic world structure belonged to them. The priority direction of different kinds of art and scientific creative work depends on moral, world-view and gnoseological purposes, existing in society at definite stages of its development.

One can speak of a complex conditionality of creative work by social environment. Thus, for example, if we examine a city as a space, where creative activity takes place, we should admit, that in present-day city creative activity has its originality, which expresses itself in dominance of space forms (architecture, sculpture, engineering creative activity); the appearance of protest forms, opposing city environment, what is shown in space and no space forms (poetry, music); dominance of mass forms of art and creative activity on the whole; transformation of artistic results translation (via Internet network) and communicative abilities on the whole. Thus, social conditionality of creative activity is common for its first two levels, and reveals itself in formal and in substantial sides of creative activity.

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INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

Abstract: Institutional trend is, perhaps, one of the most fashionable in modern social theory. The spreading of institutional approach is peculiar almost for all social sciences and the humanities (sociology, economics, political science, cultural studies, history, anthropology, psychology, science of law). Each of them has its own interpretation of social institutions. And, for the present, there is no united institutional conception (though, we have some preconditions for its formation), which would synthesize the achievements of all these sciences in relation to understanding of institutions

Keywords: institutional approach, social institutions, social sciences

At present, the greatest progress in reflection of institutional organization of society is made in sociology and economic theory. Sociologists proceed from the assumption that institutions satisfy the most important human needs and regulate the most significant social relations. Economists think that institutions may have the very different spheres of use, right up to the most insignificant and narrow ones. Further, institutions in sociology are not identified with one separate norm, whatever stable it would be, but they are presented as the whole complex of stable norms. In economic theory sometimes we can find the identification of any stable rules of behavior with institutions. As a result, the reduction of formal institutions to formal norms, which we can often meet in economic theory, appears. Such identification is not allowed in sociology, because formal institutions always include informal component, without taking this into consideration we cannot understand the mechanisms of functioning and development of institutions.

As Kirdina states, 'institutional research can be really directed at the study of main characteristics of society, but not at the examination of the very different, sometimes occasional and momentary, phenomena of social life' [2, 137]. Shabanova also tells about deeper interpretation of institutions in sociological perspective, than in economic one [4, 68—69]. Thevenot argues that sociology and economics today 'are aimed at mutual expansion and exclusion of competitor from usual area of scientific research' [5, 77]. But both variants of expansion are untenable. From the one hand, the subject of sociology includes considerably wider range of social actions, than those ones, which can be described in terms of economic theory of contracts. From the other hand, models of social action, even with the use of language of markets and interests, are profoundly different from economic action.

Despite the fact that representatives of different social sciences 'hear each other badly' [4, 67] and despite some insubordination of sciences on society in realization of institutional approach' [1, 42], it is worth to note that researchers have come to understanding that fundamental analysis of socioeconomic phenomena is impossible in the frames of one separate discipline. It is interdisciplinary approach that is needed. Also, such trend as economics of arrangements has appeared. In contrast to interdisciplinary approach, which uses contributions of different disciplines, representatives of economics of arrangements aim at obliteration of borders between economics and sociology in order to expose and review their common bases. Erosion of disciplinary borders of institutional researches and, accordingly, participation of different specialists lead to enrichment of content inserted into the notion of institution. Institutions are considered as characteristics of inner organization, determining the regularities of social development and guaranteeing social integrity. Many scientists begin to realize the role of institutions as the most essential elements of social systems and aspire 'to reach the institutional kernel of modern societies in order to explain the diversity of social processes, taking place in different countries, comprehend the history deeper and rationalize the perspectives of social development' [3, 43].

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METHODOLOGY AND METHODS OF MANAGERIAL COMMUNICATIVE SPACE ANALYSIS

The actual epoch is characterized by the development of the information and communication technologies (ICT). We are witnessing the fast spreading of techniques of social communication, the formation of a new informational space, the reproduction of vectors of prestige consumption, and the development of processes of glamorization. In connection with these developments arose problems of sound info media's designing and the safekeeping of informational security. By the term managerial communicative space we understand the whole spectrum of interactions with the management's environment regarding managerial decision making and implementation. This includes as well as internal organizational communication, as external channels of communication. While studying the communicative space, we are analyzing following aspects: the level of communication channels (by means of which channels do interactions take place), quality and effectiveness (successfulness) of the interactions, formal and informal characteristics, the level of confidence and the level of pressure.

By informational space we understand the informational filling, meaning the whole spectrum of ideas, intentions, problems and situations, which are produced or caused by agents of the management in the communicative space. By problematic situations, which are fixed in the communicative space of managements, we understand conflictive situations, which do not have a solution at the given moment. Furthermore, we would like to introduce to sociology of management a new understanding of managerial intentionality as a relevant factor in managerial situations (cf. study funded by a grant of the President of the Russian Federation, under the direction of Valentina A. Shilova).

The first part of the study will consist of an analysis of the motivational-intentional structure of managerial texts. The top of the motivational-intentional structure are intentions (resultant force of motives and goals of communication), which are composed of as well as the conscious and rational goals of communication as its unconscious and spontaneous motifs (Paradigm of Tamara M. Dridze). First of all, we will look for answers to the question, for which reason the agent of the management

said or wrote something. To define intentions is a difficult task, which, without any doubt, brings up debatable moments. To be able to identify the intentions as precise as possible, it is necessary to put the informational structure of the text (basic thesis and arguments, explanations, descriptions, illustrations and backgrounds) into a hierarchical structure of the communicative programmer.

The second part will consist of a qualitative interview of agents of the management. They will be asked to interpret managerial texts and to answer a questionnaire with open question, in order to explore their interpretations of the texts (Why was this text written? Define the basic topics? Retell the basic Idea? Who is the addressee of the text?), their attitude toward the text (like-dislike), and, above that, their emotional situation while reading the text. In dependence of respondent's answers, the motivational-intentional structure of the interpretations will be constructed. In the third part of the study we will compare the motivational-intentional structure with the motivational-intentional structure of respondent's interpretations. For example, the text shows one basic thesis and the respondent names a completely different one. But in the illustration of the theme he names the basic thesis. The procedure to analyze the motivational-intentional structure proves to be correct and clearly determinate.

This operationalization of the concept of intentionality, allows us to use it for the measuring of the managerial dominants and strategies. Managerial dominants are a set of stable communicational practices used in managerial processes. Managerial strategies are grown and stable principles of the management. They consist of, on the one hand, deep going moral and ethnic values and traditions, and on the other hand, of communicative preferences.

The elaboration of a complex approach toward the analysis of the communicational-informational space of the management with the usage of different sets of methods and techniques (in dependence of the situational needs), allows also for the analysis of the influence on its quality, which do single elements of it have. As such are: the people, and their communicative competences, attitudes towards the public, types of personality and, furthermore, the cultural sphere (norms, attitudes, stereotypes, values, traditions, dominant types of managerial and communicative strategies), informational means (sentiments, rumors), communicative channels and medias.

The significant elements of the communicative-informational sphere and the objects of our analysis are those concepts, which are the very basis of communicative-informational sphere's formation – values, social stereotypes, social attitudes and the public opinion.

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THE PROBLEM OF METHODOLOGY OF MANAGEMENT TECHNOLOGIES MODELING

In modern social sciences management and social technologies are considered in terms of two aspects: socio-managing and socio-psychological. The author introduces the following discussing of lingvo-cultuological and sociological-cultural phenomena. According to the idea, all social and management technologies appear to be derivatives of the global mega technology, i. e. social communication. The modeling of all social technologies is based on the process of communication, information messaging. The basis of social technologies modeling is lingvo-culturillogy. It is a special aspect of modern philology.

The main principle of the discipline is linguistic relativity, which determines a human language as the basis of mental differences. Linguistic relativity takes a linguistic sphere of concepts of people as a starting point. It influences the modeling of social

technologies. National distinctive qualities having been ignored in socio-engineering activity resulted in serious problems and disadvantages in the management of Russian and world economy. It is also a reason of crisis in social and socio-political spheres of the society. The facts that American, Scandinavian, Japanese, European principles and technologies of social influence on a human being management of economy, enterprises, organizations were used unreasonably resulted in the (problems of difficulties practical realization) of social, economic, political reforms in Russian society and in Asia, Africa, Latin America as well. As a result don't believe democratic, liberal ideas and large, especially industrial, bodies face social, psychological problems. The reason is that they are managed by people who have a little idea of national mentality and distinctive features. These methods of research are of great value for the estimation of mental communication and for considering adaptation and assimilation processes in the European Community. The sphere of concepts is based on a concept. It seems to be an ideal essence (fundamental nature), it develops in the mind of a human being as a global mental unit and it introduces a quantum of structural knowledge. The main method of concept research refers to the component analysis of key word semantics, i. e. the name of a concept a combination of a key word and text analysis in different types of discourse. The nation of a concept its interpretation in many fields of knowledge enjoys ever growing popularity in science. Stepanov, a famous Russian linguist and philosopher determines a concept as the basis of human culture. According to his ideas: «Culture is a combination of concepts, their interconnection». Thus, in lingo-culturology a concept explained in several ways, e. g.: (1) as a notion, which embodies indicating and defining structure of consciousness and language; (2) as a unit, determined by a cognitive metaphor; (3) as its significance is determined by a position of a concept in lexical and grammatical system of a language.

Concept transmitter is communicative person, national, mental, ethnic principles. Such person combines ethnic and semantic communicative characteristics. Its striking point is a particular system of lingvocultural concepts. A lingvocultural concept includes pragmatic information of a language sign linked to cognitive word memory (i. e. a semantic characteristic of a language sign linked to its original mission and a system of spiritual language transmitters). Concepts form a sphere of concepts, i. e. semantic space, which is considered to be a key one for understanding the national mentality. The sphere of concepts forms a cultural paradigm, or a number of cultural paradigm, that make the people mentality and, in fact, its language mentality, and the latter can be understood as world interrelation, its participants and its linguistic notion. The sphere of concepts makes a social archetype. It can be defined as a complex of feelings and emotions closely connected with a valuable subject, or an idea. It is inherited. It exists both verbally in verbally. The most important point of social technologies development and their effective level is the dialog level achieved during the functioning of a social technology. The dialogue level is the most important point in the process of turning a social communication into a social technology. A dialog is an universal display communication of science defines the following dialogue types: (1) the dialogue «a human — a human»; (2) the dialogue «a human — a society»; (3) the dialogue: a human — a machine»; (4) auto communication, auto dialogue.

Nowadays, due to the development of dialogue new information technologies other dialogue types appear. It is possible because of the widespread use of the Internet in many spheres of human activity as well as, in the spheres connected with managing a society, economy branches and labor groups. The following dialogue types refer to them: (1) «a human — a machine — a society»; and/or (2) «a human — a machine — a human». These two dialogue types concern innovative social technologies or the technologies used to introduce some innovations in a society, in a production process and organizations. To develop a more effective social technology it is necessary to achieve the level of auto dialogue and the dialogue «a human — a society» in the process of social communication.

To sum it up, any successful social technology embodies a definite dialogue type. A dialogue is not to a social type of interrelation in a society. It assumes active interrelations of equal subject in terms of mental notions. A dialogue suggests both individual and social awareness. A dialogue is a global quality of human being, its main characteristic and one of its social technologies effectiveness levels. The main point of a dialogue is that the development of a recipient (a social object) in a cognitive system. Thus, modeling of social technologies is influenced by the linguistic sphere of concepts, social communication and the achievement of the situation of a dialogue.

L.B. Zubanova, M.L. Shub

SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO INTERPRETATION OF TIME

Time can be considered as a truly universal phenomenon. It is a subject of study of both fundamental and humanitarian knowledge. And while the first one analyses its objective features, the other one deals with subjective characteristics. Such a detailed interest to the phenomenon of time can be explained, first of all, with its depth, its «super-biological and super-social nature, funding the existence as itself» [4, 29]. However, though the ways of attributive analysis of time from the natural-science viewpoint are worked out quite well, the humanitarian knowledge still is facing certain difficulties of study of subjective features of time. And it is quite explicable because to decode the cultural code of time is a task which is much more complicated than to calculate its duration or changeability in various physical environments. But in spite of this, the solution of this task is tried to be found by many different sciences: History, Philosophy, Cultural studies, etc. But in cognition of the phenomenon of time all of them start from various bases and methodological principles at times, though, they are united, firstly, by the comprehension of time as a world-view dominant of culture, which is the most important category of world view, and, secondly, by the tendency to disclose its specificity at every stage of socio-cultural development via subjective experience of time by immediate participants of historical process. In his work «The Middle Ages as a Type of Culture» its author A.Y. Gurevich [2] formulated the approach to the study of time in the following way: «Time should be studied in a kind of «the inside» way, starting from the historical content of human consciousness» [5, 48].

Still neither History nor Cultural studies can refuse the modernization of the historic-cultural process in full, take the position of «the transmitter of history» as called by A. Toynbee, under the subjectivity of a cognizer himself. And in connection with it a naturally determined question arises emphasized by A.Y. Gurevich in the following way: «Is there any possibility and, consequently, reasonability of objective study of subjective comprehension of time?» [2, 119]. The affirmative answer to this question is given by the scientist himself: «Yes, there is, but only in cases when facts of subjective comprehension of time are tracked through relatively stable units-sources, i. e., in literary, arts, material elements, etc.» [2, 79]. The possibility of practical realization of such an approach is provided by sociology. An absolute and unconditional advantage of sociological approach is the fact that it is based on the unbiased analysis of the source (in our case — mass media) and mathematically precise exposure of mechanisms that are enclosed in their content. The authors represent the attempt of fixation and analysis of the interpretation of time at the present stage. For its realization 790 articles published in leading central Russian newspapers: «Argumenty i facty», «Izvestiya», «Moskovskiy komsomolets» during the period of 2000—2007 were analyzed. A unit of analysis is an article in which either

an interview with a famous person (a leader of opinion) is given, or materials written by him/her about some burning issues of the day are reproduced.

There are three vectors in the announced, by the leaders, value-temporal perspective: the past, the present and the future, which are distinguished as *retrospection*, *presentism* and *projectism* in the present research. The labeling of utterances to the distinguished conditions is realized with the help of fixation of corresponding terminology: «now», «before», «soon», «in past», «at present day», «in future», «was/were», «am/is/are», «am/is/are going to»; and also with the help of associating with some certain historical periods and figures. The common qualitative and quantitative division (ranking according to the predicative weight of utterances) of temporal vectors is represented in Table 1.

Table 1. Temporal vectors of narration

temporal vector	Predicative hierarchy (quantity in absolute numbers)			Total index
	P1	P2	P3	
Social retrospection	22	18	9	37
Social presentism	40	27	6	60
Social projectism	8	7	10	16

Thus, according to the finding we can elicit the tendency of dominance of social presentism as a topicality of the present. No doubt, all three temporal vectors are turned out to be inseparably linked to the category of the present, as the perception of images of the past and the future is fulfilled in practices of today, always becoming a form of modern interpretation. We may speak rather about «reinterpretation of the past in the present» [1, 26], as well as characterize the future as «the continuous present» [3, 10]. The distinguished temporal factors, thus, are more logically defined in accordance with Augustine Aurelius's terminology as «the present of the present», «the present of the past» and «the present of the future» [5]. Taking into consideration validity of those dimensions, one can find out that dominance of social presentism in the utterances of leaders of opinion points out to the actualization of condition of «the present of the present». Such a division is quite appropriate: the comprehension of value perspectives takes place in a «real-time» mode, interviews with characters of publications, as a rule, are oriented to the burning problems and issues of the day. But this doesn't exclude valuing of the present with respect to the past and the future, realizing by the leaders of opinion from really different points of view: opposition, interaction, addition, re-comprehension, etc.

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6. RUSSIAN FEDERATION: NORTH, SOUTH, WEST, EAST

6.1. REGIONAL NETWORKS OF A SOCIETY ON TRANSITION

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PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF SOCIAL CONSENT IN MODERN RUSSIA

The transformation of the state system on the principles of democracy and the formation of new public consciousness in the absence of the definite articulated state ideology should affect on the change of consciousness and generate the values-moral chaos capturing all levels of population of Russia and caused by the collision of three basic systems of values: traditional, communistic, western. On this background the special meaning acquired the formation of a social consent between all social strata, both new and old ethnos and the state. The social consent is an uncertain enough term with many possible senses: democratic, authoritarian, voluntary, compulsory, etc. The authoritarian-imperial ideal often appears to be more attractive in mass consciousness as a basis of the social solidarity than the ideas of voluntary unity and consent. In totalitarian and radical communities, movements, systems, sects, if it is not at a degradation stage, the strength and mass character of consent is often higher than in the democratic ones. It is in many respects caused by the «absolutist» mentality, fanatical belief in a possession of the absolute true, collective confidence of own exclusiveness and superiority and as a consequence, narcissism, self-eulogy.

The spiritual basis of the radical and extremist movements, systems, groups, if and while they are strong, is not only the fear and repressiveness contrary to the standard conceptions, but mass or group enthusiasm, belief and love to idea, system, leader and to themselves involved in it. As a result it is observed «the iron» unity, quite sincere public consensus in a combination with intolerance to all «alien», to all who does not divide the blind devotion to «the absolute». Thus, the autocratic regimes seems to be confrontational only concerning real or imagined enemies and concerning «the own» (which, however, constantly naturally or intentionally turn to «the strangers») their consensus potential is rather high.

For the achievement of the public consent in the country and in the world it is necessary to correctly choose the allies in a struggle against militarism, aggressive chauvinistic nationalism, xenophobia, extremism. Our natural strategic partners in this vital-necessary affair — are the developed democratic countries. It seems to be the most destructive the revival in Russia of anti-Americanism and anti-westernization which roots are in the Soviet past that destroys the anti-extremist alliance and the ways leading to the global consent. The analysis of the researches shows that under certain conditions on the national soil it is possible to see the sharp growth of the right-extremist moods in the country, the great strengthening of ultranationalist, fascist and pro-fascist parties and organizations and some kind of «weimarisation» of Russia .

Among the reasons generating the Russian nationalism and nationalism of the other people of Russia are singled out: the low level and non-uniformity of an economic and social situation of population (inherited and acquired); uncertainty, vagueness in Russia of the status of Russian in public opinion of the population; the ambiguity of the estimation of the past — old and recent along with the total absence in the country of a simple sense of responsibility for the Soviet totalitarianism; the activity of the higher administration causing among the population inconsistent reaction; the expressed tendency to the hyper-centralization strengthening the non-uniformity of the regional development; the absence of a real dialogue between communities, a society and the state. In order to prevent the regeneration of the healthy national consciousness in nationalism that, in turn converting in extremism leading to terrorism the democratic processes in all parts of Russia should develop with identical intensity that is not observed today. The ensuring of this process remains to be one of the main tasks facing to the central authorities of Russia and the public of the country.

The future of the Russian society depends on what scenery way its development will go. What processes will prevail: the processes of social consent or disintegration, destabilization, destructive processes. The interrelation of these factors can be considered in three general scenarios: 1. disintegration, stagnation; 2. democracy, stabilization; 3. authoritative and quasi-stabilization. And in three special: 1. global-integration and confrontational-isolation; 2. mentally-values; 3. militaristic and pacifistic.

The general scenarios

1. The disintegration, stagnation social variant at preservation of the democratic system. There will be an aggravation of conflicts, social differentiation, anomies, demographic, economic and other forms of crisis, easing and disorientation of the power structures, and in extreme situation disintegration of the state is not also excluded. The given scenario can call into question the viability of the Russian society.

2. The democratic stabilization scenario assuming the harmonious social and economic development and growth, the formation of a strong civil society. The minimization of a destructive conflicts, in particular, a non-admission of military conflicts, optimization of problems of social differentiation, the great rise of a level and quality of life, development of mondialistic, altruistic, nonviolent mentality.

3. The authoritarian scenario with possible temporary social stabilization and «an order» establishment. The preconditions of such scenario: the absence of democratic traditions and the increase of the imperial ones, the essential authoritarian-fashizoid centers in mass consciousness, the tendencies of socio-political «contra-reformation», establishing of a control over mass-media, using a support of the power structures, the generated spy-mania, a war of a colonial type, the development of «cult of a person» etc.

Special scenery variants

1. Global-integration and confrontation-isolation variants. A constant integration with the developed democratic countries is in the first variant and a return to a confrontation — in the second. The general tendency of the first variant is the voluntary unity of people as well as cultural, economic, social; development of the over-national structures with a perspective of transformation into the world government. The basis of a global internationalism is the universal values, tolerance and pacifism. Within the country is a unity of ethnic communities without compulsion; tolerance under unconditional exception and suppression of all forms of extremism. The general tendency of the confrontational scenario is a partial or full restoration of a spirit of «cold war», based on Anti-Americanism and anti-westernization, chauvinism, an idea of «a specific way» of Russia.

2. From the above mentioned there is arisen the mentally-values scenarios, the confrontation of two types of consciousness — national — patriotic, fundamentalist and mondialistic, tolerant, ethnically self-critical. The last one includes the movement to the general system of humanistic values based, on one hand, on their progressive globalization, coordination, mutually-completed, on the other hand, — on an inevitable and constructive competition of some of them. The confrontation of these

types of consciousness includes a basic scenery alternative — tolerance-intolerance. The tolerance is a basis of the humanistic construction of the world. However, it is not identical to the absolute tolerance, moreover, in some sense, is opposite to it. Its basic element is the intolerance to the extremist consciousness and practice, to destruction, criminality, amorality. As an example of the above-mentioned alternative it can serve one of its practical embodiments — in clericalism and religious fundamentalism, from one hand, in anti-clericalism, from the other hand.

The Islamic and orthodox fundamentalism represents by itself a sample of the crude absolute consciousness, negations of tolerance, actual return to medieval spiritual and social models. Anti-clericalism, on the contrary, opens great opportunities of acceptance of a rich spectrum of confessional and atheistic principles, ecumenism, pantheism, deism etc. Certainly the destructive character has an encroachment of clericals on secular character of the state, for example, aspiration of Orthodox Church to get powerful functions.

3. The huge destructive or, on the contrary, the socially-positive potential is involved in militaristic and pacifistic scenarios. However, it's a mistake to think that pacifistic principles mean a full refuse of the addressing to military means. And in this case the absolute tolerance can turn to its contrast, pacifism — in silent encouragement of militarism. A classical example is the Munich agreement. The military restraint and if necessary, the suppression of the nests of militarism what mainly archaic, relic totalitarian dictatorships is the indispensable condition of consecutive pacifism. It is possible to say the same about an alternative of terrorism-counterterrorism. However, here it is set the very uneasy and often used in imperious purposes the problem of differentiation of terrorism and emancipating struggle. The ethnic question serves as a possible precondition of the growth of terrorism in Russia, where terrorism is used as a mean by one part and the terror by the other; and connected with it the spreading of chauvinistic, xenophobia moods. The victory over extremism and terrorism is possible only at the unity of the democratic countries in antiterrorist struggle in which Russia sometimes appears «weak link» as quite often tries to «protect» terrorist modes and identifies the counterterrorism operations with military operations of colonial type. Today at the state level the resuscitation of the theory of convergence in the modern socio-cultural conditions can be one of the foundations of social consent. Moreover, it already occurs in practice, within the frames of globalization process.

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REGION AS A SOCIAL FORMATION

Abstract: Various scientific items containing the concept «the region», existing in both general-theoretical and concrete-practical approaches are analyzed. The region is considered as the complete, spatially-organized form of activity of society, and as the social system representing itself as the complex phenomenon and having the difficult self-coping mechanism.

By consideration of region as the complete social formation acting as a source of differently directed development of social communities, it is necessary to be defined with conceptual toolkit and, first of all, with concept «region». In the domestic and foreign scientific literature there is no sufficient precision in definition of this concept. According to scientists, «region» and «area» have about hundred interpretations of concepts. It is necessary to notice that the European researchers of the problem of the regionalism use other criteria in understanding of region, in difference, for example, from the Russian researchers. It is caused by fact that processes of regionalization in Europe and in the Russian Federation have much in

common, nevertheless essentially differ. Region in Europe — not always constitutionally recognized administrative-territorial formation. The European Union also unites in itself the unitary states. Processes of regionalization in the European Union and Russia essentially differ, have different sense and results.

In Europe concept «region» is collective. In the European Charter of a regionalism of 1988 the region is defined as the homogeneous space having physiological, geographical, and cultural and language affinity, and also closely associated economic structures and historical destiny [2, p. 399.]. It is necessary to recognize accuracy of the European sense of a word «the region». It is derivative of a Latin verb «*regere*» to mean 'to correct'. This important detail supplements understanding of region: territory, which is operated, not has the sovereignty [6, p.38]. As a rule, in sociology «region» is designated as any economically and administrative independent territory beginning from rural area and ending with large economic territorial complexes. Thus the territorial factor only designates the sizes of that space on which creative activity of a certain generality is developed. The territory allows standing apart and creating certain formation with separate economic, political, spiritual activity. This formation is characterized by presence of that especial and individual, which allocates it among the others sociocultural complexes occupying other geographical space.

At all existing differences in scientific items containing the concept «region», it is possible to allocate a number of general provisions [5, p. 158—159]. The region always has the mediated interrelation with concrete territory (landscape). At the same time all researchers mark indefiniteness, a transparency of its borders, and openness for interosculation and dialogue of cultures. Thus it is possible to observe processes of merge of cultures of regions, and their splitting up. Now in the conditions of difficult geopolitical processes it would be incorrect to insist on opinion about self-sufficiency of regions though the element of it exists. Nevertheless, a modern position is comprehension that any historical and cultural region is a part of larger formation of the world community.

According to sociologists today it is possible to allocate two basic senses of the term «region»: general-theoretical and concrete-practical. In general-theoretical sense the region is historically developed territorial community of people as a part of the big society. In this sense the region carries out the functions partly similar to functions of a society, but at the same time there are specific. Each region possesses the features distinguishing it from other regions of society. In concrete-practical sense the region represents territorial unit of politico-administrative, economic and welfare structure of the country and represents itself as the formalized community of its citizens. By consideration of region it is necessary to take into account specificity of connection of natural and social factors as a whole providing uniqueness of concrete territory with its potential of self-development and interaction with other areas. The importance of socially-spatial (territorial) identification in the regional plan is defined by the fact that accordingly to incomparably extending possibilities (including, at the expense of scientific and technical progress and other factors), the environment of existence of socially-territorial communities doesn't become the simple certain given condition of their collective life (demanding only more or less adequate adaptation), but becomes the object of social designing of using of all cumulative potential of territory for increase of level and quality of the man's own life and a life of his posterity [6, p.8].

Representing the complete, spatially-organized form of existence of society as system, the region acts as the difficult and complex phenomenon. Such form of society's life has its own content. It includes interaction of subjects in the course of reproduction of conditions of existence; the material factors acting as a basis of reproduction; quantitative and the quality indicators characterizing result — level of social and economic development. The region possesses the self-coping mechanism which elements are interconnected, interdependent and added by the mechanism of external regulation [1, p. 99].

In regional system as in complete formation it is possible to allocate some subsystems, in our opinion: ecological and geographical; the social; industrial; the financial; the political; religious-ethnic. Earlier ecological and geographical subsystem of region was associated with concept «region». Now it is only a subsystem which includes a geographical position, territory, region natural resources, and ecological indicators. The ecological-geographical subsystem differentiates region considering external indications. The social subsystem

is more exactly the quantitative characteristic of region, including quality of a life, and number, structure of its population. Function of a social subsystem is realisation of a regional policy, and other forms of regulation. Lately, social indicators of region began to prevail over the others (ecological and geographical, industrial). The industrial subsystem of region defines economic indicators of region: the quantity of the industrial enterprises, character of economy, a regional national produce, etc. the Basic function of an industrial subsystem is formation and increase of region's economic potential [3, p.52—53; 6, p.238].

Functioning of various subsystems in region allows it to act as a single whole. That fact that each subsystem can be considered differently, says that at region's studying the systematic approach is necessary. Regional system is the difficult self-developing formation answering to the all systematical principles. Properties of the region are not properties of its separate elements. Integrity of region possesses such qualities and the properties which are not in its parts, constantly varying as a result of interaction of already existing parts. The region as the system by all means should interact with environment; however interaction with other regions in the country and abroad of it provides plurality of the description of region. It does not exclude independent perception of this phenomenon which acts as the difficult independent self-developing system.

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SOCIAL RATIONALIZATION OF A STATE AND MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION INSTITUTES' ACTIVITY AS A PROCESS OF RELATIONSHIP DEVELOPMENT

In conditions of development of civil society in Russia the movement to the dialogue, to the approaching of mutual expectations of state and municipal administration subjects is becoming obvious. The researches show that for the last years a number of specific tendencies are defined that happened in the relations of authority and society. The degree of belief to the Institute of Presidency, to the legislative power, to the government is increased. At the same time there are transformations of rational forms of social activity, here is the decreasing of political activity of youth, the main form of social rationalization of villagers is the refuse from innovations, as a result of inconsequent backing of the village. The «dislocation» of cultural identity in conditions of global processes is happened. Such forms of civil activity appeared as the «one window demand» — the groups of automobilists, cheated investors, and people unsatisfied with the reforms of Housing and Community Amenities and so on. The leaving to the niches of routine of middle class inhabitants is mentioned as a form of rationalization of social practice. It is obvious the move to the side of risks in the actions of poor groups. The dynamics and content of requests, letters and appeals of citizens to the state and municipal administration bodies show that mainly these are only situational life needs

with the position of consumer. The inhabitants often are ready to demand and ask, and not to give rise to initiatives or proposals for transformation and creation.

Social rationalization of state and municipal administration activity is a process of transformation of social reality at the cost of including all resources: civil, legal, informational, technological. The method of social rationalization is different from traditional analyses by including of new, nascent subjects of management and it lets to find out the part of interests divergence. The method got its name from separation of entity feature — the method of social rationalization; it means that it reflects integrated interests of different social subjects. The components of social rationalization are the analyses of administering subjects' interests' safety; resource equipment; supposed risks; the condition of social freedoms and equality of social factors possibilities. It is commonly to emphasis several parts of rationalization while social systems researching — the interests of groups and the interests of the system in whole. If we speak about groups' interests then as it was stated above they can be polar, mutually exclusive, objective, subjective, realistic and not. It depends on many conditions and factors including the purposes of groups and possibilities of promoted suggestions' and demands' realization [1, p.5].

Interests of state as the institute that provides social order, development of economy, the level of citizens' prosperity, stability, modernization are much more widespread. To value the correctness of such decisions not always is in power of people, here is enough level of preparedness and responsibly, also the expertise of competent specialists is necessary. The methods of social rationalization are the channels of turning on the civil activity. One of them is entire reflection of the dominating in the society processes. It can be an instrument for democratic principles provision. The change of social structure, social mobility, the structure of civil values, the level of legal consciousness, the satisfaction from labor, the quality of life, the attitude to the authority bodies, the cognitive, innovative potential — all these are important parts accompaniment of making decisions on all levels of administering from state to municipal [4, p.9].

The criteria of social rationalization of state and municipal administration activity are data of trust and social activity of all groups. The content of social rationalization is presented by complex methods and technologies for forms' provision of citizens' participation in the management on different levels. This is possible by attraction of according to the aim modules of social values, relations and subject actions analyses. The main recourses are complex technologies, such as social, organizational, informational and legal. The system-based sociological consideration monitoring of expectations, preferences, informational support and realization of state and municipal administration rationalization can essentially make rich the system of decisions making support and can encourage the operative reacting to the zones of social interests' contradiction. Reserves of social rationalization are activities of some social institutes — education, local government, Public chamber. In the frame of educational activity we can form normative system that is an important regulator of civil matureness. The bodies of local government can attract public more letting people participate in municipal administration. Public chamber can promote the articulation of main tendencies in some separate subjects.

The potential of social rationalization process can be contingency of such factors as the degree of factors subjectivity and creativeness. We can say that the aim of more developed societies is the development of general global wealth through the principles of centering on the human being. It is important to provide everybody with the recourses of civil, constructive, and civilized participation, involving the mechanisms of state and interstate social design.

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THE POWER AND A SOCIETY: CHANGE OF RELATIONS «CENTER-REGION» (ON AN EXAMPLE SAKHA REPUBLIC OF YAKUTIA)

The Russian Federation is young independent democratic federative state to historical measures. For 15 years in the country sociopolitical reforms which are directed on creation of a new political formation have been spent many. Certainly those transformation political processes differently are reflected in position of the people. Degree of support by the people of political and the economic reforms always varies. But level of system stability, legitimacy of the power depends on character of relations of the population to the power. The orientation to problems of society opinion about political innovations, trust to the power (federal, regional, local) and the state protection of the rights of citizens, is paramount for the power.

Russia is the multinational state with the complex territorial device. Since 1993 Russia is declared democratic, legal and a federative state. According to the Constitution of the Russian Federation accepted in 1993, Russia consists of the subjects having various names, such as republic, krai, area, autonomous area, autonomous region and city of federal value. Subjects possess the equal rights and differ only on a way of formation. Republics, autonomous areas are formed by a national principle, other subjects — by a territorial principle. Republics are designated as the state in constitutional clauses. The constitution of Russia fixes also bases democratic building, such as: separation of the power, multi-party system, participation of the population in government (elective and party processes), guarantee and observance of the human rights, the account of opinion of minority, etc.

Historically developed, the policy and strategy of Russians development is defined by the head of the state. For this reason, it is possible to allocate two basic stages in becoming the Russian Federation as democratic, legal and a federative state, which connected with names of Presidents — Boris Yeltsin and Vladimir Putin. Each President of Russia possessed the certain campaigns to development of democracy and federalism in Russia, regions places in the general control system. The mechanism of realizations of constitution positions depend on political representations of the head of the state in practice. So at the first stage the primary goal of B. Yeltsin politics was introduction of democratic and federal principles during a public life there is no time the Soviet people. As a result the political system of the country has undergone to total liberalization. Market principles became defining public and federal relations. On a background of a freedom of speech, a freedom of worship, creation of opposition parties, in sphere of regions management established the selective approach. In Russia the dissymmetric federation was generated. Subjects of the Federation differed on volume of the rights and powers, their influence on the general political process, and, accordingly, social and economic development.

In spite of the fact that the democratic rights were given for all citizens of Russia uniformly, powers of the Russia Federation subjects on social and economic region management were various. In this connection some subjects could establish independently the mechanism of realization of democratic norms in regions. The greatest degree of independence national state formations possessed. Republics have been proclaimed as

sovereign. Reception by republics advantages is connected with statement of a question on cultural and national regions features. Also it is caused by domination of a various sort of subjective factors in questions of differentiation of powers between the center and regions. The republic Sakha (Yakutia) as national state formation had essential additional powers, including financial, allowing to develop both economy, and culture of Yakutia, to support a worthy level of social security of the population. The republic leadership at own discretion regulated some aspects of a public life. So, despite on introduction in Russia systems of local self-management, in Yakutia this system has been formed of local bodies of the government. So, on a background of democratization of public attitudes, introduction liberal, but the dissymmetric approach to mutual relations between the center and regions has caused presence in subjects of Federation various, at times independent, political modes. And in some regions the generated political modes were not steady (the Chechen republic).

With election as the President of the Russian Federation of V. Putin process of democracy and federalism state construction has gone on other way. In the first message to Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation on July, 8th 2000 «What Russia We build» V. Putin has designated a rate of the further development of the country as strong, effective, democratic state which in a condition to protect civil, political, economic freedom and is capable to create conditions for a safe life of people and prosperities of Russia. Defining V. Putin's policy was a dictatorship of the law. Development both public, and federal relations in the country began to be based on the lower and economic unity, strengthening of authority and strengthening of regions management. There was an alignment of subjects of Federation. With a view of maintenance of citizens with all completeness of the political, social and economic rights following measures are emphasized:

- Regional acts are brought into accord with the federal lower;

- The vertical of the government is strengthened. 7 federal districts led by plenipotentiaries of the President of Russia are created, with watching to realization in regions of President Policy and execution of federal body's decisions. The order of the organization of Council of Federation is changed, according to the leader of regions and regional assemblies are excluded from its structure. However, under directing the President of the Russian Federation the State Advice of the Russian Federation which members appear the leader of regions is created. The order of election of leader of regions according to which they are elected legislative assemblies of regions on representation of the President of the Russian Federation is changed;

- There is begun optimization of administrative-territorial division of the Russian Federation. As a result some autonomous regions were a part of larger subjects in which territory they have been located.

- It is reconsidered and unified «The scheme» of powers distributions between the center and regions for all subjects.

Thus, the political rate of the President of Russia V. Putin is characterized by centralization of authority for creation of the uniform mechanism of the decision general strategic problems and equal maintenance of citizens with the democratic rights.

How this political rate was reflected in Republic Sakha (Yakutia)? Today independence is no time sovereign republic is limited by frameworks of the federal lowers. In legal relations, the rights of bodies of the Yakutia's government are similar to the rights of other subjects of the Russian Federation (kraj, areas, etc.). The authority and management in republics are dependent on political will of the federal authority. There is a restriction of economic independence of region. So powers of republican authority on management of bowels (in Yakutia extraction of bowels was the basic revenue of the region budget) are excluded. Easing occurs owing to reforming inter-budgetary relation to Russia (today the basic part of monetary streams and tax revenues is accumulated in the federal center). All this testifies to formation of the centralized and symmetric federation.

Process of reforming of region and the centre relations, and first of all redistribution of economic powers, has made considerable impact on views of the Yakutia people. So the protectionism of the central administration, growing dependence of regional

structures have led to decrease in level of trust of Yakutia people to the region power and, accordingly, to increase in level of the importance of federal institutes of the power for Yakutia people. Moreover, the country people most part, by some results of sociological interrogations, in general is inclined to trust first of all to federal structures, rather than to the region power. Change of creation mechanisms of and functioning of the regional power, restriction and reduction of financial and economic freedom regions were reflected in results of public opinion about observance by the state of democratic standards where the majority of respondents have noticed that they are not provided. Anyhow, in Yakutia there is a balance of relations between the power and a society that tends to remain, allowing spending changes in all region society spheres, answering to new strategy of economic development and management to Russia. At the same time, we do not notice that despite creation of uniform norms and rules in sphere of functioning of region for all subjects of Russia, for the purpose of alignment of democratic possibilities of citizens of the country, concepts of a national policy, nor are concepts of regional policy accepted in Russia. It provokes growth of oppositions to reforms, as from outside the regional power, and the people. Especially in a situation when degree of trust to the power of the people is on a low level. Revision of state system principles on the conditions shown by one party, neglect regional factors and public opinion can cause destabilization of a situation not only in the separate federation subject, but also in all Russia.

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MONITORING THE QUALITY OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES AS THE INSTRUMENT OF SUPPLYING EFFECTIVENESS OF LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

A new system of public management, which is accepted in the most European countries, emphasizes the efficiency of state administration. This problem can not be solved without the introduction of effective modern methods of management in the work of state bodies of power. They must meet new conditions and require openness, operation and adequacy from public administration in relation to the needs of outer environment. The evaluations of quality of public administration have been systematically conducted by different organizations only during the past decade. This fact reflects the public recognition of the importance of the authorities' operation and quality necessary for solving the problems disturbing modern society.

The different range of state characteristics and its institutions is often understood under the quality of state management by the researchers. The quality of a state can be estimated as the unity of three branches of power, i. e., legislative, executive and judicial ones as it is understood by this notion. A set of assessment components is its results which include the characteristics of power accountability, its charity, the observance of law supremacy [1, 20]. But there are other viewpoints. About the indicators of state management's effectiveness and the methods of their definition see, for example. Most attention is paid to the evaluation problem of state managements' quality on the regional and municipal levels within the framework of administrative reform carried out in Russia. The need in the external control of administration success and effectiveness carried out by monitoring has arisen.

Today, the term «monitoring» has become generally recognized both in science and other spheres of public practice. Monitoring is understood as the process of object's systematic observation, control, analysis, evaluation and its condition's forecast. The importance of suitable monitoring formation is determined by the federal form of state arrangement. Besides, the quality of national control is predetermined by the total indicators of work efficiency of sub federal power bodies. The need of improving the social and economic development in the conditions of limited resources predetermines

the necessity to work out the methods and technologies to access the quality of public administration. Their introduction as the instruments for analyzing the work of executive authorities is important for increasing their efficiency. The monitoring of effective functioning of executive authorities on the federal and regional levels in Russia is characterized by the lack of standardized indicators to access the work of authorities with similar jurisdiction, for example, the executive authorities of different regions. There is no a unified methodology of such indicators formation.

The key element of administrative reform conducted in Russia is the providing of client orientation of executive authorities. It assumes, first of all, to aim their work for satisfying consumers' needs — the citizens and organizations on the basis of increasing the quality and availability of public administration services. It is quite understandable, that the need in system of monitoring process for conducting administrative reform has arisen under these conditions. It was aimed to reveal the trends of the greatest achievements to find out the needs in services and to increase their quality and availability. It is an effective and independent instrument to achieve public management effectiveness, supply client orientation in the employees' activity.

The term «state services» has been widely used since 2005 in Russia with the beginning of the administrative reform. The introduction of this term into our life is connected with the change of state role and tasks in the society, the confirmation of new values and priorities. There is no an officially accepted classification of public administration services in Russia. There are different authors' approaches. Along with the term public administration services, the terms «public» and «social» services are quite often used as synonyms. These terms can not be mixed, as they characterize the services from different aspects. The contrasting is also a mistake, as the same time service can be state, public and social. Public administration service characterizes the subject servicing [2, p.15]. The sphere of socially significant services must be taking into account by public authorities regardless of subjects servicing them. However, the forms of public administration participation are different depending on whether the state or public services are spoken about. The state services are supposed to be directly performed by the state structures themselves. Public authorities can service independently, send as a delegate their performance to the local authorities and organize their performance with the help of commercial and non-commercial organizations (outsourcing). Besides, the actions and motives assessment of public administration employees must be made on the basis of the following understanding. It is impossible to provide the total system effectiveness of public administration without consumers' satisfaction. The main criteria in the assessment of employees' work can be: 1) the observance of terms' procedures (indicated in the official rules) and the general term of performing functions and services (laid in the administrative rules); 2) the completeness of performing functions and services; 3) the absence of well-founded citizens' claims; 4) the degree of citizens' satisfaction defined by sociological polls; 5) the influence to achieve purposes laid un the balanced indexes system of the regional development.

The process of developing administrative rules and standards of public administration services in the Russian Federation has gone into effect with the confirmation of «The conceptions of administrative reform in the Russian Federation for 2006—2008 years». This direction is defined as the priority task of reforming state work. It is necessary to note, that there is no a unified model of monitoring authority services. The government of Penza region and scientists of the department of «Public administration» of the Penza State University made a research. Its basic aim was formation of model monitoring quality, availability of state services in the region and the preliminary assessment of their satisfaction by consumers. The analysis of servicing indicated that the quality of services can be considered as: (1) the satisfaction degree of consumers' expectations, just in such notion the term was fixed in the international standards ICO 9000 1994; (2) as the fulfillment degree of given requirements and standards; (3) as the value money paid for services; (4) as the sum total of technical, technological and operational characteristics by which the service will meet consumers' needs.

The application of the system assessment of the quality and availability of state services by consumers is an effective method of modern condition researching in the sphere of servicing and its further improvement taking into account consumers' needs and expectations. The indicators system can be in the monitoring basis, working out in detail the criteria quality and accessibility of state services. The assessment methods of accessibility and quality of service and the monitoring model were proposed in the course of researching [3].

The monitoring as a control tool is an integral part of monitoring cycle. The functional significance of monitoring is the providing of «backward connection». It includes the possibilities to reveal the needs of object management, the assessment effectiveness of chosen methods and the subject management influence. Therefore, effectiveness is the key notion in the monitoring quality of public authorities' services. It must be reflected in the adopted rules and standards.

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UNIFICATION OF SUBJECTS OF RUSSIAN FEDERATION: NEW ETHNOPOLITICAL CHALLENGES AND THREATS IN SIBERIA

In Siberia, more than in any other regions, unification of the subjects of the Russian Federation (RF) became an active and stable process. The most probable direction of the process is considered to be in compliance with a project of the reforming of the state-territorial structure of Russia, which was designed in the middle of 1990s in the Administration of the president of the RF. According to one alternative of the project, Siberia will be divided onto five territories: Ob-Irtish territory (including Tyumen region, Khanty-Mansi and Yamal-Nenets autonomous districts), West Siberian territory (including Novosibirsk, Omsk and Tomsk regions), South Siberian territory (Altai Republic, Altai region and Kemerovo Region), East Siberian Territory (Tyva, Khakassia, Krasnoyarsk Territory, Taimyr and Evenki autonomous districts), and Baikal territory (Buryatiya, Irkutsk and Chita regions, Aginsk Buryat and Ust-Orda Buryat autonomous districts).

In opinion of authors of the project, these reforms will help to solve the following problems: first, to unify subjects that *de facto* drastically differ from each other — small and large, poor and rich, donors and recipients. Second, another key idea of the reform is in the integration of weak agrarian territories with strong industrial regions. Third, it is suggested to change the status of ethno-national republics and districts while taking into account existing traditions and keeping for a while some attributes of their statehood.

At the same time, the unifications in Siberia have some distinctions that are determined by new ethno-political challenges and threats due to the actual elimination of political autonomy of some small indigenous peoples. These ethno-political problems were revealed most distinctly during the merger of the Irkutsk region (IR) and the Ust-

Orda Buryat autonomous district (U-OBAD). As a result of the merger, the U-OBAD lost its status of an independent subject of the RF and since January 1, 2008, become a territorial entity with a special status within the Irkutsk region, namely the Ust-Orda Buryat District (U-OB). This entity retains 6 municipal districts and 77 municipal units. The U-OB administration will be headed by a deputy of the Governor of the Irkutsk region.

In this case, the unification specificity is determined by the following complex of sociopolitical, administrative and managerial, sociocultural and other factors:

- ↓ By originality of the Buryat autonomy within the Russian Federation. The Buryat have political autonomy within three different ethno-national subjects, namely the Buryat republic, Ust-Orda Buryat autonomous district and Aginsk Buryat autonomous district;

- ↓ By influence of the merger on the ethno-political processes in the Buryat Republic and the Aginsk Buryat autonomous district. The merger is accompanied by an aggravation of ethno-nationalistic tendencies, threats of ethno-national extremism and a sufficient ethnization of the political field;

- ↓ By fundamental distinction of the sociopolitical situation in this region from the situation due to the merger of the Taimyr (Dolgan-Nenets) and the Evenki autonomous districts with the Krasnoyarsk Territory (structure and the number of population, basic socio-economic and sociocultural statuses of the title population etc.);

- ↓ By a possible negative potential of ethno-political processes initiated by the merger, which take place in many other ethno-national subjects of the RF outside of the U-OBAD, mostly in republics of the Northern Caucasus, where ethno-nationalistic forces consider the unification in Siberia as a beginning of a more wide-ranging liquidation of autonomies;

- ↓ By historical and sociocultural context of the uniting process — the memory of the repressions of Buryat intelligentsia in the 1930s and separation in 1939 of the Buryat-Mongol autonomous republic.

However, the most important factor that determines the specificity of the merger between the IO and the U-OBAD is an excessive use of the administrative resource. Such an unnecessary use of the administrative resource during the agitation for the merger negatively affected the people's confidence in the power institutions and procedures of democratic expression of the people's will, aggravated extremist ethno-nationalistic dispositions. The administrations of the Irkutsk region and of the U-OBAD built up a strict vertical system for the guaranteeing the positive result of the referendum. This system included virtually all the organs of the state power: legislative, executive, and judicial.

The executive power took virtually every possible measure to provide the necessary turnout in the referendum and its positive result. Administrations of the region and district, as well as organs of municipal power, created special organizing staffs. The heads of branch subdivisions of the administrations bore personal secret responsibility for the referendum results. The strongest resentment about the use of the administrative resource was related with an excessive pressure on the people's will at the place of employment. Authorities of practically all organizations and enterprises were included into the providing the turnout in the referendum. For this, so-called «gray» electoral technologies were widely used. For example, an employee had to show a «letter of gratitude» that he/she was given at a polling place. The «carrot-and-stick» policy was also widely used. The excessive use of the administrative resource was not left without attention of trustworthy remedial organizations, including international ones. For example, a group of independent representatives from the Russian Branch of the International Society for Human Rights and from the Moscow Bureau for Human Rights observed the voting in the referendum. They revealed the following violations of legal norms and regulations:

- ↓ the use of the administrative resource;
- ↓ access to mass media only for the merger supporters;
- ↓ excessive (up to 50% of voters) pre-term voting as a form of affecting the voter will;
- ↓ pre-term voting in settlements of the U-OBAD;
- ↓ violations of the federal law «on the basic guarantees of suffrage and the right to participate referendums for citizens of the RF», as well as of the Constitution of the RF.

Thus, the unifications in Siberia lead to appearance of new ethno-political challenges and threats. The most significant are the threats associated with destructive mobilization and politicization of ethnicity and ethnical self-consciousness of Siberian ethnos and ethnic groups that lose their autonomy. Not less important are the threats determined by political ethno-craticization, as well as the accumulation of different resources (first of all, of political power) in the hands of a dominant ethnic group — Russians. However, it is necessary to admit that the main challenges to ethno-political stability and security associated with unifications in Siberia are beyond the socio-political field of the region under study and have a postponed character.

6.2. REGIONAL PROCESSES AND SUSTAINABLE POLICY

Svetlana Akkueva, Nalchik

ABOUT THE ETHNO-SOCIAL PROCESSES IN KABARDINO- BALKARIAN AND KARACHAY-CHERKESSIA REPUBLICS

The given work presents some materials of field researches held in Kabardino-Balkarian Republic (KBR) and Karachay-Cherkessia (KCR) Republics in 2005—2007, within the limits of the project «Islam and ethno-political processes in the North Caucasus». Reforms of the end of 80s in Russia quickened deep social, economic, politic-cultural changes which carried systemic character and were defined in the scientific literature as transformation of a society. Transformation processes impact directly on ethno-social changes which are at the moment characterized by complexity and discrepancy. Modern researches of ethno-social processes in the North Caucasus are held in various disciplinary systems that concern the most different sides of ethno-political development of the republics, interethnic relations, conflicts, demography, migrations, national movements, ethnic elite, criminality, extremism, terrorism etc.

We consider ethno-social processes through a change of demographic structure in the republics, migration processes, tendencies in vocational orientation of ethnic groups, rates of social transference, development of ethnic business. KBR and KCR have a lot of similarities in ethno-political and ethno-social development, but Karachay-Cherkessia Republic till 1991 was a part of Stavropol Region as autonomous region. The fact has influenced its ethno-political, social and economic development. Kabardino-Balkaria and Karachay-Circassia are multiethnic republics, but their population basis consists of three most numerous ethnic groups: adygs (Kabardins — in KBR, Circassians and Abasins in KCR), Turkish (Karachais and Nogays in KCR, Balkars — in KBR), Russians. But these groups are represented in the republics variously. Kabardins dominate in KBR, Karachays — in KCR, the share of Russian in KCR is larger than in KBR, but in both republics the tendency to their reduction takes place. In each republic compact settling of the basic ethnic groups is recognized: Karachays and Balkars live in mountainous and foothill zone, Kabardins, Circassians, Abasins and Nogays live on plane districts. Russian population mainly lives in cities (Cherkessk and Karachayevsk — in KCR, Nalchik, Prohladnyi, Maiskiy — in KBR) and dominates in two rural areas: in KCR — Zelenchuksky and Urupsky, and in KBR — Prohladnensky and Maiskiy. Ossetins of KBR

and KCR live in several mono-ethnic villages, but the process of their poly-ethnization is observed last years. Other ethnic groups are settled both in rural and city district.

In 90-s' the aspiration of leaders and elite groups of numerically dominating ethnic groups to monopolization of state structures and privatization of state property in their own interests have led to interethnic intensity and a conflict situation in the republics. Their claims to the power were challenged by other ethnic groups which in this opposition searched for support both in republics, and outside. Kabardins in the claims to the power had more favorable conditions, than Balkars due to the following factors: 1) presence of the independent and consolidated elite, 2) high relative density as a part of the republic population, 3) consolidation of Kabardins (and general Adygh) national movements, 4) support of ethnic diaspora (taking considerable posts in economy and policy in the Russian Federation, and abroad). The third factor made serious impact on a situation in KCR where Karachays compete to Circassians. In KCR Abasins, Nogays and Ossetins have also been involved in an ethno-political conflict, and the fact reduced possibilities of Karachay elite for domination in sphere of policy and economy. In KBR unlike KCR opposition of Balkars to Kabardins was weaker due to the following factors: 1. Balkars could not keep unity of elite and overcome contradictions inside Balkarian national movement, 2. there was no support from the outside, 3. demographic positions Balkars were very weak, for they made less than 10 % of the population.

Russian population of KBR and KCR is acting as one of stabilizing factors. To the beginning of 90th there were certain distinctions in branch division of the ethnic groups in the republics. The main feature of it was concentration of Russian in sphere of industrial production and agriculture. There were differences in sections of employment and the share of Russians was higher among technical officers and lower in social sphere.

On a wave of ethnic mobilization of the 90s, and later privatization process was accompanied by replays of Russian-speaking heads by representatives of numerically-dominating ethnic groups and appearance of new social-class groups: the businessmen, new elite; social stratification has sharply amplified; the number of poor people increased and migration of the population became more active. Among the reasons of compelling Russians in 90-s' to migration from republics of the North Caucasus it is possible to note the all-Russian economic crisis, change of a social and economic role of Russian in region, interethnic intensity, absence of protection of the federal centre.

Deterioration of an economic situation impacted all the population of Kabardino-Balkarian Republic and Karachay-Cherkessia Republic, but in the first years the crisis became more for the Russian population occupied in sphere of industry and in a large agricultural production. Adaptive abilities of Russian in the conditions of social, economic and political instability in republics appeared to be lower, than in other ethnic groups which in certain degree managed to soften some burdens of market relations due to preservation of patriarchal traditions of ethnic and clan solidarity. However by the end of the 90-s parallel to the process of growth of property stratification of all social groups business factors began to play defining role for their state of health. Social-economic situation became a principal reason of growth of migratory moods practically for all groups of the population, irrespective of their nationality. Interview materials revealed high level of potential migration among both Russian and title ethnic groups. More than 25 % of interrogated in KBR and about 27 % in KCR are ready to leave republic under certain conditions. The highest level of potential migration is shown still by Russian; however tendencies show growth of migratory activity among Kabardins and Karachays as well. Indicators of potential migration have big variability depending on age of the respondent: the highest level of migration is observed among youth of 18—29 years (27 %), among persons at the age of 30—49 it decreases to 8 %, and among persons more senior than 50 years makes nearby 1 %. The age differentiation is less sharp expressed among Russian: from 28 % at youth group (18—29 years) to 23 % at persons of the age of 30—49 % and about 12 % at persons more senior than 50 years. Weaker migratory moods at Circassia's are most likely connected to the fact that Circassia settlements are located in most economically developed zones of KCR. The strongest economic crisis, closing of many industrial enterprises, curtailment of production, disorder of economic

communications have led to objective decrease in a standard of living of the population which is aggravated with high unemployment. For the problem of unemployment in these two republics, it would be reasonable to allocate unemployment problem in the mountain areas, population of which have been occupied in stock-raising and recreational system. Mountain areas were always known as districts where the adult population occupation level was lower than all over the republic, both in KBR and KCR. Besides, these areas, having the high economic potential caused by presence of objects for development of sanatorium and tourist objects, have been less developed in the economic and social plan. In KCR adaptable strategy of Karachay population in the conditions of the market have caused growth of migration to plains. In KBR mountainous part became object of an ethnic competition that displeased Balkars which had faced a serious competition for the right to live and to develop a mountainous part of the republic economically.

Transformation changes and population shift from the republics have led to considerable decrease in relative density of workers of skilled work in production of goods, and process of resuscitation of several industries in the republics, faced serious shortage of the qualified engineering and working specialties. Since 90-s process of preparation of this category of workers in the republics has been almost stopped, and the former TECHNICAL TRAINING COLLEGES and technical schools have been transformed to colleges, and at times to higher education schools which prepared so-called «lawyers and economists». During the years of transformation there was an appreciable growth of number of management sphere workers and law and order bodies. The small group of people could concentrate the basic share of the capital in hands, and the majority of the population has become impoverished. At the same time numerous layer of private proprietors appeared in modern social structure such as owners of workshops, shops, cargo and passenger transport; category of dealers, secondhand dealers in the food and ware markets getting profit on resale of goods. The share of the persons selling in the market of services their professional skill increased: private medical practitioners, teachers, lawyers etc. Considerable part of the population shifted to a category of wage labor workers, which were deprived of elementary social guarantees. Disintegration of collective farms led to unemployment growth in a country-side (from 70 to 90 % of able-bodied population), some part of the population actually shifted to a category of farm-laborers in some farms. In village districts the sphere of consumer services and cultural leisure was narrowed, and in many villages school remained the unique accumulator of active life.

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REGIONAL EDUCATION IN A POLY-CULTURAL SOCIETY

At present the knowledge, competence, information, perhaps, are the basic economic categories, surpassing in the importance even the material resource base. The modern education system in our country, unfortunately, is far from perfect and not always meets requirements of its citizens. The aspiration to full unification of this system, restriction of quantity of educational institutions can lead to reducing a process of retranslation of knowledge to the population which occurs within the schools, colleges (technical schools) and higher schools. If as a result of the reforms conducted in the country the centre of gravity in preparation of the future experts is displaced to the industrially developed centers, to the detriment of the regions possessing of powerful ethnic cultural roots, feeding and enriching the all-Russian culture it can occur irreparable. Russia can lose the richest potential of the generation of the new knowledge, consisting in poly-ethnic, poly-cultural structure of the population. Today it seems to be very actual the support

and the help from the side of the state in development of regional education systems which are conductors in the course of interaction of various cultures and development of national Russian culture. It is quite natural that universities being and functioning on the concrete territories, in their activity should consider the developing real conditions, to promote development of local economy. Thus, they make also a direct impact on the occurrence and character of a course of many socio-cultural processes in a society.

In this connection it is raised the interest of regions in development of a regional education system for more effective preparation of qualified personnel, from one hand and from the other hand, it is raised the role of universities in the decision of the actual problems connected not only with personnel, but also scientific personnel put before the higher school new political, economic and social conditions of development of a region and the country as a whole. The main idea of regionalization of higher education consists in that each republic, the area and region should bear responsibility not only for realization of a constitutional right of Russians on getting education, but also for effective functioning of an education system in the territory, providing an increase of a degree of quality of a life of the population by granting of more and more wide circle of professional-educational and cultural-educational services.

The university education should promote to socialization and a universalization of ethnic groups, inclusion in the general context of the Russian and world culture. In this context it seems to be ideal a creation of the universal educational systems containing not only a national-regional component, but also the invariant block of Russian and European educational standards. The interaction of various levels of poly-cultural education in the conditions of university allows synthesize a variety of unity of cultures of an international society.

The orientation of the educational process and youth education on ethno-cultural and universal values brings the results: the republic lives in peace and consent. Today Kalmykia has a considerable scientific and technical potential, qualified personnel and experts in all branches of national economy, the large group of intelligences of a native nationality. Here we see a great contribution of a collective of professors and teachers of Kalmyk University that has turned to the basic centre of education, sciences and cultures in the republic. The University from the very beginning created and acquired a definite orientation as a backbone kernel of our multinational region and Kalmyk ethnos. 33 thousand of experts — graduates of the Kalmykia's university prepared for 37 years of its activity, bring their powerful contribution to the economics of Kalmykia and other regions of Russia.

During the last years the Kalmykia State University has been formed as the higher educational institution combining a professional training on humanitarian, natural, pedagogical, social, economic and technical specializations and focused on the innovative development. For years of work the Kalmykia's University has turned to the real centre of education, science and culture of the people of Kalmykia, at 32 chairs of the University there are 500 teachers, among them : 70 doctors of sciences, professors, more than 300 candidates of sciences, senior lecturers, 13 academicians and corresponding members of various Academies of Russia, 34 honored workers of science of the Russian Federation, Republic of Kalmykia, branches of the economy of the republic, the esteemed teachers and workers of culture. Now at the university on 30 specializations of natural-scientific, philological, pedagogical, legal, agrarian, engineering profiles studies more than 8 thousand students.

For the last 5 years at the university has been opened more than 10 new specializations and directions (nature protection arrangement of territories, jurisprudence, management, «the know-how» and processing of agricultural products, building, technology and business, region's studying, finance and credit, etc.) The list of specializations for pedagogical specializations is expanded. The priority attention is given to preparation of experts of the top qualification both for republic branches, and for university. There has been extended a list of specializations in the postgraduate study opened in 1991. At this moment under the direction of skilled doctors of sciences it is trained more than 130 post-graduate students and competitors on 27 specializations,

only for the last 5 years there were protected 28 doctor's and more than 130 master's theses, there were presented to consideration in BAK the documents on opening of 2 doctor's dissertational councils and 8 incorporated regional dissertational councils together with high schools of Astrakhan, Volgograd, Moscow, Saratov, Stavropol whose activity will promote the growth of a qualitative level of scientific personnel and decisions of actual problems of regional development.

The university takes part in the performance of the state scientific and technical programs «the Federal-regional policy in science and education», «the State support of a regional scientific and technical policy of the higher school and development of its scientific potential», «the Russian state scientific fund», «the Russian fund of basic researches», the Federal target program «Russian language», «Integration» and others. The Kalmykia University takes part in the International Projects of programs: Tempus-Tasis, DAAD, «the Agriculture and ecological equilibrium with countries of Eastern Europe (Germany)», «Holistic management» (USA) etc. The most perspective complex directions in our higher school today — research of problems of Kalmyk ethnos, ethno-pedagogic, Mongol-studying, astrophysics (Sun studying), archeology, ecosystems of Prikaspija, Russian functioning in the poly-ethnic environment, restoration of traditional breeds of native animals..

In the Kalmykia University it is developed and successfully realized under the direction of the academician of the Russian Academy of Education Erdniev P.M. the perspective technology of enlarging of didactic units. The first experience of market tests testifies that without sufficient development of an industrial infrastructure, without development of own social base the higher school can not survive, and more over cannot develop. Realizing it, the university took an accurate course on development of skilled-experimental and a part-time farm, the decision of social problems of many thousands collective. The created agro-industrial infrastructure already now starts to bring a notable mite in the budget of the university and provide a modern industrial base of practices for preparation of agrarian, biological, engineering specializations, the most demanded by the agrarian sector of economics of the republic.

M.V. Blokhina & L.G. Grigorev, Tver

VOLUNTARY WORK IN TVER REGION

Voluntary work in modern sociology means gratuitous intentional activity for the sake of others. Research workers determine a number of functions of voluntary work: decrease of social entropy, development of civil society, civil socialization of individuals, social integration through citizens' associations, joining efforts for the protection of the rights and interests of individuals, the support of unprotected groups and their social adaptation, free self-expression and social creativity of people. The main principles of voluntary activity are: voluntariness, labor of love, responsibility, legacy, respect, equality, self-improvement, morality, solidarity. Voluntary work facilitates economic and social development of society, contributes to personal growth of volunteers. The main factors of the development of voluntary work are: State policy with regard to voluntary work, the stage of the development of entrepreneurs, the level of the voluntary sector development, traditions of charity, family values, the Mass media position etc.

Voluntary work in Russia has a rich history. It has been given the new life at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries. Lots of voluntary organizations concentrating on people's needs and fighting for the interests of deprived citizens' function all over the country. Voluntary groups are formed in different parts of the Russian Federation. One of the regional centers of voluntary work in Tver region is Long-term social program called «Important Matter». It was founded in 2004. Its main task is to join efforts of society, State and business structures for providing additional help for socially

unprotected categories of the population: old lonely people, the disabled, orphans and children left without the supervision of their parents. Offices of the organization were placed in 35 districts of Tver region. «Important Matter» has been successfully fulfilling several programs called «Our region», «Give the kindness», «Children's creativity», «Kind deeds», «Club of old people communication», «School of important matters». For the period of the organization's existence the help has been provided for more than 100 000 of people. International festivals of voluntary work were held in Tver in 2005 and 2007. The competition «Volunteer of the year» is held annually. Active participants of voluntary work in Tver are mainly pupils and students. It is their understanding of voluntary work and the preparedness to take part in voluntary actions that form the perspectives of voluntary work development. At this point it's interesting to refer to the social research which took part in Tver Institutions of Higher Education in 2008 (Tver State University, Tver State Technical University, Non-state educational institution «Upper Volga Institute»). The research was aimed at learning the attitude of the students to voluntary work.

300 people participated in the questioning. Below you'll find the results:

Students considered that voluntary work was the activity pursuing social, charitable and other socially useful purposes (30%), gratuitous activity for the sake of others (25%), global process of unification of the people intending to contribute to local and world society (13%), the activity aimed at solving social problems (10%). The students considered that most important directions of voluntary activity were: assisting orphanages, veterans, poor people — 34%, drug addiction, smoking, alcoholism prevention (27%), promoting healthy way of living (21%), charitable concerts (10%), different actions, expeditions (5%), and working with pupils in summer (2%).

Majority of students hadn't taken part in any of voluntary activities by the moment of the questioning (57%). Considerable part of the students were ready to take part in voluntary activities rather than not (21%), others weren't (21%), 17% were undoubtedly ready to take part and only 14% weren't ready at all. The reasons of participating in voluntary activities for the students were: A wish to make life around better (32%), the possibility to bring joy to the people, who need help (28%), a wish to help people (11%), the possibility to be among friends in the group (7%), a wish to know something new, useful for the future career (6%), the possibility to realize oneself, one's initiative (5%), the possibility to spend free time with interest (5%). Obstacles interfering with the participation in voluntary work were: no wish (45%), no free time (38%), this kind of activity was free of charge (14%). 86 % of the students considered that volunteers needed to be stimulated. Variants of stimulation — walking tours (33%), trip to volunteers' meetings (25%), diplomas (13%), bonuses (13%), expeditions (12%), badges (5%). At the same time 14% declared that students didn't need to be encouraged as it was voluntary work.

Thus, results of our research show that Tver students recognized voluntary work as the activity pursuing social, charitable and other socially useful purposes. Helping orphanages, old people, the disabled and veterans was the main part of voluntary work. The majority of students hadn't taken part in any of voluntary activities. The intention to make life around better for free was the most spread reason for the students taking part in voluntary work. The following recommendations were formulated due to results of the research:

- ↓ It's necessary to form the positive image of volunteer and voluntary work in social mind with the help of educational system, the mass media, books and pieces of art.
- ↓ It's reasonable to develop special voluntary newspapers, magazines, web-sites.
- ↓ The system of voluntary groups needs to be developed e. g. such groups can be formed in each educational institution
- ↓ It's important to develop the effective system of volunteers' stimulation taking into consideration the specific character of such type of activity
- ↓ It's necessary to expand the number of the directions of voluntary work
- ↓ At this stage of voluntary work development the support of voluntary organizations should be enhanced at the State level (financing of some projects through the grant system, providing benefits).

COEXISTENCE OF ETHNIC IDENTITIES AS THE FACTOR OF STABILITY IN THE NORTHERN CAUCASUS

Actualization of shaping national identity in the North Caucasian society is related to specific features of the region and to the complicated processes occurring here. The problem under study can be considered at a level of regional community through understanding social changes of the past years in a context of the general process of modernization of Russia and the world globalization. But it is important to take into account one more side. We need the analysis of sociocultural reality in which identity is shaped, we search for own «ego» and for the concept «we» and in which we compare ourselves with the certain community. Such approach is related to consideration of a social system of the region.

In revealing specificity of sociocultural space of the region it is important to define elements of which a Caucasian society was formed as something uniform. Starting position of our speculations is that the Caucasus is a mountain territory and the house of the extremely original and valuable civilizations. It is important to note two positions. The first is an interaction of a nature and the person. It can be expressed in a number of paradigms: attachment of the person to a habitat and the kind and humane attitude of the person to a nature. Cultural — ecological features of a mountain way of life of the Caucasian peoples and ecological outlook of mountain people were formed here. The type of the attitude of the person to a nature was historically caused. The second position is interrelation of bio- and ethnic-sociocultural diversity. A natural diversity has affected formation of structure of social system in the Caucasus region. This is in many respects the reason of ethnic-sociocultural diversity that has developed in conditions of mountain and foothill territories of the Caucasus. Thus, the Caucasian society was formed under the influence of the certain geographical conditions. At the same time this does not mean that its formation is accounted for only by a peculiarity of natural features.

The historical basis of the Caucasian community genesis is related to concept «way of life». Just the Caucasian way of life caused the Caucasian mentality and spiritual values and predetermined all sides of the person life: the outlook, the attitude, traditional world order etc. Moreover, it was a basis for shaping the mechanism of mutual understanding, cooperation and interaction of the Caucasian ethnos and for existence of the North Caucasian society. During sociocultural transformation and modernization of a traditional way of life of peoples of the North Caucasian society, the ethnic pattern that has historically formed here, underwent serious deformation. Recently dynamism in interethnic interactions and attitudes, in transition from traditional norms and forms of life to innovational, in reassessment of values and in shaping a new social model of life arrangement began to increase. These processes have already washed away traditional bases of social life arrangement of peoples of the North Caucasian community, but they have not resulted in easing a role of the ethnic factor. To understand the existential sense of a social system of the region it is important to take into account that the ethnic factor remains still the influencing dominant.

Nowadays the Northern Caucasus is the complicated, historically shaped geo-, economic, political, socio-, ethnic and cultural system that is seriously damaged, but still not lost. In its functioning the important role belongs to ethnic-cultural diversity. Essence of community under consideration is the culture (ethnic cultures) and its basic values. Despite modernization of the North-Caucasian society, the ethnic factor, as was marked above, continues to play the important role in the region. Ethnic-cultural traditions, making a basis of originality, remain the steadiest elements in the considered system. Value of essence of cultural originality is in its

social potential. Just for this reason, in contemporary situation, it is important to understand heuristic potential of the ethnic factor and its use in practical life. Meanwhile, traditions should not be regarded as the absolute value non-comparable to all other values. They should be taken as a key to understanding other values of the North-Caucasian society and as a basis for innovations. During joint residing and mutual cooperation the North-Caucasian ethnic groups and folks have developed sociocultural values, i. e. the original Caucasian (North-Caucasian) ideology. This is a mental compatibility of various human communities, peaceful coexistence of ethnos and faiths, comprehension of that a variety is a reality of life, skill to understand, trust and help each other and to appreciate dialogue and cooperation. Perhaps, these values have become a sense of people coexistence.

Unfortunately, these values are broken today. During transformation and modernization of a traditional way of life of peoples of the North-Caucasian society, historically shaped regional community has undergone serious deformation. Drastic changes occurred in the region: erosion of traditional culture and morals, criminalization of the certain part of the population etc. Undoubtedly, this was caused, along with other reasons, by the Russian imperial politics and by experience in deportation of mountain peoples. At the same time, it is impossible to tell that at a level of the North-Caucasian regional community active measures are undertaken to shape an image «We are Russians», although this problem is related to political life of the country and region. This image is very fragile, being difficultly represented still at a mental level of the population. Therefore it requires conceptualization, understanding and revealing its valuable potential for all Russians.

The regional North-Caucasian community has a complicated structure. Its overlapping with multilevel identity is an uneasy problem. The sociological researches which have been carried out in a number of subjects of the North Caucasus region (2007), confirm importance and the significance of identity in the region which allows one to understand essence of functioning and development of a society through cultural identity and to comprehend the decision of regional problems, combining various kinds of identity. If in the late 1990s the value of ethnic identity exceeded appreciably the importance of the Russian identity, the results of the last interrogation show that these parameters were equivalent at the majority of respondents. It is important to shape an understanding in the North Caucasian peoples that the Russian national identity is not aimed at unification of cultures and cultural traditions on the basis of certain sociocultural paradigm. The different kinds of identity existing in a North Caucasian society do not contradict each other, but are mutually complementary. Their coexistence can be grounded on the common basic values: historically shaped sociocultural values on the basis of which ethnic and regional communities will develop in structure of the Russian multi-ethnic society in conditions of shaping Russian civil nation.

Analyzing the contemporary cultural processes and the future, urgent for us, who live in the Russian North Caucasian society, are the comprehension of the occurring processes, an explanation and understanding the essence of the current complicated realities in our Russian house, that are frequently difficultly given in to the analysis at a rational level. It is important to realize in present conditions that forms of existence of ethnos and nations will vary in the future. Whatever new forms of interrelation and interaction the modern globalization gave rise, the equal in rights coexistence and mutual understanding are possible only through dialogue. The dialogue can keep and develop diversity of identities, creating new conditions for their interaction. Thus, the problem of overlapping ethnic, regional and Russian national identities in the Northern Caucasus is urgent for our multi-ethnic country. In contemporary Russia, it is necessary to think over a model of multiculturalism taking into account its features. This model can be grounded on sociocultural basis and be aimed at social integration of multiethnic and multi-confessional people. In realizing such cultural policy it is unnecessary to demand from people to forget their ethnic cultures and identities, but

to promote their comprehension of themselves as Russians, i. e. it is necessary to form an integrating image «We are Russians».

Results of our researches show that the contemporary cultural — identification processes confirm the importance of identity during formation of the effective mechanism of regulation by ethno political processes, as well as in forecasting by power structures of ethno political situation in the region. The coexistence and interaction of various kinds of identity depends on a degree of understanding that the common spiritual values shaping the feeling of a belonging to the uniform Russian state in public consciousness can become a core of overlapping identities. This will help people to present themselves Russians (irrespective of ethnic and confessional belonging), to feel themselves as people of Russian multiethnic culture and as community of the Russian national identity. This is important for national safety, for preservation of unity and integrity of the Russian state and for definition by Russia of a worthy place in the globalizing world. It is also important for the Northern Caucasus since integration of ethnic, regional and national identities acts as the factor for providing stability in the region.

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PROBLEMS OF FORMATION OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN TATARSTAN REPUBLIC

Since 2006 the Federal law «About the general principles of the organization of local government in the Russian Federation» is realized by 47 subjects of Federation, including Tatarstan Republic. Transitive the period of municipal reform has come to the end on December, 31st, 2008. Monitoring of results of a transition period shows that in republic the two-levels control system of municipal unions is created, local governments which earlier was not are generated, the municipal service is organized, are accepted and have passed the state registration charters of municipal unions, powers of local governments under the decision of questions of local value are realized, character of participation of the population in local government realization changes. Concerning local value directly and local government's municipal legal certificates are accepted by the population of municipal unions. In republic the Uniform bank of standard legal certificates in which are brought, including municipal legal certificates is created. According to requirements of the Federal law on local government, with a view of the organization of interaction of local governments, expression and protection of the general interests of municipal unions Council of municipal unions of Republic Tatarstan is created.

In October, 2005 the municipal elections in the republic took place. The representative body of settlements and city districts consists of the deputies selected on municipal elections. In municipal areas representative bodies were formed by delegation in their structure of heads of the settlements which are a part of municipal area, and of deputies of representative bodies of the given settlements. The population representative body was not formed, if number of inhabitants of the settlement possessing the suffrage, makes 100 persons. In this case powers of a representative body are carried out by a descent of citizens. Migrants, who bring various cultural contributions to a life of local community, had not the right to vote also the right to be selected in local authorities. The convention on participation of foreigners in a public life at the decision of questions of the local value concluded in Strasbourg on February, 5th, 1992, Russia yet has not signed and did not ratify. However, according to the legislation on municipal elections, the people temporarily registered on a residence, take part in elections in local governments.

As a result of elections the political opposition is presented in local authorities less than 1 % of deputies. Crisis of political imposing appearance which is worried by Republic Tatarstan and which is shown, in particular in application of an administrative resource including on municipal elections, it is possible and it is necessary to overcome, first of all, at local level. The region where «the soft» authoritative political mode and for which domination of imperious grouping is characteristic prevails, often resorts to rigid restrictions. Any restrictions of suffrages and infringement of the selective legislation testify to the latent form conflicting in the given society. At the same time direct participation of public associations in elections was not. Though the public associations operating in municipal unions have narrower purposes which even it is fuller, than political parties, are capable to express population essential interests in municipal unions. Therefore there is also other point of view, for example, V.A. Tchernikov considers that is necessary to refuse definition of subjects of participation in municipal elections to a political sign. Colors and political concepts of local authorities vary not so much political but mainly as socially-cultural and regional orientated [1].

For today in Tatarstan the system of regulation and interaction in sphere national and confessional relations in which the considerable role is taken away to bodies state and municipal authority, public ethno-cultural associations successfully functions. In November, 2007 at Congress of the people of Tatarstan the Project of the republican concept of the state national policy has been approved. For example, deputies of Nizhnekamsk municipal area also have discussed and have confirmed ways of realization of the Concept of state national politic of Tatarstan Republic to Nizhnekamsk municipal area. This creation by local governments of optimum conditions and mechanisms for the effective decision of ethno-cultural problems, moral and other conditions for civilized development of a life and activity of all people living in territory of municipal area. The program on preservation, studying and development of languages and cultures of the people living in Nizhnekamsk municipal area is accepted. In a city exist and develop Russian, Tatar, Chuvash, Bashkirian, Ukrainian and German national societies. That promotes formation of tolerant mutual relations in Nizhnekamsk. Creation multi-confessional tolerance in local community promotes proportionality building of mosques and churches in a city. It creates at all who lives in territory of Nizhnekamsk, feeling of a generality, unity. Such processes occur in all republics. Development of municipal unions cannot go without the coordinated strategy of development of territorial and spatial planning. According to requirements of the new Town-planning code of the Russian Federation general layouts of cities are developed and confirmed. Preliminary projects of plans have undergone procedure of public hearings. As T.M. Dridze wrote: «Nowadays as a part of building designing practically is absent a sociological substantiation» [2, 76]. Application of procedures of social examination at scheduling of development of municipal union would promote the coordination of interests between the population and municipal authority in the conditions of the town-planning conflict.

One of the major problems solved during carrying out of municipal reform in republic, the problem of participation of citizens in management of public affairs of local community is. In Law «About local government in Republic Tatarstan», and also in charters of municipal unions forms of participation of the population in local government realization are fixed. The law-creational initiative is carried out by initiative group of the citizens possessing the suffrage which minimum number is established by the standard legal certificate of a representative body of municipal union and cannot exceed 3 % from number of inhabitants of the municipal union possessing the suffrage. Territorial public self-management is carried out in settlements by directly population by means of carrying out of meetings and conferences of citizens, and also by means of creation of bodies of territorial public self-management. Territorial councils of public self-management yet have no budget; however, for example, according to new position local governments of Nizhnekamsk can transfer them under contracts a part of the powers. Other forms of participation in

local government realisation are meetings of citizens which are spent for discussion of questions of local value, informing of the population on activity of local governments. Such meetings are spent annually in many municipal unions. Interrogation of the citizens possessing the suffrage is spent in all territory of municipal union or on a part of its territory for revealing of opinion of the population and its account at decision-making by local governments. Regulatory legal Acts concerning laws and order of appointment are carrying out of interrogation which are accepted by representative bodies of municipal unions, in many municipal unions for the present are not accepted, and though are fixed in charters. Results of interrogation are subject to publication (promulgation) in a one month after its carrying out, that was not to the beginning of municipal reform.

Despite officially accepted forms of direct realization by the local government population, in practice not all forms work. Low degree of participation of the population in the decision of the vital issues of local value as use of a feedback with townspeople as bases of acceptance of administrative decisions are not developed yet is fixed. Primary position in ways of influence on local authorities is occupied still with a local referendum, municipal elections, meeting of citizens.

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CHANGES IN THE POLITICAL WORLD-VIEW: CAUSES, FACTORS AND TRAJECTORIES

Research of transformation process psychological context in search of building mechanisms of congruency of formal and informal elements of a political system is still one of the actual research problems for domestic political science. It is the common truth of the most researches of psychological context to state the massive scale of the changes in social consciousness¹⁰⁸, societal values¹⁰⁹, and civil resocialization processes¹¹⁰. The changes seem to form the impression of universal and typical. The change of the political world-view should be nevertheless treated as a rather individual process, which is diverse in different age cohorts¹¹¹ and different social

¹⁰⁸ *M.K. Gorshkov*, Rossiyskoye obshchestvo v usloviyakh transformatsii: mify i real'nost' (Russian society in transformation circumstances, a sociological research), 1992—2002, Moscow, 2003; *L. Goudkov*, Negativnaya lichnost' (A Negative Personality), Articles of 1997—2002, Moscow, 2004.

¹⁰⁹ *A.V. Andreyenkova*, Postmaterialisticheskiye/materialisticheskiye tsennosti v Rossii (Post-materialistic/Materialistic Values in Russia), Sotsis, 1994, №11; *I.M. Kliamkin*, Liberal'nyie tsennosti v soznanii rossiyan (Liberal Values of the Russian), Polis, 1994, 1; *N.I. Lapin*, Tsennosti, groupnyie interesy i transformatsiya rossiyskogo obshchestva (Values, Groups of Interest and Transformation of the Russian Society)//Sociological Studies, 1997, №3; *V.V. Lapkin*, Politicheskoye tsennosti i ustanovki rossiyan (Political Values and Attitudes of the Russian) //Polis, 2002 №2. etc.

¹¹⁰ *Ye. B. Shestopal*, Psikhologicheskiy profil' rossiyskoy politiki 1990s (Psychological Profile of the Russian Politics in 1990s), Teoreticheskiye i prikladnyie aspekty politicheskoy psikhologii (Theoretical and Applied Aspects of Political Psychology), Moscow, 2000.

¹¹¹ *A.V. Selezniova*, Psikhologicheskiy aspekt formirovaniya politicheskoy kartiny mira u raznykh pokoleniy rossiyan (Psychological Aspects of Forming World Political Picture for Different Generations of the Russian), Politicheskaya psikhologiya, kultura i kommunikatsiya (Political Psychology, culture and communication), edit. by Ye. B. Shestopal et al., Moscow, 2008; *V.V. Semionova*, Sovremennyye kontseptsii i empiricheskiye podkhody k ponimaniyu «pokoleniye» v sotsiologii (Contemporary Concepts and Empirical Approaches to the Notion of Generation in Sociology), Otsy i deti: Pokolennicheskiy analiz sovremennoy Rossii (Fathers and

groups¹¹². Our tentative research shows that the depth, tempo and factors influencing the change of political world-view of even the same political generation often differ from each other. Detailed analysis of the political world-view change trajectory allows describing the system of factors determining its depth, intensity and direction.

As a general theoretical premise of our research the thesis of the fact acts that key childhood events influence forming general world-view in the process of the primary socialization¹¹³. The political world-view can further change either «evolutionary», by accumulating life experience or cardinally endure dramatic changes in a short period of time undergone, as a rule, the impact of large-scale sociopolitical events or processes. The first case evidently demonstrates secondary political socialization, which is the process, investigated in details both by foreign and in domestic science, the second one comprising resocialization, the research of politico-psychological aspects of which today allows formulating rather questions than answers¹¹⁴. There are two basic arguments determining the choice of qualitative approach to the problem under research, the first resulting from the essence of the phenomenon under research. Political world-view change is complex and requires consumption of much psychological resource. It fixes and reflects first of all in inner feelings of a human. This psychological experience, even multiplied by millions of people gone through it is individual and unique. Despite the massive type of political resocialization in the post-soviet Russia¹¹⁵, the description of it based on quantitative data analysis can and must be added by the research of inner mechanisms of changing political world-view.

The second argument in favor of qualitative approach in the problem under research is based on the methodological peculiarities of the very approach. Investigation functions of the qualitative methods fully reflect specific features of the problem under consideration situation, particularly the need to compensate the weakness of the theory, to form integral image of the problem investigated, and to promote forming the system of notions and serving as the «front line» of investigations in this field etc.¹¹⁶; to reveal the nature of subjective experience connected with surmounting life

Children: Generational Analysis of Contemporary Russia), comp. by Yu. Levada, T. Shanin, Moscow, Novoye literaturnoye obozreniye, 2005; L. A. Beliayeva, *Sotsial'nyi portret vozrastnykh kogort v postsovetsoy Rossii* (Social Portrait of Age Cohorts in Post-Soviet Russia), Sociological Studies, 2004, №10.

¹¹² *Fein M.*, Role Change: A Resocialization Perspective. NY: Praeger. 1990; Finifter A., Finifter B. Party Identification and Political Adaptation of American Migrants in Australia // *The Journal of Politics*. Vol. 51. №3 (Aug. 1989); Richardson A., A Theory and a Method for Psychological Study of Assimilation, *International Migration Review*, 1967, №1 (Fall 1967); Rivka Weiss Bar-Yosef. Desocialization and Resocialization: The Adjustment Process of Immigrants // *International Migration Review*, Vol. 2, №3 (Summer, 1968); Gitelman Z. *Becoming Israelis: Political Resocialization of Soviet and American Immigrants*, NY, 1982; Bilodeau A., *The Political Resocialization of Immigrants from Non-Democratic Countries in Canada*, 1999; Hammar T. *Political Resocialization of Immigrants*, Stockholm University, 1976; I.V. Samarkina, *Komsomolskiye aktivisty i nomenklatura v postsovetsoy obshchestve: sotsial'naya adaptatsiya i politicheskaya resotsializatsiya?* (Komsomol Activists and High-Ranking Functionaries in Post-Soviet Society: Social Adaptation and Resocialization) // *Demokratiya i Upravleniye* (Democracy and Management), Information Bulletin of the Russian Academy of Pedagogy, on comparative political science ЦИ-ПАПН. 2008. №1 (5); I.V. Samarkina, *Politicheskaya resotsializatsiya migrantov, teoreticheskiy aspekt* (Political Resocialization of Migrants, Theoretical Aspect) // *Migratsionnyye processy na Yuge Rossii: realii, problemy, perspektivy* (Migration Processes in South Russia: Realities, Problems and prospects): Materials of scientific conference, May 26—27 2008 Vol. 2, Rostov-on-Don, North Caucasus Academy for Public Management, 2008.

¹¹³ *D. Easton, J. Denis*, *Deti v politicheskoy sisteme: osnova politicheskoy aktivnosti* (Children in a Political System: the Base of Political Legitimacy) // *Moscow State University Bulletin*, Ser. 18, Sociology and Political Science, 2001 №3, p. 79.

¹¹⁴ *I.V. Samarkina*, *Politicheskaya resotsializatsiya kak problemnoye pole politicheskoy psikhologii* (Political Resocialization as Problem Sphere of Political Psychology) // *Politicheskaya psikhologiya, kultura i kommunikatsiya* (Political Psychology, Culture and Communication). Y.B. Shestopal et al (Eds.), Moscow, 2008.

¹¹⁵ *Ye. B. Shestopal*, *Politicheskaya sotsializatsiya i resotsializatsiya v sovremennoy Rossii* (Political Socialization and Resocialization in Contemporary Russia) // *Politiya* №4 (39). Winter 2005—2006; Y.A. Levada, *Homo-Post-Soveticus* // *Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost'* (Social Sciences and Today), 2000, №6.

¹¹⁶ *S.A. Belanovskiy*, *Individual'noye glubinnoye intervyyu* (Individual Deep Interview), Moscow, 1998. pp. 39—45.

difficulties¹¹⁷. The data collection method in the research a free biographical interview was. When selecting the method of the biographical interview method we proceeded from two basic theoretical premises. One of them is the «everyday-life possession of intuitive competence concerning constructing a narration by every man (no matter if it is applicable to a specific case or the whole life story)¹¹⁸. The second premise consists in the following: «every narrator explicates the story about the events of his life the way he experienced the events, i. e. life experience is reproduced on the base of the relevance which it comprises for the narrator himself¹¹⁹. The empirical corpus of the research is transcripts of 30 biographical interviews with respondents 30—78 year-old, which is collected in 2007—2008 in the Krasnodar Territory. Comparative analysis of the interviews was performed with the use of the strategy of «maximum contrast».

Political world-view is a variable system of connected images and concepts in the surrounding reality of power, its mechanisms and configuration. It consists first of all of the concepts of power in a real political system, political symbols, «friend» and «enemy» images etc. The change of political world-view takes place along with accumulating knowledge and life experience by a human influenced by the whole system of factors and institutions. To such factors we attribute place of living, life conditions and socio-political context, events of personal and family life history, and attitude to power as a pivot of political world-view. To the basic institutions affecting changes in world political map family, education system, mass-media, professional environment, political organizations and NGOs, army and church, etc. belong. Changes of the political world-view may be activated by the both events connected with personal biography and large-scale social transformations. The political world-view change guide path, i. e. the direction, depth and the dynamics of the changes taking place are much determined by the childhood-formed authority support.

At the nearest approximation the two main guide paths are seen like gradual evolutionary changes depending upon life experience accumulation (secondary socialization) and cardinal dynamic «revolutionary» changes of the political world-view (political resocialization). We understand the political resocialization as a process and the result of interiorisation of the changed norms and values of a political system, entailing cardinal change of political world-view formed during the period of the primary political socialization. Individual life paths analyzed allow understanding the influence of parents' attitude to power upon their children's trajectories of political world-view changes. Concordance of the parents' and children's loyal attitude to power strengthens a power political support and makes the process of political world-view change with the attitude to the power being in the center of it acute and extremely painful. Disloyalty «inoculation», which a human takes from his parents even if a system succeeded in forming positive political support, significantly softens resocialization processes and does not allow the trauma to exclude an individual form sociopolitical life. If the younger generation inherited negative attitude to power from their parents, the children are undergone the processes of socio-economic adaptation during social transformations and the secondary political socialization, and their political world-view with their attitude to power being the first do not suffer significant changes. The application of the political world-view concept gives the way to investigate personal-and-political policy dimension both in the period of a political system transformations and in an epoch of stabilization.

¹¹⁷ A. Strauss, J. Corbin, *Osnovy kachestvennogo issledovaniya: obosnovannaya teoriya, protsedury i tekhniki* (Principles of Qualitative Research: Substantiated Theory, Procedures and Techniques, Transl. from English and Afterword by T.S. Vassilyeva, Moscow, Editorial URSS, 2001, p.18.

¹¹⁸ V.F. Zhuravliov, *Narrativnoye intervyyu v biograficheskikh issledovaniyakh* (A Narrative Interview in Biographical Researches) // *Sotsiologiya* 4M, 1993—1994, №3—4 p. 36.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. p. 36.

6.3. MANAGEMENT AND BUSINESS IN THE NORTHERN PARTS OF RUSSIA AND SIBERIA

Yulia Byuraeva

MANAGERS AS A NEW SOCIO-PROFESSIONAL LAYER IN RUSSIA (ON DATA OF THE REPUBLIC OF BURYATIA)

The Buryat Republic is one of the nomadic societies traditionally. It takes its roots from the nomadic traditions and animal husbandry. However during the Soviet period because of objective circumstances the Buryat economics was based on raw materials and defiance industries. Other branches were not developed practically. So the society was divided into classes according to the Marxist theory. In real life nomadic people have divided into social strata more than the social classes.

Nowadays our society is rapidly developed, aims to create a democratic state, to join to settled development civilization, which is dominating throughout the world. Renovation of social and economic structure of Russia as a whole and its national regions such as Buryatia in particular takes place. At the same time it is necessary to reserve traditions and customs of the Buryat nation. In this connection, new social groups, sections and strata are formed. They correspond to present social processes of this society. It requires certain changes in the management sphere. The main problem of the modern management situation is the need for competent qualified managers; the demand for their services is constantly increasing.

The formation of the layer of managers is oriented to the occidental reality. Certainly Occident has great experience in the sphere of management. This is to compare: the western market of management labor is a successfully operating market. At the same time there has been observed an insufficient supply of management services, the tendency of their salary increase is stable that confirms their relative deficiency. The labor productivity of a manager influences directly on the increase of a company's value. Therefore enterprises' owners try to keep professional managers by a good salary. In this connection managers' pay increase can be considered, first of all, to be a result of development of the market process. We are trying to make suchlike mechanisms work in full measure on the Buryat market. But the forming layer of managers does not conform to the classic concept about it. While a foreign manager is a hired, free from any capital and property professional, the owners' strata in Russia very often merges with the layer of managers, thus giving way to the merging of capital and management functions. From the management theory point of view this situation shows a low development of formal property and management institutes. So the professional level of the present management layer rather low.

But the simple imitation and using foreign samples in the practice of our region is impossible. Because Buryatia has its own national traditions: very close relative relations, certain conservatism, patriarchal views and slow style of life. They take their roots from the past therefore it will be difficult to overcome them. Besides unfortunately the Russian-style nepotism and «pull» as well as the tendency of making foreign customers' influence low are so usual phenomena in Buryatia. So it would be better to adapt the occidental experience to the buryat reality, use national traditions and mentality for welfare. Critical understanding of the foreign theory and practical experience will allow as creating our own theory of management which would take into consideration specifics of economic sphere of the transforming buryat society as well as peculiarity of the buryat social and historical traditions.

In this situation the Republic should orient to the production of livestock products: meat and dairy, cashmere and wool, hides and skins; study demand, make forecasts about future trading. It is supposed Buryatia can obtain positive results, occupy a certain trade place in this direction. Besides production of natural products has no harms and is ecologically suitable for nature and its environment. This factor is very survival today in view of the nearness with the lake Baikal and bad ecological situation throughout the world.

Under the newly-appeared conditions former directors of enterprises need to have both business and management skills and qualities. The situation is complicated by the fact that the development rate of the regions is different within the basic economical parameters, the Republic is situated far from the federal center and we have not equal possibilities for the economic and social development. Due to the faster production rates there are enough professional managers working in large cities such as Moscow and Saint-Petersburg; rather skillful managers work in companies with foreign investments. At the same time in remote depressed areas there are hardly any professionals. It is necessary to say that the layer of managers in Buryatia is formed in the same way as all over the country as the social and economic conditions of development are typologically similar. All the reforms held in Buryatia are based on the all-Russia laws, i. e. the formation of a new layer is a derivative phenomenon resulting from the Russian reality.

Anyway the influence of the observed negative issues is gradually decreasing. There is an opinion that the situation is going to change soon. For now many foreign managers are already trying to get onto the Russian market as there is lots of space for activity and for applying available talents. As for the enterprises of Buryatia, new principles of management and marketing are not yet fully mastered by them. They act more by intuition than by system, which happens because of the general economic situation of the country, and that is a low purchasing capacity and an insufficient qualification level of the management staff. To support business development of Buryatia there were established several institutions such as the Chamber of Industry and Commerce, the Union of industrialists and businessmen of the Buryat Republic, the small-scale and middle-scale business Association, the Republican and Municipal Business Support Foundations. The representation of the International Congress of the industrialists and businessmen, the most eastern one in Russia is registered in Ulan-Ude, which acts on the territory of Siberia, Far East and Southeast Asia. To help the comprehension of marketing, business-seminars are held within the frameworks of TESIS project, which is called «Strengthening the potential of the personnel training in the sphere of business and management in Lake Baikal region». That helps managers and specialists to change their attitude towards running a business, to form skills of working for customers. Having established joint ventures and dealer networks some western companies are carrying out full-scaled marketing researches in Russia.

The empirical sociological research conducted by the author in 2006 has shown that the modern regional managers are a non-uniform group. Various ways of creation of a private property have led to occurrence of different types of heads. A layer of managers is divided into three basic groups:

1. Classic managers who are economic managers ruling state enterprises (less often private ones) as hired, i. e. for a salary.
2. Managers-co-owners who are economic managers of joint-stock companies working as hired and also having share-holding of the headed companies. The head becomes a businessman.
3. Managers-businessmen who start their own business or become co-founders of a company or have the majority holding. In this case managers themselves take cardinal decisions and receive a percent of the profit as the main income thus automatically becoming businessmen-capitalists.

In this structure classical managers begin to play more important role. Professionalism is one of the main concepts uniting managers in a uniform section. Also uniform character of activity, relations to resources of production have the same mean.

According to the results of the sociological research the majority of the managers of the Republic of Buryatia are people aging 31—40 years (37 %). There are 33 % managers of 41—50 years. The rest third was distributed between graduates and experienced directors. Modern managers have rich business experience. 42 % are engaged in business more than 10 years. The third of managers work as directors more than 5 years, 25 % — less than 5 years. Only 2,5 % have one-year experience. The typical business career was the transition from various activities to the commercial sphere, and then there were growth of managerial positions or creation and management of own business. Only 2,5 % of managers created their own business at once.

The most vital needs of the modern managers are information and legal services. Thus modern Buryat managers are a group of people, which dynamically changes its own social structure. This group consists mostly of young people who have no burden of Soviet Era memories. These changes will help its homogeneity, which will create prerequisites for its more active participation in managing the state and the society.

So despite of some distinctions the following attributes consolidate managers in the certain social layer:

- the presence of the subculture;
- the necessary educational and cultural level to fulfill or organize the highly skilled work;
- the general purposes of the activity;
- the average or high level of welfare;
- the aspiration for the economic independence;
- the perspective of the social growth and the presence of channels of the ascending and vertical mobility;
- the presence of social and psychological positions to the individual development and perfection;
- the sociopolitical orientation to democratic principles;
- the necessity of the international contacts and integration that meets a paradigm of the positive and steady development of the society;
- the interest in a stable society, strong authority and observance of laws, rights.

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MAIN TRENDS IN CHANGING OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENTAL FORMATIONS IN RUSSIA (ON THE MATERIAL OF THE REPUBLIC OF BURYATIA)

The research of the social structure of the Russian society and its regions is among the most significant problems of modern social science. Their knowledge allows more precisely to describe and to analyze laws, features of society development, to characterize its current condition, to predict ways and variants of future search. The social structure is a complicated phenomenon. It includes various kinds of structure, each of which assumes quite certain objective partitioning of a society on groups and communication between them. The society possesses ethnic, demographic, class, professional structures. There are also a number of other approaches to social differentiation of society. The Authors of the article will stop only on two kinds of social partitioning of the population of republic of Buryatiya they are ethnic, demographic.

1. Ethnic structure. The Buryatiya is a multinational republic. More than 120 nationalities live in the republic. It is specified in materials of the All-Russia population census 2002. The basic tendency of changing in the national structure of

inhabitants of Buryatiya is the increase in number and share of the Buryat population and reduction of relative density of Russian. It is confirmed by the results of All Russia population censuses in different years (Table 1).

Table 1. National structure of population in republic of Buryatia

Year of population census	Buryat		Rurrians		Other nationalities	
	Number of people	share	Number of people	share	Number of people	share
1959	135,8	20,2	502,6	74,6	34,9	5,2
1970	178,7	22,0	597,0	73,5	36,5	4,5
1979	206,9	23,0	647,8	72,0	44,7	5,0
1989	249,5	24,0	726,2	69,9	62,5	6,1
2002	272,9	27,8	665,5	67,8	42,8	4,4

Less than a half of the century the number of Buryat in the republic has increased in 2 times, and the share in the population has increased on 7,6 % during a half a century, Russian population has increased on 162,9 thousand, but relative density in the population has decreased on 6,8 %. The growth of the Buryat population is conditioned by a high level of birth in comparison with Russian population, and also inflow to republic of a part of its representatives, basically from Ust-Ordynsky and Aginsky autonomous regions.

The quantity increase of Russians and also representatives of other nationalities in republic in Soviet time has been connected with industrial development of edge. Building of a Baikal-Amur iron highway demanded an inflow of a significant amount of working, engineers and technicians from other areas of the country to the region. The population outflow from the republic began with the start of so-called «perestroika», and further disorder of the USSR, transition to market economy, the disorder of economic system. 156.1 thousand of population came to the republic in 1990—2001. And 87,6 thousand of people left Buryatiya. The migratory decrease was 31,5 thousand people. This tendency was observed next years prove and the. So, for the last three years 61.7 thousand people has arrived to the republic and, and 73,2 thousand people has left, the decrease is 11,5 thousand people.

In 1990s there was an essential reduction of number of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Tatars, Kazakhs, Latvians, Jews, Lithuanians and representatives of some other nationalities in Buryatiya. At the same time the number of Evenk, Kalmyk, and Chinese, as well as Koreans, Mongols and other nationalities has increased. The changing in national structure of the population has not led to easing traditional relations of goodwill and the cooperation between representatives of the different nations and nationalities, living in the republic. People live in peace and mutual trust.

In the course of transition to market relations there were new tendencies in demographic processes. If in the Soviet Union there was a growth of a population in the republic, since 1992 the population had become to decrease annually. From 1992 till 2007 (15 years) the population of the republic was reduced to 99,4 thousand people. It proves the fact that Buryatia was in a demographic crisis which was connected with falling of birth rate, growth of death rate and a migratory decrease of the republic population. In 1980, 21.6 thousand people were born to 1000 people, in 1990—18,2 thousand people, in 2000—11,3 thousand people, in 2006—14,7 the people.

Despite the fact that during the last years the birth level has been increasing, nevertheless, it still remains low. According to the scale of the estimation offered by B.T. Uralisom and V.A. Borisovym, the general factors of birth rate less than 16 % is considered to be low. The principal causes of reduction of the birth rate is the universal tendencies influence, the decrease in a standard of life of a prevailing part of the population, a strong influence of potential a one child family model for women of genital

age (it has become unfashionable to have many children), etc. But the problem lies not only in the reduction of quantity of children. The important characteristic is their quality, first of all health. It is one of most serious questions, because there are not so many absolute healthy children. Only 32 % of children in Russia are recognized healthy. The situation with the children's health in Buryatiya is the same.

2. Demographic situation in republic as it was already noticed became worse with a high death rate of the population. In Buryatiya, on each one thousand of population 9,5 people died in 1980, in 1990—9,1, in 1995—12, in 2000—12,7, in 2005—15,7, in 2006—14,5. The Russian data of death rate is the same Russia is. For example, the average death rate index in developing countries equals of nine, in developed — eight. In our country it is two times more. What worsens people's health brings them closer to death? First of all, it is the feeling of loss of support in the society, sharp social stratification, injustice, defenselessness; these are the principal causes of socially-psychological stresses, which can cause cardiovascular diseases, a hypertension, neurosis, murders, and suicides. By the way, 700—750 people commit suicide each year in Buryatiya. 12 thousand people committed suicide from 1991 till 2006. During this period 8 thousand people have been murdered. Many people are killed on the roads; because of traumas, poisoning, accidents and it makes 24% of all death in Buryatia. On them 22,4 % of all death in Buryatiya are necessary. They are on the second place after illnesses of system of blood circulation (on them it is necessary about half of all death). There is a high death rate of children, the man's population in Buryatia. There is a great disproportion between males and females, the number of old people is increasing, and these facts show that the number of people who are not able to have kids is also increasing. In 19920s and 1930s the number of males and females was equal but in 1989 the number of males was 48.6% and females was 51.4 %, in 2002 males — 47.7%, females — 52.3% As for the women over 50 in 1979 their number was 21,6 %, in 1989—23,2, in 2002—25,9 %. These are the main changing trends of social structure in Buryatia in the process of Russian society development.

Victor Pit', Tyumen

FORMATION OF A CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE NORTHERN REGIONS OF RUSSIA: ON DATA OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

In 2007—2008 Scientific and Technical Center «Perspektiva» in cooperation with Regional Center of Patriotic Education (Russia, Yamalo-Nenets District) carried out a sociological research into state of civil engagement and youth patriotic training in Yamalo-Nenets District, one of the biggest Northern regions of Russia. The region is half situated beyond the Polar circle, which caused additional problems for study of the raised questions. Problems and difficulties in formation of civil society and youth patriotic training in Yamalo-Nenets District were determined as the basic subject of the research. The subject wasn't accidentally chosen: views of famous contemporary scientists (Ian Shapiro, M. Walzer), shared by us, show that the state shouldn't form objects, pursued by population in different life spheres. Its control and regulation role in functioning of civil society organizations is much more important.

Taking into account that any civil society is a society where different institutes function (clubs, centers, associations, cadet classes, etc.), we are to find out their influence over patriotic training and civil engagement of the youth. Besides we are interested in the other side of the research: how successful can be democratization in its classical meaning in this case? Straight propagation of democratic principles in countries, where authoritarian or totalitarian regimes have just been brought to an end, ultimately has been called in question. For instance, a famous American researcher Omar G. Encarnación asserts

that in conditions of undeveloped political systems support of civil society can bring to unexpected results and lead to complication of democracy consolidation instead of simplifying this process.

The question is crucial also due to the fact that Yamalo-Nenets District is the Russian strategic point of energy resources extraction (oil and gas) with low density of population. Some experts, studying formation of civil society in Russia, give a special consideration to it. For instance, M. Steven Fish in his book «Democracy Derailed in Russia» puts too much economic reliance on oil, and too little economic liberalization among basic problems. It should be mentioned that the research (questionnaire, expert poll) was done by the specialists who work with the youth between 14 and 30 years.

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ADVANCEMENT OF TOURIST BRAND OF YUGRA

In modern conditions a sociological studying of separate regions become more and more actual, and the concept «region» starts to act as an object of the research of territorial marketing. To be attractive for domestic and foreign investors is a primary task of each concrete region. This is one of the important, but not the only condition of effective regional development. In the consciousness of investors, especially foreign, there should be generated the image based on new ideas and principles which would show a role and region mission at the all-Russian and world level. The formation of a region as a strong brand is an objective condition and a logic result of its prosperity. It is characteristic and for territories, whose active regional development mainly occurs owing to rich natural resources or favorable geographical conditions. The given fact is explained by that similar region gets the popularity without a special strategy, it is attractive to capital and labor inflow, but, in any case, there will come the moment when it will be necessary to form and actively to introduce the attractive image. Recently in the regional branding a special value gets tourism.

The Hunts-Mansiisky autonomous district — Yugra regards to territories with the limited tourist resources where tourism and recreation can develop depending on available requirements for the organization of vacation places, including at an initiative of local public authorities. Meanwhile, the high economic indicators strengthen the necessity of a purposeful work on the formation of an image of a district, overcoming a status of «a raw appendix», acquiring a reputation of a socially and cultural attractive territory. Namely, in this region it is possible to tell about the presence of the uniform image strategy, the purposeful activity of power structures and business community in the given direction, comprehension of the importance of formation of a geo-image. From the point of view of recreational division into districts, the Hunty-Mansiisky autonomous district — Yugra regards to a tourist zone of federal value «Russian North» — one of 14 into which the all territory of the Russian Federation is divided. The regional business community actively works over the advancement of an internal tourist product of Yugra that the tourism became really a significant branch of economy of a district along with oil extracting. Now at the territory of autonomous district the following kinds of tourism develop: first of all, it is excursion tourism — the objects of tourist display are museum complexes, art galleries, temples, monuments and historical places. For example, the Yugorsky travel agency offers programs of excursion service: «Hanty-Mansiisk — The Russian city of sciences», «Historical crossroads of Hanty-Mansiisk» etc. The rates of building of tourist objects and opening of new places of visiting in a region impress the visitors. This new objects are successfully entered in the environment, recovering a traditional landscape.

The ethnographic tourism allows to get acquainted with culture and life of Ob and Ugrs, to taste dishes of national cuisine and to take part in national holidays. Namely, ethno-cultural tourism acts in modern conditions as a resource of regional development. It is possible to get acquainted with a culture of Ob and Ugrs not only at a direct dialogue with its carriers in the national settlements, but also in numerous ethnographic museums. The great quantity of visitors arrives to district during carrying out of national holidays and festivals where they have possibility to listen to the performance of folklore collectives of the radical people of the North: «Arang Moshne» (Singing the fairy-tales), «Moipyr — Yak» (Dancing Bear), «Miss-ne» (Forest fairy). The special interest represents the products of local masters from fur, tree, barista, bones decorated with ancient ornaments. A special offer for the organizers of seminars, conferences, exhibitions, competitions is the project «Mobile settlement», developed by Ob-Ugr Institute of applied researches. The mobile settlement can be «placed» in any city within 2—3 hours from the moment of group arrival. It has 4 modules: folklore, game, the workman of a plague, and also plagues «Northern kitchen», in each of which are placed exhibitions, the sightseeing tour and demonstration of various elements of traditional culture are spent. The greatest interest is caused plagues by «Northern kitchen» where to visitors will offer as it is accepted in traditional culture, raw fish or meat, will tell about useful properties of northern meal, will suggest berries and nuts. During the winter period driving on deer teams can be organized, and for fans of exotic is given plagues — hotel.

Yugra is an attractive place for sport tourism which develops here thanks to a climate and a steady winter cover. Among the extreme sports there are — ski, mountain-skiing, snowboard, kiting. For playing sports there is a high-quality infrastructure: the skiing Center, a mountain-skiing complex «Coniferous urman», the Ice palace, etc. The great popularity among tourists get the extreme tours, for example, the walking route on specially prepared route with overcoming of natural and artificial obstacles by means of the alpine equipment, or travel on kayaks and rafting. Yugra is the regions of the Khanty-Mansijsk Autonomous District in which the ecological tourism actively develops. The district is located in the centre of the world largest artesian pool formed by two big rivers — Irtysh and Ob, and also inflows of Ob. Tourist routes include walking excursions on foot and by the water in the west part of the district, among mountains of Northern and Pre-polar Ural Mountains. There are enough natural high esteemed objects: reserves «Small Sosva» and «Yugansky», 3 republican massive and 8 district massive, 25 museums, natural parks «Numto» («Divine, Heavenly lake») and «Kondinsky lakes», 10 monuments of nature, archaeological complexes «Barsova' mountain» and «Saigatino», a site of ancient settlement of Sherkala etc.

In the district territory there are the unique natural resources creating conditions for active leisure, fishing, hunting or travel on the rivers Ob and Irtysh (fish-hunting and cruise tourism). Here lives more than 50 kinds of mammals, almost half of them have trade value and can serve as object of sports and amateur hunting the furs and hoofed animals. In the river Ob one can fish sturgeon, salmon and sig fishes. As far as the nature richness the Yugra region is one of the best in Russia. The Khanty-Mansijsk travel agency «Yugorsky valley» specializes in hunting and fishing tours. The Urman «Beryozovka» offers an active leisure all round the year. The base is located in non-polluting area, on the picturesque bank of the river. There are some objects for rest the House of hunter, the House of fisherman, the Family house, the Russian house, a bath. Services — depending on a season: fishing, driving on a horse in sledges, on dogs and deers teams, rent of snowmobiles, the caterpillar cross-country vehicle, water-skiing, a boat, a motor boat, bench shooting on plates, a pneumatic pistol, etc. Tourism is one of cultural and history-informative factors of development in a society. It is a tool of formation of an attractive image of region. This kind of tourism has the greatest importance for investment projects, and ethnographic tours act as a perspective new direction in modern cultural-informative tourism. They promote the more close ties, interaction of representatives of the various ethnos living at the territory of district, including the radical small people of the North. A number of exhibitions and seminars take place in the district that allows developing business and tourism. Local branches of

big companies, banks and other enterprises are able to involve tourists with the business purposes. Hotels supply required services for business conferences.

One of the actively developing kinds of tourism in the territory of Yugra is event tourism which is connected with annual carrying out in Khanty-Mansiysk of actions of the international value. The industrial tourism is directed on acquaintance with a history of industrial development of Western Siberia. For example, tour agency «Surgutintour» within the frames of the project «Middle Priboi Oil epopee» offers excursion-informative tourist routes of family and youth rest of regional studies «the World of travel on the native land»: the route «Star ways of trailblazers» as two-day bus-route over territory Surgut, Nefteyugansk and Khanty-Mansiysk areas with visiting memorable places connected with the history of development of oil and gas complex of Middle Priobja. The route «City born twice» gives a chance to tourists to get acquainted with places connected with occurrence of geologists in the given region, with history of creation and development of oil branch in Surgut. Family and children tourism is also developed in the district. Children programs are realized under cooperation with Krasnodar regional authority in several regions that are a part of the Ural Federal district. There are also programs organized together with Moscow and St-Petersburg. Perspectives of health tourism development in Yugra are under discussion. Results of surveys dealt with nature-resource, ethnographic, cultural, social and economic potential of the Khanty-Mansiysk autonomous district which is the independent subject of the Russian Federation allow asserting that Yugra possesses favorable conditions for the organization in the territory of entrance and internal tourism.

Alexandra Yegorova, Ulan-Ude

MODERN CITY-DWELLERS AND PECULIARITIES OF SOCIAL STATE AND PERCEPTION: ON DATA OF ULAN-UDE

Modern transformation of the Russian society has led to the change in the consciousness of the population and its social state and perception. One of the most vital aspects of sociological analysis of modern trends of public development is the study of people's social state and perception as their generalized emotionally –estimated reaction to social changes and their position in transforming society. Recently much attention has been given to social state and perception studies. However, most often it is connected with the coming election in either government bodies of any region. The concept of social state and perception is complex and many-sided. It is the generalized characteristic hard to be measured by sociological methods. It is difficult here to specify it since the given phenomenon is rather emotional than rational in its character.

Studying city-dwellers' social state and perception is an important factor in comprehension of process that take place in whole society. Ulan-Ude is the capital of the Republic of Buriatia. It is the only large city in it. On Juniary, 1, 2009 there are 526, 9 thousand dwellers in Ulan-Ude, which is 1/3 of whole population of the region.¹²⁰ Basic industrial undertakings are concentrated in the capital and also they are the foundation of the republic economy. The basic industries are forestry, food industry, mechanical engineering and electric power industry. In 2007 there were 59 large industrial undertakings in the city.¹²¹ However, recently the declining of number of work places at the undertaking is observed. Moreover the financial crisis of 2008 negatively reflected on the situation. Due such factors as non-export development of the economy, mono-profiles of towns and countries, distant localization from well-developed regions of Russia, absence

¹²⁰ www.burstat.gsk.ru

¹²¹ www.egov-buriatia.ru

of internal unity between BAM North and industrial and agricultural South, the economic crisis in Buriatya is deeper than in Russia at whole. An unemployment level according to the city-dwellers' employment Center was 3319 people in 2005 and it had grown up to 4531 in 2007. At the beginning of crisis 16 628 dwellers applied to the employment service.¹²² Certainly, this situation has negatively affected city-dwellers' social state and perception, especially compared to more successful neighbor regions — Zabaikalsky area and Irkutsk region. One more feature of Ulan-Ude modern development is the population inflow from the republic countries. The population outflow from the countries began in 1980's and the economic crisis of 90's had aggravated the tendency. Earlier, this process had taken place in countries only (youth left for cities), but then it became a problem for towns as well, especially for northern parts of republic. By 2008 there was a similar situation. The overwhelming majority of migrants from countries move to Ulan-Ude, the cultural and economic center of Buriatya. Some researchers suppose that at the present moment there is a process, opposite to urbanization — ruralization in the region.¹²³ This is the influence of rural traditional culture on city's one. Migrations from countries to Ulan-Ude can be explained by many reasons and, first of all, by economic and political position of Buriatya. Economic crisis affected all spheres of life in republic and made countrymen leave for city. The crisis of institutes that earlier worked for convergence (household service, medical establishments, rural libraries, etc.) furthered the destruction of the original rural «urbanism», which determine certain opportunities for the social modernization and social mobility «locally». Thus, the Ulan-Ude dwellers' social state and perception mainly depends on the social state and perception of countrymen of the republic. Unemployment, problems to get an estate or a registration negatively influence on migrant's social state and perception, it leads to the negative estimation of city-dwellers state and perception.

¹²² www.infpol.ru

¹²³ *Batomunkuev S.* Rural urbanization//the City, 2005, №1. P.6.

7. RUSSIA ON THE MOVE: MIGRATION AND SOCIAL CHANGES

7.1. MIGRATION PROCESSES IN RUSSIA

M.E. Barsukova

THE MODEL OF EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT BY MIGRATION PROCESS ON THE LABOUR MARKET IN THE BAIKAL REGION

Abstract: The article deals with migration processes in the Baikal region and effective management of these processes under conditions of the world economic and financial crisis. The main tendencies of a model of management by migration process on the labor market of the Baikal region are discussed. The aim of the article is to argue a necessity to attract human capital to the Baikal region for the needs and demands of labor market of the territory. The possibility of effective working model of the migration process in the labor market of the Baikal region is emphasized.

1. The article is based on ideas and theories presented in publications of famous social Russian scientists like V.I. Dyatlov, S.V. Ryazantsev, N.M. Tokarskayia, B.L. Tokarskiy, M.A. Vinokurov, T.N. Yudina et al. The methodological basis, which is founded on different kinds of scientific methods such as deduction, induction, and system analysis's, developed with the literature, some sociological, economical and statistical methods. The technical part of the work's process in this article was done using such computer programs as SPSS, Excel. To do this we must first decide some problems: To value the social-economy situation in the territory at the moment; To analyze the situation of the labor market; To find the institution that manages the migration process in the Baikal region; To apply the model of management to the migration process in the labor market of Baikal region.

2. This article takes into account the following factors: economic growth, sociological opinion, psychological factors, cultural considerations, political views, crime and other aspects of this theme as the result of research in this work. The Baikal region is the territory famous for the deepest lake in the world — Lake Baikal. But it is also a region with good economical, cultural and educational development with a high potential of human resources. The analysis of situation of the labor market in Baikal region consists of:

The value of human capital;

- The category of migrants living in the region;
- The needs for labor resources for the market.

3. The institutions involved in regulating the migration process are the government of the region, regional and national migration services, the state employment office and the office of labor and employment. There are also several international, national and regional laws and programs involved, for example the National program for the voluntary return of Russian immigrants in the Baikal region. As a result of research in migration sphere, we produce a model of the development of the region's labor market with using human recourses as the main factor with the greatest economical effect for the Baikal region. The article also describes the social and economic

situation in the Baikal region and identifies the reasons why several parts of society would like to leave this territory and live in other places.

The categories of migrants, living or staging in Baikal region are divided by some bases:

- The aim of stating:
 - o Labor migrants
 - o Business migrants
 - o Tourists
 - o Students

- The professional structure

The structure of migrants used in the Labor market for 2004.¹²⁴

Number of foreign laborers is 7248 people (100%): Industrial 1841 (25,4%); Agriculture 675 (9,31%); Forestry 25 (0,3%); Construction 3300 (45,5%); Transport and connections 6 (0,1%) ; Logistics 2 (0,1%); Wholesale and retail trade, catering 795 (11%); Commerce and property trade 523 (7,2%); Geology, exploration and surveying 2 -(0,0%); Health, physical culture, and social welfare 6 (0,1%); Other 73 (1%).

- The nationality structure & the quantity of the labor migrant for 2007.¹²⁵

• International migration by selected countries 34667 peoples. CIS countries: 24034 peoples: Azerbaijan 675; Armenia 650; Kazakhstan 89; Kyrgyzstan 5937; Republic of Moldova 78; Tajikistan 6477; Uzbekistan 8476; Ukraine 1652. Other countries 10632 peoples: Germany 3; China 9089; Latvia 2; USA 2; Vietnam 65; India 2; Mongolia 157; Turkey 133; Japan 6; Countries in the former Yugoslavia 171. Person without citizenship -1.

Such statistics talk about the increase of using migrants at the market of labor in Baikal region for a period 2004—2007 more, then 4 times.

The main directions of the migration processes in Baikal region are:

9 Movement from the north to the south-east;

9 Preference for big cities to villages, from not only in intraregional migration, but also interregional and international migration.

Such directions are connected with bad infrastructure of the northern territories and it is impossible for young specialist to find themselves on the labor market. As a result the region loses human capital from residents, and Baikal region therefore needs to attract migrants. Today, the situation is characterized by the following tendencies:

Tendency 1. Despite significant positive developments in the territory, net migration during 1993—2006 was negative.

Tendency 2. Negative net migration was one of the reasons behind several state programs to attract human resources to the territory. One of them is the National program for the voluntary return of Russian immigrants in the Baikal region 2007—2012.

Tendency 3. In 2009, in connection with the global economic crisis, the quota was decreased and stands now at only 29 thousand people.

Tendency 4. Nevertheless, in the future, the region will again need human resources, as an input for development of the region.

Tendency 5. It is also necessary to correct the diffusion of human resources in the labor market to improve the economic and social situation in the region.

Our recommendations on this topic are based on expert opinions and other scientific methods, which were used in the process of work.

- It is necessary to improve infrastructure:
- To build several new objects of social, medical, educational spheres;

¹²⁴ Work and employment in the Irkutsk region in 2007. Statistical handbook. Federal State Statistics Service / Irkutskstat, 2008. p.75

¹²⁵ Work and employment in the Irkutsk region in 2007. Statistical handbook. Federal State Statistics Service / Irkutskstat, 2008. p.75

- To divide the Labor market into spheres and to decide which sphere will depend on which national brigade;
- To attract to the labor market of Baikal region only well educated specialist;
- To organize a system of preparation and re-educational preparation courses for people, looking for a job.

In conclusion we would like to offer thesis about the relationship between the migrants and the people, living in the Baikal region bases on the grounds of humanism and tolerance. We think these principles will help improve the situation not only on the Labour market, but in the social-culture attitude of the entire Baikal region.

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V.P. Bukin, Penza

MIGRATION TENDENCY OF RUSSIAN PROVINCE YOUTH

Being a kind of social phenomena, migration is considered as a type of territorial movement of different groups of people from one community to another within the same or several administrative-territorial units not depending on duration, regularity or purpose. During the Soviet period the youth traditionally differed in high level of migration mobility. According to the modern researches, in conditions of Russian society transformation the scale of migration has actually come down. It is much associated with education commercialization, destruction of the of university graduate students allocation system, absence of possibility for young specialists to get affordable housing at the place of their work. At the same time, mass young people outflow from rural regions of Russia to large cities (administrative regional centers) is becoming more typical. Also during the last twenty years the migration outflow of young high skilled specialists to Western countries (Europe, the USA, Australia, Canada, etc.) has become more obvious on account of certain economical reasons [1, 249].

The decrease in amount of natural population growth is the result of low birth rate and still high level of mortality. Predictable decrements of the employable aged population, reduction of population among children and youth are becoming a real threat to the stabilized socio-economical development of Russia. Economy development in some regions of Russia and mostly in the largest cities of the country before the worldwide economic crisis created capacious and diversified labor-market, good opportunities for earning and socio-professional becoming of youth that caused a rather big flood of migration. Besides, the flood of labor force is mostly headed to economically developed territories from the nearest and distant foreign countries. Thus, «the inflow of labor, or immigrants, takes place against the background of contradictory tendencies in the labor-market of Russia connected with development of employment and unemployment, demand and supply for labor. Among the most important tendencies are the following:

- deficiency aggravation of labor resources in some regions, chiefly in Moscow, St. Petersburg;
- unemployment growth in certain regions;
- keeping the high level of unemployment in a majority of regions.

It should also be stated that, despite the conditions connected with the labor, there is a stable demand for the foreign labor» [2, 118]. Taking into consideration the above-mentioned facts, one should take up youth migration tendencies of three administrative regions of Russia — the Republic of Mordovia, Penza and Ulyanovsk regions. The results are gained during the survey of the sociological research «The Russian Province Youth». According to quota sampling 1500 respondents have been interviewed at the age of 16—30. As results of the survey show almost a half of the respondents want to immigrate and to live in some other regions. Most young people of Ulyanovsk region — 61, 8% are going to migrate beyond their region, much less — from the Republic of Mordovia — 44, 3% and in general from Penza region 38,7%. Only one third of the respondents — 35, 7% are not going to migrate at all. There are only 26, 8% young people with the same wish among the representatives of Ulyanovsk and 37, 6% from the Republic of Mordovia, and 42, 7% from Penza region. Now, it is possible to consider migration tendency of young people in comparison with students of high schools and universities (Diagram 1).

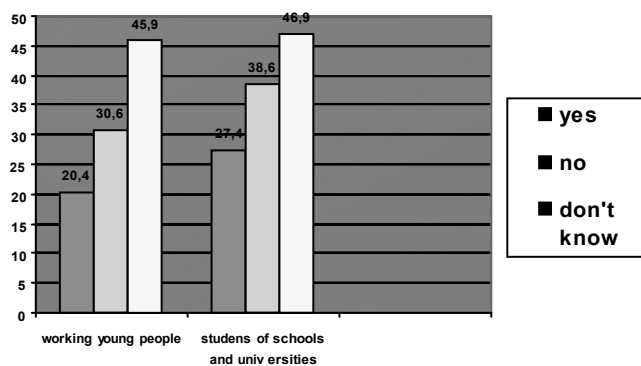


Diagram 1. Young people's intention to migrate from their native towns, villages (in %).

It is obvious from the diagram that only each fourth respondent among the students of high schools and universities are not going to migrate anywhere from their place of residence. Considerably more than a half among them (58,1%) are ready to change their place of residence and each sixth (16,7%) of respondents has no decision yet about moving to another regions. Working young people are less liable to migration tendencies. 40,7% of them say that they are ready to migrate, a little more (43,9%) say that are not going to change their place of residence and almost every sixth (15,4%) say that they «do not know yet». The supposed place of provincial youth movement is expressed in diagram 2.

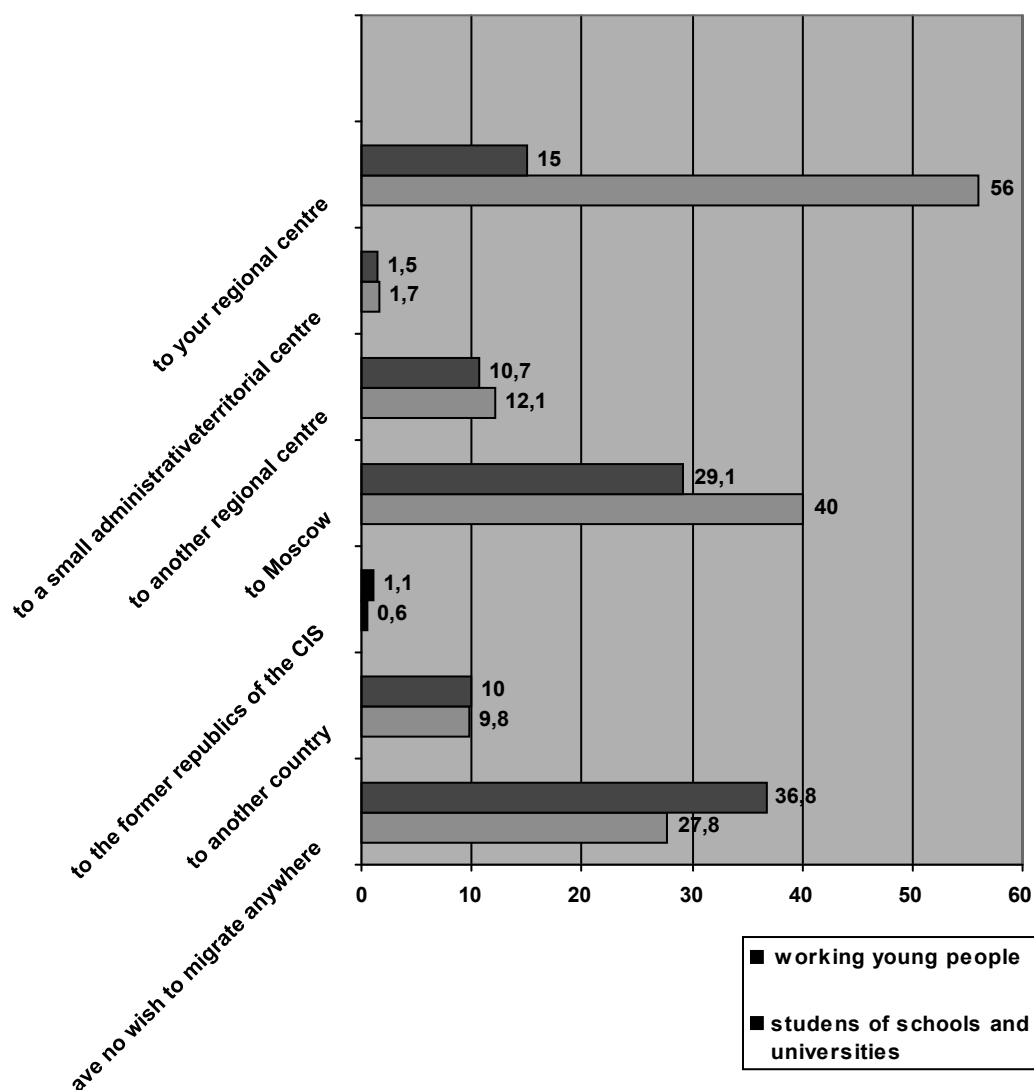


Diagram 2. Place where young people intend to migrate to (in %)

The least number of the youth (1,5% and 1,7%), who intend to migrate, is correspondently among those young people who have occupations and/or who are students. Only every tenth working person (10,7%) intends to migrate to the regional centre, while there are much fewer people among students with the same wish (8,1%). The same number of working young people want to move to another provincial centre, while only 12,1% of students prefer to move to their former places of residence. The great bulk of young people, who intend to migrate, choose Moscow as a place of residence. 21,1% of working young people and 40,0% of student want to live and work in Moscow. There is no one who plans to migrate to former Soviet Republics (the Commonwealth of Independent States), but each tenth respondent intends to move to a foreign country of Europe or the USA. Only 36,8 % of young working people and 27,8% of students have no wish to migrate at all. Thus, the existence of such migration tendency among young people makes it hard to regulate the regional labor-markets in conditions of the worldwide economic crisis and a range of possible problems concerning staffing may appear in many branches of economy and social sphere.

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MIGRATION AND SOCIAL SECURITY OF THE CAPITAL MEGALOPOLIS

In the current socio-economic conditions, migration is often a real or potential challenge to the security of socio-territorial communities. It has been pointed out by many researchers that a) there is a two-sided relationship between migration and security, and b) the correlation between migration and security is two-folded. The first is security of communities, societies and nations affected by migration flows, and the second, the safety of the migrants. At the same time the security of migrants and security of any community which they leave and where they arrive there are of particular importance the essential structural features of migration as the social process. The research object is Moscow residents as the part of the capital megalopolis and as a socio-territorial community; a sample was formed from residents which are consisted of residents and second-generation inhabitants. The research subject is the problem of migration impact on the social security of the capital city. The author conducted a secondary analysis of the survey data (27 sociological researches) about migration impact on the social security in the capital city for the period from 1993 to 2008.

According to the secondary data analysis of the sociological research, questioned Muscovites believe that uncontrolled migration process have caused deterioration of whole life spectrum for local people: the social and living conditions, employment, services, education, health, transport, and of course, the cultural and spiritual demands of the population. It has been shown that there is social tension in the relationship between inhabitants and migrants. Almost 1/3 (33%) of interviewed Muscovites have certain stereotypes and prejudices against immigrants. The sense of danger or anxiety increases, not only because of the actual influx of migrants, but also because of the uncertainty that the local authorities are able to provide «care» about «our self» and general mistrust to the basic social institutions. At the same time, many temporary immigrants (from CIS) operate sociocultural setting to create so called «a buffer environment» in a megalopolis, which should be traditional for their native culture. This is the most typical of the ethnic migrants: traditions, culture and the prevailing behavior norms which differ significantly from the attitudes of the local people [population]. Studying the perception of threats to the social security of the city's inhabitants showed that the hierarchy of threats includes following factors: 1) high cost of living; 2) the increase of crime; 2—3) expensive and unqualified medical service; 3) separation between the rich and the poor; 4) the uncertainty of life prospects; 5) departmentalism of officials [bureaucratic of officials]; 6) the deterioration of relations between people of different nationalities; 7) environment; 8) economic reforms; 9) religious strife, interfaith tensions; 10) uncontrolled flow of migrants; 11) the threat of terrorist attacks.

For a variety of migration reasons, especially illegal migration, poses a serious threat to social and sanitary-epidemiological capital safety. There is a threat to the health of the host population caused by migration, because some countries where illegal migrants come have poor sanitation and epidemiological situation and the migrants themselves are not subject to the compulsory medic insurance in Russia, or have just limited access to medical services.

Failure to comply with the migrants' rights leads to the fact that they are unwitting victims and can be involved in the criminal environment.

As a result of cheap labor mass influx employers decrease the motivation to use labor-saving technologies in the city. The drop in income due to labor depreciation leads to the marginalization of certain segments of the population and the migrants themselves also inhibits the growth of production of goods and services. Thus, migration has an ambiguous impact on the social security of a capital city. This underscores the need for comprehensive measures aimed to protect social rights and lawful interests of both Russian citizens and migrants, and on improving the management processes of labor migration in the Russian Federation.

M.V. Lissauskene, Irkutsk

SELF-IDENTIFICATION AND MIGRATORY MODELS OF «GENERATION OF CHANGES»

The sociological analysis of post-reorganization generations allows tracking dynamics of formation of new mentality and models of behavior «generations of changes». The monitoring of a studying youth spent by employees of laboratory of sociological researches of the Irkutsk state university, enable to create an image of generation of the young Siberians, reflecting both the general tendencies, and regional features of socialization. In 16—20 years at the young man identity own «I» and a parity of with an image «WE», i. e. identification with ethical, social or territorial group and culture are formed. Emotionally painted motives of love to native edge, pride of the country are connected with social identity, concepts «Native land», «patriotism», «civilization». The lesser quantity of young men feel itself connected узами with the small Native land — 31,3 %, less than thirds of respondents have named themselves «Russian», less quarters — «Siberian», each fifth respondent has recognized itself as «the Person of the Earth». Still smaller quantity correlates itself to people of the nationality. Thus national self-identification is characteristic basically for the young men who are not considering with Russian — the Buryats, Jews, Ukrainians, representatives of Caucasus and Central Asia.

As whom do you feel yourselves first of all?	% from number interrogated
The Russian	31,3
Man of Irkutsk	22,3
The person of the Earth	20,1
The Siberian	14,0
The person of the nationality	12,3

Migratory models of youth become the significant tendency of generation which is actively shown from the beginning of 90th years. More than thirds of young men include in the vital plans departure to Moscow, St.-Petersburg or abroad (the Europe, America, China, Japan) for study, work or on a constant residence. The youth does not frighten a life in the another's country — everyone the fourth (25,4 %) is ready to live for achievement of the purposes among people of an another's nationality and culture. During research the correlation analysis has been lead and the group of those respondents who has named itself «the Person of the Earth» is in more detail considered. Predictably, this group of respondents first of all builds migratory models.

Thus more all they are involved with the Europe. Moscow and St.-Petersburg they consider as base for reception of formation — 23, 8 %, thus of 28, 0 % expect to leave for the Europe not only for work, but also on a constant residence. In plans of «People

of the Earth» also there is America and China with Japan at a greater degree, than at respondents as a whole. It is necessary to note, that purposefulness is the main quality of representatives of the given group (67,5 %). Everyone third of them considers itself as the enterprising person. They are individualists. Everyone the fourth prefers to operate alone, thus more than half show readiness for participation in rigid competitive struggle and for the sake of realization of the purpose can offer much. Third of them considers everyone, that «the main thing is to live in kaif». It is necessary to note, that less all respondents is involved with the Muslim countries, but recently China uses the increasing popularity. Aspiring to find the status of the successful person, youth identifications itself not with professionals, and with rich. Professionalism as the way of self-realization and self-improvement consider only 18,2 % of respondents. For achievement of the purposes practically everyone second of young Siberian is ready to participate in rigid competitive struggle, 42,5 % — to suffer household inconveniences, 40,0 % — to come off parents, everyone the fourth (25,4 %) — to live among people of an another's nationality, everyone the fifth — to work for the sake of career for small money, everyone the sixth — to risk health. For the sake of achievement of success the youth agrees to break many moral principles: everyone the sixth — the eighth can, if it is required, to offer principles, lie, to break the law; everyone the tenth — to marry by calculation.

Migratory models of Youth

Plan to leave for study	2004	2008	«The person of the Earth»
Moscow, St.-Petersburg	15,0	18,2	23,8
The Europe	10,0	8,8	9,0
America	6,0	4,0	7,0
China, Japan	5,0	7,8	5,0
Plan to leave for work			
Moscow, St.-Petersburg	20,0	16,4	17,0
The Europe	14,0	14,8	28,0
America	6,0	10,8	12,0
China, Japan	7,0	6,8	8,0
Plan to leave for a constant residence			
Moscow, St.-Petersburg	17,0	17,2	20,0
The Europe	13,0	15,8	28,0
America	4,0	7,8	12,0
China, Japan	3,0	1,4	8,0

Reflecting on value of concept «civic duty» and it essence, only 30,5 % connect with it protection of fatherland and in 4 times less (8,0 %) — service in army. 6,5 %, and everyone the tenth has admitted, that for it there is no at all a concept of «civic duty». Thus public work for the blessing of a society consider as a civic duty of 9,4 %, and participation in activity of political parties — 5,8 %.

What do you consider as the civic duty?	% from number interrogated
To care of parents	73,7
To love the city	37,9
Honesty to work	35,7

What do you consider as the civic duty?	% from number interrogated
To help people	33,7
To be the patriot	31,7
To protect Fatherland in case of armed attack	30,5
To participate in elections	28,3
To work in public organizations	9,4
To serve in army	8,0
To participate in activity of political parties	5,9
Today there is no such concept	6,4

Extreme skepticism was showed in an estimation of all branches of authority — from federal (1,4 %) up to city municipal, the degree of trust to which twice above (3,4 %), but as a whole is minimal. These figures testify that the youth estimates authority negatively, without a share of idealization. The fourth considers everyone, that «the authority is a way to achieve personal well-being». Thus among power structures the greatest share of positive estimations (15,4 %) is given to the president of Russia. The characteristic which gives youth to the Russian market economy has a little changed for the past three years. Everyone the second is deeply convinced, that lives in the criminal state. Practically the third considers everyone, that the market has brought enrichment (29,3 %) and progress (29,4 %) one, and unemployment another — 28,4 %. Everyone the fifth considers market economy as chaos — 21,8 %. Thus of 20,0 % of respondents consider, that democracy is only illusion, and it does not exist, as those.

The comparative analysis of the attitude to market economy

What words are connected with market economy?	2008	2004
Crime	51,7	49,3
Progress	29,9	21,3
Enrichment	29,3	26,7
Unemployment	28,5	30,6
Chaos	21,8	26,7
Greed	17,4	16,1
Democracy	17,2	16,1
Freedom	17,0	8,0
Permissiveness	16,2	18,7
Destruction	13,2	15,9
Impoverishment	12,0	18,7
Revival	10,0	8,0
Honesty	5,4	5,7

Answers of youth testify to destruction of historical and national consciousness under influence of globalization — in consciousness of youth traditions of national culture are not fixed, mental concepts-symbols, an image of the small and big Native land are not incorporated. Similar positions as are connected with orientation of «generation of changes» on career success and reception of qualitative formation of a world level which will allow them to compete in the world market of work.

Whether you went abroad?	% from number interrogated
On rest	34,3
On a visit	8,4
For study	3,6
In the international camp	3,6
On an exchange, under the grant, on training	0,6
Lived abroad	0,2

The life abroad does not frighten young, more than half — 55,2 % from those who has visited abroad, did not test any difficulties. At the same time 41,9 % faced a problem of language dialogue, 8,4 % hardly perceived other culture and traditions, and only everyone the tenth could not accept alien values or tested national discrimination from local residents. At the same time interrogated see a difference between them and their foreign contemporaries: contemporaries abroad other culture and mentality — 25,6 %; other vital sights and positions — 24,4 %; other tastes and predilections — 16,0 %.

And only 8,8 % consider that youth of other countries is same as Russians and does not differ from «all children of the world». As a whole the image of foreign youth does not develop at graduates in «an image of an enemy». Only two persons declared, that they «another's». Moreover, interrogated mark positive, in their opinion, qualities of young foreigners — «they are greater, than we, patriots of their native countries; concern to parents is better; look at a life is easier, including, not «go in cycles» in marriage — all over again study, made self realization, and then marry.

The similar position stimulates migratory moods. Answers of youth testify to destruction of historical and national consciousness under influence of globalization — in consciousness of youth traditions of national culture are not fixed, mental concepts-symbols, an image of the small and big Native land are not incorporated. Similar positions as are connected with orientation of «generation of changes» on career success and reception of qualitative formation of a world level which will allow them to compete in the world market of work.

V. Markhinin & I. Udalova

MIGRANTS IN THE LIFE OF AUTONOMOUS OKRUG AS REGION OF RUSSIA: ON DATA OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN YUGRA

The Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Area named Yugra is one of the most attractive regions from migration point of view. At the same time it is among the territories where international harmony has been the solid basis of the Russian civilization identity and the state integrity. The material for the judgments about the inhabitants' attitude towards the immigrants was obtained during our ethno-sociological research conducted in 2004 in 5 towns and cities of Yugra: Surgut, Nizhnevartovsk, Khanty-Mansiysk, Neftejugansk and Langepas. 112 experts and 1007 representatives of different ethnical groups were interviewed. The distinguishing of immigrants' categories among other (native) residents of the area becomes a matter of the principle for the research and for the migration process optimization. In spite of its topicality, this task has not become the subject of special consideration by the researchers and experts yet.

We were solving the problem of distinguishing immigrants' categories relying in the first place upon the respondents' opinions on the time period which is necessary to live in the area to be reputed as an inhabitant. It was discovered that this time period for Yugra

is 10 years. It is approximately during this time when the transition of immigrants to the category of inhabitants who live by the interests of the area and have self-consciousness of Yugra's patriots happens. On a basis of these criteria we ascribed a group of people who were born in the area (natives of the area) and also a group of people who had come to the area more than 10 ears ago (old settlers) to the category of inhabitants. People, who have come to the area relatively recently, less than 10 ears ago, were ascribed to the group of immigrants.

Table 1. Opinions of different population categories of Yugra about the immigrants and their role in the area's life, % (N=985)

Opinions about the immigrants	Inhabitants		Immigrants (n=223)	All the respondents
	the natives of the area (n=229)	old settlers (n=533)		
They work where other people don't want to work	57	58	60	58
They run illegal business	34	30	18	28
They offer cheap and high-quality personal services	14	5	23	17
There are illnesses and insanitariness due to them	37	28	17	28
They introduce national and cultural peculiarities into the area's life	9	13	23	14
They aggravate international relations	24	16	10	16
Thanks to them cheaper products and goods are delivered into the area	14	15	21	16
Due to them there is an increase in crime	27	24	14	22
They sell drugs	43	42	23	38
They enrich the population of the area by the qualified workers	7	12	21	13
The difference between total positive and negative estimations of immigrants' role in the area's life	(101—165)= -64	(113—140)= -27	(148—82)= +66	(118—132)= — 14

The table №1 shows that the representatives of each population category, inhabitants and immigrants, ambiguously consider the situation arisen from the migration processes. Their estimations reflect both positive and negative influence of migration processes and their subjects on the life of the area. At the same time, there are more inhabitants than immigrants who share the opinions which evaluate the role of migration and the immigrants in the area's life as a negative factor. And vice versa, to a lesser degree they share opinions, which intend the favorable reception of this role. This difference is especially notable in comparison with the opinions of inhabitants from among the natives and that of the immigrants.

The positions of inhabitants and the natives differ to the least degree in the question concerning the character of immigrants' employment, to be exact, in the opinion that the immigrants do the work that the inhabitants don't want to do. More than a half of the respondents agree with this opinion.

The opinions of the inhabitants about the professional skill of immigrants, the quality of their work and its utility are distinctly negative. For example, only every fourteenth native and every eighth old settler consider that immigrants enrich the area population by the specialists and qualified workers.

In comparison with the immigrants less by half inhabitants think that the immigrants offer cheap and high-quality personal services. The representatives of all ethnical groups concerned hold this opinion. Also there are less inhabitants than immigrants who consider that thanks to the immigrants cheaper products and goods are delivered into the area (they are cheaper than that ones which would be delivered by other means). The opinion about the immigrants — new settlers' probable involvement in the shadow economy shows negative attitude of the resident population towards the immigrants. Practically a third of inhabitants think that the immigrants run illegal business whereas less than one fifth of the immigrants share this opinion. The substantial part of inhabitants (much bigger than the part of new settlers) considers that the immigrants call forth the increase in crime in the area. At the same time a very big part of respondents among the inhabitants (almost twice as many as among the new settlers) regards the immigrants as drug dealers.

A lot of inhabitants, especially the area natives, think that the immigrants cause the spreading insanitariness and illnesses. It is reasonable that less part of the immigrants adheres this point of view. In opinion of inhabitants, as distinct from new settlers' notions, the advantages of immigrants' afflux in the area such as attractive traits of national and cultural variety are outweighed with the negative influence of immigration on international relations. In the immigrants' opinion, advantages outweigh disadvantages.

So, despite the fact that the biggest part of inhabitants admits the immigrants' positive role on the labor market because they do low-attractive work, as a whole negative attitude towards the immigrants in the area's life dominates over positive estimation of this role. In its turn this attitude of the inhabitants towards the immigrants — new settlers has negative influence on social and particularly on international climate in the area.

At the same time, our research shows that it is possible to reduce the unsettling influence of migration processes on the sphere of social relations. These possibilities are founded on the traditions of intercultural unity and international harmony thanks to which Yugra has become the firm basis of Russian civilization identity and state integrity.

Vladimir Petrov, Krasnodar

ETHNIC MIGRATION PROCESSES: FACTOR DEFINITION AND DETERMINATION IN MODERN RUSSIA

In the 90s of the 20th century and in the beginning of the 21st century human migrations, determined by the complex of objective and subjective reasons, influenced Russian society essentially. A great number of questions occur in case of considering migration streams. *Does ethnicity as a specific characteristic, which gives the special form and content to migration processes, take place here?* In our opinion, it is necessary to distinguish individual and social-group conditions in ethnicity, when defining different factors as ethnic ones. Ethnicity can be defined as a personal feature so far as it finds its existence and expression in typical psycho-physiological, psychological, social characteristics of individuals, belonging by patrimonial origin, historical and socializational development to definite ethnic group. In social-group case ethnicity exists as a result of joint ideas, expressed particularly in shape of identity,

auto- and hetero-stereotypes. The last ones are created and instrumentally used as communicative markers, by means of which ethnic groups position themselves with others in interactions and relations. Markers may have stable and transient character. They may be used occasionally and universally. At the same time, ethnical communities possess over-individual and systematic characteristics. The content of identity, auto- and heterostereotypes is determined by generic and specific nature of this ethnos, formed during long and unique history of its existence, rather than by needs of a concrete situation, arising in the process and vanishing every time after the end of social interactions. Therefore, the interpretation of ethnic factor (or factors) includes the understanding of those characteristics, which belong to ethnos and its representatives as personal and social-group stable constants, adapted to needs of situation of social interaction.

One more question, which complicates the understanding of ethnicity, is as follows: how homogeneous or heterogeneous is ethnicity in its concern to ethnic group and its representatives [1]. It is obvious, that ethnicity, being an integral characteristic of ethnic group, is not represented in all its structural elements to the same and equal degree. Its distribution and peculiar appropriation, actualization in consciousness, activation in social practices are depending on social differentiation and stratification, general political situation in society. Just that mutual impact raises the phenomenon of 'swimming' or 'dictated' identity, its form difference, the problem of its presence and achievement of 'critical mass'. The same can be stated about stereotypes. Their prevalence and influence on social practices, undoubtedly, have the selected character. *What are the preconditions for ethnization of migration processes in modern Russia?* First precondition is cardinal changes in ethnic sphere, expressed in actualization and *filling of ethnic needs with new content*. These are the needs for ethnic affiliation, positive ethnic identity, ethnic security, social and emotional welfare, ethnic status, recognized by others, self-realization, etc. [3]. The Second precondition is *the whole complex of conditions*, having an influence on formation of needs for migration movement, motives and migration aims of an individual, belonging to definite ethnos. Hence, these conditions acquire the ethnic meaning. They are: natural, geographical and climatic conditions of territory of ethnos' historical residence and its ecological state; social-historical specificity of ethnic economic and labor activity, mode of life, social-institutional organization; employment and labor surplus in a concrete region and among ethnic representatives; development of migration networks; policy in home and receiving countries; possibilities of ethnic responding to concrete and changing requirements of a receiving society; migration history of this ethnos. The Third precondition is *the aggregate of personal and social-group characteristics, influencing the migration behavior*. They are: social and social-psychological peculiarities of a person, belonging to definite ethnos, expressed in needs, motivation, interests and aims. Such subjective factors as manifestation of ethnic mentality, peculiarities of a person as a bearer of characteristic ethnic features, self-identification of a potential migrant, ethnic auto- and heterostereotypes, the feeling of ethnic homeland essentially influence the formation of the need for migration moving, migration intentions and behavior.

In the 1990s ethnization (ethnic representation and conditionality by ethnic factors) became the distinctive feature of all migration streams, without exception, in the space of the former USSR. The formation of some factors relates to the 1960s-1970s. During this period, such processes as the growth of ethnic consciousness, the development of national culture, the growth of number of national intelligentsia, the increase of national personnel's role in management, the expansion and perfection of professional training of specialists and workers from autochthon (title) local population took place. The labor surplus was growing in some Soviet republics, owing to the force of specificity of demographic processes and traditionality in economic activity.

Ecological catastrophes, the aggravation of international relations at the end of the USSR existence and after its collapse, radical transformations in economic and political systems, instability of situation, inner international and interstate conflicts, ethnic

collisions and wars became the main reasons for the formation of intensive streams of ethnic migration (forced, in many cases) from the 'Nearest Foreign Neighbor Countries'. In the Russian Federation itself separatism and terrorism in the North Caucasus created the direct life threat for different ethnic groups and were accompanied by mass migrations of population outside the borders of dangerous territories. This was especially applied to representatives of Russian ethnos. The adoption of citizenship laws, often discriminatory, took place in a number of former Soviet republics. The following processes were going on: the forced fastening of the state status of title languages in legal acts and in practice, accompanied by conscious shortening of time to master the languages for Russian speaking population; the discrimination in the sphere of job and purchase of accommodation; the limitation of rights of participation in privatization, entrepreneurial activity and education; the contraction of informational ties with Russia, etc. All these facts created extremely uncomfortable conditions not only for Russian and other Slav population, but for 'non-title' population in the whole and strengthened its migration (New Phenomena in Ethnic Migrations in Russia in the Second Part of the 1990s, 1999).

Ethnization of migration streams was also occurring under the impact of ideological factors, central place among which belongs to the doctrine of ethnocracy. Its essence consists in the idea of linking the political power with ethnic origin of people. The idea of creation of pure ethnic state, highly questionable in humanitarian sense and practically unrealized, nevertheless proved to be very tempting for 'elites' of title nationalities, because it allows to explain the supposed lawfulness of their primary access to power and resources. Widely used slogans for creation of ethno national states, fine slogans for compatriots to come back to their 'historical homeland', narrowly interpreted nationalism formed the strong motivation for people's moving to their ethnic territories: Russians — to Russia, representatives of former Soviet republics — to new post-Soviet states [2; 4]. Migration exchange was formed in the Russian Federation itself. The departure of foreign population, first of all Russian, takes place at the same time with the flow of representatives of 'title' nation into republics. Thus, we consider *ethnic migration processes* (synonyms: *processes of ethnic migrations*, *ethnic migrations*) as series of actors' social interactions, characterized by identity with pronounced ethnic definiteness. They happen under the influence of factors, acquiring the ethnic content, and lead to changes in social-territorial and social statuses of separate ethnic representatives and ethnic groups.

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7.2. SOCIAL CHANGES IN RURAL REGIONS OF RUSSIA

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ADAPTIVE RESOURCES OF RURAL POPULATION IN TRANSITIVE RUSSIAN SOCIETY

The reforms that began in Russia in 1990s radically changed the economic and political situation in the country having brought the enormous changes in the life of every Russian family. For most people these changes turned out to be a hard test making them adapt to rapidly changing economic and political situation. While the transforming processes were widening and deepening the ability of adapting to the renewing social environment became of vital importance practically for all the groups of the population. In numerous works dealing with problems of society transformation Russian sociologists emphasize that the major condition for the country to have an actual course of the stable development is a successful social adaptation of the population, i. e. working out effective patterns of social and economic behaviour based on using individual adaptive resources by a rather large number of people [1].

In connection with realization of the grant of the Russian Humanitarian Scientific Fund in 2008 the sociological poll of the population in the rural districts of Penza region, the aim of which was to reveal its adaptation to the new conditions of life activity, showed that the life quality of the rural residents is still very low. Most respondents (57%) think that the residents have a medium standard of living, 17.5% — low standards of living, 11% — very low standards of living and 14.5% could not give an answer to this question. No respondents are expecting changes for better in the near future. According to the respondents, adaptation to the new social and economic conditions is hindered by the lack of support from the state and the local authorities. Almost 40% respondents consider that during the last year's state support for rural citizens decreased, and 60% affirm that social work in their municipal institutions is poorly organized, it is conducted on a low level, not efficiently and the population has no benefits from it. In such conditions only 3.5% respondents rely on support from local municipal institutions.

The analyses of the results of the poll prove that the rural population practically is getting rid of paternalism. 57.5% respondents showed that they rely only on themselves. Answering the question: «What do you think is necessary for a person to be success in life?» 25% respondents mentioned the necessity to work hard, i. e. the main adaptive strategy of rural citizens is the belief in their own abilities. It could be easily explained that for the most part of the population in the difficult present-day social and economic situation job plays a significant role: it is the basic source of wealth and the possibility to realize one's own interests in all other spheres. It is this factor that is likely to be connected with the high value of health in the structure of values of rural population. Both men and women consider their health as a main resource in adaptation to the new social and economical conditions (40.2% and 42.6%, respectively).

As the research conducted showed, for the rural residents the main material resource, determined their wealth, is a home farm which provides them with the main agricultural produce (meat, milk, vegetables) for their own needs. Yet such types of source of incomes as realization of agricultural products, farm enterprise, entrepreneur activities take a small part in the structure of material resources of rural citizens (16.7%, 7% and 8.3%, respectively). The development of farm enterprises that could significantly increase material adaptive resources of rural citizens is prevented, according to the respondents, by the tax press (31% respondents), high cost of credits (58%), breaking laws by officials

(44%), bad roads (17%). We should pay attention to the fact that rural citizens are not planning to work at their native place. As a resource leading to wealth, working at own place was mentioned only by 3% respondents. The situation in rural places is such that people's having their own land share, according to most respondents (35.1%) does not influence the wealth of rural citizens. One of the adaptive strategies of rural population during the last decades was the temporal labour migrations. The job outside the native place became the main material resource for surviving for many people, a factor to save usual living standards and increasing wealth. In the regions under investigation the overwhelming majority of rural citizens (according to almost 73% respondents) leave the nature place to find a job in towns and cities and districts of the region, where they worked in the sphere of trading, building, security business.

As the main non-material resources in overcoming the hardships respondents showed the help from their relatives, friends, acquaintances (31.2% respondents) and essential acquaintances (32.6%). It should be noted, that in modern Russian society the opinion that it is impossible to achieve success in life without essential contacts was firmly formed. And education (15.3%) and abilities (11.8%), according to the respondents, refer to the resources of the second order. Probably, it is connected with the fact that now education in Russian society, unfortunately, can not guarantee finding a job and moreover, it can not provide a well-paid job. Besides, pay rate for the work in one profession in private and state sectors can be many times different. However, the answer to the question: «What do you feel when you are thinking about your future?» proves a rather high potential of optimism of rural citizens: 39% respondents feel confidence and hope, though at the same time 45% respondents feel nervous and intimidated when they are thinking about the future. The maximum optimism is typical for the age group of 18—30—48%, the minimum — for people at the age of more than 60 years — 26.6%.

Yet according to the results of the research conducted, in spite of all the hardships more than a half of the respondents have a positive attitude to the present-day social and economic situation, some categories of population mention some improvements in their life. So, 54.2% respondents note that in comparison with 2000 the standards and the quality of their life improved to some extent, for 16.4% respondents the living standards are the same, for 11.4% — decreased. 67.1% rural population evaluates the life as satisfied, stating at this, that «one should work very hard». This proves the growth of tolerance of rural citizens and as a result — increasing the level of social adaptation.

The analysis of adaptive processes in rural places of living raises the question of searching new, more efficient ways of using human resources in villages, means and methods of decreasing the influence of negative factors on the society. It is necessary to find new trends in the process of forming adapting mechanisms, enabling people to perceive changes adequately and react to changing social environment rapidly, to increase and use one's own potential efficiently.

For increasing adaptive resources of rural population it is expedient to provide a practical help for people in the village for developing private initiative, loaning privileged credits, providing consultation assistance for the heads of farms with different types of ownership in getting subsidies from the federal and republican budgets etc. Now in the rural places an older generation prevails so it is necessary to pay special attention to the problem of assisting elderly people.

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CULTURAL PREFERENCES OF VILLAGE YOUTH IN UDMURT REPUBLIC

Sociological research in the sphere of culture is necessary for more complete and detailed study of the state of culture in rural area. The questionnaire survey was conducted among young people in 15—30 years age group as a part of the research project «Culture as a factor of the social development of village», 2008. The purpose of the survey: identifying young people's cultural needs. The sample was selected on the multistage basis. The first stage comes as purposive sampling of the rural districts according to the number of cultural institutions and the showing of their work. As a result, 5 districts were selected with differing quantitative and qualitative indices of cultural development. Sample size: 590 respondents. Most part (more than a third) of the respondents reported having leisure 2—3 times a week. A quarter of the polled have spare time once a week or even more rarely. The less busy respondents belong to 15—17 age groups, as they do not go out to work and do not have family responsibilities. The busiest groups are those at age 26—30 years.

The respondents were unanimous about the part of the day when they have spare time — from 6 to 9 p. m. on week-days. The most active at night time on week-days (from 9 to 12 p. m.) are young people at age 18—22 years: they are of age but they do not have their own family yet. Young people of this age group go to discos, other places of entertainment or just have fun till late at night. They make up a third of all the respondents. Respondents of all age groups prefer passive ways of pastime: seeing friends, watching TV, listening to music. It is important to note that respondents of school age compared to other age groups, often spend their spare time doing nothing at all. Young people's preference for entertainment is supported by the fact that about a half of all respondents do not attend any special-interest or sports clubs.

On the whole, passive forms of leisure are typical of most Russian youth. Village youth have even fewer possibilities for active leisure because of poorly developed infrastructure. On the other hand, rural life based on collectivism, mutual help, personal contacts can play the leading role in organizing leisure activities aimed at cultivating patriotism, love of homeland, creating subcultures built on national and ethno cultural interests.

The role of culture in the consciousness of contemporary village youth is not simple. For them being a highly cultured person first of all means having a strong communication competence. At present, communicative aspects of cultural activity become increasingly valuable both for the young people and the whole society as the main condition of one's career success. Young people find communication skills highly valuable, as in this period of life establishing social contacts, peer groups, microenvironment are important agents of socialization and personal development. Nowadays young generation want to make something new and to shape their own lives. They are eager to use the sphere of culture as a creative activity. Thirdly it comes as the cognitive aspect which implies that a cultured person is well-read, learned and erudite.

Personal cultural development for young people is not an end in itself; it is just a means for achieving other goals — social status, a good-paid job. This should be taken into consideration when organizing cultural activity. Examining subjective and objective barriers preventing youth from more «cultural» ways of pastime (on their opinion), we see that subjective factors prevail, as was expected. Young people mention lack of free time, tiredness after work or school day, other interests and hobbies, domestic conditions and even their own passiveness and laziness. Objective reasons for non-attendance of cultural institutions are connected with limited

choice of events and activities, remoteness of cultural institutions, unsatisfactory conditions in which social events are held. Limited choice of places of entertainment is the most serious problem connected with work of cultural institutions, reported more than a half of the respondents. About a quarter of the polled mentioned lack of places for socializing. Another quarter does not see any drawbacks in work of cultural institutions. The availability of necessary equipment and facilities were rated the lowest. Provision with specialists is not much better, according to the respondents. The quality and quantity of cultural events and proficiency of specialists were rated quite high.

Over a third of the respondents answered with confidence that art is quite important as it makes their life more interesting and diverse. At the same time, a third of the polled admitted considering art of minor importance, compared to such vital issues as career choice, financial matters and other everyday problems which are further complicated by poor infrastructure. The most popular kind of art among village youth is music. Cinema ranks the second. About a half of the polled are not play-goers, which can be explained by the fact that theatre is not as available to country people as cinema. Cultural institutions can help young people understand the real value of art by drawing them into amateur drama, music, and arts and crafts clubs. The process of transforming traditional cultural forms into modern ones is not quite developed in villages, though young people mentioned such forms as making national costumes, arrangement of folk songs, new elements in staging folk dances. The results of the survey show that these forms of transformation should be further developed to attract youth to folk culture, to promote creating folk clubs and groups.

Young people think that folk festivities must be promoted first of all. They are attracted by the spectacular character of these events which involve various age and social groups. At the same time, these events must unobtrusively accustom young people to folk culture. Also young people mentioned importance of promoting national folk songs, dances, games, language. All these are indispensable parts of folk culture and folk festivities which are so popular among youth. About a fifth of the respondents think that folk music instruments, crafts, skills, costumes also should be promoted. On the whole, young people show good understanding of how important it is to revive traditional culture. The most popular ways of personal cultural development are going to performances and concerts and learning a foreign language. The first of these is a sign of having a high social status, the second is a chance to become a part of city subculture and thus to attain a higher status. It is also important for young people to become better educated, to broaden their outlook, to acquire skills and competencies which are currently in high demand. This must serve as a guideline for cultural institutions in rural areas.

Socio-economic and cultural demands of young people should be met without their migration to town. More guest performances and concerts should be organized, modern concert and theatre facilities should be built in villages. Educational centers must be created, where young people could acquire new skills and professions. At the same time, young people must be provided with necessary socio-economic conditions for realizing their ambitions in the village, to prevent their migration to town. The majority of the respondents report that their cultural needs are met partially. The fact that not all young people visit cultural institutions can be explained by the state of moral and social values typical of contemporary Russian youth in general. Undeveloped agents of socialization, shortage of measures aimed at cultivating in young people patriotism and social responsibility result in many pressing problems which could be partially solved through more active work of cultural institutions.

THE RUSSIAN VILLAGE: THE SOCIAL-STRUCTURAL ASPECT

The rural population as the numerous socially-territorial community is the essential component of a social structure of a society. Therefore, changes caused by a transition to market relations in the Russian society concern also the village. According to census of 2002, 38 738 thousand of Russians (26, 7 of their total number) were inhabitants of rural places. For the last inter-census period the number of rural population was reduced much lesser, than earlier, — by 352, 2 thousand or by 0, 8. By the beginning of 2008 the number of rural population even a little increased (38 755 thousand) and amounted 27, 0 % of total number of Russians. Thus, the share of villagers in the country's population for the last years remains practically stable.

The economic reform of the beginning of 90th years supposed the reorganization of collective farms and state farms, the development of private farms. However, there has been occurred the fall of agricultural and industrial production accompanied by the deep structural shifts and strengthening of inequality that is characteristic of any transition period and objective process of transformation. The social structure of rural population has cardinally changed caused by privatization of the state property, falling of economic activity, appearing of new kinds and forms of employment, high level of unemployment, decrease of real wages and the growth of non-paid employment, distribution of informal labor relations. The rural economy appeared to be one of the poorest sectors of economics, and villagers — the most low- paid category of working people that has caused the overall revival of peasant's order of life — an individual subsidiary farm.

By the present time there has been formed the steady enough ratio of a contribution of each of three basic ways of work (agricultural enterprises, peasants'- farms, individual subsidiary farms) in the production of agricultural products within the formed multi-structure economics of an agrarian sector. The analysis of the statistical data shows that during the Soviet period the large-scale enterprises occupied the leading position in eight of ten principal kinds of products making from 70 % to 99 %. At present period they have kept the leading position in the production of only four kinds of products (grain, beet, sunflower, eggs). On the contrary, the economies which during the Soviet period were in the leading only on two positions (potato and honey), today produce the greater part of products on six positions of ten principal kinds: potato (92,5 %), honey (88,3 %), vegetables (80 %), meat (57 %), milk (51 %) and wool (57 %). The farms which has managed to resist in difficulties of agrarian reforms, tries to compete with agricultural enterprises in producing grain, beet and sunflower. The data shows that else in the Soviet period the individual subsidiary farms were the important source of producing of agricultural products in the city markets, but today their activity has extended in those niches of production where manual labor dominates. These changes not only testify on socially-structural processes in rural community, but also assume the big investments and a cardinal change of approaches to the decision of problems of the development of agriculture.

In the Russian reformed society the disputes do not ceased on what results and lessons of agrarian reforms, what is the influence of the priority national project «Development of the agrarian and industrial complex»? Has the formed social structure of a village the preconditions for the further development? Is it possible to purposefully improve social structure of a rural society? The research of the features of adaptation of modern rural population, transformation of its labor market gets a special importance in designating a vector of formation of the modern social structure of a village.

The results of the All-Russian agricultural census of 2006 have confirmed the creation of multi-structure forms of managing in agrarian sector. For July 1st 2006 in the country there were registered: 59212 agricultural organizations, 253345 of peasants' farms, 22 millions 766,2 thousand of individual farms. The basic share regards to the individual subsidiary farms which amounted in total 17 million 386,9 thousand, including 12 millions 446,1 thousand in the rural places and 2 million 495,6 thousand in the cities. All these forms of managing occupy a certain niche in a rural economics on land resources, a cattle livestock, means of production and labor employment, that is there was a certain division of production, as factors of socially-structural process of agricultural population. At the same time the data of the census have shown that all these forms are in constant movement and transformation both external — among themselves, and internal — by the sizes of production and activity of their members. It was displayed in that many agricultural producers have stopped or have suspended the production of products. Among them 31 % of the agricultural organizations more than half of 50,2 % of peasants' farms and 14,1 % of individual subsidiary farms. The process of differentiation of small forms of managing — peasants' farms and individual subsidiary farms is most important for us. Here there is concentrated the great mass of economically active and capable for labor rural population that makes more than half of agricultural products, taking into account that the process of ruin of the large and average agricultural organizations continues. The data of the census have shown heterogeneity and similarity of peasants' farms and individual subsidiary farms according to employment, sizes and specialization of production and its marketability. So, peasants' farms occupies 19,6 % of the general land area. In individual subsidiary farms one third of their number has the land area up to 10 hundred parts, at the same time 1,9 % individual subsidiary farms occupy 48,7 % of all their lands and for one farm of this group it designed over 3 hectares.

The results of the census have shown that for 97,7 thousand (0,7 %) farms the subsidiary farm is the main source of money resources, for 2196, 5 thousand (14, 7 %) it is additional one. At the same time 14810, 3 thousand (99,1%) grow the products of plant- growing and cattle-breeding for self-providing. In spite of the fact that these data confirms the importance of the individual subsidiary farms practically for all economies, but indirectly it is possible to consider that 15,4 % widely use market for realization of their products [1].

Also it is necessary to note that the peasant' farms and individual subsidiary farms are in the constant process of transformation that complicates its differentiation.

Thus, the analysis of the data of the agricultural census show the formations of the new social institutes in rural places, establishing of the new social values that have defined the other character of relations between social and economic subjects of agrarian community, creating the new social structure. The analysis of the data of the agricultural census also allows to estimate how for years of reforms there have been created the institutional conditions for formation of the base of the new social differentiation of rural population and what their criteria: administrative structures of agricultural enterprises, small, average, large owners of land, peasants — tenants, landless peasants, farms, individual subsidiary farms (small, average, large goods' producers). The important moment of studying of these processes is connected with a change of strategies, development of new models and ways of adaptation of rural population. The developed process of social differentiation gives us the possibility to track the vectors of development in the rural society, the occurrence of steady social groups, layers interested in its development and in supporting of an engineering and social infrastructure.

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PROBLEMS OF RURAL POPULATION POVERTY IN RUSSIA

Before speaking on a problem of poverty it is necessary to define a conception of «poverty» itself. Firstly, poverty — is a specific state of a financial deficiency of people when incomes of a human being or a family do not allow provide consumption necessary for the life activity and reproduction of a labor force. The criterion of poverty accepted in the Russian Federation — the income per each member of a society that is below a living minimum (wage). The living minimum is the cost estimation of a minimal consumption basket together with taxes and obligatory payments. The living minimum is accounted by social-demographic groups of population (capable for labor, pensioners and children), population on the whole and it is legitimately established for a definite period.

From 1992 up to 1999 the value of a living minimum in Russia is defined by the normative-statistical method. The basis of a budget of surviving consisted in a set of 25 products of food. The rest points of a budget were defined by the accounted method on the base of a real structure of expenses. As a result there were formed the following structure of consumption expenses: foods — 68,3%, non-foods expenses — 19,1%, services — 7,4%, taxes and obligatory payments 5,2%. In 2000 there was legitimately established the new — normative — method of accounting of a living minimum as a result of which the physical volume of a minimal basket has been increased in average on population by 15%. It led to the statistical jump of a level of poverty by 1,5 times. So, the concept of poverty is connected with a living minimum narrows a problem. Poverty is not only a low level of using of goods but also a low level of realization of the other individual possibilities of a human being concerning health, ration of feeding, education and rights equalities. As a result the second aspect of a problem arises, i. e., the occurring and strengthening of a psychology of «poverty» i. e. perceiving and feelings of a human being in a society not having a possibility of using of those material and life goods that the rich people have. In such aspect the delay of considering this problem seems to be a threat for the safety of a society. The long-term poverty leads to the non-revisable results for a country. And the most danger consists in that children do not replace parents only quantitatively but qualitatively. Each next generation would have less potential of physical, psychic and social health. A nation may simply disappear since it goes into degradation. The seriousness of a situation consists also in that a period of poverty in Russia continues more than ten years. Meanwhile, a family can not live long according to a model of a living minimum. There are so-called «non-burnt expenses» payments for lodging, transport and cloths for children. Under conditions of the growth of prices poor people are forced to increase these expenses on the account of reducing expenses for foods.

The comparison of incomes of house-keepings with its level of poverty allowed getting such data as specific weight of population with incomes below the threshold of poverty, to define the deficiency of incomes and an index of the depth of poverty. Thus, the problem of a struggle with poverty in all its expressions today seems to be the most priority and actual task for a society and government of Russia. It seems to us that a question of surviving of rural population is directly connected with investments into development of a village. But the volume of investments into agrarian production and a level of poverty of rural population are to be in a complex interconnection. On one side, with the growth of direct investments in agrarian economy a level of efficiency of an agrarian sector is improved. On the other side, it is non-attractive for the investor to invest money in a sector of production that is the most risky and non-stable from a social point of view. In this connection, it should exist a special governmental investment policy namely for an agrarian sector that includes the aspects of investments both in the production and social spheres. The investing should be used for solving the concrete branch and social tasks and problems. So, the main task for the State is — to give a chance for poor people to go out from poverty.

Among the measures that allow cease the state of poverty of rural population are the following. Firstly, the State guarantees for poor layers of population that include free of charge rendering of medical, educational, cultural and social technologies that the rest population gets for money. Then, by rendering a free of charge secondary technical and high education for talented children living in rural regions it is possible to motivate their professional growth. Thirdly, a financial support in the form of payments for lodging, kindergartens, sport institutions; defining of a sector for consumption services for poor people; social shops with low prices; providing an access of poor people for legal institutions. The effective struggle with poverty is possible only under conditions of the growth of national production and growth of sources of self-providing: labor and business.

The economical growth and overcoming of poverty is impossible without the development of small business. Namely, on the base of small business it is possible to create the middle class which will become a basis for an increase of a population life level. The system of education should play a key part in the decision of a strategic problem of overcoming poverty. Training qualified workers and specialists of average qualification is important not only for improving a situation at a labor market and a growth of production in rural places but also for the formation of a modern mass middle class of businessmen, technical workers as a support of social stability. Having provided a high quality of initial and secondary professional education it is possible to create the most adequate to modern conditions a channel of social mobility available for families of different layers and groups.

The other alternative of a struggle with poverty is an introduction of grants on needs for all people without a living minimum. However, a human being can get a wage beyond average level but live behind a poverty line because of great expenses caused by unequal social conditions, illness, a great number of children etc. But the official poor people can have great property accumulating. The help should render according to two criteria: if a human being is poor and if he belongs to one of the granted categories. Such categories can include families with small children, especially with one parent or unemployed supporter, the requiring people above 65 years old, invalids, veterans of the war and their families.

The realization of an effective social policy including the increase of efficiency of social grants and privileges for separate categories of people, in due time payment of children grants, addressed social help, improving of a situation of people from so-called risk groups is to be the key condition for formation of a society of equal chances. The content and orientation of a program of struggle with poverty greatly depends on the selected strategy. And this strategy should be complex.

Aliye Sergiyenko, Barnaul

TRENDS AND POLITICAL INSTRUMENTS OF RURAL SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN RUSSIA

The profound changes in rural social sphere trends for last almost two decades of nation state and municipal reforms has been showing in concentration of poverty and unemployment, social infrastructure worsening, various human rights violations in spheres of income payment and labor conditions, low business activity of rural inhabitants, ineffective using of modern social policy technologies by government bodies, imperfection of their interactions with rural business structures and public organizations in the field of social policy. First of all it concerns to problematic agrarian regions with lesser possibilities for business activity and impact of local bodies on social development.

In the article the findings of rural social sphere trends and mechanisms since 1992 in Russia are presented. Rural social sphere is comprehended by us as a society's subsystem including an aggregate of rural population relations and living conditions determining their interests and activity. Special attention was paid to modern processes

in people income and employment spheres, social infrastructure dynamics, demographic reproduction and migration streams, peculiarities of nation state and local social policies in rural areas. The findings based on quota sample inquiries of rural inhabitants differing on gender, age, places of employment and residence (N=1011, 2008; N= 1100, 2002) and expert questionings of local authorities and heads of agricultural enterprises and social organizations (N=224, 2008; N = 25, 2004; N=53, 2002).

The recent research was conducted in two Russian regions (Altai Kray and Altai Republic) under financial support of Russian Foundation for Humanities (grant №07—03—00321a). Inhabitants of 48 villages, mainly large (with one thousand and more people), located in 31 rural districts, took part in our inquiry in 2008. Among the respondents there were women (55%). The age of respondents are: youth aged 18—29 (25 %); middle aged (58%); pensioners aged up to 70 years (17%). About 30% of all them worked in various organizations of social sphere.

A rating of main rural social challenges was revealed, leaders of them are the following: extremely low wages and pensions under impetuous growth on consumer prices, lack of workplaces, especially for youth, alcoholism and drug addiction spreading, neediness of elementary public utilities, large social differentiation, intensive migration of young people from rural areas. On estimations of their own domestic welfare standards by rural inhabitants in 2008 and 2002 the poor countrymen part declined significantly (in nearly three times) and the middle and comparatively wealthy groups' shares grew in 1.4 and 2.3 times accordingly. In 2008 only 16 percent of the respondents referred themselves to the poor men, lucky of them had enough incomes only for frugal food and utilities payment. Three fourth countrymen estimated their own financial position as middling; their money was enough to buy food, inexpensive clothes and urgent things. And 8 percent of rural inhabitants marked themselves as material well-being (they had had some savings) or prosperity (they had turned themselves down not in the least). Such high positive dynamics of domestic welfare standards estimated by countrymen associates greater with their perception of favorable changes occurred for last years in countryside than with real objective shifts in their living conditions. This is confirmed by results of rural inhabitants estimates distribution on cumulative domestic incomes per head, near 60 percent of our respondents considered themselves among groups with incomes below or closely equal to the living-wage.

In current decade considerable alteration occurred in countrymen incomes structure. In 2002 85 percent of the respondents called family farm as a basic earnings source. At present day leading positions in incomes structure are occupied by wage (63 percent) and family farm gaining (50 percent). A role of such income search as loans and credits had risen essentially (20 percent). As before social networks are considerable for countrymen, each fifth of them uses social capital in kind of relatives' and friends' aid. Only each tenth has additional earnings. Despite being dominated in the income structure, according to statistical data, a remuneration of labor in agricultural enterprises is lowest in comparison with the one in organizations of other economic branches. In last years positive modifications in rural economics impact only slightly on increasing average wages of employees in agriculture, nowadays their size is a little more than a magnitude of subsistence minimum.

For employees in social sphere organizations wages are often the only income search. At the same time only each fifth of such employees estimated her earnings as equitable in according with their labor contribution и qualification. Large group of them (40 percent) marked wages as low, not according to their labor contribution and qualification. And share of employees who considered that their labor isn't practically paid is enough ponderable (8%). Among youth a share of dissatisfied in wages size is higher in one and a half time in comparison with other countrymen. In last years negative processes in development of social infrastructure didn't slow down and even became stronger in several economic branches. Worsening of social services quality was observed on the background of growing their volume. In some rural districts kindergartens, recreation centers and other social organizations were closed, number of cadres and their professional skill were reduced. Thus sharp lack of specialists was observed in educational and cultural

institutions, here main criteria of personnel selection is often alcohol disabuse. Since a middle of 1990s to 2008 a decrease of rural population occurred, tendencies to older age structure and to significant reduction of youth dominated. Since 1992 a death-rate of rural population has substantially exceeded a birth rate.

Low volume of construction led to frazzle and decrepitude of rural housing resources, a part of houses with more than 70 percent of wear grew in two and a half times for market reforms period. As before equipping of dwelling with services and utilities had remained extremely low, in 2007 only about a half of living-space in countryside was equipped by running water, one third — by sewage, 7 percent — by hot water. Main reasons of worsening the situation in rural social sphere in last years were connected by experts with the peculiarities of forming and implementing present reforms of local government. Social institutions that financed from local budgets became aware of finances shortage else greater. As a consequence indifferent attitude of local bodies' heads to institutions and workers of social sphere formed. At the same time positive tendencies showed up in spheres of public health, education, in development of communication service institutions, retail trade, transportation between villages and cities. In rural schools material and technical equipment was improved, computer class-rooms, Internet connection, new laboratories equipping appeared, wages for some categories of teachers rose, some of teaches received educational grants. In public health development of material resources and medical institutions network were observed, earnings of medical workers increased. Positive changes of last three years were connected by the experts with implementation of national projects and federal programs on rural social development.

Characteristics of social mood, satisfaction of their own status give the general estimation of countrymen position. The self-appraisal of population' socio-psychological state is more optimistic in whole in comparison with the one in the decade beginning. In 2008 in countryside «confident optimists» was already more than one forth (for comparison they were less than one fifth in 2002). Those who felt some anxiety, uncertainty in their own and children' future became significantly less: 39 percent against 57 percent in 2002. The main fields of dissatisfaction, reasons of bad mood were revealed, among them are the followings: welfare standards (36 percent of low marks), workplace, bad labor conditions and organization (29 percent), conditions of life (20 percent), dwelling, its low provision and quality (19 percent). Together with these traditional fields countrymen connect their dissatisfaction in many respects with place of residence, namely with situation in the villages (47 percent of low marks) and the region (38 percent). Thus the rural social sphere shifts for yeas of 2000s were unidirectional, mixed picture of non-system reforms was revealed. On the one hand reduction of cultural and consumer service organizations has been continuing that partly was impacted by imperfection of federal and local self-government reforms, and as a result greater lack of financial resources for social development was become to feel. On the other hand some positive changes in welfare standards, education and public health were appeared because of national projects and federal social programs implementation.

Taking into account features of present situation including impact of global economic crisis working out of more efficient socio-economic mechanisms-adapters is needed for forming effective policy in the field of rural social development. The analysis of problems the interactions between local bodies and rural business organizations in social sphere shows that traditions of moral economics and using of social network, embryos of social partnership technologies underlie in their interactions. Main directions and technologies of social policy on rural social development should be connected with perfection of national and local tax system and distributive relations, working out of social service standards, off-budget mechanisms improvement for securing of social infrastructure functioning, stimulation of social partnership and institutions of civil society.

PROBLEMS OF A VILLAGE AS A FACTOR OF LIFE FORMATION STRATEGIES

One of the main problems of the rural economy in the Russian Federation is the lack of qualified personnel. The reason consists in the socially-economical state of the agrarian and industrial complexes and rural places of living. The permanent crisis in these fields acquired a system character. The national project named «The development of agro-industrial complexes» does not break the tendency to degradation. This problem situation stipulated the following tasks of our research: to reveal the opinions of students of the Nizhegorodsky State Agricultural Academy on the problems of a village, its projective intensions and reasons of entering the higher institute of agricultural specialization. The estimations of the state in the village are given in Table 1.

Table 1. The most keen problems of a village, % * (It was allowed to select 15 problems)

Low wages	89,3	School does not ensure a good education	25,0
Alcoholism	77,4	Absence of working places	21,4
Bad conditions of labor	63,1	The fall of morality	21,4
Absence of modern technologies	57,1	Inflation, the growth of prices	21,4
Threat of unemployment	46,4	Rights-less of a worker	16,7
There is no possibility to increase a qualification	36,9	There is no possibility to select a respectful husband: absence of youth	16,7
Life in a village became dull	34,5	Contamination of the environments	14,3
Destroying of collective economies	34,5	Corruption	14,3
Delay of paying wages	33,3	Crimes	13,1
There is no comfortable lodging	33,3	Using of narcotics	13,1
There is no appropriate medical servicing	33,3	Stratification on poor and rich	11,9
No chances for a career	32,1	The large payments for a flat	10,7
A low level of culture of villagers	30,9	There are no days off	5,9
The purchase prices do not ensure the profitableness of production	29,8	There is no vacations	4,8
Non-fixed working hours	27,4	Spreading of SPID	3,6
Selling of lands to those who does not work on it	27,4	It is forbidden to take a sick list	2,4
There is no chance of self-realization in a village	25,0		

*Here and further the percentages were counted from a number of the asked people

The comparison of the results of the poll of the higher school students, students of technical schools and colleges testifies that the last are somewhat critical in the estimations of processes taking place in villages. The reasons consist in the fact that among them there much more those who are from the low-provided families and have no possibility to study

at the other institutes: it is not accidentally that more than half of the polled has choice a place for studying according to a principle «nearest to home». Namely these students suffered from the results of agrarian politics of the state: only 5% approve this politics: 42% do not approve. At the common coincidence of a row of negative estimations in this group there are greatly those who noticed the presence of such negative characteristics as a delay of salary (79%), criminality (69%), non-possibility to take a sick list (42%), spreading SPID (53%), narkotism (42%), absence of vacations (26%), absence of legal rights (21%), non-fixed working hours (21%). Really, the life strategies are formed under the influence of real circumstances formed in rural places. According to our research (N =254 persons) the great part of polled of villagers do not satisfy by the conditions of their life (Table 2).

Table 2. Estimations of one's life situation

To live better than deserve	0,8
To have that we deserve	38,2
Material state worse than we deserve	53,1
It difficult to answer	7,5

The feel of injustice, from one hand, and non-possibility to change something from the other, is the main reason of alcoholism in a village. 39,0% of the polled consider that for the last period the number of those who drink is increased, 45,7 % of those who «as drank as well as drink» and only 6,7% noted a tendency to better. The purposes that villagers put before themselves are the most earthed and the demands are rather moderate: 40% consider that for comfortable life the salary (but not an income for a member of a family) is to be from 10 thousand to 20 thousand. According to opinion of 60%, for well-being life it is necessary 20 thousand a more (Table 3).

Table 3. Opinions of respondents on their life strategy.

To survive as it is possible	14,6
To be not worse than the majority	39,4
To live better than the majority	14,2
To live as middle-providing citizens in Russia	20,1
To live as middle-providing in the Europe	2,0
It is difficult for me to answer	5,1
Did not answer	2,0

The destruction of a village is the all-spreading phenomenon. According to data of our researches, socially-economic problems take also leading positions in the rating of social sphere problems disturbing the rural people of Altai area, Novosibirsk region and republic of Altai.

Table 4. Students Plans about employment in future (% of the polled).

Are you going to work at the rural places	The place where their parents are living				
	Rural area/ village	Working area	Small town	Middle town	Nizhny Novgorod
Yes, at any conditions	3,6	8,3	-	-	-
Yes, at certain conditions	21,4	25,0	33,3	35,7	9,1
No, I am not going	28,6	16,7	33,3	28,6	36,4
I do not decided yet	46,4	50,0	33,3	35,7	54,5

Students do not want to repeat the destinies of their parents (Table 4). They are ready to accept changes that help them in realizing their professional and social demands. The feel of responsibility, the priority of social values over personal ones does not dominate in a system of values of young generation. The youth is much more critical and rational regards to the promises of the power and employers so as we speak about their life. The majority of youth want to build taking in into account the standards given by mass-media: excellent cottage, expensive car, work in a office in white shirt. Maximalism, the practice of probes and mistakes appropriate to their age, faith in a chance give an assurance in achieving purposes. Then what are the reasons and motives of entering institutes of agrarian profile? (Table 5)

Table 5. The reasons of selecting a higher institute by students (in %).

Reasons of selection of institute	%
The main purpose — to get higher education	48,85
An advice of parents	25,0
There is a lesser competition, it is easy to enter	25,0
There is a good level of professional training at the institute	23,8
Institute is near to their place of living	21,4
It is easy to study at this institute	20,2
Abilities are special for this sphere	19,0
The institute has rooms for living	15,5
There was no desire to serve in the army	13,1
A low price for studying	11,9
A desire to prolong careless life	9,5
Studying at specialized class	8,3
The prestige of the higher institute	8,3
Advice of teachers	7,1
Family tradition	3,6
Advice of friends	3,6
It is possible to be directed to a job	2,4

It is evident that a decision is accepted taking into account the rational estimation of an economic state of a family: a low competition, institute is near to a place of living, presence of rooms for living, price of studying including costs for eating, clothes, books etc. The great part of students makes their choice taking into account an opinion of parents. A specific aspiration of youth to get «certificate» with lesser intellectual efforts takes place also. About one fourth of students is oriented on getting qualitative education.

If a choice of the higher institute greatly depends on the formed circumstances in a family then the future work is selected on the base of abilities and interests in profession. Each fifth hears to the advices of parents. The great part of youth takes into account a possibility get a job after graduating an institute on the obtained profession as well as in a village and city (Table 6).

Table 6. Reasons for students' choice of their future professions (%)

Reasons of a choice:	%
Abilities in this sphere	36,9
They like this profession	32,1
It is possible to find a job in a village	23,8
An advice of parents	20,2
It is possible to find a job in a town	17,9
The lesser competition, it's easy to enter	16,7
There is a good level of professional training at the institute	11,9
They like to live in rural places	10,7
Studying in a special class	4,8
Family tradition	2,4
An advice of teachers	2,4
An advice of friends	1,2

Thus, the problem of fixing labour forces in the agrarian economies of Russia can be decided only in a complex way as far as it is necessary to take into account the significance of satisfaction of not only material but also social demands of the youth. As for opinion of respondents, it is possible owing to a change of the agrarian politics on development of production sphere of the agrarian and industrial complex on federal level. The creation of production basis in the rural places, working places with good wages should be accompanied by building of the comfortable flats, extending of social infra-structure: medical, educational, leisure and etc. The high level of income in a young family allows to decide a row of problems independently but the development of social infrastructure first of all education, medical and cultural servicing, building of roads require a capital investments of the state. There are also necessary changes in the state informational politics directed on the increase of a prestige of rural labor and propagation of attractiveness of rural style of life.

8. YOUTH AND NEW GENERATION

8.1. EDUCATION ENVIRONMENT AND THE YOUTH CAREER MOTIVATION

Yana Didkovskaya & Dmitry Onegov

PROFESSIONAL CAREER OF YOUTH IN THE SPHERE OF SCIENCE AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Since the end of 90th of XX century the orientation of youth on making career on the field of science and education remains constantly weak. Many Russian researchers pointing out the evident contradiction between the raise of postgraduate students' enrollment rate which doubles and the fall of scholars' quantity from 2 millions in year 1990 to approximately 900 thousands in years 2003—2004. It's absolutely clear that nowadays, when hi-tech and innovative development is in great demand by modern industry, such situation can leave Russia far behind among countries, that following the way of «catch-up modernization», pursuing two leaders — Europe and USA. David Kostantinovsky in his interview to news agency «Polit. ru» comments this situation with such words: «... science needs to be reinforced by young, aspired people who can continue researches started in science schools... without science, for education will be no good at all. When talking about education, I mean secondary and professional education. Secondary education depends on science, because science creates specific intellectual climate, and without science the intellectual level of an ordinary teacher will degrade over time. However, it's also concerning an intellectual level of population in common.»¹²⁶

Actual problems of youth professional self determination in science and education can be illustrated with number of empirical research. In such way 300 fourth and fifth course students who studying in Yekaterinburg commercial and state universities pole¹²⁷ revealed a number of graduate students' professional orientation critical tendencies, like their orientation on career development in the sphere of science and education.

Among the strong and the most obvious orientations we can find the orientation on occupational job, on starting own business and on getting secondary higher education (see Table 1). Those expectancies are showing the orientation on the career development, on the success and on the progress in the chosen professional sphere. Among alternative orientations leading the non-occupational work, the work or study abroad and once again starting their own business and secondary higher education. The obvious outsider in this list is orientation on a scientific work: 82% of senior students not going to enter intramural post-graduate study and 87% of them showing the same attitude to extramural post-graduate study.

¹²⁶ Kostantinovsky D.L. «Aspiration for education is recourse more useful than oil and gas» Analitics. /www.polit.ru

¹²⁷ Research made with financial support from the Fund of Russian Federation President in 2006—2007 (grant №MK-8695.2006.6. Project supervisor — Didkovskaya Y.V.)

Table 1. Professional plans of senior students in percent to the quantity of polled

Professional plans	Expectancies			Total
	Rather possible	Definitely possible	Not possible	
1. Get an occupational job	46	17	7	100
2. Get non occupational job	18	64	18	100
3. Enter full-time post-graduate study	6	12	82	100
4. Enter part-time post-graduate study	2	11	87	100
5. Start own business	23	56	21	100
6. Do not get any job and devote all life to family	1	9	90	100
7. Go abroad for study or work	3	42	55	100
8. Get secondary education	27	51	22	100

From the empirical data we can see true cause of professional orientation on science and education lack or absence — they are low payment for scientists work and an absence of prospects on future career.

The sphere of science and education occupies a lowest place in students' hierarchy of perspective spheres where they can make a professional progress and build a career with a success. Only 2% of students call this sphere the most perspective for career building, at the same time for building industry we have 65% and for trading and service sphere — 63%.

Mostly, students evaluating lecturer's work prestige as moderate (64%). Remain students occupy opposite sides of rating scale as two equal part of 18%. The prestige of scientist profession has been evaluated in a practical style (see Table 2). Evidently, having a job in the sphere of science and education is not much attractive for youth; anyway, we can see no negative attitude to having one. Students mostly consider as not exactable to work as lecturer: merely 2% of students want to have such kind of work.

Table 2. The scientist profession prestige rating in Russia and abroad

Rating level	In percent to the quantity of polled	
	In Russia	Abroad
High	24	84
Moderate	58	16
Low	18	0
In all:	100,0	100,0

The 60% difference between scientists' profession prestige rating in Russia and abroad shows us, that the main criterion of profession rating for youth is pay rate. The matter of scientist's work in Russia and abroad is the same (intellectual work, creative kind of work etc.), but students believe, that the pay rate and authorities attitude to scientists in Russian society and abroad is not the same at all.

7% of graduates willing to build a career in the sphere of science and education are not a big part at all. But much bigger part of youth (23%) consider having a job in the sphere of science as a possible in future. So, more or less, 30% of senior students are willing to be a scientist

after graduating. This willingness is specific, because youth regard a scientific work as not the main place of its future occupation, but as a complementary to its business or work in a large company etc. We consider as a main reason of this regard the status raising ability through gaining a scientific degree or an academic rank. But here let us assume that step by step graduates begin re-associate the sphere of science with absence of economical value. Such assumption based on a scientific work motivation analysis (see results in Table 3).

The most desired for graduates is to earn money using their intellectual abilities. It means that the orientation on a scientific work is not far from the main orientation on pragmatic work motivation. What is important — youth consider a scientific work as an effective way to build career abroad. The Russian university still is not attractive for graduates as a place of employment, and none of them count it so. Having such a chance the most part of graduates (90%) would rather work as scientists abroad, than in Russia.

Table 3. Scientific work motivation¹²⁸

Motives	In percent to the quantity of polled
1. Chance to earn money using intellectual abilities	50,7
2. Prospects of professional progress, raising one's professional competence	47,9
3. The scientific research process is the most attractive itself	45,1
4. Chance to go abroad, work in other country university	26,8
5. Chance to gain scientific degree or academic rank	21,1
6. Chance to make a contribution in science progress	18,3
7. Work in research institute or university in creative atmosphere	12,7
8. Satisfaction with scientific work in whole	1,4
9. Advantage in a business development	1,4

So what obstacles can encounter those graduates who are willing to be scientists after graduating from the university? The first and the hardest obstacle is low pay rate in Russian science — it has 40% breakaway from the other obstacles. The other obstacles can be divided in to groups: personal — a hard work, a heavy work load, a lack of research abilities, and conditional — no demand for scientists in Russian society.

In this work we tried to point out conditions, that harden youth' transfer to the sphere of science and education and personal contradictions which is result of this conditions and also could harden the establishment of professionals in this sphere. The success of keeping youth interested in scientific work depend on effective government's politics aimed on involving and keeping youth in the sphere of science and education.

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STUDENTS' MOTIVATION OF CHOOSING TEACHER'S CAREER

The aim of our research is to reveal the specific of dynamics of students' motivation which determines their vocational choice. According to this, an inquiry was held among first-year,

¹²⁸ On this question answered only those graduates, who have direction of any strength on career development in science — they are 30% of whole massif

third-year and fifth-year students of teacher training colleges in Moscow. Data were collected by an authorial questionnaire targeted at studying peculiarities of students' career development.

The results of the survey show that prevailing motives for choosing teacher's career are related to students' aspiration for professional and personal development. For example, 61.5% mention «aspiration to become a specialist in teaching», 44.1% have «aspiration to self-development», 38.3% indicate «intention to get new knowledge». It is important to add that one third of students get teacher's vocation just to «have a degree» (34.6%) and to «obtain social status» (31.1%). In other words, for these students developing teacher's career is a factor for vertical mobility. Among the most seldom motives which are mentioned by students are: «family traditions» (5.0%), «parents' demand» (3.5%) and «public approval» (1.4%).

While studying at a teacher training college students have motivations to get teacher's vocation changes considerably. Significance of motives related with students' career development declines appreciably. Thus, among the first-year students 66.9% mention «aspiration to become a specialist in teaching», among fifth-year students — 48.5%. Percentage of those who are first-year students and point at «intention to get new knowledge» is 42.2%, among fifth-year students — 34.8%. Reduction in this motivation shows that students' interest towards teacher's work decreases and fewer students are likely to work in education after graduating. Simultaneously such motives as «aspiration to self-development», «obtaining social status», «and ambition to have a degree» become more significant to students. In other words, studying at a teacher training college is considered by students as a stage not only for self-development, but as a basis for personal and social realization. Listed changes in students' motivation occur at the turn of the third-year. On the one hand this could indicate that students go through a certain crisis of studying. On the other hand this is an evidence of a students' career development crisis.

To sum up one can argue that educed age dynamics of students' motivation of getting teacher's career indicates that to the end of the course at a teacher training college teaching becomes less attractive to students.

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YOUTH OF POST-SOVIET RUSSIA: ECONOMIC POSITION, VALUE ORIENTATIONS AND ASPIRATIONS

Present-day Russia is a transforming society characterized by substantial changes in all spheres of social life. Being very dynamic, above transformations intensify youth problems; generate a number of critical, both rightful and farfetched, judgments of post-soviet youth's position and aspirations. What happened to young Russians and youth environment under transformational processes? How do they live today and what will be their life tomorrow? An overwhelming majority of young Russians demonstrates succession of the generations apparent with regard to their life plans, value orientations as well as attitudes toward national problems and religion. And though there are some differences between representatives of both generations, they are not so profound that we could talk about any generation gap. Happy family, good children, interesting job (the one that is wishful or able to provide material well-being), high-quality education tends to be absolute and most important basic values for the majority of Russian youth standing out for its working qualities, well-being level, morale and behavioral peculiarities, attitudes toward politics [1].

At the same time young Russians are more optimistic than those representing elder generations: even in times of trouble young people don't lose hope and are disposed to brighten up their own prospects as well as prospects of Russian society and trends of its future development. Thus, according to the research findings, almost two thirds (63%) of young Russians at the age of 18—24 thought in November 2008, that present-day Russia developed in the right direction. 25% of them were sure, that Russian economy would be on the rise in a year. 35% were of opinion, that actual structure and social order of Russian society could be treated as just and fair [2]. In March 2007 part of young Russians, estimating life in present-day Russia in a positive

way, became — as compared with 1997 — half as much (60%). Sense of social optimism so typical for young people consolidated during the last years. Part of those increased among them (and became half and even twice as much) who is sure that in the nearest ten — fifteen years Russia would be economically prosperous and democratically developed country, strong power possessing high international prestige. Most likely the main reason of positive dynamics of mass youth consciousness is that the majority of young Russians has already adapted — professionally, organizationally and psychologically — to new socio-economic relations and found the ways to earn their living. Being well-qualified and ready to take account of market requirements, possessing skills and abilities appreciated by contemporary labor market, young Russians get the start of elder generations and plan to achieve a great success depending on their own, since 70% of them are sure, that material well-being of a concrete individual is up to his or her personal efforts, but not to externals such as national economic circumstances [1]. Material well-being of young Russians tends to be better than that of their parents: 6% of them estimated it as good, 66% — as middling and 16% — as bad one in November 2008. At the same time they are more optimistic estimating future prospects of their well-being (see Figure 1).

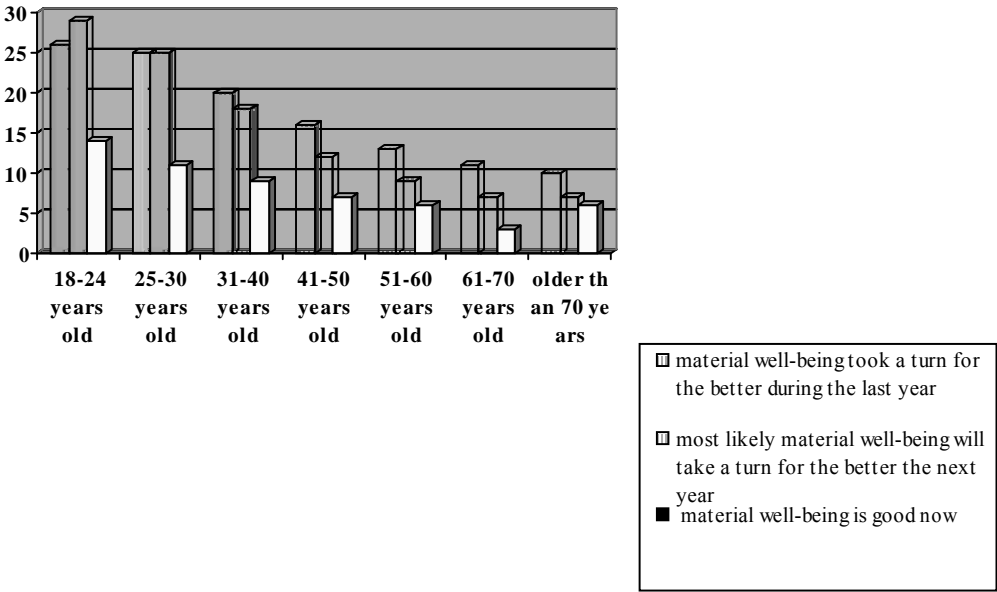


Figure 1. Material well-being as it is estimated by the representatives of different age groups [2].

According to research findings, young Russians aged 18—25 are less — as compared with those representing other age groups — inclined to state, that financial crisis affects them, though part of them who has already felt its impact tended to increase substantially (47% in January against 68% in February 2009). By virtue of youth as well as loose inclusion in everyday routine expenditures they are not thoughtful about rise in prices. As regards their life strategies, young Russians are not ready to reduce their consumer wants: for example, buy cheaper foodstuffs or consumer goods. The last 10 years changed models of youth’s allocation among enterprises of different patterns of ownership. Part of those employed in state sector decreased substantially, while part of those working at private enterprises became half as much. Welfare standards of those representing the first group turn out to be better than that of employed at state-owned enterprises. At the same time representatives of the former group face challenges of getting a job according to their specialty more often. In 2007 nearly one-half of Russian youth worked according to acquired specialty. Part of those unable to get appropriate job turned out to be invariable and came to 20% of young Russians [1]. Differences between successful and unfortunate young people tend to become more profound and consolidated. Those working at private enterprises exhibit a tendency to improve their material well-being, while those employed in public ones — quite the contrary. No wonder that the majority of those who are employed at

private enterprises are not eager to return to public ones. On the other hand, nearly one-half of young people working at state-owned enterprises would like to pass on to private companies.

Did the crisis affect employment practices of young Russians? In March 2009 only 4% of them stated, that crisis facilitated a process of getting a job according to their specialty. More than one-half (55%) believed that above process became complicated. «Older» youth (those representing the 21—23 and 24—26 age groups) as well as those who got specialized secondary and higher education tend to share this point of view more often. «Low-resource youth» — young people whose monthly incomes seem insufficient to buy enough foodstuff — turn out to be the most pessimistic in this regard: 78% of them were sure, that it would be difficult now to get a job according to their specialty. Every sixth (16%) representative of young generation is firmly convinced, that crisis doesn't affect practices of employment. Answering a question «Whether it will be difficult for you to get a good job within the next six months?», 45% of respondents (young Russians at the age of 16—26) taking part in national sociological research survey, conducted by FOM (Public Opinion Foundation), answered, that it would be difficult. Youth aged 21—23, those with specialized secondary education and especially underprovided young Russians were the greatest pessimists. Only 11% of respondents believed, that it would be easy to find a job which will suit them. Respondents were asked also, whether economic crisis affected their plans as regards employment and choice of employer, and if so, in what way? 41% of them stated, that it didn't, whereas 49% insisted on the opposite. At the same time 33% of the latter told that their plans were affected by crisis significantly. Young Russians at the age of 16—17 and Muscovites having better chances than inhabitants of other regions claim that crisis hasn't affected their labor plans. Youth aged 21—23 tends to declare more often than others that crisis changed their plans in respect of employment and choice of employer substantially. Slightly more than a quarter (28%) of respondents sought employment within the six-month period prior to survey. Overwhelming (68%) majority of them — mainly those aged 21—23 and representing «low-resource youth» — failed to do that [3]. Bearing in mind the fact that basic values of young people are quite similar to those of elder generation we insist that their attitude toward a number of instrumental values concerning not so much the question «what is most important in life» as «under which conditions and how could be achieved the most important living goals» points to fundamental and primary tendency of modification of value systems typical for young people growing up in a world dominated by market conditions. The main thing as regards real value progress is a transformation of traditionalistic — collectivist-paternalistic — type of consciousness, originating in Russian community, as well as formation of individualistic utilitarian or modernist consciousness of Western type. The corner stone of this type of consciousness could be stated as «*self-made*» and therefore responsible for his action and their consequences man. In spite of the fact that the first market youth generation was formed under fundamentally new social-economical and political conditions ratio of those representing it with traditionalistic consciousness and those with modernist one looks like rather unexpected — two thirds against one third in favor of the former. Regarding moral values of young generation we observe some alarming tendencies. Although the findings of the surveys [1] show that ideas and notions of total immorality of modern youth as well as of prevalence among it of different negative forms of behavior are grossly overestimated, such behavioral practices as smoking, strong alcohol drinking, ante-nuptial sexual life and fraud tricks for the sake of personal goals' achieving are widely-spread among young people. As far as the forms of everyday and economic deviation is concerned (drug addiction, bribing and so on) they tend to touch upon moderate however increasing part of young Russians. At the same time tolerant attitudes toward them prevalent in youth environment look like alarming. Even such form of deviant behavior as drug addiction — the one that is strongly blamed by youth — is perceived truly by 10—20% of young Russians representing different age groups [1]. Different forms of deviation are distributed among groups of young people irregularly. They are least prevalent among women representing humanitarian intelligentsia and widespread among that relatively small part of young people originating from lower social strata and lacking for secondary education. Every form of deviant behavior is characterized by its own peculiarities of distribution and risk groups. Many of them are concentrated amidst young country folk.

Real basis as well as the substance of modern youth's life is constituted and formed by its private life including active contacts and relations with friends, family and domestic problems,

recreational activity and self-development. Data obtained by the Institute of Sociology (Russian Academy of Sciences) show that we should not consider young people as homogeneous and uniform demographic group, but have to analyze fundamentally different types of modern Russian young people within one and the same generation. Taking into consideration peculiarities of interpersonal attitudes and relations, entertaining and recreational contacts as well as of public work we marked out six basic types of young Russians differing by the nature, intensity and orientation of their social connections. One of them uniting about one third of modern Russian youth is very close — according to the nature of its leisure and preferences — to living standards of those representing middle class as it is in developed Western countries [1].

Communication styles, mentality, value priorities and mode of life developing today in youth environment means much for the tendencies of Russian society social structure's evolution as well as for the operation of factors predetermining stratification processes. Political participation is out of the sphere of basic everyday interests of young Russians. At the same time indifference towards politics typical for youth is not so comprehensive and universal as it is considered to be. More than one half of young Russians keeps up — although occasionally — with political events taking place both in and outside the country. Moreover, as they become adult and gain social and vital experience their interest towards politics increases [1]. On the other hand, notions and ideas of low professional and moral characteristics of those engaged in politics and processes of socially significant decisions making, so typical for young people, contribute to a certain extent to formation of opinion on politics as a sphere which is alien and far from them. Specific political attitudes and orientations of youth are extremely mixed, however realizing all expenses of modern life young people are not inclined and disposed to complete denial of today's Russian reality as well as of the events and developments serving as the boundary between the old and new times. At the same time relatively safe and successful young people gravitate towards liberal and market values, less successful — towards national-patriotic and unfortunate — towards socialist ones. As far as the main ideological and political movements are concerned preferences of young people with respect to them are not as distinct and well-defined as against representatives of elder age groups. In March 2007 only 40% of young Russians were able to identify themselves within the frames of modern ideological and political spectrum. At the same time old-fashioned and outdated division of a society into «communists» and «reformers» is not actual and typical for modern youth's mentality as for more politicized elder generation [1]. Nationalism is not inherent to young (as well as to those representing elder generations) Russians. Its individual manifestations should be regarded as the consequences of contradictions caused by social-economic and political modifications taken place in Russia rather than by ethnic «phobias» themselves. Data obtained during all-Russian youth survey conducted in March 2007 showed that 55% of young people tended to believe that Russia should be a state in which all resident nations had equal rights and possibilities. At the same time it should be taken into consideration that 44% of young people were absolutely sure that first of all Russia should be a state for Russians [1]. As far as the attitude toward religion is concerned young people are practically undistinguishable from those representing elder generations. In spite of total and overall increase in a number of believers, irreligious type of world outlook continues to hold considerable and substantial place in the consciousness of young people. At the same time the latter tends to take a great interest in different forms of non-traditional religiosity, new «para-scientific» beliefs. Being positive towards increase of religious organizations' influence, majority of young people is sure that they should well and sharply define their place in social life and function within the limits of their competence. Young people — as well as the older generation — don't agree with an idea of some concrete and specific religion's oneness. On the contrary majority of respondents representing different age groups advocate parity of religions.

Youth environment demonstrates pluralistic and tolerant attitude not only toward different standards of behavior but also towards different types of ideology. Findings of sociological surveys conducted by the Institute of Sociology (Russian Academy of Sciences) indicate that intolerance and aggressiveness, considered to be a basis for fascist ideology, is not typical for overwhelming majority of Russian young people. In spite of existence of some separate centers in which young adherents of fascist ideology are concentrated, at present time the latter phenomenon hasn't any serious social basis in Russia. The situation is totally different in case the matter concerns social basis of extremality as it is in youth environment. Results of special sociological survey

conducted at the end of 2006 showed stable trend of extreme manifestations' growth — the one covering all spheres of youth activities and serving as significant potential of its extremist frames of mind. This trend is especially evident among teenagers and youth of 18—21 years old. As a rule, extremality growth is caused by structural changes and transformations in youth social structure, demographical crisis, accumulation of insoluble contradictions in main spheres of young people's activity (such as studies, labor relations, political life, leisure and so on), decline in youth confidence towards authorities as well as by a number of other reasons lacking proper attention from state structures. The problem in question is rooted in so deeply that today we could only withhold such tendencies, since their fundamental overcoming calls for a special national program. Transforming into extremism, extremality gives rise to one general tendency which is preferred and primary identification of youth with small groups, but not with a generation as a whole. Above specificity explains ideological pluralism of extremist orientations as well as youth movements' disunity.

Although the fact that young people don't become aware of generational interests puts objective obstacles on the way of their integration in united front on the basis of common ideology, existence of a quantity of separate and isolated groups makes them practically unpredictable and complicates work with them. It looks like we shouldn't wait for formation of some generational ideology (especially bearing in mind that above process is already in progress), but ought to try to unite or consolidate young people on the basis of the some general strategic goals aimed at country's development. In contrast to extremality the level of extremist attitudes and dispositions typical for young people as a whole couldn't be estimated as a high one. According to the research findings, not more than 5% of youth share extremist positions. Manifestations of extremism could be observed on part of relatively small (5—15%) portion of youth movements' participants. Part of those being identified as ideological fighters of extremist orientation is even lower. Social basis of youth extremism presumes as tens of thousands of young people who participate in extremist movements and orientation. These young people pose a real and substantial threat for Russian society [1].

Analyzing social basis of extremist frames of mind we found that it consists mainly of young people representing youngest age groups, those studying at trade and technical schools as well as residing in cities. Growing potential of extremism is constituted by young people residing in cities but not in a megalopolis. In the nearest future rural youth might be another social source of extremist manifestations because young people realize increasing gaps in quality of life in urban and rural types of settlements. Village youth suffer this gap especially hard. So at present time Russia badly needs development of national priority measures aimed at expansion of regional youth self-actualization's possibilities.

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AXIOLOGICAL COMPONENT OF YOUTH CONSCIENCE: ON DATA OF SURVEYS IN TULA

In the process of the individual development every person acquires particular set of values, that are organically connected with the man's needs in material well-being, achievement of the professional goals, family happiness and so on [1, 147]. In the article we made an attempt to

study the evaluative orientations of the young generation of the Tula region on the materials of the sociological research «The youth evaluative orientations and its attitude towards religion (on the example of the Tula region)», that was organized and conducted in the fourth quarter of 2008 by the laboratory of the sociological research and study of the public opinion of the municipal institution of the social service for the youth «The center of the socio-psychological assistance to the youth «The Chance» in collaboration with the youth policy committee of the Tula region.

The young people of Tula town and Tula Oblast aged from 14 to 30 appeared as the empiric object of the case study. The array of the respondents made up 456 persons, the sampling mistake is no more than + 3,0%. Among those who took part in the poll there were 55,8% of male persons and 44,2% female. The age contingent of the respondents is presented through the following three categories: «from 14 to 19» — 34,2%, «from 20 to 24» — 35, 6%, «from 25 to 30» — 29,8%. The educational level of the questioned people was quite high: about a third of them have not yet graduate from the higher education institutions (32,2), about a fourth — have. Besides, according to the aspect «education» about 20,6% of the structure of the empiric object of our study were made up by the respondents, who have vocational education diplomas, 13,2% — by those who haven't yet obtained secondary education certificates, and 10,5% — by those who have. Majority of the youth are not married (72,7%) and don't have children (77,7%). 61,6% of the participants of the research are Tula residents, 38,4% live in the regional centers of the Tula Oblast. According to the data of the research, in the evaluative system of the youth there tends to be a shift from pragmatism to the rise of the importance of the basic values that are formed in the period of the primary socialization [2,83] (Table 1).

Table 1. Hierarchy of the evaluative orientations of Tula youth (2005, 2008)

Rank	Value	
	2005	2008
I	Material well-being	Health
II	Health	Family
III	Family	Life
IV	Love	Love
V	Life	Material well-being
VI	Job	Education
VII	Friends	Job
VIII	Education	Friends
IX	Religion	Religion
X	Politics	Politics

As indicated in the table, the dominant value for the modern Tula youth, which takes up a stable position in the «nuclear» of the values, is «health». Family also remains one of the most relevant values for the young people: in comparison with the year 2005 it moved up from the third place to the second, still being in the «nuclear», which is not surprising, since the values of the terminal kind (the value of the family, the human life, interpersonal relationships) traditionally occupied the first places in the hierarchy of the evaluative structure of the mass conscience. The values «love», «job», «education», «friends» invariably form up the reserve of the «nuclear», and «religion» and «politics» still take the last positions in the system of values of the Tula youth, and as the laboratory research group believes, are still regarded as abstract socio-cultural phenomena. Within the framework of the study of the youth evaluative orientations it was planned to ascertain what is the youth's opinion like regarding the life success attainment, whether they are purposeful in life.

It is significant, that the answers of the participants on this issue were ambivalent. On the one hand, answering the question «What in your opinion can help a person to be successful?» the young people mostly referred to some outward circumstances, help from the outside. Thus, in accordance with the obtained data, connections (61,6%) extensively contribute to the success achievement. Of no small importance are the following components of successful life: high-quality education (48,0%); high financial position (45,0%); occupation with good job opportunities (34,2%); family status (20,4%) and fortunate combination of circumstances, the chance (19,5%). Of no importance for success achievement, in the youth's opinion, are the skill of avoiding the laws (6,6%), the personal traits: purposefulness, sociability, diligence, professionalism (2,0%), and also successful marriage (0,4%). On the other hand, the given research is evidence of the fact, that the young people find connection between the personal efforts, personal contribution and the life success: more than the half of the respondents (55,9%) in order to achieve success are ready to get a complementary education, 41,0% of the participants of the questionnaire are ready to work «nonstop», 39,5% — to emigrate, 30,9% — to take a risks or embark on a shady enterprise. And only minor part of the respondents is able to «abrogate their principles» (11,0%), «violate the law» (8,5%), «betray friends and relatives» (0,4%). 8,8% of the questioned found difficulty in answering the question. The youth of Tula in the present context of society development is characterized by such features as purposefulness and self-confidence, since the majority of the respondents have their life goal (85,5%) and are positive that they are able to realize it (88,6%).

It is worth to mention, that the concept of goal achieving is closely connected with the sphere of morality and is indicative of a certain moral and ethical character of the Tula youth. Within the framework of the problem under consideration the respondents were asked to mark their position on the five- number scale of a given questionnaire concerning the statement «The end justifies the means». The data of the research suggest that there are 16% more of the respondents who are ready to do anything for the sake of their goal, than those who hold another opinion. The majority of the participants give preference to the «golden mean» (30, 5%) (Figure 1).

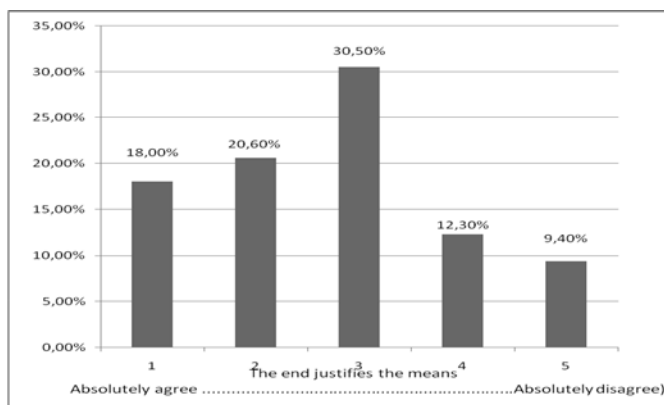


Figure 1. The distribution of the respondents' answers to the question «Do you agree with the statement: «The end justifies the means»?»

It is noteworthy, that only a little part of the questioned persons find it possible to abrogate principles, break the law, betray relatives in order to attain one's goals, but still for the most part the young people are ready to take any means available. Our attention is drawn to the fact that such an attitude is more characteristic for men, than women. Thus, the data obtained allow us to make the following general conclusions:

1. In the system of values of the young generation there can be observed a shift from pragmatism to the rise of the importance of the basic values that are formed during the period of primary socialization.

2. The dominant evaluative orientation among the Tula youth, which occupies the stable position in the «nuclear», is «health». Family also continuous to be on of the most relevant values for young people.

3. The values «love», «job», «education», «friends» invariably make up the reserve of the «nuclear». «Religion» and «politics» still take up the last ranks in the value system of the Tula region youth.

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KNOWLEDGE, SKILLS, ABILITIES AS INDICATORS OF PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE

The main object of professional education is professional competence of a future specialist. The basic indicators of professional competence are as follows: knowledge, abilities, skills, psychological features, professional positions and acmeological invariants of a specialist. Knowledge is transferred and learnt, as well as skills and abilities are formed, in the process of teaching.

Knowledge is information of practical value, which is socially conditioned, obtained and generalized as a result of historical experience. As information, knowledge is a result of the process of human activity defined historically and conditioned socially, which is called cognition. The main purpose of knowledge is the organization and regulation of practical activity. The specialist's knowledge must be *profound* (embracing the essence, inherent connections and laws of subjects and phenomena), *sound* (retainable for a long time) and *flexible* (providing its creative application in complex and dynamic conditions). Knowledge exists in different forms. Some scientists consider the existence of science in its modern meaning to be the criterion of these forms. Accordingly, they distinguish pre-scientific knowledge, extra-scientific knowledge and scientific knowledge proper. Theoretical and practical knowledge are distinguished as well. Theoretical knowledge contains information about the essence of subjects and phenomena, represents the certain base for practical activity to be carried out. Practical knowledge contains information about methods to use subjects and phenomena in the process of achieving one or another goal. In general, knowledge gaining is a process complex enough, which includes the perception of material being studied, its comprehension and remembering, as well as application in practical activity. The following levels of knowledge are formed in teaching process which characterizes professional competence:

- ◆ «acquaintance-knowledge», which is characterized by general notion about object being studied, helps to recognize it among the similar ones and lets orient oneself in the process of activity in a general way only;

- ◆ «reproduction-knowledge», helps to describe necessary actions, to analyze them more or less correctly, to evaluate their possible results and, as for practical activity, lets orient oneself in a simple standard situation;

- ◆ «ability-knowledge», helps to apply gained knowledge in practice for solving some kind of problems and receiving subjectively new information. In practice it promotes the confident application of gained information in any situation;

- ◆ «transformation-knowledge», helps to rebuild present knowledge for performing different kinds of tasks. In this case activity acquires a flexible character. A person gains

rational methods of thinking which let him orient himself efficiently and make creative decisions in different situations. Transformation-knowledge helps not only to acquire knowledge but to create new knowledge on the base of practical activity as well.

A skill is an action, formed by repetition, which is characterized by the high degree of mastery and lack of conscious regulation and control. Skills are formed as a result of exercises, i. e. the purposeful and systematic repetition of actions, with quantitative and qualitative activity indices changing. It is possible to consider a skill as a partly automatic action. In this context making an action automatic means to lessen the role of consciousness in its regulation, as well as to reduce regulating components. In general, the action consolidated as a skill calls for less expenditure of energy and strength, as well as helps to eliminate unnecessary movements. Skills are differentiated according to the degree of generalization. Highly generalized skills embrace a wide class of objects and make it possible to transfer it as an action to a similar group of objects. These skills are formed as a result of the actions repeated many times, which are exercise and training. Success in forming a skill depends on motivation, different forms of consolidation, the methods of explanation of the actions' content, the forming of its orienting base, as well as the optimal dosage of exercises and feedback in different forms of control. Less generalized skills are characterized by the possibility of application in the definite class of phenomena only, without transfer to the other ones.

The character of performance of professional tasks can demand for the close interaction among personnel. The skills of human interaction create conditions for collective skills to be formed. *Collective skills* are the result of following the tempo and rhythm of a common activity, which characterizes coordination between the actions of people performing different operations with a common goal. Abilities are optimal and most efficient methods to perform some certain actions, which are based upon the gained knowledge and skills. Ability requires, first of all, understanding the demands put on the actions and methods of their performance, as well as knowledge and mastery of these methods, which can be a certain procedure or their collection. The examples can be different kinds of technologies.

The dynamics of the professional competence forming shows a close relation between knowledge, skills and abilities. Knowledge is usually the base to form abilities and skills. Though there is a backward relation: highly developed abilities and skills contribute to new knowledge to be gained. At the same time, gaining of knowledge not infrequently doesn't precede practical actions, i. e. abilities and skills are primary. Only later a person gains knowledge, which opens the essence of activity.

8.2. THE LIFE AND CIVIL POSITION OF THE YOUTH IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIA

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SOCIAL MANAGEMENT OF CONFLICT PROCESSES ARISING IN A PUBLIC LIFE OF YOUTH

Social management of conflict processes arising in a public life of youth should be carried out in a complex within the limits of realized GMP. Within the conditions of the

reforms non-stability caused by an inorganic modernization of the Russian society it is possible to consider as non-efficient the social mechanisms of non-system and posteriors macro-management by the contra-dictionary or obviously conflict tendencies arising in a dynamically developing youth society. The non-resolved and non-adjustable in due time social conflicts of youth are to be the determinants of a permanent social anomie, mass frustration moods and promote the disintegration in a society. The process of social development of modern youth is characterized by synergetic tendencies i. e. by the loss of traditional models of the outwardly non-conflict and socializing adaptation of young individuals into the community of seniors. The practice testifies that non-resolved social conflicts of youth in different spheres of life activity acquiring sharp, temporal-long or latent forms seems to be in the functional relation destructive, destabilizing and elementary undesirable phenomena. So, quite often the family conflicts of youth finish with family disintegration or divorce; the educational conflicts — by the deformation of educational process or psychics of trainees; intrapersonal conflicts — by the deviant-delinquent behavior; the industrial — by the dismissal of persons or strike movement in especially crisis, «force-major» situations. The inefficiency of the state and public mechanisms of management of social conflicts of youth actualizes the «SOS -problem» already during last twenty years. We will underline that theoretic-applied aspects of social contradictions in youth society, within the system of value orientations of youth in the educational, family, labor, civil-legal, leisure spheres have already received the fundamental expression in the works of domestic authors of different scientific schools and generations: V. Lissovsky, V. Tchuprov, J. Zubok, T. Petrova, J. Vishnevsky, S. Ikonnikova, V. Shubkin, V. Zhukov, G. Osadchaya, I. Ilinsky, V. Lukov, A. Kovaleva, A. Shendrik, V. Levicheva, Z. Sikevich, L. Ionina, A. Kozlova, A. Salagaev etc. In the article context as an empirical base for author's generalizations there were the results more than 30 sociological researches carried out in Republic Bashkortostan for 1992—2007. Modern conflicts of youth can be classified and identified on their scale, character of co-operating subjects, spheres of life activity, social and cultural principles (structure of requirements, interests, values, norms, views, purposes), on individual perception of conflicts, character of conflict interaction or position of young subjects in the system of social hierarchy.

The development of the ideas of complex institutional administrative influence on all these social conflicts, the systematization of the structural elements of conflict that define their types and features of their solving by means of external or internal — self-regulating mechanisms used at the personal and inter-personal levels open to us new prospects of the interdisciplinary approach to sociological study of youth problems within the conditions of non-stable, modernized society. Social conflicts of youth can be defined as permanent public relations between actively adapting and self-developed young subjects-participants, arising in the process of realization of their purposeful social activity expressed in contradictory actions of the parties, occupying the unequal status in social structure of the society, the incompatible positions, defending opposite realized interests, possible values, needs, types of behavior, norms, settings, the motives formed at stages of socialization. In a definition offered by the author there have been reflected all basic concepts — structural elements of the conflict, there has been underlined the specificity of the youth as active social group. The sociological researches carried out in the Republic Bashkortostan indicate on the sharp need in the direct participation of youth in the decision of such actual and conflict problems as protection against unemployment (69,6 %), against decrease in a life standard (64,7 %), material support in an old age (54,6 %) or protection against an arbitrariness of administration of the enterprises (educational institutions) and mobbing from collective (49,2 %). The results of the research allow to assert that social conflicts will lose the destructive effect under conditions of accommodation, i. e. there will be adequately applied the effective social mechanisms of management by conflicts approved by world practice and realized through institutes of social and legal protection of youth and intermediary intervention. Within the limits of the offered complex and inherently aprioristic strategy of management by youth conflicts it should be selected two priority directions. The vector of the first is connected with a constant decision of social problems of youth in the basic spheres of

life activity — assuring of the availability of education, using of qualifying potential of youth, its employment, health protection, assistance in the decision of housing problems and recreation problems. Thereby, the Russian state youth policy will execute the mission of prevention of the escalation of conflicts between youth and a society assigned to it and providing of optimum conditions for integration of youth into social structure. The vector of the second direction is oriented on the educational social technologies directed on formation among youth of the independent readiness to nonviolent and constructive decision of current and perspective life plans and social problems. So, the social management of conflict processes arising in all spheres of social life of youth should be carried out in a complex, as a system within the limits of realized GMP both on All-Russia and on regional level. The management of social conflicts of youth — not a fixed idea, it is quite possible by means of influence on youth living conditions, on a system of value orientations by means of the planned socially approved actions for the decision, first of all, those social problems that «detonate» conflicts in a modern society.

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TYPICAL CHANGES IN THE FREE TIME OF THE MODERN YOUTH

The sphere of leisure and rest is a very important sphere of everyday life that undergoes a peculiar «revolution of preferences» during the years of economic changes. It is expressed in the qualitative typical changes with reference to the free time and its value. The youth as the most dynamically reactive group to the non-traditional things shows the highest activity in mastering the new possibilities and forms of spending the free time. The everyday communication, wide social contacts and leisure preferences that form the type of social life for different group of contemporary youth are the main characteristics of the youth's life style and some of the main criteria for the self-identification of a young person with a definite group or environment. The researches¹²⁹ show that the leisure of the youth has a brightly expressed peculiarity as compared with their parents, preferences.

Preference to certain forms of activities at one's spare free time outcome as models of social behavior depends not only on fashion introduced by common standards, but also on internal potential of cultural demands recognized by a person for hi/her relaxation and rest. There are many traditional forms of free time spending that are accepted and pass from one generation to another. Things that are originated from the elder generation as a positive example are not always successfully cultivated by the generation «Next». It is obviously that young people read less than their parents. Young people don't aspire to the additional self education; don't form the basic audience of the museums, theatres and concert halls. The conducted intergeneration comparison points that the hedonistic component pointed to the prompt pleasure and entertainment is put to the center of the youth leisure activity. Lately some positive changes have been made. Among them there is evident displacement of the youth leisure interests to the more clear aspiration to getting the information. For the last three years the importance of such Mass Media as radio and periodicals has been increasing, the interest to television has been growing and the forestalling tempo of increasing popularity of a computer both as the means of education and as the form of the filling in the leisure time has been noticed. In general the Russian youth has almost taken the possession of the computer literacy (thanks to the lessons of Information Technology in the secondary school) and is ready to apply their knowledge not only for games but also for studying. Only 16% of the responders among the young

¹²⁹ Social researches were held in January 2009 in the provincial towns of Russian Federation: Orel, Kursk, Bryansk, Lipetsk. The number of responders at the age from 14 to 22 was 729, and from the age 40 to 55 was 674.

Russians declare that they can easily use the computer (in 2007 there were not less than 40%). Besides, every third young person in 1997 said that he didn't know the computer.

The problem of mass consuming of cultural values and unification of the ways of spending the free time is important not only for Russia, because we live now in the epoch of the global changes where new technologies dictate their rules. Not all young people forget about their cultural or historical roots but only those who are socially active, intellectual and fastidious in their preferences (here the interest to masterpieces of the cinema is rather high. There are also some young people who can forestall their elder generation in their preferences to the foreign cinema classics. But it is not so easy to have enough free time and to spend it right. The matter is that there are two contrast tendencies nowadays. On the one hand, the quantity of free time of young people is reducing due to the combination of their studying and working and responsibility for their future career. It increases the value of their free time as it is. And many young people point it answering a question about their free time and spending it with pleasure. At the present moment the Russian youth is not satisfied with their possibilities in this sphere of life. On the other hand, we should pay attention to the contrast tendency that determines the peculiarity of the youth leisure. The representatives of the students have more free time than their «parents» because of cutting down their academical loading. And it influences their life styles that are closely connected with their leisure and determined by it. It is not a secret that the life of young people is organized around leisure that is usually spent out of homes. For three years we have watched the growth of the leisure activity of young generation in Russia almost in all the directions. Besides some ways of spending the free time have a forestalling dynamics. Most of all it concerns those forms of «out of home» leisure that is so popular with young people nowadays and characterize the active type of social life. The double growth in the process of the computer using in social and information aims happened. Young people go in for sport, to fitness clubs, to the concerts, cinemas, to the night clubs, discos and cafes much more often. Besides we can see the great growth in such traditional leisure preferences as modern music and interest to television. But we can not overestimate the dynamics of leisure activity of the youth. Firstly, because leisure and social life of a new generation differ much from leisure and social life of the «parent, s generation». And mostly it is connected with «out of home» generation. Entertaining, recreational and cultural pastime in Russia has become for young people. Secondly, Russian young people don't have a very important component of a civil position such as active social and public participation. Russian young people approach to the standard of the European young people only in cultural, entertaining and sport participation. The interest to active social work, development of young initiatives and movements can be noticed only in their own young society and it is finished when they leave this society and become older.

To sum it up, I would like to emphasize that the main typical factor that determines the peculiarity and quality of the youth, s free time in general is the direction of its leisure activity. The type of leisure that person chooses depends on how a person spends his free time (at home or outside), whether he can afford himself to pay for his rest and entertainment or is content with comprehensible by everyone, whether he is doing nothing or is fascinated by searching of new information. But it is clear that changes in the leisure practices that take place nowadays go on with different degrees of intensivity for different social groups and more over for different age categories.

As we can see two-third of Russian young people are socially active, interesting various and «out of home» in their essence, while the generation of «parents» prefer to spend their free time resting and developing at home. Inter generation situation seems to be very unequal. Besides it is more unequal that the results of financial — property differentiation. Although we can, t forget that the problem of leisure is not only the problem of possibilities, tastes or widespread tendencies, but also a problem of choice, your own traditions, needs and individual preferences.

EDUCATION OF TOLERANCE

It is quite fair the opinion of L.N. Kogan that «Transitive epochs — the epochs of the sharpest and irreconcilable conflicts breaking destinies of many thousand of people. During these epochs «the all style of life of a society — not only the content of thinking, but also its style changes; «principally a new type of a person» is formed, «a difficult and painful formation of a person as individuality» occurs. The global transformations of the last years have sharpened a number of economic, political and socially-cultural problems in a multinational Russian society and have captured all levels of population; its consequences, first of all, are reflected in the youth as the indicator of occurring changes. The spiritually-moral state of a society and especially young generation that are under extraordinary severe conditions of the social environment, require serious and constant attention to the future of Russia, to its youth. As a result of the unreasonable youth policy of the state there was an alienation of the young generation from cultural-historical values and has led to the deepening of negative social tendencies in its environment. It is a question of malevolence, embitterment, aggression existing and more and more spreading in children's especially teenager and youth environment. It is a lot of reasons for that. The fall of production and the growth of unemployment, poverty of a considerable part of population, inaccessibility of many cultural blessings, absence of conditions of self-realization, the hurt pride, absence of sense of life, family disorders, personal tragedies. The disappointment in the official ideology and pessimism concerning the future generates the apathy, cynicism and aggravates the mutual alienation among the youth. All this and many other things, destroys the views formed at the individual about a society and relations in it, reduces socially-adaptive functions, uncertainty in yourself, promote to decreasing of self-estimation and as result the recognition of their uselessness; and their behavior is not adequate under the developed sociopolitical situation. The process of growing up goes under the extremely difficult, conflict conditions of a greatly changing society. The decrease of a quality of education and falling off a cultural level of the youth, as consider many of Russians of the senior generation, will negatively affect on the destinies of modern youth and will promote the increase of intolerance (to the stranger), aggressions and criminal behavior. The current situation and absence of a proper attention to the youth in the modern Russian society do not satisfy many clever people, especially the youth. Certainly, the young generation needs in the help of solving conflicts, in harmonization of interpersonal and inter-group relations, and also in a search of effective ways of positive interaction as a conscious and morally responsible subject. The reasons and the factors leading to display of intolerance in the modern society are difficult and diverse. It is the fragility of democratic institutes, absence of respect to human rights, growth of nationalist and frankly fascist moods. The growing destruction of family structures, migration, loss of traditional values, social marginalization and constant presence of a scenes of violence in everyday life, became the basis for acceptance in August 2001 of the Federal target program «Formation of the attitudes of tolerant consciousness and prophylactics of extremism in the Russian society for 2001—2005». The necessity of a search of optimum ways of formation of attitudes of tolerant consciousness, stabilization of interpersonal and inter-group relations and constructive prophylactics of various kinds of extremism have been put in the Program basis for the Russian society, especially among the youth, as a basic strategic resource of the updated Russia. In the program it is underlined: «Namely education and bringing up allows the person to be sensitive, responsible, opened to perception of other cultures and various confessions».

The present conditions of development of the modern Russian society actualize a problem of education of tolerance and propagation of peaceful ways of a joint

coexistence of people with various cultures, in connection with aggravation of intolerance, display of ethnic and racial terrorism. As it is known, studying of any phenomenon begins with its definition. There is a treatment of this concept in the documents of the international «Declarations of principles of tolerance» where it is indicated that «... Tolerance means a respect, acceptance and correct understanding of a rich variety of cultures of our world, our forms of self-expression and ways of displays of human individuality. It is promoted by knowledge, openness, dialogue and freedom of thoughts, conscience and belief... Tolerance is a virtue which makes it possible an attainment of peace and promotes to the replacement of culture of war with culture of the peace ... Tolerance is, first of all, the active relation formed on the basis of recognition of the universal rights and freedoms of a person. Under no circumstances tolerance cannot serve as approval of encroachments on these values; separate people, groups and the states should show tolerance. Tolerance is a duty to promote the statement of human rights, pluralism (including cultural pluralism), democracy and the law and order. Tolerance is a quality of a persons containing a high level of erudition and the educated relation to «other» as to an equal person and expressed in conscious suppression of a feeling of aversion caused by all that marks in «the other» different lines (a way of life, speech, behavior, appearance, belief) and readiness to understand and accept others by such as they are.

To describe a concept of tolerance it is difficult enough, possible, because of that in different languages it is defined differently. Being formed and accumulating the versatile meanings during many centuries, the term «tolerance» aspires to fit the reality, in which the diverse displays of intolerance demand new forms and ways of overcoming. So, according to the definition given in the Declaration of principles of tolerance (November 16th 1995), tolerance means «respect, acceptance and correct understanding of a rich variety of cultures of our world and ways of displays of human individuality». This definition, most properly means the tolerant relation to other nationalities of the different: on language, color of skin, religion, life experience and living conditions, habits, a manner of dressing.

Instability in a society forces people sometimes not simply to restudy, but often demands the change of traditional methods of study and education, system of attitudes, values and views. Under such conditions, as it is known, for a survival of the person the great value has a level of realization its spiritual culture. According to L.N. Kogan, «Culture — is a sphere of freedom of a person, it is a pledge of independence, sovereignty of a person, brings up a discipline and responsibility without which the freedom does not exist and help to find the own, unlike the others «I». The function of formation of the spiritual culture in many respects gives to an educational system, as one of the major categories of formation of a person inherent to each society from the moment of its occurrence. The specifics of a situation consists in that during epochs of the sharp and irreconcilable conflicts the role of the spiritual factor sharply increases and the people with a generated inner world and stable life orientations survive more often. That is why before the educational system there was a necessity of theoretical reconsideration and an intensive search of new approaches of the decision of all events in the Russian society at present. «...Being the basic component of a process of socialization, education assumes the purposeful actions on inclusion of a person in a society, on forming relations with surrounding people, on comprehension of own place in the various socially-public relations, on perception of political and ethical norms». The main social function of education consists in that considering past experience, to give a correct estimation of the present and to find the correct methods and ways of solving of the future, according to the purposes and tasks of the given society of knowledge, ability, idea, social experience, ways of behavior». Education being the most effective remedy of formation and practical realization of tolerance begins with training of each person of adequate views of himself and the place in a society in what their general laws and freedoms consist. Therefore, today using the positive world experience accumulated in this sphere, it should promote to correct formation of the concept of the multi-cultural of our society, develop the skills

of independent thinking, critical comprehension and formation of the opinions based on moral values; and to bring up a person capable successfully function in different cultures. And also to follow the main purposes of poly-cultural education — equality and unity of representatives of different people, cultures, religions. Today more than ever Russia needs in a socially effective strategy that will provide the progressive development of a society. In the «Conception of modernization of Russian education till 2010» is noted that at a transition to the new information society along with an expansion of scales of intercultural interaction the special importance are acquired the factors of communication and tolerance, and the potential of education should be fully used for consolidation of a society and overcoming of ethno-national intensity. The most important purposes of education of the youth in the spirit of tolerance are: (1) To study the youth to know their rights and freedoms to provide the realization of these rights; (2) To learn to live in the modern difficult and diverse world; (3) To learn to resolve conflicts constructively; (4) To learn to bring up in yourselves responsiveness and keenness, readiness to render assistance, goodwill and responsibility; (5) To learn to know, understand and respect other cultures, to appreciate a human dignity, freedom and rights; (6) To learn to regularly perfect the skills of training and mastering of new social roles and positions, significant for yourself and a society as a whole, to form new, real ways of the behavior harmonizing the mutual relations with environments; (7) To create mechanisms of a support of the youth; (8) To help the young people to define and realize their social interests and requirements taking into account the purposes of social development overcoming the negative influences.

The decision of these problems assumes an intensive search of new approaches to education of tolerance and acceptance of new, scientifically stipulated, socially-oriented, scientifically-educational youth programs, taking into account the regional and national lines that correspond to humanistic principles of education and is to be a confirmation of constitutional rights of a person. As a strategic task there will be a search of ways of perfection in the educational policy and providing a free admission and equal possibilities for getting the worthy and qualitative education to all age categories of citizens and further studying of features of adaptation, norms of behavior, interests, inquiries, social expectations in all spheres of a life activity of the youth.

Thus, in the light of the above mentioned it is possible to draw a conclusion: that in «modern society the tolerance becomes not only the political necessity and cultural norm, but also acts as an integral element of modern understanding of freedom that is the highest human value». And a constructive interaction of social groups can be reached on the base of development of norms of tolerant behavior and skills of intercultural interaction and it does not depend what a person's color, nationality and confession.

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CHANGES IN A CONCEPT OF «PATRIOTISM» IN THE VIEWS OF MODERN SENIOR PUPILS AND TEACHERS

During the post-reorganization, especially so-called («eltsynsky») period of the development of our country the level of patriotism of citizens has sharply decreased. The shortsighted politicians and historians began to reconsider and decrease not only the achievements of the Soviet period in various spheres of human activity but also to reconsider the results of the victory of the country in the Great Patriotic War. There has been lowered the prestige of the soldier, the defender of fatherland. It is quite natural that on such background a secondary school has started to lose its positions in the sphere of education of patriotism and civil positions so as all work of a school was based on these subjects on patriotic education. Thus, the teacher has appeared in the bottom of a social pyramid. In the absence of the definite social order transferred by the state a teacher hardly surviving in a market economy situation, has lost any stimulus for working on problems of pupils' socialization. The educational component has left a secondary school and the authority of a teacher has fallen in the whole. The teacher has ceased to be a conductor of patriotic feelings and in some cases he ceased to have patriotic feelings. The poor, non-successful person cannot be the authority for the rising generation. The feel of patriotism has ceased to be demanded by the state, and the teacher of the secondary school who has appeared in a situation of uncertainty has also ceased to be engaged in patriotism education at his workplace. It is quite evident that such situation has immediately influence a process of socialization of the young generation — it is not become fashionable to be the patriot and it is not prestigious. For the last years, with the beginning of a process of stabilization in our country the situation varies a little. The state leaders have started to pay attention to a specified problem and have undertaken some steps for its decision, in particular there has been accepted the government program on patriotic education of youth. But times vary, the youth varies, the picture of the world and the valuable world of the modern teenager varies. If we track the evolution of the concept «patriotism» for the last 20 years we can see rather significant transformations of borders and maintenance of this concept. The data received in the course of inter-regional sociological researches carried out by a group on studying of modern lines of education of a person in an education sphere (2007—2008) show that from a point of view of representatives of the generations socialized during the Soviet period, the modern Russian teenager can seem low-patriotic. The patriotism of the Soviet period of our history carried a strong «mobilization» shade: «Firstly think of the Native Land, and then about yourselves», «there would live the country native» etc. The bringing up of a value of patriotism among the rising generation in a serious degree has been based on the Second World War events, on a victory of the Soviet Union in this war, on feats of the Russian people, the Russian soldiers. The patriotism was treated as readiness of a person for a victim for the sake of life and prosperity of the Soviet Native Land and its people. The modern Russian schoolboy agrees to the data of our research, treat the patriotism somewhat differently, for example, as execution of laws and honest work. The majority of modern young people are not ready to sacrifice a life even for the sake of the noble purposes. The pragmatic approach has concerned today and such value as patriotism. The great attention in our research has been given problems of socialization of children and teenagers in the course of studying at the higher school. The special attention has been given to consideration of such concept as «patriotism», to problems and mechanisms of its formation in the senior classes of school, a position of teachers on this question. The total number of the polled teachers is 120 persons. All of 100 % of teachers give a significant value to a question of patriotic education, both within the limits of a school life, and in the other spheres of teenagers' life. However, when answering a question «Is there such direction as patriotic education in the work

of teachers at your school?» 30 % of the polled teachers have noticed that it exists only formally, for a tick. Possibly, a number of teachers who practically do not spend such work much more, as at the analysis of answers to a question «Why teachers are not engaged or formally engaged in civic positions and patriotism education?» — 50 % have noted the following alternatives: «There is no time to be engaged », «we do not know, how it to do », «There are no forces on it and even — «the state does not put such problem before us». As it is known, a process of formation of a civic position within the limits of school life is carried out through a person of a teacher, through the maintenance of education, through the norms and the values broadcasted really in the course of a school life by all subjects of educational process, and as through specially organized actions of patriotic orientation. Almost all teachers (95%) on a question: «Could you name any action which passed at your school for the last year patriotic?» — answered affirmatively. However, in the majority of schools these actions were limited only by a month, half of day — in the afternoon, and even one hour of patriotic work. Besides, it was a stereotypic set of meetings with veterans of the Second World War and flash-news, meetings at monuments to heroes, literary-musical concerts. And only in 20 % of schools have passed the unique, not hackneyed patriotic actions, for example there has been conducted «The year of Russians».

Thus, with a great share of confidence it is possible to assert that the modern teacher of the today's secondary school (we will exclude from this list of teachers-innovators), has no technique of patriotic education under the modern conditions, adapted for the present to the modern teenagers. The patriotic education was narrowed in the majority of schools up to the private actions devoted to events and heroes of the Great Patriotic War which for the senior pupils are to be far history with ambiguous interpretation of events.

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FORMATION OF A CIVIL POSITION OF TEENAGERS: CONSTATS AND TENDENTIONS

The research is carried out within the frameworks of realization of the planned research of the Institute of Sociology RAS «Formation of civil and patriotic position among the youth and teenagers». The research was carried out in May 2007 at the Institute of Sociology RAS and concerned a problem of formation of civil and patriotic position among the senior pupils at schools in Nizhnevartovsk, Belgorod, Tver, Magadan, Leninogorsk, some towns of Moscow area. In the whole 534 pupils were polled. Also on the same questionnaire there were polled 200 pupils of Orenburg. The results of the poll were processed in a program SPSS, the rest 534 questionnaires were processed with the help of VORTEX program. The answers of pupils of Orenburg do not substantially differ from data of the whole massive. Further we give data obtained with the help of VORTEX program. From the specifics of every towns there was formed the general picture of opinions and positions of pupils of the Russian Federation.

The main massive of the polled included pupils of 15—17 years old, pupils of 8—11 classes — 86,3%. According to a gender factor: 43% of the polled were the young men, 57% — girls. The fundamental changes occurring in the Russian society for the last 15 years have influenced the processes of socialization of young people, the style of life and values of the youth — a potential of the future society. The researchers of problems of socialization note that «Today after many years of Russian reforms it seems to be clear that a transition to the new economical conditions was realized without a concrete conceptual program ensuring the synchrony of a change of a society as a whole and its social institutes in particular» [1]. A complex of specific problems revealed in the process of analysis of socialization practice testifies that it has been occurred the washing out of

a traditional values system and transformation of the formed mechanism of socialization of generations and acceptability between them.

The polls carried out 20 years ago give us an image of a teenager characterized by infantilism, oriented to own interests and far from society's problems and own family problems. The researches of the last years show that the today's pupils featured by high rationalism, adequate estimation of own efforts and its payment, and also an aspiration as soon as possible to create a project of own life. The rationalism of today's teenager influences such fundamental concepts as a civil position and patriotism. In a stable, non-crisis society the transformation of a system values contains a high inert-ion potential. It is connected with a definite conservatism of thoughts of the adult members of a society concerning accepting new life principles. The recognition of the new values paradigm, accepting it is formed in a result of interaction with a changed social reality by obtaining new experience.

The civil education of a pupil is stipulated by an influence of institutes of socialization — a family, school, mass-media, a group of school-mates, religion's institute as well as by the state and functioning of these institutes in a society. Russian institutes of socialization and the society did not easily survive a transition to the new quality of life but by means of an explosion phenomenon being appeared under quite new social-economic conditions. Sigmund Bauman noted that «where there is insurance there is no time to care about the values that are above the everyday things» [2]. However, today along with undesirable consequences of the formed situation there have appeared tendencies that testify on a successful self-identification of young people under new historical conditions, formation of civil self-consciousness and recognition of the importance of patriotic education of the youth. The results of our researches confirm this. As an example we consider the data obtained during the processing of some questions of a questionnaire.

A pupil discusses problems of a society using own but not so large knowledge in this sphere that formed from the available resources a great part of which is a group of school-mates, family, school, mass-media and other agents of socialization. Today these institutes and agents of socialization function by such manner that the importance/non-importance of a patriotism theme is not comprehended by the thirds of pupils. 31, 5% of respondent did not yet think about it. In deed, almost half of the polled noted that namely today the theme of patriotism is very important as never. Almost every sixth respondents noted that this theme was important earlier, and now it became old (Table 1).

Table 1. Responses to the question: What do you think, is a theme of patriotism important today for our country?

Answers' variants	A number of answered	% of a number of answered	% of a number of polled
This theme was very important earlier. Now this theme became old	84	15,7	15,7
Today a theme of patriotism is important as never	239	44,8	44,8
Perhaps, it is actual, but I did not think about it yet	168	31,5	31,5
Other	43	8,1	8,1
Total of answered	534	100,0	100,0

If the previous question gives an idea how do pupils understand the importance of a theme of patriotism for our country, the next question should help to reveal the importance of a theme of patriotism on a level of a person and it has more expressed subjective character (Table 2).

Table 2. Responses to the question: How much is a theme of patriotism actual for you personally today?

Variants of answers	A number of answered	% of answered	% of polled
Not actual	56	10,5	10,5
Very actual	132	24,7	24,7
Somewhat actual	266	49,8	49,8
It is difficult to answer	80	15,0	15,0
Total of answered	534	100,0	100,0

As we see, understanding of the importance of a theme of patriotism on a level of country (on opinion of the polled) and for senior pupils personally are greatly coincided. Although for the country in the whole, on opinion of pupils, of a theme of patriotism «was important earlier and now this theme became old» noted 15,7% while only 10,5% pupils consider it non-actual for them personally. In both cases not a very great part of respondents consider a theme of patriotism non-actual and somewhat old. Perhaps, this theme is important for a country but he did not think about it yet — consider a great part of pupils — 31,5%. Only 15% of respondents were in difficulties with estimation of a theme of patriotism for their personally. A half of the polled consider that a theme of patriotism is important as never for a country namely today; while personally for itself only every fourth consider it very actual. Concerning the other positions there were prevailed opinions like this — theme is important but should not lead to fanaticism.

The region of living seemed to be one of differentiated factors of in our research. According to obtained data the young respondents of Nizhnevartovsk more often than others consider that a theme of patriotism became old, less than others consider it actual as never. It can be connected with a situation in a concrete region in our case on the Far North and also with understanding the term patriotism. Further we see, that a sense that the pupils of Nizhnevartovsk put in a concept of patriotism differs from a concept of the other respondents (Table 3).

Table 3. Responses to the question: «What sense do you put in a concept of patriotism?»

What sense do you put in a concept patriotism	Nizhnevartovsk	In the whole
To observe the laws of the state	25,7	23,3
To take part in the elections	7,9	5,1
To know the history of your country	34,2	43,7
To live in own country	18,8	16,9
To love and be proud of own country	77,2	78,6
To love own relatives	14,4	15,7
To work honestly in favor of Native Land	23,8	22,9
To be soldier of the Army	18,3	13,5
In a case of necessity to protect the interests of the country with weapon	46,0	41,4
Other	0,5	1,2
Total	100,0	100,0

* In «Total» is not indicated a sum. For 100% is taken a number of answered/polled.

**Kramer coefficient [0. 1]:0,091, probability of an error: 20,00%.

It is possible to say definitely that for Nizhnevartovsk pupils the patriotism and civil position is at the greater degree connected with an active position than with a position of studying, knowledge and sense. To observe the laws, to serve in the Army, take part in the elections, to protect the interest of a country with a weapon in a case of necessity — in these points the main distinctions compared with the general massive characterize the activity intentions of the youth of Nizhnevartovsk. In general the pupils show that the sense of patriotism for them is revealed first of all by (on degree of importance) the love for the Motherland and proud of it, knowledge of own history, readiness to protect the interests of the country, observance of the laws of the state, the honest work for the sake of Motherland, life in own country, love for relatives and friends, serving in the Army, participation in the elections. In the soviet society on the base of expectations addressed to a person there were mainly ideological principles such as fidelity to politics of the party, to ideals of communism, political activity directed on building of socialism, patriotism as a love to the soviet Native Land, internationalism, collectivism, labor activities, social optimism etc. becoming the elements of a special model of civil activity mention the authors studying the problems of the youth under new social conditions, in situations of uncertainty of the Russian society. If earlier the Motherland at a greater degree was associated with a country where the respondent lives, small country, high readiness to protect it then gradually the attitude to the Motherland, Fatherland became more neutral and rational.

Everyone puts his own sense in a concept of Motherland. There are at least three variant of answers (Table 4).

Table 4. Responses to the question: What do you include in a concept of Motherland?

Variants of answers	A number of the answered	% of the answered	% of the polled
Russia	333	62,4	62,4
Republic, region where I live	74	13,9	13,9
Native town, (village) where I spent childhood	239	44,8	44,8
Nature of my region	110	20,6	20,6
Culture, language of my people	204	38,2	38,2
Customs, traditions, style of life, national character of my people	258	48,3	48,3
Where it is good	86	16,1	16,1
Place, where I was born	17	3,2	3,2
For me it is meaningless word	12	2,2	2,2
Total of answered	534	249,6	100,0

*The sum is higher 100% so as one polled can give several answers simultaneously. Average number of answers per one polled 2,5.

** In this case it is not accounted a sum, but a ratio of answered to polled.

It is known that for the young men, teenager the great role in the process of socialization is played by the direct carrier of norms and values, very often it is a significant adult or significant the other. In order to understand what role in the process of education of a civil and patriotic position play the surroundings of a teenager, we put a question is there among the people acquainted with a respondent a person whom he can name a patriot. As we see, almost 40% respondents answered this question affirmatively. Every the fifth answered that there are no such people in their surroundings and 40% could not answer this question.

Table 5. Responses to the question: Is there among people acquainted with you a person whom you can name a patriot?

Variants of answers	A number of answered	% of answered	% of polled
Yes	211	39,5	39,5
No	107	20,0	20,0
It is difficult to answer	214	40,1	40,1
Other	2	0,4	0,4
Total of answered	534	100,0	100,0

On the question what allow us to name this person a patriot we received the following answers according to frequency mentioning: love to the Motherland, proud for a country, protection of the Motherland, the open expression of patriotism, serving in the army, respectful attitude to the Motherland, its citizens, observing the laws. Despite the fact that many were in difficulties with answer this question we see that Russian pupil has a view of patriotic behavior of surrounded people, while many named patriots of their relative: grandfathers, fathers and as well as the names of political leaders which on their opinion give an examples of patriotic attitude to the Motherland and country.

The researchers of socialization problems notes that while there is not formulated the purposes of a society it is impossible a definite social order for institutes of socialization including schools. Being in a situation of uncertainty school and some other social institutes limits their functions by greatly necessary and in a case with school by giving knowledge. Our researches testify that during some last years it is displayed a return of educational component in the school. Along with the other social roles the school and the state in the whole again took care of a civil and patriotic education of pupils (it is confirmed by the acceptance on a level of the state the Program of patriotic bringing up). The realization of the Program has its results. The comprehension of a phenomenon of a civil education under the new social conditions by the all institute of a society occurs gradually, with difficulties. The behavior of a young man identifying himself with a civil activity person depends on a model of a civil activity accepted in a society. What are the qualities that a modern schoolboy considers to be obligatory for a civil activity person? The patriotism and civil activity in a mind of a Russian schoolboy is to be interconnected conceptions, but are far from identical. The civil activity for modern schoolboys is associated, as we see, with a formal belonging to the state, sense of responsibility and duty.

Table 6. Responses to the question: What qualities on your opinion are obligatory for a person of a civil activity?

Variants of answers	A number of answered	% of answered	% of polled
Observing laws	385	72,2	72,1
Regular payment of tax in full volume	140	26,3	26,2
Carelessness and readiness to help to the state	263	49,3	49,3
Help to the surroundings free of charge	239	44,8	44,8
Confrontation against extremism, nationalism a fascism	258	48,4	48,3
Contradiction to power	184	34,5	34,5

Variants of answers	A number of answered	% of answered	% of polled
Active participation in politics	113	21,2	21,2
Sacrifice by own interests in favor of a society, state	106	19,9	19,9
Other	17	3,2	3,2
Total of answered	533	319,9	98,8

*The sum exceeds 100%, so as one polled can give several answers simultaneously. Average number of answers per one polled 3,2.

** In this case it is not accounted a sum but a ratio of a number of answered to a number of polled.

*** It is missed 1 of 534 objects (0,2%).

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8.3. SOCIAL DES (INTEGRATION) OF THE YOUNG IN THE 21ST CENTURY

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RELIGIOSITY OF YOUTH IN THE KABARDINO-BALKARIAN REPUBLIC

The deep economic crisis, the complicated ethno-political situation, the pronounced stratification of society into the rich and the poor in the Northern-Caucasus region including the KBR is accompanied with the growth of the influence of religion over the social and private life of people. Researchers note that in the soviet period the lowest religiosity rate (1—2%) among all the age groups was inter the young people (it was 10% inter the adults) and nowadays the age difference doesn't have any appreciable influence over the religiosity of people [1].

The growth of young people religiosity is connected with the changes of conditions of entering into life, the significant limitation of opportunities for full-bodied socio-civil infancy and the loss of social and moral-ideological guides. The role of youth socialization institutions, namely a family, a school, a professional education system, public-political organizations and movements, mass media and communications decrease is observed [2]. Taking advantage of the situation some internal and external destructive forces aim to manipulate the youth trying to use it for extremist purposes. As life shows the most serious channel extreme views develop through, no matter how paradoxical it is, the religion — Islam that passes from spiritual sphere to political turns out to be. Actuality of this problem is determined by the fact that the highest influence Islam has in the youth sphere. In order to study out the religious orientation of the youth a sociological research among the 8—11 forms pupils of schools of KBR was carried out in 2006.

There were questioned 8500 persons in total. For the question «Do you refer yourself to believers?» 86.5% of pupils gave the answer «yes», 10.5% hesitated between belief and disbelief, 1.3% considered themselves non-believers and 1.7% found it difficult to respond. 70.4% of young people considered themselves believers in 1998. The number of believers is larger among the rural pupils than among the urban ones. Some experts see the tragedy of October 2005 when a group of young believers committed an armed attack to a number of target objects of Nalchik in the lack of sufficient knowledge of religion with the most citizens of the republic; as a result the young people became victims of the preachers of religious extremism. For this purpose a long-term strategy programmer of confessional policy called «On the co-operation with the religious organizations of the KBR and their state support for the 2007—2010» appeared in the end of 2007. It replaced the previous programmer for the 2004—2006. Among the main tasks of the programmer for the 2007—2010 is the need of introduction of religion studies discipline into the educational institutions of all types. Still there is no unified opinion in the society about where and in what form the religious education of youth should take place. 30% of the questioned pupils consider that religion must be taught at school as a compulsory subject. 11% of them are ready to learn religion in Sunday schools and more than half of respondents found it difficult to answer.

In the beginning of the 1990th the problem of general religious illiteracy took place in the republic. The ministers of religion were not the exception. In the last two decades any significant changes were not observed. Only 10% of 150 Moslem ministers have high religious education [3]. Some of the Imams of older generation have no even secondary education. A lot of ministers are not literate in Arab language and cannot read the Koran. Accessibility of literature on the Islam topics in Russian as well as translation of some texts (including the Koran) into the Kabardinian and Balkarian languages facilitated some increase of religious knowledge with the people, youth in particular. Every second answered the question «Has your religious knowledge level increased in the last years?» positively. The degree of religiosity is characterized by knowledge and performing the basic duties of the Moslem. Only about 15% of pupils had full notion of basic duties of Moslem, besides the part of them among boys was higher than among girls. Most pupils did not maintain the customary observances, namely five-time prayer (namaz) and attending the Mosque. It was considerably connected with the fact that in the period of carrying out our sociological inquiry (in 2006) a watchful attitude to the religious youth often accompanied with stigmatization remained in the society. Therefore, the young people preferred not to give answers to these questions. Religious behavior is exhibited also in taking part in religious holidays. Most of young people (91%) participated in celebrations of religious holidays, as e. g., the Kurbandi and the Uraza Bairam. About 30% of them answered that kept the 30-day fasting called «Uraza». Religiosity has become one of the socially significant factors in the youth sphere. Religiosity parameters are determined by age, gender and family income. The main channel of religious socialization is family and friends. Majority of young people say that they are believers but their religious behavior has in general not systematic but casual character.

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PROBLEM OF SOCIAL OUTSIDERISM OF YOUTH IN RUSSIAN REGIONS

Modern Russian youth differs significantly in its status, role in the society and peculiarities of social consciousness. Today the spiritual life of youth in Russia is characterized by a rather complicated dynamics of changes. The conducted research enables us to state that in modern Russia there has been a gradual transformation of traditional culture-civilization archetype which existed in Soviet cultural forms in post-modernist modifications. This transformation occurred irregularly and inconsistently. The modern youth is characterized by unique variety of «spiritual worlds» and their specific nature is determined by complicated combinations of external and internal factors: demographic, professional, ethnic, socio-cultural, eco-social and political. One of such «worlds» requiring special attention of researches is «the world of social outsiders» which is characteristic to a considerable number of young people. The phenomenon of social outsiderism in youth environment is rather a complicated and ambiguous issue.

We surmise that notion of social «outsiderism» to mean one's «being outside» can be used to talk about of youth outsiderism that has two dimensions. The first one — *socio-economical* which is related to real living conditions of young people who are ascribed a number of destructive tendencies. The regional development of Russia is characterized by increase of social differentiation of society which is particularly revealed in the increase of the number of young people who are not involved in vital social processes, who lost perspectives for social leadership and have no access to resources which are indispensable for successful adaptation and self-development (property, qualitative education, full and reliable information, professional development, power). Many young people have to face the problem of employment, but cannot find job, or they work in the field having no relation to their qualification. These tendencies will undoubtedly increase under the conditions of economic crisis.

The sociological research we conducted due to the grant of RGNF «Social outsiderism of youth as a source of dangers and risks in the boundary region» (2007, N = 499 respondents) confirmed the fact of social and economical outsiderism of youth according to a number of indicators. Thus, 39.68% of respondents showed their dissatisfaction of their income; 33.47% — of the amount of their property; 25.05% — of employment security; same number — of the opportunity to participate in society management. It is obvious that the crisis will significantly increase the social tension and dissatisfaction of young people with their position. As a result of poverty and lack of perspectives of social and professional career is «escape» from sociality which is accompanied by practices of personal self-destruction — use of psycho-active substances or submerging in collectivism of totalitarian organizations.

However, the fact of socio-economical outsiderism of young people should not be exaggerated. At present it characterizes the status of the youth minority in the region and is not considered by them as something fatal for their future. Our research proved that only 1.6% of its participants aged from 14 till 30 referred themselves to the youth having no life perspectives and as doomed to failure. Relatively the majority of the respondents believed that they belong to young people who have adjusted to modern conditions feeling quite comfortable in them. 28.06% referred themselves to young people experiencing temporary difficulties, but having good life perspective. The more significant is the second dimension of the problem of social outsiderism which we describe as *dispositional*. In this case the issue is that irrespective of the awareness of this fact outsiderism has turned into a phenomenon of youth consciousness and is revealed in a number of specific value- and purpose-specific attitudes and motivations which are not able to ensure legitimate success in life both at present and in the future. The following are the major indicators of dispositional outsiderism.

1. Inability to realistically and reflexively evaluate life conditions and the chances for success in the selected life strategy. That is very significant that only 12.42% of the interviewed young people were not satisfied with their status in society. Apparently the majority of the respondents do not pay heed to «stigmata» of the present and future social cataclysms. Only 10.62% of them are concerned about the increase of social injustice; 13.43% — of ecological disasters; 14.83% — of propagation of immortality, cult of violence.

2. Atomization of consciousness which is revealed in the increasing «withdrawal» of young people into themselves, in lower relevance of collective values. The youth is inclined to rely less on help outside, but prefers to trust to its own forces. 57.31% of the interviewed stated that they trust only themselves and only 1% — other people. The attitude to own forces does not cause any concern, but first of all, it is more often connected to disapproval of society in practice. Secondly, the practice shows that the potential of the majority of young people is not sufficient for individual achievement of success in life by legitimate means. This is realized by the youth on a subconscious level. It is no coincidence that 39.88% of respondents consider the lack of connections as the main obstacle for realization of their life plans.

But the attempt to relate success in life only to personal connections is unconstructive. In information (postindustrial) society to which Russia will inevitably come despite all the difficulties the attainment of personal life success is guaranteed mainly by productivity of its mind and behavior. At the same time it is evident that the attitude to systematic use of social technologies by modern youth is not typical especially in regions. The characteristic features of the youth consciousness are: uncertain individual optimism with the attitude «tomorrow (or some other day) will be surely better than today»; denial of careful reckoning of positive and negative consequences of taken decisions (in some cases exclusion of the possibility of negative effects); higher degree of risk in decision making process which is mostly the result of inadequate reckoning of development scenarios, too much trust in intuition and common sense; underestimation of potential of social diagnostics and professional expert examination as well as professional approach to socio-reforming activity in general, explicit and implicit encouragement of dilettantism; non-effectiveness and ir-reflexivity of mind; low personal responsibility for outcomes of taken decision and actions. It is obvious that these features are not characteristic to all young people. The young people especially living in big cities that are getting or have already got qualitative education are characterized by active and rational approach to the reality.

3. Contradiction of consciousness. On the one hand, young people do not deny social values, but they are discussed in the general context without being related to specific situation. On the other hand, if it is necessary to evaluate a certain phenomenon, the general humanistic attitudes are adjusted, and in this case very significantly. In particular, 66.33% of the interviewed stated about their friendly attitude to people. But almost every fourth person (24.65%) considers illegitimate actions as possible to attain its goals.

4. Alienation from state and society. It is revealed in, first of all, in the growth of distrust in major state and public institutes. Only 27.25% of young people trust the President of RF, 3.21% — the police, 0.6% — political parties; 6.21% — church. 32.06% do not trust anyone. One of the results of the practically total crisis of trust is willingness of almost every third young men (31.46%) to go abroad and live there on a permanent basis. Besides, 17.03% of the interviewed do not still have a settled opinion about this issue. The crisis of values leads to inability of young people to give real and constructive answers to the challenges of life if compared to mythology-like and destructive ones they have. We are inclined to see the main prerequisite for outsiderism strengthening in youth environment in contradictions between social legitimate constructivity and asocial non-legitimate destruction. In most cases young people are not able to solve this contradiction by themselves because they are more often full of illusions about life prospects. Thus, we need to take actual measures aimed to overcome alienation of the young generation from the state, and mostly from the society in general. The most urgent and difficult tasks addressed in the process of development and implementation of modern management

strategy are recovery of trust in social institutes, intensive stimulation of people's willingness to get involved in addressing the problems of state and society.

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SOCIAL & CULTURAL PECULIARITIES OF AMERICAN YOUTH IN THE SECOND HALF OF 20TH CENTURY IN SOCIOLOGICAL THOUGHTS OF THE USA

The research of social and cultural reality without taking into account the scientific experience of her representatives is impossible. In this case their point of view is actual one because it is formed in appropriate historical situation where the social processes take place. In particular the American social science after II World War was first which faced with the necessity to explain the youth phenomena. In the period of the 1st half of 20th century in the social scientific thought of America appeared a complex of research about youth problem. This experience is actual one because it should be adapted for the research the Russian youth. Youth problem in our country is becoming more and more urge nowadays. An interest to youth in American humanity knowledge appeared in the period of 1920-s due to quickened cases of juvenile delinquency. Researchers of Chicago sociological school which was one of the leading sectors in sociology that period were the first who used subcultural approach in consideration of delinquent youth groups. In 1930-s R. Merton, studying the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency took into account the factor of disproportion between social and economical conditions and traditionally propagandized equal opportunities of American society.¹³⁰ The main result in 1920—30-s was an attempt of considering the youth problem in complex with existing historical situation.

In post-war period the USA had to observe the formation of youth culture. If in above-mentioned period youth problem had particular character, at the end of 1940-s American scientists faced with the task of analyzing and explanation this new social phenomenon. It became so important because this cultural phenomenon was a definite threat for existing social situation. Prognosis about following development of the youth culture was one of the necessary things. It influenced on the scientific works of American researchers in the 2nd half of 20th century and in the modern period too. Reasons caused the process of formation of youth culture had social and economical character. In particular post-war economical growth in the USA influenced on prosperity of the Americans from middle class. The result of it became baby-boomers generation at the end of 1940-s. The baby-boomer generation had already been qualitatively new formation with other level of social, economical and valuable pretensions. These circumstances made such social milieu where were carried the research of youth problem on. The society of 40—50-s was studied in the work by M. Mead. She characterized it to be a prefigurative kind — a society where «fathers are taught by their children».¹³¹ Such situations the most part of older generation couldn't interpret quietly, the reaction led to alienation and forming due to it an absolutely new social group — youth with its own social and cultural characteristics inside of American society. This group consisted of the people at the age of 17—30. This break in the society was called as generation gap. In our sociological thought such situation with youngsters is usually characterized as the problem in communication between fathers and children.

The social and cultural peculiarities of youth in the period of 1960-s are characterized with two main tendencies. One is students' activity against problems with Afro-Americans and the war in Vietnam. Another tendency is a boom caused by numerous subcultures

¹³⁰ See: *Merton R. Social theory and social structure*. N. Y. 1976.

¹³¹ *Mead M. Culture and Commitment. A study of Generation Gap*. N. Y. 1970. P. 85.

especially the group of Hippie. The philosophy of Hippie had some ideas from Buddhism what wasn't suitable for American cultural context of traditional Anglo-Saxon type. Besides among new generation could be observed an interest to Afro-American culture and to their problems too. Such tendencies were considerable in the English-speaking period of works by K. Mannheim. In his «Sociology of generations» youth got very positive appreciation and was called «source and power of social changes».¹³² In the 70-s USA youth was characterized with general passivity caused by disappointment in existing social conditions. From the point of view of British sociologist S. Frith¹³³ the period of 1980-s should be considered the beginning of commercialization of youth culture. European and American Mass Media played great role in this process which became an excellent propaganda of hedonistic way of life in the period of adolescence. Nowadays problem of youth has different opinions. From the one hand youth subcultures are changing into another position which is mostly a variety of styles. From the point of view of methodology of sociological research it is suitable to speak about analyze of styles instead of subcultures. From the other hand among the specialists there can be noticed an interest to ethnical aspect of the youth culture. Such fact is normal for multicultural society of the USA. But the main feature of youth subcultures in America must be recognized the growth of Afro-Americans subcultural groups. This situation influenced on the whole social and cultural context of society in the USA. Thus social and cultural peculiarities of American youth in the 2nd half of 20th century were due to social and cultural changes in post-war America. The western researchers had to know the reasons of separations youth into the group with its own characteristics in limits of existing society. It caused youth subcultural phenomenon too. The research of it is considered actual in modern period. It's interesting to study an influence of youth subcultures on macro cultural situation in general. Among the main tendencies are analyze of stylish self-expression, accent on ethnical characteristics.

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«MARGINALIZATION» OF NEW GENERATIONS AS THE SUBJECT OF YOUTH POLICY*

* The article is prepared on the base of the grant №07—03—00367a «Gopniks — youth mainstream of Russian province» (The participants of the project are associate professors of Sociology department of Tyumen State Oil and Gas University: Sorokin G.G., Farakhutdinov S.F., Shevchenko G.V.)

Abstract: Influence of youth policy on overcoming of «marginalization» of new generations in the Russian province is reviewed. Heterogeneity of the new generation is described through the viewpoints of «opinion leaders» and the basic social section of youth. The movement of «gopniks» is analyzed as a real form of socialization of a significant part of youth from the lower class of population and the lower-middle class of the Russian province. The profoundness of social consequences of «gop-movement» spread in Russian province will be evident in the nearest future, when new generation of adult «gop-members» becomes the electorate, the basic part of wage laborers on regional labor-markets, the «teachers» of new generations. It is extremely necessary nowadays, with a help of youth policy, to break down the possible connection of new generations in Russia with «gop-subculture», which is prevailing in the streets of provincial towns.

Key words: *generational approach, marginalization, social exception, culture and subculture, youth movement, mainstream, «gopniks», youth policy.*

¹³² Mannheim K. The Problem of Generation. London. 1952. p. 130.

¹³³ See: Frith S. The Sociology of Youth. London. 1984.

State policy of the Russian Federation is realized nowadays according to the following priority directions: (1) An attraction of young generation to the social practice and its informing about potential opportunities of development; (2) The development of constructive youth's activity, (3) The integration of young people, who have occurred to be in difficult life-situation, in social life.

Also, to the number of global problems among youth, we can refer the following:

1. Transgression of generation connections (succession, the absence of intergenerational communication).
2. Decreasing of spiritual level; disablement of life meaning.
3. Different deviations: drunkenness, narcotizm.
4. Increasing of divorce level; decreasing of marriages.
5. Social stratification in youth sphere.

The manifestation of global youth problems has important regional specificity; different topicality for different social groups of youth. When we speak about «normal, adequate» young generation, and, moreover, about «opinion leaders» of 21st century, we are to take into consideration the effect of «generational self-presentation». The generation of 2000th years is rather different from the generation of 90th years of the last century. According to the web-sites analysis we can formulate some new tendencies in generation development that are defined by the youth itself. The representation of «normal, adequate» young generation about itself is expressed in «opinion leaders» positions. Such kind of young people are more educated, active and adapted to the dynamic reality of group, and exactly, these young people reflect an integrational model of youth development. Y.A. Zubov defines two possibilities of youth development in social group of modern Russia. These are the possibility of social exclusion and the possibility of social integration. The dominance of one of these possibilities speaks about multidirectional tendencies of development in Russian society. The integrational model, from Zubov's point of view, is realized in the case of institutional regulation of risks and conflicts in the development of social youth group. Such development has positive direction. From the other hand, social exclusion has negative tendencies of social development. The changes of mechanisms of social identity are spreading almost through all the spheres of social life; they change the foundations of young person socialization, social status, labor relationships, values and practices of family relations, availability of professional education, prevalence and influence of youth subcultures on the mechanisms of modern youth socialization. To the number of the most acute problems in Russia we can relate the problem of «marginalization» of new generations, which is connected with the breach of social identification mechanisms and prevalence of social exclusion mechanisms. Unfortunately, the tendencies of «marginalization» don't disappear and decrease, but, on the contrary, they acquire absolutely new forms in comparison to the past time.

A great number of new youth subcultures have appeared the last decades, which are of positive, marginal and even asocial tendencies. The researches of youth subcultures are usually realized as studying of value orientations; fashion tendencies; ways of communications; styles of youth life, belonging to the definite group. But nevertheless, we can obviously see that socializing influence of youth subcultures is getting weaker. It is clearly observed in the phenomenon of «fragmentary» identification of youth, belonging to the definite subculture. The blurring of subcultures, translation and interpretation of «before-contrary» values of sub cultural groups are the peculiarities of postmodern society. Nowadays the research works, which are devoted to the new youth phenomenon, which is widely-spread in Russian provinces and called «gopniks», are practically absent. Meanwhile, the levels of prevalence of this phenomenon, the character of youth inclusion, the influence of this phenomenon on the socialization of new generation are extremely high. «Gopniks» has become nowadays a real form of socialization of major part of youth from lower class and lower-middle class of Russian province in contrast to the popular youth subcultures, which dominate in scientific magazines and Mass Media. Youth movements, in contrast to subcultures, have deep social foundations, they are based on the type of world-view; moreover, they are less connected with such sub cultural basic features as music, fashion, style. The social

danger of «gopniks» phenomenon is not exactly realized by the contemporaries, because these young people (gopniks) do not behave as active reactionary group, as for example «skinheads». The matter of «gopnik's» world-view is to deny cultural values: such as high level of education, interethnic tolerance, and labour, the desire to update and to belong to some ethnic values. «Gopniks» is fundamentally marginal movement, where all the social, moral and law principles and norms are diffused. The main essence of any «gopnik» is unshaped and disorganized personality, impossibility and unwillingness to make a choice of one's own life strategy. The development of «gopniki» movement has two strictly defined periods: the 20th years and the 90th years of the last century. The periods of appearing and rebirth of «gopniks» movement are connected with crucial points in social, economical and spiritual development of our country. These periods are also the consequences of systemic crisis. Nowadays, the «gopniks» phenomenon is considered rather wide, even up to the inclusion of all the population layers of modern Russia in this marginal youth movement.

One of the most important features of any social group is the so-called «self-identification». The person, who follows the values of «gop-culture», is called «lad» or «real lad» by the «gopniks» movement. The fact that the term «gopniks» is not used by «gopniks» themselves, speaks about its borrowing origin. One more rather interesting fact is worth to mention is the choice of the word «lad», which is the synonym of the words «boy» and «youth» in the Russian language. If, for example, the members of an informal social group (informal) underline with the help of their title their contradiction to any standards, «gopniks» in contrary, try to show that they are normal, usual, as everyone should be. Such primary group is the only social cell, where «gopniks» can be self-realized, can reach success and respect for his courage, adherence to the group principles and faithfulness to the friends. In other words, all «positive» features of people, which are not accepted by a traditional civil society out of the «gopniks-group». A group for «gopniks» is primitive, but at the same time real system of values, which is concentrated on the formula «be like everybody is, don't contrast with the group». In 2007th year, the department of Sociology of Tyumen State Oil and Gas University had started a research of «gop-cultural» phenomenon. The used methods were focus-groups, observation, questioning, experts' questioning. The responders of the questioning were 518 pupils of 10th and 11th studying years of Tyumen region and their 512 parents (as experts), then 791 students of different professional colleges. The main tasks of the research were to define the definite conditions, which were the reasons of «gopniks» movement appearing, as the form of youth socialization of low social groups in the complex region of the Russian Federation; then to reveal the peculiarities of «gop-subculture», such as value focuses, norms and stereotypes of the relationships in the group, typization of social practices (the attitude to the drugs, the ways of conflict solving, typical sexual practices, etc), self-representation, relations with the youth out of the subculture, analysis of basic spreading channels of norms and values of «gop-subculture» in region; then to define optimal, reasonable ways of their neutralization ; to clear up real size and level prevalence of youth inclusion from different social groups of the region in «gop-subculture».

The results of our research prove the fact of high prevalence of gop- movement in Russian province; moreover, the mass-prevalence is noticed among the teenagers and youth, belonging to the period of early youth. Only 12.7% of the pupil-responders answered that they had never heard about gop-movement; less aware were the parents of the pupils — 27.9%. According to the «open question» analysis, we can conclude that approximately the 5th part of male-teenagers sympathize with the «gop-youth» or prove that they belong to this group. Quantitative estimation of «gop-culture» prevalence is rather sophisticated nowadays, that's why even this fact can serve as a key point to analyze the «depth of marginalization» of modern youth. Important research interest is provoked by the answer analysis of the open questions, connected with the description of «gop-movement» essence: reasons, attracting youth to this movement. Here we can observe serious differences in estimation of pupils and students of professional colleges. So, positive characteristics are more spread among basic social groups, such as future workers and junior managers. 33.8% of them characterize «gop-youth» as an independent,

free-of-superstitions people. And only 14.55% of pupils give similar characteristics. More detailed spread of opinions was established due to the research with a help of focus-group method. Appearance and peculiarities of «gopniks» behavior were described by the participants of the focus group, according to the following features:

- Obligatory: tracksuit, peaked cap, butch haircut, sunflower seeds.
- The desire to join the group and demonstration of «self-authority».
- The communication with the representatives of the other youth groups is oriented to provoke a conflict to accuse of «wrong» behavior, words, etc to apply physical aggression towards them.
- Racket.
- The supervising or total control of city wards.

The majority of the responders pointed out the belonging of «gop-movement» members to the criminal groups. This fact is proved not only by the borrowing of lexical units, but also by the set of rules and norms, regulating behavior of group members. Desire to imitate behavior of the people who have been already prisoned is evident. An emphasized masculinization of this youth movement is also an important fact. Nowadays an insufficient examination of «gop-phenomenon» doesn't give a definite answer to the question: is «gopniks» closed form of subculture (contra-culture); chaotically forming community of teenagers, who can behave delinquently or is it a formed youth movement? Nowadays, «gop-culture» is gradually losing an association with poverty. We may observe social differentiation even among «gop-members». Variations of fashion, its forms, concerning social level prove that the characteristics, describing social «gop-group», are not just the characteristics of poor, ill-brought-up-and-educated youth. This social group can pretend to be special subculture or youth movement. Quantitative estimation of «gop-movement» prevalence is rather sophisticated, that's why even conventional fact of «self-identification» — 30% of the examined youth can be considered as a key point to analyze the «depth of marginalization» of modern youth.

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CONFLICT BETWEEN GENERATIONS IN A FAMILY: ITS FUNCTIONS

Large changes have taken place in modern Russian society. They have touched economy, policy, culture etc. Changes have influenced family institution, which transformed at that time. However the crisis escorts these alterations also. Various problems become aggravated in the relations between generations in society and in a family. Family is the most important institution of society's reproduction and personality's socialization during age group's communication. But at present interaction and socialization of generations face difficulties. The elders are at a loss for transfer of their experience to youth, inasmuch as some social norms and values renew themselves radically. Young people adopt the elders' experience not easy too. Therefore

distinctions among age groups become deeper, contradictions between generations emerge, and domestic disputes speed up.

The problem of inter-generation conflict becomes topical in Russian family. This conflict expresses itself into hard, tensional interaction between parents and their children (especially grown-up sons or daughters), between grandparents and grandsons, among another family members in consequence of inter-generation contradiction's increasing. Meanwhile the impact of change's processes on the generational interaction in Russian family has not studied enough. The role of social conflict is discussed in contemporary science. Any disagreement has a lot of negative and positive outcomes. This characteristic is available for the conflict between generations in a family. This clash exerts ambiguous influence on a family, age groups and society. At the same time as it has extremely destructive consequences, it can be a stimulus for development of some social processes.

The notion «function» has several meanings. It means a conclusion or a realization or an execution and so on. The author of the article defines «the function of conflict between generations» as the role this argument for progress of society and social institutions (first of all a family), for realization of generations' goals and interests. Function of this conflict reveals itself in the social processes, which are connected with regulation of tensional situations. The clash and its results have an effect on statuses and roles of subjects, on values and norms, on development generations' interaction immediately or latently. The functions discover the ways to optimization of some socialization's processes and institutions, to perfection inter-generation relations.

Author of this text has analyzed the conflict between generations and allocated its main functions — the institutionalization and the socialization. The former is that the conflict can encourage a creation and a development of some social institutions, which have orientation to communication and translation of culture for generations, as e. g., a family, school, science, social work, law, economy and other social institutions. And the latter means that the conflict can encourage a socialization of individual, a passing and an acquiring social norms and values to family's cohorts depending on the circumstances. And on the contrary the conflict may be useful, if it provokes barriers and breaks the children's internalization non-adequate models and forms of their parents' behavior. As the result they don't repeat themselves the parents' negative experience.

Functions of the conflict are different for individuals, families, society. These functions vary depending on time and scene of tension's emergence that is depending on historical, cultural, situational and eventual contexts. On the whole the functions of conflict reveal themselves in the course of its conclusion in the form of immediate and distant constructive consequences. At that the opposition can not be total to destroy the basis of generations' interaction, but it is able to affect some parts only, which need an alteration really.

The results of my empirical study are presented in the article. It was the sociological interrogation «The inter-generation conflict in a family and ways of its regulation». It includes 1200 inhabitants of Moscow city and respective region in 2008. There was quotas selection by gender and age in the study. It was done due to the RF President's Program of the support for young Russian scientists (the Project MK-4433.2007.6). The results of the study exposed that: (1) the conflict between generations in a family indicates to the accumulated problems of their relations (54%); (2) that such conflicts allow the elders to learn the young's interests better (34%); (3) that it encourages the creation of new behavioral norms and rules in a family (32%); (4) that participants of a tension can defend their limited rights and needs (20%); (5) that the resolution of inter-generation contradiction in a family can prevent another conflicts (19%); (6) that the inter-generation conflict may help to bring up the youth (13%); (7) that this clash allows the same generation's people to unite themselves and to understand their concerns better (8%).

As any another social conflicts an inter-generation clash is one of societal dynamics' factors. It has an ability to give some stimulus to progress of a family and society, because the disagreement of age groups involves a state and society in urgent family's

difficulties. It exposes non-adequate forms and content of generational relations and forces to refuse them up. Special manifestos, projects and social institutions emerge for regulation of the conflict. The system of public monitoring over adolescents' upbringing advances for prevention of domestic disputes and for habits of mutual debt in a family. Since people comprehend each other differently and the opportunities of cooperation appear in the course of tension's resolution, the conflict can carry out the amalgamated role. The discrepancy between generations in a family demonstrates certain strained interaction in society and prompts individuals to look a way out of difficult situation. Consequently necessary changes take place.

The renunciation of certain past line during the conflict gives a chance for family's evolution at new basis. This contradiction causes makes actual researches in the field of generations, family and others coherence with their social problems, taking respective political resolutions too. A field of services and the institutions of help develop themselves in consequence of clash. Owing to that the presuppositions for new vacancies of pedagogues, social support staffs, psychologists and else specialists arise for resolution of inter-generation disagreement.

The conflict between generations is a result of society's function. Along with tension within generation the divergence between generations can take the formation, interconnection, clarification, development age group's interests and the construction of age band's communication. The functions take place if the conflict gets some constructive social changes or it strengthens the necessary stability in a family in spite of inevitable unconstructive consequences. In the opposite case the resistance during communication has various dysfunctions, which make society and its institutions renew the methods of avoidance and ruling of conflict between generations in a family.

9. CULTURAL HERITAGE IN SYMBOLS OF NATIONAL & ETHNIC IDENTITY

9.1. SYMBOLS OF NATION (STATE) AND REGION IDENTITY

Andrei Babaitsev

STATE SYMBOLS IN THE ERA OF GLOBALIZATION

Today mankind is witness to multi-directional social, cultural and political processes. On one hand, there exists integration and globalization, which is accompanied with the crisis of traditional identities. On the other hand, it is the confirmation of proprietary racial, ethnic, national and state associations.

These processes often happen with the use of, and first of all, state symbols such as coats of arms, flags and anthems. In the designing of state coats of arms and flags (especially often in the second half of the 20th century) classical heraldic and logical rules aren't used, but rather *vocabulary* and *grammar* which are associated with historical and cultural roots of that particular or another ethnos, nation or state. For the confirmation of a nation-state identity with the designing of state symbols (as a rule during the creating of state coats of arms) plants or animals, which are characteristic of the given nation, and even geographic and ethnographic symbols related to that particular country. With the objective of strengthening national identity, the state symbols of Afghanistan, Rwanda, and the Republic of South Africa were changed. More *powerful* national and ethnic symbols were added to their coats of arms and flags. Taking into account the confirmation of socio-cultural and nationalistic identities went the creation of state symbols in the countries of the former U. S. S. R. and Yugoslavia.

State symbols in the age of globalization carry out two important functions: identification and distancing (the nation from others). Symbolic identification is a process, which creates a recognizable positive identity in the sense of meaning *us*. At that very moment the state symbols fulfill a distancing function, that is expressed in that, which establishes, regulates and protects the *borders* native and foreign political means, between various socio-political systems, between *us* and *them*. Currently, if the need arises, the forming of a state symbols takes into account the integration of the following processes: the symbol today defends, protects and saves *it own* while stressing its own creation, individuality, originality and independence and community. All of this is necessary so that national, cultural and state identity is not *washed away*.

IMAGE OF A REGION AND ITS INTERPRETATION IN THE STRUCTURE OF REGIONAL IDENTITY

Abstract: Regional identity as an awareness of belonging to the community of a particular region is formed, among other things, through the image of a region and its interpretation. From a sociological point of view, perception of a country or region reflects an attitude to the traditions, history, institutions and social establishments of the region. This approach focuses on rational foundations of communication; it permits setting the vector of regional development and of its image.

The processes of globalization and modernization, as well as growing territorial, economic, political and cultural interdependency in the world are emphasizing anew the problem of existence and perception of territorial space. Territorial space is a system of steady social realities and ideas in a given region that are formed in the process of social practices, social interactions, interpenetration of creeds, traditions, standards, values and cultures.

In Russia, which is a multinational country, regional themes have acquired special importance in view of the possibilities and hazards of the internal pluralism of regional politics, economy, religions, information processes, national factors and others. It seems that there are a number of postulates formulated by «globalization — localization» theories, which emphasize the importance of the regional theme and can find empirical confirmation in the Volgograd region:

— A growing importance of territorial and geographic factors. Historically, the development of Russia was closely associated with formation of local communities on a vast area covered by the country; these communities had their own unique selfhood, specific sociocultural traits, which can be defined as «regional identity». We believe it was territorial and geographic factors, rather than national ones, that laid the foundation of the structure of identification matrix of the peoples of Russia;

— local interests, the focus on one's native area are in direct proportion to global processes; according to the definition by M. Castells and M. McLuhan, the world is a «global village» from the point of view of the theory of communication [3, 71]. In practice, it was the processes of globalization that have yielded a new attitude to preservation and assimilation of local history, local values and strategies. In the framework of globalization local projects of development are unquestionably most preferable as they are more effective and pay back soonest of all. Among such projects we place geocultural and interpretational development of a region, which includes a development of the regional image. The latter means a transition to a Meta-level in representation of social phenomena, which is an important component in the structure of regional identity.

The image of a region is a system of the most striking, large-scale regional signs, symbols, characteristics that reflects the specifics of development and social interaction on a given territory. Proceeding from the theory by the British historian B. Anderson, a region can be regarded as an «imagined community», ideologically structured, «suggested to people» without sufficient grounds [4, 205]. Managing a region representing the world of people united by a common purpose, belief in common forefathers, in heroic deeds, in a particular historical significance, can have practicable implications and motivate the actions of people in real life. The image of a region can be regarded as a coordinated, manageable system comprised by clusters of specific regional mega images that include stable concepts of the dynamics of development of the regional community. Thus, symbolization of regional space is a management process. In the process of communication human communities they form a medium that meets their interests most adequately. They rationally choose the cultural paradigm, which makes membership in a social group not just acceptable, but beneficial. A society can be

represented as forms of coordinated activity of individuals where these constructions are preserved or changed as a result of interactions.

An important identifying factor that constructs the meaning of regional identity on the level of history and culture and determines its value component is the image of a region and its interpretations, which provide for a successful or failed communication within a regional community. Besides, the image of a region can be regarded as an emotional materialized medium for an idea, unity, and integrity; it possesses the ability for ensuring a motivation for joint actions. As we see it, images of a region that are an index of regional identity, are represented in the Volgograd region in the following order: the Stalingrad battle — 63%; the Volga river — 52.9%; the Mother Russia statue — 49.7%; the Fallen Heroes Square — 3.5%; the Volzhsky hydroelectric power station — 3.4%; the Don river — 2.5%; churches and cathedrals — 1.9%; the Volga-Don canal — 1.9%; universities of the Volgograd — 0.7%; the Red October plant — 0.4%. Interpretation of these images includes objective characteristics of vital activity of a community, such as the region, economic, political and social structure, and a subjective attitude to them [6, 57].

In the Volgograd region images of the region are formed based on historical discourse, which is an important condition for formation of regional identity. In our region the Stalingrad battle is not just an allusion to certain dates in the past; for the people of Volgograd this battle constitutes a historical experience crystallized in memory. The people of our region have regional mythology with heroes and feats of arms, thus we have a base for an identity. In ordinary conditions or, as E. Giddens puts it, «the routine» [1], in everyday life regional identity is manifested in a certain system of values and behavioral norms among the people of the region.

The image of the Volgograd region is constructed around war symbols. However, a modern picture of state development should emerge as a result of interaction of several temporal trends «past — present — future» that form a social profile of regions and of the state. Symbolical obligations limited to the memory of the Great Patriotic War can only consolidate the local community on the Victory Day and February 2. Given this interpretational development of local space, at other times the region is «cut off», «endlessly ensnared»; it is a many-sided result of functioning of those communication models that fail to integrate the people and represent the region in the form of some statistical data. According to J. Baudrillard, this representation has nothing to do with the real population, corporation, or a specific community. The fact that regional interactions are internally indistinguishable and have no meaningful content is the hallmark of that faulty representation. A region whose population perceives it only through the past cannot develop dynamically in the present and have no strategy of its development.

Developing the historical, economical or social image of a region can be regarded as a factor of successful social interaction, social communication. A certain image and regional symbols can unite various indices characterizing the region. The constructed image can exert a profound influence on the society determining the tendencies of its development. Qualitative transformations of the image of a region can be associated with the preceding trajectory of its formation and development. For modern images of a region we should choose historical or modern events, facts, phenomena that are exciting or of interest for the people of the region. An adequate management will be continually filling these images with new meanings and practices that can build the image of a region through interpretation of its social context.

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SOCIAL AND CULTURAL IDENTITY OF A REGION AND ITS CIVIL SOCIETY

The Russian society shows great diversity depending on specific regional features. Among them there is amount of the population, its ethnic composition, distance from the center, economic potential, cultural peculiarities and historical development. The region is the very place where the unity and integrity are achieved, the result of centrifugal and centripetal forces meeting. This unique quality, though, should be considered on the background of increasing demands of the individual, the society and the state, and in connection with further requirements for economy's efficiency and with the constant probing of the country's integrity and survivability. Modern times call for development corrections for Russia, as required by the geopolitical, social, historic, cultural circumstances. New drive for the Russian society and state flourish can only be achieved by the efforts on the regional level, and through the overcoming of the conflicting situations between the center and the region and the regions among themselves. We are talking here not only about a new attitude of the center to the regions, but about a new form and contents of Russian policy towards regions.

Transformation involves not only the spheres of civic life but also the civic space, which is a definite territory, occupied by a territorially defined social group. Pitirim Sorokin was the first to describe the civic space. He understands it as «a system of social co-ordinates that helps to define the position of any individual»(1) . Sorokin describes a three-dimensional civic space, with three axes: economic, political and professional. Modern definition of civic space runs as a field of social activity, including a complex of relevant social groups, individuals and objects in their relation to each other and also the vision of the individuals and groups about their place in the society (2). The civic space is the place where the society organizes its life and includes it into the context of its activity. Naturally this fact creates specific conditions for the regional society formation and dictates its peculiarities.

The civil society as the sphere of the individuals' personal interest is being reproduced in their day-to-day activity. Being a member of the civil society the individual can feel the freedom and can realize the freedom via the sense of duty for the society in general. It is the place where the individual acts as a citizen and becomes the very horizontal structure that checks the vertical structures erected by the state. Being the citizen means to be involved into the life of the country and to be part of the country. The role of the citizen is not restricted to the duties (voting, tax-payment and military service) but includes work and rest, starting a family and a place to live, children upbringing and care about the senior people. The civil behavior connects the person to the country, the region, re-creates individual life as reflection of the life of the society. Thus the space of civic duties of the individual is created and alongside the space organization of the civil society is established.

The boundaries of the society are the subject of the individual's civil responsibility. The civil society is the condition of regional identity whereas the regional identity may be viewed as social and cultural condition of the civil society reproduction. Identity is the result of self-identification, the bottom line of a person's vision of him/herself in the process of socialization. Researchers in the sphere of regional identity define it as a systemic combination of cultural relations (3). Thus O. Shkaratan believes that regional identity of Russia is evolving since the end of the 20th century on the ground of absolutely new local cities' subcultures and by overcoming the extensive culture of the traditional society (4). M. Krylov upholds the same opinion (5). Other researchers, on the

contrary, see the modern Russian regional identity as a proof domineering traditionalism (6). The basis for regional identity is the cultural connection of an individual with a definite territory. Lack of settled life reflects the missing ethical roots. Identity offers the person the sense of being valuable for the society. Identity is both unifying and differentiating. Identification provides unity on both the macro-level of the society, the country, the state, the nation, and on the micro-level of groups and other individuals. Identity also has a protecting function.

We start with the fact that Vologda region is (mostly) an economically developed industrial region. Two thirds of the region dwellers (75%) «who are glad» and «who are mostly satisfied» that they live in this region. Among those who are mostly satisfied that they live in the region are students, retired people, state private enterprise managers, businessmen, doctors, teachers, lawyers etc. Median age of the respondents is 44, but the age variable is not consistent. Only 5% of the region dwellers would like to leave the region, among them 2% would like to leave Russia at all. A serious amount of respondents, 66% believe that the region dwellers live better in comparison with neighbor regions. Nevertheless 48% of them stated that «better in comparison with some and worse in comparison with others». The level of identity can be extrapolated from the opinions about appealing and unappealing features of Vologda region. People reflected on «beautiful nature» (about 60%), kindness and open hearts of the people (around 30%), «promising better future» (around 20%), the places of interest were mentioned.

Interest to the territory future is shown through the opinions on what should be done to improve the life conditions in the region. A large amount state the need to improve medical service (38%), creation of workplaces (33%), need to improve ecological situation (30%). Important directions for development are fighting crime and corruption (28%) and small and middle business development (25%). As a measure some respondents offer construction of inexpensive apartments, raise the pensions and freeze food prices, fight with poverty and revival of parks. All the problems that the region dwellers point out are possible to solve with the help of civil society institutions. Moreover, the listed questions belong to the sphere of personal interest. One more factor that provides positive developments in the civil society construction is the respondents' opinions on how to solve the existing problems and to improve life standards. Improvement of one's life standard is a matter of the individual in the opinion of Vologda region dwellers (83%). Men slightly prevail among those who rely on themselves; while those whose age is between 40 and 44 and who have higher education can work in top managerial positions and are businessmen. As far as the importance of authorities is concerned the respondents favor local level. In the opinion of 53% the improvement of life standards depends on district and city authorities, 50% believe in the country authorities, 47% trust regional power.

Regional identity can be traced through the intensity of settlement, region, country and world connection with the territory dwellers. Interesting results are achieved via «unity intensity coefficient» (UIC). The region dwellers showed equal distance both from Moscow (0, 07) and from the world (0, 08). The UIC towards co-settlers showed 7, 7. High level of settlement unity is also supported by the grade on the «close person / stranger» as 67% of Vologda region dwellers attributed «close person» to the dwellers of their own settlement, independent of it being city or rural area. Naturally, older people (age over 60) ticked this answer more frequently. At the same time, level of income didn't influence the answers. Unity with the settlement dwellers was shown by state and private enterprises managers, businessmen, salespeople and people of other professions. The professional status contributed to the grade «close person».

The element of greatest importance lies in the fact that 100% of agricultural enterprises management and rural intelligentsia responded to the question positively. This is the answer of those who fulfill both cultural, administrative and government functions. These are the people who not only live in a settlement but also are responsible for its life. This is the fact that reflects deep connection of the region dwellers to the region, the birthplace and this is the factor that can be viewed as positive for the civil society formation in the region.

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Olga Pavlova

FORMATION OF NATION IDENTITY

Abstract: Recently there is an interest in problems of globalization, cross-cultural communications and relationships between languages, culture and civic rights. We believe it's necessary to advance in empirical study about peculiarities of nation-building and getting knowledge about a language as a key issue for understanding under conditions of multicultural communications, the role and functions of languages in the global world.

Key words: national identity, common language, language convergence, minority/majority language

All liberal democracies adopted a range of policies to promote a common language and a common sense of national identity. In some situations convergence on a common language and identity has been the intended objective of the policies selected, as when the state insists that all public education shall be in a single language medium or when it refuses to offer public services in other languages. Elsewhere this convergence has been the unintended foreseeable consequence of other state policies. It's quite naturally, that policies, reduced social isolation and enabled nationwide communication tend to engender linguistic convergence. These nation-building projects are sometimes perceived as expressing an attitude of cultural imperialism and ethnocentric prejudice. Although this attitude is reflected in some statements of key nineteenth century proponents of nation-building [3], it would be a mistake to dismiss nation-building on the grounds that it is insensitive to difference.

Sometimes language convergence may be considered as a side-effect of policies that are easily justified. Let us consider the role of regular contacts in the global world by means of travel, migration, trade which can inevitably lead to some processes of language patterns changing and language repertoires start converging. Convergence on a common national language is of great priority in generating social cohesion, required by a democratic state. Any programmer of social justice can't be carried out when the community is separated into several identity groups that do not have the affective means of common citizenship and cooperate with one another mutually. Moreover, a common language is essential to democracy, because people can not have effective contacts without understanding one another. Alan Patten, Associate Professor of Political Science and William Dawson Scholar at McGill University, argue that linguistic diversity can be significant barrier to the full flourishing of the deliberative dimension of democracy and that a successful nation-building project that brings about a common national language of political dialogue can eliminate this obstacle. But some language minorities may constitute their own «societal cultures» [2].

In these cases the argument for nation-building loses its force, and it can be regarded as an attempt by the majority to dominate the state and as a result it stimulates a defensive nationalist response from the national minority. So, the nation-building strategy can be quite effective in the case of immigrant groups, but it's strongly resisted by groups which see themselves as forming «nations within». If states confront such sort of minority nationalism, the best way to promote a common identity is to adopt policies that recognize and institutionalize a degree of national and linguistic difference. Evidently, it is impossible to separate language policy choices from debates about the relationship between nations and states. The notion of language rights is gaining force as a way for ethno cultural minorities to articulate some of their most essential concerns about the preservation of their cultural and linguistic environment within the state. It is time to define language rights and some civic language duties, among them there are: everyone's right to learn a dominant language; everyone's duty to learn a second language for the sake of ensuring cultural empathy; one's rights of an access to media via languages used in a society; one's rights of no discriminations because of language in seeking access to employment, services, goods, etc.

In the 18th century German romantics Herder and von Humboldt advocated «linguistic» nationalism where culture, and particularly language, was viewed as central to the essence or spirit of the nation. In a way, language is the most important distinguishing characteristic of nationhood. In theory language may be one of many markers of identity, practically, it's often much more than that; indeed, it should not surprise us since the link between language and identity encompasses significant cultural and political dimensions. The former is demonstrated by the fact that one's individual and social identities and their complex interconnections are inevitably mediated in and through particular languages. The latter is significant to the extent that those languages come to be formally associated with particular ethnic and national identities. Instrumental and identity aspects of language are important because national languages are often dichotomized with minority languages on an instrumental & identity basis; majority languages fulfill the former function, minority languages the latter.

The instrumental value of minority languages is often constrained by wider social and political processes that have resulted in the privileging of another language variety as the language of the nation-state. The identity characteristics of the language are important for its speakers, but often become subsumed within and normalized by the civic, instrumental functions that these languages fulfill. There are ideas that it's unjust if majority languages do provide their speakers with particular individual and collective forms of linguistic identity to deny the same benefits to minority language speakers. Paraphrasing Habermas [1], a correctly understood theory of citizenship rights requires a politics of recognition that protects the individual in the life contexts in which his or her cultural and linguistic identity is formed. To put it briefly, cultural factors contribute decisively too many aspects of the configuration of civic life: i. e. the creation of collective identities, the development of civic action, and the functioning of institutional systems. It seems now to be widely acknowledged that building of nation identities constitutes the field where the cultural and language dimensions are very important.

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PROVINCE CULTURE OF RUSSIA: TRADITIONS AND INNOVATIONS

An increasing public interest in the province culture and religious tradition as an integral part of our life since the late 20 century necessitates analysis of the «centre-province» communication as elements of sociocultural environment. One should distinguish a number of issues in this field: theoretical-methodological (content and conceptual communication basis of the «centre and province») and organizational — governing (determining the formation of basic national — religious patterns of communication in culture and religion). One more important function and feature of the province in Russia is worth mentioning. It is traditionalism within which sociocultural innovations of the capitals have been adopted and sometimes rejected as they are in contrast to the Russian psycho type. Russian province has performed the function of adopting new patterns of social development within particular ethnical historical background and specific system of values.

The pursuit of optimal harmony between specialty and generality, local and common characteristics has always been the basic feature of the province contribution to the cultural life in Russia. Thus, there has always been some sort of communication between the centre and the province as elements of sociocultural environment. However, drawing on the data obtained by the Russian Academy of Science «recently there has been some sort of softening in value confrontation (so typical for the early 90s) as a consequence of further disintegration of traditional subcultures and expansion of values and lifestyle of «consumerism»[1;5]. Nowadays, the public tends to keep national spiritual values and their revival and a strong opposition to «consuming civilization» is possible only through religion. But this opinion is not shared by all the representatives of intelligentsia. That's why; introducing an optional course of Orthodox Culture in secondary school has evoked a wide public response and discussion. And in the end, an elective course «Spiritual — moral Culture» has been introduced which is regarded as a more appropriate one. There is definitely some growth in the number of religious organizations. For example, in Rostov region in 2008 there were 472 religious organizations compared to 432 in 2004[2]. Yet, one should not idealize the process of religious revival. Drawing on various surveys, conducted by different institutions, one can see that a number of people who believe in God and follow all the ceremonies as well as norms both in Orthodox and other faiths are not so big. Introducing religious values demands great care taking into account historical background, traditions and ethno-confessional situation in any region of the country.

There must be some dialogue between intelligentsia and priests on the most important issues in Russia without denying science. Careful and mutually acceptable communication between traditional institutions will enable to keep, and to some extent, revive the optimal combination of province and capital cultures and religious spirituality, which was formed in the past and still promotes integrity and stability of Russia.

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9.2. ETHNO-CULTURAL AND SOCIAL IDENTITY: CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

O.V. Eparkhina

RESEARCH OF EXCLUSIVE ETHNIC GROUPS AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN RUSSIA

Primordial's concepts, dominated over a world science up to 1960—70th, and in domestic science it was actually unique prior to the beginning of the 1990th, consider ethnicity as an objective reality. Ethnos is understood as a really existing social community with features inherent in it and deeply connected with a socio-historical context. As key concept and the main thing ethnic identity as representation of the individual about the accessory to this or that ethnic group here acts. Considering a perceived image of an ethnic generality as a conditional social stereotype, we can present it as a certain image of the world. Such reasons result in necessity of creation of images of other ethnic environment surrounding us as necessity of a schematization of reactions to social situations, necessity to protect internal values and the rights, unifications of sights inside of group. Ethnic image in this connection it is possible to define as simplified, schematized, emotionally painted and extremely steady image of any ethnic group or a generality, with ease distributed on its all representatives. In O. Klineberg's opinion, the ethnic stereotype or an image represents not simply subjective opinion on this or that ethnic generality, and reflects an objective reality: properties of two cooperating groups and attitudes between them¹³⁴.

Distinctive feature of the Russian researches in the field of formation and perception of images ethnic generalities is the attention to a choice of the ethnicity concept, today mainly within the limits of ethno-philosophy of a postmodernism. It coincides with change in 90th years of 20 centuries in the specialized English-speaking literature of a scientific paradigm in understanding of a phenomenon ethnicity which is characterized by refusal of so-called traditional sights (primordialism) on its nature and a wide circulation in socially-humanitarian researches of scientific paradigms of a postmodernism. Any social process in postmodernist treatment appears as set of various kinds and results of individual activity which main motive is the priority of material assets. Social a generality in such understanding become tools for achievement of the purposes by separate persons. The postmodernism in ethnology was expressed in occurrence of the concepts, actually denying objective character ethnic generalities. Constructive and instrumental ethnicity concepts became in the 1990th the most mass in the Anglo-American literature. If postmodernist ethnicity concepts have received the greatest popularity in the English-speaking literature, system ethnicity concepts are still enough popular in modern foreign European ethnology. These distinctions are connected not only with the certain dominating intellectual tradition, but also with distinctions in ethnic structure of the European communities.

Explaining an ethnicity phenomenon, domestic researchers often start with features of formation and residing ethnic generalities on the ethnic native land within the limits of the Russian Federation or outside of it, from specificity of a state policy in the field of artificial formation of the nation in Russia during the Soviet and post-Soviet period. Thus problems of ethnicity polarization, its uses as mobilization force for achievement of definite purposes by regional political elites and leaders, the state as a whole are actual. By virtue of it instrumental concepts became more active which representatives

¹³⁴ See: Стефаненко Т.Г. Этнопсихология. М., 1998.

consider, that the ethnic feeling and formulated in its context representations show intellectual construct of referent persons or elites.

Also an important point defining specificity of domestic researches is the understanding of essence of the nation and problems of national identification. The importance of this problem first of all is defined by that national construction in the Russian Federation has been carried out on the basis of the German ethnic concept of the nation, unlike many countries of the Western Europe and Northern America where national construction has passed on the basis of etatist's or Anglo-Roman understanding of the nation. In western (mainly Anglo-Roman) culture the concept of the nation designates fellow citizens of one country, and in Eastern-European this concept is filled by the ethnic maintenance (the nation as modern type of ethnos). Meanwhile the construct «the Russian nation», actively introduced by the state in mass consciousness, corresponds to the first tradition. Meanwhile in the Constitution such verbal image is obviously designated as «multinational people» and an image has, according to a number of researches, quite positive painting and corresponds to a habitual construction¹³⁵.

For the modern scientific approach to studying mechanisms of perception of ethnic groups and communications of these processes with specificity of a state policy the combination of cognitive and the affective maintenance of ethnos perception mechanisms is characteristic. According to U. Weineky's concept, during research it is inevitably necessary to establish, whether it corresponds with corresponding object, and with knowledge of other people of it, and whether possesses thus such characteristics as stability and durability of belief in characteristics of other ethnic environment. According to H. Tajfel, specific mechanisms of perception of ethnic groups at an individual level carry out cognitive function (a schematization, simplification) and value-protective (creation and preservation positive «I-image»). At a group level they correspond with formation of ideology, including national, and with mechanisms of identification (creation and preservation positive group «We-images»).

The specified methodological and theoretical moments have led us to necessity of some independent researches of the mechanism of mutual perception of ethnic groups through a prism of such phenomenon, as formation of images of socially restrained and exclusive ethnic groups. According to polls and expert interrogations in 2001—2006 in the Russian Federation the essential growth of the ethnic problems importance for the population is marked. The condition of ethnopolitical relations both in the country is defined by factors traditional for Russia: position in economy, a level of material maintenance of inhabitants of region, a state of affairs in the next regions. In many respects activation of these factors in public consciousness communicates respondents with existence of ethnic groups, whose interests are restrained, and the groups having the privileges. However, according to results of studying of public opinion on this problem, specificity of perception of ethnic groups in the Russian Federation is those, that mainly people are not inclined to consider own ethnic group restrained. The restrained and exclusive groups are allocated with respondents on a number of criteria:

- availability of good work,
- availability of good habitation,
- an opportunity of reception of the good income,
- an opportunity of reception of privileges (for example, on crediting, business),
- an opportunity of real realization of the political rights,
- an opportunity of dialogue with representatives of other groups.

According to the all-Russia monitoring 2006 the presence in region of national groups, which rights and interests are restrained, mark 27.5 % of interrogated, thus precisely declare absence of those 33,3 % of respondents. Exclusive groups as a social reality are noted 37.3 % of respondents. Over 90 % of respondents mark that they have no personal experience of ethno-cultural conflicts. As the constant social practice the national and ethnic discomfort connected with presence of their group restrain or with presence of privileges of others

¹³⁵ See: Авксентьев В.А., Щербина Е.А. Региональная и этническая конфликтология как ведущие направления обществоведческих исследований // Конфликтология. 2006. №1.

ethnic groups was noted only by 7 %. We can mark impossibility for respondents to define the conflict or a discomfortable social situation as caused by ethnic factors. The most indicative for demonstration of perception of the exclusive and restrained ethnic groups are situations of dialogue with associates (34%), reception of habitation and work (21.7%), and also realization of the political rights (about 30%).

The aggravation of problems in the specified situations forms the certain type of perception of authority and political sphere. Including such situations with identical probability for various ethnic groups form confidence, that ethnic privileges extend and on sphere of policy. Parallel researches allow to consider the basic motivation of such perception — fear for own group safety within the limits of the given state. Our conclusions prove to be true positions of known theoretical researches. According to R. Melson's and H. Wolpe's researches, social mobilization favors to ethnic rivalry, especially in conditions of a competition, characteristic for modern societies since, the competitor in the modern social environment the one who feels safety of changes most sharply is considered and searches for protection of a community, but simultaneously searches also many new blessings connected with modernization¹³⁶. However, the level of the anxiety connected with threat of stability of the state in connection with ethnic problems and conflicts in Russia is low. It is possible to explain it with a number of reasons: influence of globalization, a different acuteness of social problems for different ethnic groups.

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DESIGNING OF INTERETHNIC COMMUNICATION IN THE PRESENT DAY CITY

The present day city is represented by a huge problem conglomerate, determined by socio-economic, political, demographical and other processes taking place in the city milieu and impacting its spatial segregation. These segregation processes are not completed yet, though their role is crucial in determination of a certain variant of future. Studies of the city milieu not only allow for adequate description of various present day social processes and phenomena, such as globalization and transnationalism, not only accentuate the most multiple and heterogeneous environment which embodies various ethnic, confessional, status, sub-cultural groups, but also provide a researcher with the tools for description of social processes and phenomena, characteristic of the modern society as a whole. Very often it is not easy to outline it by academic terms. The social milieu of poly-ethnic city, being the phenomenon of coexistence of various cultures, is represented by the strata, layers of messages or, according to Yu. Lotman, «the bowl of texts».¹³⁷

¹³⁶ See: Melson R., Wolpe H. Modernization and a Politics of Communalism — A Theoretical perspective // American political Science review. №64. P. 1115.

¹³⁷ The city and the time, // Petersburg readings on the theory, history and philosophy of culture. SPb. 1993. Issue 1. P. 84—92

That is why the city culture provides not only for various texts, but for languages and codes necessary for their adequate perusal. The studies of everyday behavior of city residents will give us the idea of the ways of formation — both historical and modern — of the new urban social environment, the way of elements' functioning, regulations, which determine the behavioral strategies of population and institutions, the role of interethnic borders in these processes. The study of designing of modern «native — alien» dichotomy contributes to understanding the character of present day communications in the poly-ethnic city environment. The designing of «native– alien» dichotomy in the city milieu of the post-Soviet period have been taking place in several stages. In the result of the collapse of habitual way of life individuals tend to seek for new grounds of their social identity. The break-up of a certain social order entails the emergence of ethnicity on the surface of the social world. Intuition of natural community captures political and social movements, social institutions, absorbs life milieu, and transforms cultural strategies. While its status and legitimating forms are being looked for, it itself starts to legitimate communities, cultures and life milieu.

In the context of the post-Soviet crisis ethnic identity became most demanded, it became the basis for the ordinary individual to decode the altered social world around him. «Appellations to «peoples' sovereignty» with hysterical imminence lead to actualization and intensification of ethnic matrixes. But right away it was followed by the processes of segregation, which was based (.....) on consanguinal, often «tribal» grounds. We found ourselves in the situation of «merging of times»; the reality was more and more acquiring mythical character». ¹³⁸ Actualization of ethnic myths which attended the formation of the new urban social environment was playing an ambivalent role. On the one hand ethnic mythology allows an individual for identifying himself with a certain ethnic group, the fact providing him with the feeling of link with other people of similar origin. On the other hand «mythology does not know nuances», that is why it always contains the border between «native» and «other». «Other» is the one with differing gender and personal characteristics, but in critical situations «other» is often reduced to «alien». Depending on features and characteristics of individuals or ethnic groups, different from us, we regard them either as not dangerous «others», or «aliens», who threaten our gender and cultural basis. At the initial stage of the post-Soviet period, when all Soviet institutions collapsed, the phantom of Alien began to slowly and obscurely appear before the individual. The post-Soviet city dweller was terrified to learn that he is surrounded by «aliens», especially in the social milieu of Russian megalopolises. This horror has reduced to various forms of interethnic hostility. As a rule, the «aliens» were the representatives of other ethno-cultural tradition.

The Soviet national politics has been accentuating ethno-cultural differences, the Soviet formula of ethnicity analysis provided for the *a priori* presence of deep cultural oppositions between «us» and «others». ¹³⁹ The concept of «Alien» in the city milieu have for a long time been linked to a certain idea of place. The place, a city in this case, is something that is distinctly restricted. That is why the city can be loved, it can be left, and an individual may be alien to it. The distinctness of alien is the distinctness of division of places into parts.

But distinctness of places has disappeared in the present day world. Here mobility became a universal phenomenon, and relocations, if compared to earlier epochs, became so impetuous, that time turned in a negligibly small value, and the habitual borders — in minor obstacles. In the world of closely interweaved places it is hardly possible to get so «far from home» that nothing would remind of it. Distinction lines lose clarity, unambiguity and permanency, at the same time it becomes more and more difficult to be either «native» or «alien» — in the present day world is it more and more possible to find oneself between ethno-cultural borders, in an interim marginal situation. In a traditional sense the border is meant for designing of «own» environment, for rendering the concept

¹³⁸ Sukhachev V.Y. Ethnic and national in the Caucasian conflict: the coming of the «Alien» // «Journal Zvezda». SPb. 2001. P. 171—189.

¹³⁹ Tishkov V. Essays on the theory and politics of ethnicity in Russia. M.1997. P.54

of dichotomist structure — «native — alien» — of life milieu. The «native» world is homogeneous, familiar, assimilated, while behind the ethno-cultural border the «alien territory» pens. It represented the grounds for social reflections, when «life milieu» and, correspondently, social identity were based on contraposition with «aliens», the fact being decisive for the social actions. Nowadays the situation of crossing borders in the city context provokes the formation of new identities. The moment of crossing is the moment of maximal identification «from outside».

The dichotomist designing of the world promoted by ethnic borders presupposes certain relations between various ethnic communities — irrespective of whether it is confrontation, cooperation or ignoring — and an inevitable formation of a new unity. The ethnic border presupposes availability of world beyond the conventional line and means recognition of the «other», «different». The paradox of ethnic borders in the present day city consists in the fact that though they separate people, their dividing properties create new forms of interethnic interaction, new solidarities, and new social communities. And these newly emerged solidarities blur rigid localities of interethnic interaction of the previous period and thus signify the emergence of the new stage of interethnic communications in the present day city.

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CONSTRUCTION OF ETHNICITY AND SOCIAL INEQUALITY IN RUSSIA

Despite expansion of integration tendency and globalization in the world there is increase of isolation of ethnos social communities and exasperation of conflicts on inter-ethnic grounds. Ethnicity in present-day world doesn't lose its importance. However, ethnicity understanding in current meaning underwent changes. Generally accepted in common sense ethnic categories (common parentage, culture, joint historical experience etc.) failed to explain this problem. Therefore, specific for group experience of cooperation and communication becomes decisive for definition of rules of attribution to oneself and others of special ethnicity. In other words ethnicity may be defined as complex of particular practices symbolizing and designing social reality as an ethnic reality. Such approach to the problem can be found in works of western constructivist-researchers such as B. Andersen, D. Armstrong, J. Breily, E. Gellner, L. Greenfield, J. Kellas, E. Smith, E. Hobsbaum, J. Holl. In the base of constructivism conception there is interpretation of ethnos and nation not like outer, initial entity, but like some intellectual construct, created on the base of cultural differences, fillings of national identity. Myths, images, and doctrines formulated in its contexts are results of well-directed efforts of intellectuals and politics groups.

The ethnic division may be presented like distance drawing the line and opposing «we» and «they». That is why the problem of functions and data content of features in connection with phenomenon of inequality comes to the front plan. Thus, W.D. Bukov and Roberto Lariora represent socio-genesis of ethnic minorities as a process during which inequality experience activates and makes actual ethnic marking giving its rise in the beginning. They draw attention to situational and interactive aspects of ethnicism process, by this they move to front plan communicative context generating inequality and firming it. Social inequality is fixed through individual stigmatization arising from external anthropomorphous racial or ethnic peculiarities of an individual. Term «stigma» will be used to denote feature revealing an attribute deeply discrediting; where nature of this feature is determined not by the very feature but by attitude to it [1]. Ethnicity as stigma justifies from one's point of view inferiority of others and explains danger which it represents. Our everyday speech uses special terms for determination stigma as a quality of vivid expression. Sometimes people ascribe stigmatized individual shortages, prejudices,

stereotypes attaching them to his ethnicity. Ethnic prejudices and discriminatory actions may be viewed as a part of society social code which propagates. They are products of learning which is not realized by them. Prejudices are not taught straight and directionally. During process of socialization the individual perceives and makes his own inner property prejudices belonging society, if they fixed in social consciousness as a norm. Sociologist F. Westy so expressed the essence of this approach: «Individuals are adhered to prejudices because they belong society which carries prejudices as an aspect of normative system of its culture. Prejudices exist in culture in the form of normative prescriptions i. e. images about «how it should be which determining how members of the group should behave towards members of other groups» [2].

Another approach in understanding of socio-cultural meaning of prejudice is in conception of situational determination of I proposed by P. Berger. In this his position has something in common with the theory of «mirror-like I». If social situation is that which is determined by its participants then from the point of view of individual participant it means that every situation where he is involved proposes him counter specific expectation and demands of him specific reaction to these expectations. In the case of Buryats we can illustrate some problems of ethnic identity and social inequality in Russian society. The main feature of Buryatian ethnos was the fact that it never was represented as united economical and political entity which reason was in Buryat scattered population. Dispersed settlement was justified by historical circumstances, inner ethnos differentiation fixed by existing forms of Administrative Governance of Buryats dwelling territory around the Baikal. The united Buryat-Mongol republic was divided in 1937 by USSR General Executive Committee Decree dated 26 September. As the result of which four aimaks were joined to the Irkutsk Region and formed the Ust-Ordyn Buryat-Mongol National District as part of the Irkutsk Region. Administrative division was a cultural one: eastern (Zabaikalsk's) Buryat partly Mongol natives became Buddhists, and adopted Mongol written language, and Buddhist's culture through Buddhist's temples which were centers of education. Western (Baikal area) Buryats not having their own written language adopted Russian written language through expansion of parochial and secular schools and through churches and monasteries they became Orthodox, and Mongol written language like Buddhism didn't expand.

These internal contradictions immanent to this ethnic group exist date and an affect on ethnic identity. Inside ethnos there is distinctly seen binary opposition «we» — «they». Such attributing oneself and others to certain categories designed some ambivalent identity of Western Buryat like «friend among foes, foe among friends» manifesting both in mono-ethnic Buryat environment Republic of Buryatiya (among Buryats) and in poly-ethnic environment of the Irkutsk Region (among Russians). Similar examples of contradiction in revelation of identity also may be found in other ethnic groups [3]. Ambivalent identity involves identity crisis demonstrating absence of identification of own and other ethnic group. This is aggravated by constructed stigma from dominating part. Stigmatized individual is inclined to stick to same convictions about identity which others have. [4] Standards of larger society adopted by him force him to recognize his belonging to lower step of social ranking. Desire to make away with his ethnicity arises from individual's perception of his own qualities as negative ones which he would like to dispose of. Low level of solidarity, national consciousness eagerness to join another ethnic group and reproduction of ethnic stereotype become characteristics Western Buryats. In accordance with conception of marginal identity of R. Park a marginal makes headway on the border of two cultures and should realize his creative potential so that to pull singly through their social collision. Ethnic identity as an individual indicator of ethnic self-consciousness represents acceptance of definite group ideas and system of values, as well as construction of system of relations and actions in different situations, which are related to contacting with other ethnic groups. In Russia at the present time transformation of ethnic identity has special significance. There are several types of such transformation: ethno nihilism, ethnic indifference, positive identity, ethno egoism, ethno isolationism, national fanaticism. [5] For ethno nihilism it is characteristic the denial its own ethno cultural values, feel of ethnic deficiency, discrimination, negative

attitude to representatives of native ethnos, difficulties of intercourse with them. Definite features of resemblance with ethno nihilism are represented by ethnic indifference, which demonstrates disregard to problems of interethnic interaction and ethnicity in whole. Ethno nihilism along with ethnic indifference and ambivalent identity can result in crisis forms of change of self-consciousness, uncertainty of ethnic belonging, non-actuality of ethnicity of Buryats. Such ethnic marginality of identity can be one of basic elements in basis of construction of social inequality, stigmatization and ethnos discrimination.

Marginality of identity can be one of elements in basis of construction of ethnic atyp. On that basis the social inequality is constructed and reconstruction of practices of social exception happens. Consequently in society the social normative connected with stigmatization by means of language and label is formed. Marking «Buryat» turned into label, which people of that nation are ashamed of. Formation of identity leads to reproduction of stigma «excepted» and tactics of passive observer. For further work on this direction it is required to find out an answer to renewed research question: Can practices of social exclusion construct such phenomenon as social inequality, and also reconstruct ethnicity which extreme point is assimilation of ethnos? For the purpose of finding an answer it is reasonable to analyze formation mechanism of national identity of «excluded», technology of provocation of exclusion, outlining of borders and so on. The object of further research will be ethnic atyp, otherness, and the subject of research will be mechanism of social inequality construction on the base of practice of ethnic atyp excluding. The following problem may be selected as research tasks: 1) to outline culturally other identities in different social processes; 2) to analyze formation mechanism of ethnic identity of «excluded»; 3) to determine continuum of definition of ethnic identity on the one end of which processes of ethnic group assimilation may be detached, on the other end facts of rough ethnocentrism next to chauvinism and xenophobia; 4) to find out the degree of influence of state policy on allocation of ethnic groups in given continuum; 5) to determine discursive practices of excluding provocation; 6) find out and analyze from the frame analysis point of view the worlds of «marginality» and «otherness» in ethnic discourse.

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SOCIAL SECURITY OF POPULATION IN MODERN RUSSIA AS THE ELEMENT OF STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIAL EXCLUSION

The notion of social exclusion is used not for long time, but it is obvious that this notion denotes the phenomenon, which always existed, but hadn't its name [1]. Actually, many problems, denoted as terms of social exclusion and inclusion, appeared long time before than their concepts. This concept is ambiguous, as it includes different economic, social and political aspects. Since its genesis a great number of different kinds of the

social infringement was included to the category of the social exclusion, and the variety of social groups was characterized as exclusion ones. The analysis of the social exclusion proposes the identification of risk groups and particularly the most probable situations of its occurrence. To the risk groups belong people, who are used to risk forms of pastime and other activity categories (drinking and drug abuse, public tranquility, style of clothes, manners of behavior) that are denounced or considered to be deviant.

In every democratic country there is a normative legal base to struggle with the social exclusion. Besides, numerous regional, national and international social organizations are involved in «the peace struggle» against the social exclusion. Even in the countries with the stable democratic institutions and economy, with higher standards of living the acts of social exclusion take place from time to time as the reactions on the changes in social, economic political situations. Sometimes the reaction on numerous problems is expressed in mass demonstrations and forces of law and order conflicts. The problem of social exclusion is very sharp and actual in the social stratification of Russian society. It is especially urgent in the situation of the crisis, which we observe during the last half year. Nowadays according to the official dates the number of unemployed in Russia is numbered as 1, 5 millions of people [2]. Russian sociologists evaluate the spread of social exclusion differently. Perhaps, Borodkin F.[3] gives the most pessimistic predictions, according to him more than 50% of the Russian population are excluded ones, they have to live under the living-wage, and they aren't included in the labor, social, political and cultural processes. N.E. Tikhonova evaluates the number of excluded as 12—13% [4]. In the Russian legislation the social exclusion is regarded as the «hard life situation». The law defines the groups which are needed to care of as the indigent ones because of highly difficult life circumstances. From our point of view the system of social population's protection must play the important role in the overcoming of the social exclusion as the element which is capable to prevent «the sliding» of some social groups in the situation of the social exclusion and to reduce their social importance. At the same time because of the superficial study of the problem, misunderstanding the key processes of social exclusion, the public assistance becomes inefficient, and sometimes it can even aggravate the position of the excluded. That's why to struggle with the social exclusion profound study of exclusion's process in general, and the situations with social protection of the clients particularly are demanded.

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MODERNIZATION AND PROBLEMS OF ETHNIC IDENTITY

The modernization is characterized by deep qualitative changes of ability to live of a generality: transition to a new type of manufacture, increase of an educational level, change of an image of life, ценностных of orientations. The Kalmyk is unique people in the European territory, live during four centuries in the south of Russia, in close interaction with the peoples of other culture and religion. To middle of the last century the Kalmyk positively having apprehended all transformations in the life, finally have joined new culture with all by their convenience, for ever having lost уклад кочевой of life. Certainly, the modernization has resulted in improvement of life of the steppe

people, but it is achieved by gradual loss of original culture and transformation of ethnic identity. The discrepancy of the created situation is if ethnic is to survive, it is necessary actively to be included in processes of modernization, and at the same time it is necessary to save the ethnic originality. The Kalmyk community is more modernized than in the greater degree for the aspiration to change of the external world, active use of natural resources is characteristic. Whereas in less modernized culture the world is accepted than to change it. In 70—80th of the 20th century the active development of Kalmyk resulted in change of stability of the environment. The destructive influence of globalization problems became occurrence in territory of republic that becomes the first anthropogenesis desert in Europe.

The output from a critical ecological situation in region sees in restoration, adaptation of those elements of traditional experience of land tenure, which are essentially opposite to the attitudes of seasonal change of pastures, special breed of domestic animals. They are directed on the maximal preservation of pastoral grounds, maintenance of balance in a nature. In the Republic Kalmyk the program of Revival of traditional pastoral animal industries «(2001—2010) is realized, one of which directions is connected to complex cultivation in the certain proportion of four kinds of agricultural animal Kalmyk breed (sheep, cow, horse, camels), most adapted to the natural climatic conditions of region. The modernization of life results that the people in cultures of a modern type in the greater degree aspire to pleasure, pleasure by life, than representatives of cultures of a traditional type. More modernized society gives to a man incomparably more opportunities for realization of needs, on the one hand, liberating time, which was required on activity on life-support, with another — giving a huge choice of establishments both measures of entertaining character and forms of realization of leisure [1, 163].

It is quite clear, that than the more technologically advanced is a society, the less people should be engaged in agriculture. The modernization is first of all the urbanization [2; 187]. In republic a number of urban population, as quantity of people engaged in agricultural manufacture is annually steadily reduced. The urbanization changed life of the modern Kalmyk, whose ancestors created the basic products of the ability to live, beginning from food and finishing clothes, and their housing by their own hands. A new image of life and urbanization not only change traditions of folk culture, but they also lead to vanishing of unique customs traditional and economic employment, and consequently. It means that a slow disappearance may occur not only of original culture, but also of ethnos itself.

At the moment of reforms and cardinal transformations the attention of a society is given to its cultural heritage, as some forms of traditional culture still play an important role in life of the modern humans. The realities of the Kalmyk validity show, that though life was not modernized, to what changes the ethnic generality would not be exposed the traditional elements do not lose the importance. On the contrary, the influence of ethnic traditions on a person is appreciable enough. So, many Kalmyk traditions, having transformed, have found the bright embodiment in holidays, habits, art, folklore and language, It helps also in formation of moral and spiritual life and ethics. Folk culture and ethnic traditions have their great importance in the moral — ethical code of the people. The combination of technological progress and the preservation of ethnical and cultural traditions should promote forward the progress of Kalmyk as a modern society.

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INTERETHNIC COMMUNICATIONS IN THE ASPECT OF DIALOGUE RELATIONS

A complex, controversial and often conflicted character of social and political processes, which the modern life in Russia is rich in, a lot of situations, characterized by collisions of interests and demands of different ethnic and religious groups, is a reflection of complicated interests interlacing of ethnic groups and communities. All these varieties of «mosaic» represent not only «the field of harmony and agreement», but also «the field of intensity». The problematic and often conflicted character of interethnic communications is the result of different cultural and moral values and the philosophy of life.

There are many reasons for emerging interethnic conflicts caused by the low level interethnic competence and connected with psychological peculiarities of perception of other cultures and religions. Bringing up, education, sociocultural environment and religion play a certain role in this process. The most efficient form of settling interethnic conflicts and intensity is a dialogue. It is the dialogue of cultures that can settle ethnic conflicts and contradictions between different nationalities. According to experts, a dialogue as an important factor of cultural development must be the basis of relations between peoples and a unique way to work out mutual values and interests. A civilized dialogue, social discourse enables to learn and understand the essence and special features of different cultures, religions, coordination of interests and removal of intensity between different ethnic groups. It is a discourse that provides «communication competence» (Y. Habermas). Researchers of our country also emphasize the importance of dialogue technology as the most progressive and democratic, which is based on discourse as a rather high level dialogue, which enables to reach a high level communicative culture of a dialogue. For interethnic dialogue to have a constructive character certain conditions are necessary, including:

1. subjects which are interested in a dialogue — ethnic groups, communities, realizing the existence of problems that can be solved by means of a dialogue, striving for mutual understanding;
2. the object of a dialogue, representing a mutual interest;
3. a specific «place» for a dialogue;
4. adequate civilized forms for communication and mutually adopted ethnic norms of a dialogue.

As a complex these premises are the content of the dialogue technology leading to agreement, harmonization of interests and demands of different ethnic groups. It should be noted, that tolerance in an interethnic dialogue plays a special role, being its «core», which makes an efficient conducting of a dialogue possible. According to L.M. Drobizheva, tolerance is based on the idea of «friend-stranger»: such tolerant treatment of «a stranger», «other» — other opinions, beliefs, religion, without hostility [1, 30]. According to M.N. Lebedeva, ethnic tolerance is realized not only as absence of negative, but rather as presence of positive treating other ethnic culture (group) with care, i. e. willingness to contact with representatives of this group taking them as they are, preserving still positive attitude to one's own group [2]. We think that tolerance is not a simple passive indulgence; it implies an active position of all the parties concerned (but at the same time refusal from forcing one's ideas upon somebody by one of the parties). An active tolerance is considered as willingness to communicate at the interethnic level; tolerance in such context is treated as having neutral (not positive) attitude to another ethnic group.

Investigation of interethnic communications in Russia over the last years allows the major part of researchers to speak about two opposite trends; on the one hand, differentiation, isolation of cultures and, on the other hand, the trend of integration of cultures, of intercultural diffusion of different layers of culture (first of all, material values) caused by lower layers of population (often spontaneously) [3, 294]. In the positive aspect of the intensive

interrelation of ethnic cultures one can see a premise for cultural variety as a necessary factor of development. On the contrast, ethno cultural dynamics in some conditions causes non-controlled and non-predicted processes, ethno-central as a property of ethnic self-awareness to percept and evaluate life events considering traditions and values of one's own ethnic group as a general pattern or optimum, reflects irrational motives of the group psychology that can strain international and interethnic contradictions.

According to R. Yanovsky and T. Bogatyreva, the dynamics of interethnic, intercultural communications «mainly depends on development of educational and cultural infrastructure as cultural values are used through different channels of mass media. Lack of such channels predetermines impossibility of cultural self-realization of people, realization of their cultural possibilities. This leads to incapability to support cultural variety, to provide development and, as a result, premises of ethnic conflicts appear» [4. 644]. Besides, sharpening interethnic conflicts often is caused by the level and ability to become aware of ethno-national interests and possibility of their realization. Non-efficient strategies actualize ethno-psychological stereotypes having negative evaluative direction in behaviour and actions of people. Increasing ethno-migration processes are also a significant destabilization factor sharpening ethno-cultural conflictogeneity.

At present-day stage sharpening interethnic processes in intercultural communication causes the necessity of working out different mechanisms to unite interethnic societies that is possible due to intercultural dialogue. The culture of a dialogue is based on the mutual understanding considering differences in cultures, mutual respect, trust and interaction. The culture of a dialogue plays an important role in interethnic communication, in the sphere of interaction of the state, the civil society, different organizations in solving social problems, in the matters of settling interethnic conflicts. Special attention, from our point of view, should be paid to developing social organizations, national and cultural autonomies. Besides, it is necessary to use widely different channels of mass media — press, TV, radio, Internet; setting up «places» for a dialogue: conferences, round-tables, meetings. Constructive interethnic dialogue demands to work out and keep civilized ethnic norms of communication and discussion by its participants. Bringing up interethnic dialogue culture should be based on generally established values, the most important of which are respective attitude to all peoples, their sovereignty; hostility to nationalism, chauvinism, racialism, genocide, apartheid; tolerance to opinions, beliefs and religions of representatives of other ethnic groups. Considering these principles it is possible to formulate the basis of cooperation according to the principles of tolerant behavior:

1. admission of equality of partners in communication; creating the atmosphere of being frank and trust the subjects of communication; adoption of general, valuable purposes for all the parties concerned;
2. respect to traditions, habits and the way of life of representatives of different ethnic groups;
3. orientation to generally established human values, to realization of belonging to a single Russian and world community.

Considering these principles of cooperation it is still necessary to note, that adopting general and valuable purposes for all the parties concerned is very difficult to reach in practice as it is reaching one's own purposes in the frame of social differences (in interests, motives, values) that leads to deep contradictions. Besides, the orientation for generally established human values is provided in cooperation, but in this case the values considerable enough for different ethnic cultures are not taken into account. Searching a dialogue based on pluralism and partnership, admission of equality of values from different, cultural systems which are hard to combine is becoming the basic principle of interaction of cultures, the basis of interethnic communications. A dialogue as the most important factor of cultural development must be the unique method of working out general values and interests directed to civilized «living together» of ethnic groups.

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PROBLEM OF ETHNO-CULTURAL IDENTITY OF NON-NUMEROUS ETHNOS OF RUSSIA (ON DATA OF SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEYS OF YOUTH OF THE KALMYK REPUBLIC)

Despite of the nowadays process of globalization, unification of culture the main problems of social researches deal with problems which can be designate by such words as unique, special, national and subjective. With the beginning of new millennium the previous position in the world culture “we are all the same – we are all equal” changed on the other position “what are my differences from others?”, “In what thing does my uniqueness contains?” This tendency is topical for contemporary Russia. The reappraisal of values leads to a necessity to fill the gap in culture derived from the break-up of socialist system at the beginning of 90s that comes as the renaissance of religiousness of Russia. If we take the whole picture of Russian culture now we can characterize it with the main problem which can be called “the crisis of identity”, “the phobia to loose identity” (on the regional level of the country). This issue is especially serious for Kalmyks as representatives of small in numbers peoples who are included in the multinational and multi-confessional culture of Russia. The problem of cultural surviving of this ethnos has appeared. Let’s focus on the issue. Kalmyk people like any other ethnos are united by the origin, lingual and cultural features (religion, customs and etc.)

Language is the most important identifying feature of an ethnos which is connected directly with self-consciousness. The rejection of the native language can be called “collective suicide». The disappearance of a language is the first step to the disappearance of an ethnos. Due to the Law “About languages in the Republic of Kalmykia” (2000) the Kalmyk and Russian languages are the state languages. Nevertheless the statement of the Kalmyk language and its social importance are cause of real anxiety which has grounds. My analysis is based on the questionnaire which was organized by L.V. Namrueva and E.U. Omakaeva in summer and fall of 2000. The whole number of respondents is 382 (Kalmyk – 62%, Russian – 30.9%, others – 7%). The language is on the forth place of the proving national belonging for Kalmyk. Russian respondents put language on the first place [1].

Thus at the ending of 90s Kalmyk ethnos collided with the issue of partial loosing of mother tongue. During process of socialization, a majority of youth chose the Russian language as their native one. This tendency takes the shape of the fear to loose language, culture and traditions: “We are forgetting our language”. More and more people especially among the youth don not know their own language and culture. As for an opinion of M.N. Mukhanova [2] there are objective reasons of the fear about existence of Kalmyk language. Among interviewed Kalmyks only 5% use their mother tongue for communication at home and 1.7% at work [2, 216]. Only the half of respondents thinks that the Kalmyk language is native language for them. This result is caused by the deportation of whole people which had been lasted 13 years. Hence, Kalmyk’s national originality is vanishing.

As to religion the level of the religiousness is growing now unstoppably (namely among the youth). Religious life in the region can be characterized with high activity in social political sector. But I should remark that Kalmyk Buddhism must be distinguishing from other schools of Buddhism. It has its own originality. As V.V. Torchinov wrote: "Buddhism as itself didn't exist and don't exist. Historically Buddhism has different schools and branches. They have variety within Buddhism and in comparison with other religions. This is where its originality is" [3, 19]. Buddhism like the other religions plays the serious role in the life of the Republic. Nowadays a number of Buddhists among the Kalmyk youth are quite high. Buddhism aims for the saving of unique culture but as to the controversy against the destructive tendency which are reasoned by problems of the prolonged crisis in the country and the process of globalization.

"The fear to loose identity" is aggravated by partial lost of prominent specific features of this ethnos such as language (the youth speak Russian) and traditions (some of them are forgotten for good), the memory about historical past is saved but less and less cultural values of the ethnos are passed on every new generation.

From «differentia specifica» of this people now only Buddhism prospers. Present time Buddhism is of paramount importance as it's become the main factor of self-identification and saving ethno cultural identity of Kalmyk people. (Especially for the youth). For example, they often use this saying: "we, Kalmyk are the people; we are the only one Buddhists of European part of world».

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9.3. SUBGROUP CULTURES SYMBOLS OF IDENTITY

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DEMARCATON PROCESS WITHIN SUBCULTURAL SOCIAL GROUPS OF BIKERS

Theories of social groups are arisen on the base of different heuristic foundations; and their existence become agents for various studies. In the subcultural tradition the social groups are assemblies of individuals. In the network of the structural paradigm a social group is a part of the social space, group social position which, in the most of cases, consists from individual status positions. The material content of the group is relatively settled social practices. However the social group can have a systemic quality to some extent so the social group can't be narrowed down to the sum of individual status positions. In some cases individual status positions as a primary element of the social group water down, deform. One's choice of a social group as an object of research

opens various possibilities for understanding and explication of processes of formation and change of different social groups substantially according to specific subcultural grounds. Researchers seek to recognize social groups. The result of such recognition was called by P. Bourdieu as «classes on paper». They correlate with actual groups of status positions such as any scientific conclusion with the structure of the objective reality: it can be very closer to this reality or have an illusive nature.

Social groups are hierarchies in the space. Maintenance and reproduction of this order is carried out through social institutes. As a whole social groups and social institutes maintained them form a social structure. It can be realized only through actions of people who play roles indicated by the institutes, and thereby the existing social inequality is supported. Bounds of the social groups and their power space are a result of social construction which can exist both on macro and micro levels. On the macro level the social institutes serve as a subject of this level, but on the micro level individuals act.

In the subcultures we can see different social groups and teams, the boundaries between which are movable, but sensitive apperceived by participants of these social groups. Practically there is its own division onto groups in each subculture. Official and non-official grouping can be traced. Generally the non-official division can be accomplished on the base of interests, preferences in the group. For example, in the biker subculture participants of the same moto-club can group on the base of a motorcycle type — motorcycles divide onto sport monocycles and choppers. They live inside the small group, less contacting with other participants of the club. This can be considered as non-official division. The official division can be traced in the example of different moto-clubs' types and principals of their structure: the club's type is indicated in the group name, and participants make to follow prescribed rules confirming the status which symbolizes the group type. Actually all clubs are officially registered in accordance with the current legislation in the country where they are formed. In Russia such clubs are as a non-profit partnership or social action organization; they have their own charter with prescribed goals or tasks, inner structural of the club, rules of conduct, rights and reliabilities. Below there are the main structural principles of club types.

MG — MotorGang — the strictest form of the moto-club; the participant of such organization can even beat of a member of any opposite club and commit unlawful acts. There is obligatory hierarchy; women can't be a member of MG.

Well-known MG: «Night Wolfes MG», «Fenrir Russia MG», «Totenkopf MG», etc. **MC** — Motorcycles Club, is more democratic than the previous form and one of the most widespread forms. The hierarchy is an indispensable condition («Hang around», «Supporter», «Prospect», «Member»). MCs are always unisexual. Recently feminine MCs become to form. MC should be officially registered and receive a permission of the dominating MC, the owner of one or another region. The most popular MC: «Hells Angels MC», «Outlaws MC», «Banditos MC», «Pagans MC», «Blacksmiths MC», «Hooligans MC», «Phantoms MC» and others.

MCC is for the Motorcycles Club. It is the most democratic organization. It doesn't mean here what motorcycle you have. People unit on the principle of friendship and love for motorcycle that to amuse leisure together, communicate, travel, etc. Anyone can be a member of MCC irrespective of age, sex, social position. There is no hierarchy and strict rules (maximum there can be a leader recognized by everyone in MCC). MCCs are politically indifferent, they have no territory claims and ambitions for dominating and consequently they don't have conflicts with MG and MC. The direction of MMC originates in Great Britain but it widely spreads in the world. In every country there are its won particularities and nuances, but the main principles remain permanent: to drive, pass the time together, rejoice in life's pleasures and enjoy it. The best known MMC: «Rolling Anarchy MCC international», «Steel Steeds MCC» «Ridgeway MCC», «Petrol-heads MCC», «Barrel Bikers MCC», etc.

MFC is Moto Fanats Club. It is a motorcycle-driving club. It includes more often racers on heavy motorcycles of the American style or on customer bikes (motorcycle which are assembled according to an individual customer's order). RC is for Riders Club. Club of travels lovers. It also includes Free riders which are individualists. CMC is for

Club of MotorCyclists. It almost looks like MCC, but people who have no motorcycles but love them can be members of this club. OG is for Owners Group. The club for owners motorcycles of one or another model: H-D, Kawasaki Vulcan, Motor Guzz, etc., for example HOG it is for Harley Owners Group. Generally in Russia MG, MC, MCC clubs exist, other forms are rare.

The vast majority of motoclubs existed today in Russia not taking into account their official registration started their history in the end of 1990th. From that time the number of people belonged to the motorcycle subculture increased: in the bank data of the magazine «Motor» 104 motor-associations from 38 regions of Russia were registered in 2001; in 2004 there were 108 of such organizations; 192 moto-associations from 58 districts were registered in 2005; 247 clubs were in 2007 in Russia; in 2007 and 2008 the number was increased to 265 and 303 clubs from 66 regions accordingly. A growth of moto-clubs number in Russia proves that people want to unite into social groups according to common interests, to declare about themselves, to indicate the boundaries of social groups and their power space, and to lead an active life. It is important to note that the growth of biker clubs was started after the USSR's disintegration and due to democratization of the Russian society. Today biker-clubs organize bike-shows in different cities of Russia, CIS, Europe and other countries of the world. Each show is planned in good time, and the program is carefully prescribed. The information is placed in Internet on web-sites of club-organizers, in magazines, through radio and television.

Travel from one country to others is not a complicated task so bikers known about a show can easily go to any cities of Russia, CIS and Europe. Such shows result new contacts, experience exchange and establishing good international relations. In Sverdlovskaya oblast two bike-shows were organized: the bike-show «Black blades» in Aramil in 2007 and 2008. These shows united about 2000—3000 people. Also a well-known show was in Irbit. We can remember also bigger shows organized in Russia, for example, the show of the club «Night Wolfes MG». Chapters of the club can be found in different cities of Russia, CIS and the Western Europe. The most western point for bike-shows organization in Russia is Kaliningrad (it is directed by «Night Wolfes MG»), and the most eastern point is in Vladivostok («Face to Ocean»). All this proves the expansion of the social boundaries of the biker movement. Thus social symbols and social practices used in the demarcation process of the social groups within the bounds of biker subcultures show the growth of importance of style differences as a reconstruction method of the social reality and expectances connected with this growth. It doesn't cancel structural parameters of the social inequality based on the institutional orders but substantially demonstrates their irrelevance to actual rational sets and motives of daily social lives in the social societies.

G.V. Molchanova, Moscow

YOUTH SUBCULTURES CONSUMER BEHAVIOUR

The world of today changes all the time, especially in post-Soviet Russia, where not only the Russians' psychology but also consumer behaviour stereotypes have changed considerably. The generation of 13—16-agers, keeping their thirst to the novelties until they reach the age of 20 and being more economically independent than their parents when they were young, is the most perceptive to cultural innovations. The teenager and consumer behaviour is influenced by so-called 'psychological scissors', an attempt not to look different from the peers, demonstrating belonging to a certain social group meanwhile keeping the individual character. The former gives a teenager confidence of security, the latter, according to a teenager, may be achieved with stylish clothes, make-up, unusual accessories, etc. It is in adolescence period when shyness — the most typical social

and psychological 'disease' arises — and to overcome it, to reach the feeling of security, according to V.S. Mukhina (2006), teenagers need to be generally identified as 'We'.

In some youth groups, feelings caused by social and financial inequality are expressed in quite an aggressive behaviour and specific clothes ('gopniks', 'rockers', 'skinheads'); teenagers from low income families join so-called 'goths' and 'emoes' notable for gloomy make-up, colours of clothes and depressed mood, while other youths who were brought up in well-to-do families boast of their financial well-being ('mazhory'); getting to places where mazhory have fun is a dream of 'glamury' — unpopular teenagers from low income families who have to use imitation of expensive things (clothes, cafes, etc.), because they have no money to pay for genuine products; another separate group is represented by violent sport fans. One thing is certain — all these groups try to highlight their characteristic features and 'signs' ignoring 'strangers' and sometimes even showing hostility towards those groups who follow other lifestyles. Such groups therefore may be labelled as subcultures. Subculture means a set of specific social and psychological signs (norms, values, stereotypes, tastes, etc.) affecting the lifestyle and the way of thinking of a certain nominal and really existing group of people and allowing them to realize and acknowledge themselves as 'we' category, distinguished from 'they' category (other society representatives) (A.V. Mudrik, 2006).

Lots of informal movements, though they were not all-absorbing, have influenced the global consumer demand dramatically: hippies have given us jeans, stable interest to the Eastern culture and behaviour freedom; punks have introduced black colour and contempt for the bourgeois style; grunge has left the unisex fashion; anti-AIDS movements have imparted love to healthy lifestyle in a certain part of the society; ravers have left pacifism, love to adult cartoons and backpacks — symbol of travelling. Subcultures are not created to build up a subculture as such: they arise because young people want to break all prohibitions, confirm their self-expression right and thereby draw attention to their chosen behaviour and consumption style. It should be explained that these subcultures are more likely to be formed not under a country's culture phenomenon, but under such factors as teenagers' social and financial status, bringing up and education, their confessional belonging, place of residence — geographical and spatial (downtown, outskirts, suburb, county settlement). At certain point of life, teenagers prioritize their belonging to groups over their family and blood relations; at this age, a group replaces a normal community. By the age of 30, belonging to some subculture loses importance, yet some people have habits even when they reach the age of 40 — they often stick to their subcultures such as 'bikers', 'rockers', 'rollers' (those who like interactive games).

Therefore, the generated subculture is the result of the realized or partially realized young people's needs. New sub- and countercultures can hardly be taken as progress since we clearly observe moral impoverishment of the youth (the groups have no real ideological basis, except for nationalist movements): the sense of values are becoming more directed to getting only material welfare, besides young people are more aimed at life of idleness. Because of their age young consumers do not put off their shopping 'for tomorrow' spending money for satisfaction of their needs 'here and now', sometimes doing spontaneous, unplanned purchasing. Being for a teenager or a young man the reference basis, subculture values and criteria determine their consumer behaviour. It results in change of consumer decision making structure — it takes less time and causes no difficulties, as it was stereotyped inside the subculture. The results of the qualitative study conducted in 2008—2009 among 200 schoolchildren of Moscow Lyceum No.2 allowed making the main groups short-list giving the idea of the groups' characteristic features and enabling to differentiate them by consumer price categories. We have also calculated the subculture involved/not involved children percentage — 80 to 20 (this does not include the marginal groups which cannot be represented in lyceum).

1. High Price Category.

Mazhory:

Clothes: latest designs from Dolce & Gabbana, Prada, Gucci, Versace and other expensive brands.

Meeting places: high-class downtown cafes.

Leisure: hookah-bars, Moscow clubs such as Infinity, Dyagilev, Rai, City, Zhara, Most.

Drinks: martini, Bailey's, champagne, French wine.

Main signs: head up, expensive cell phone in hand, spick and span clothes, expensive accessories, specific accent speech.

2. Average Price Category.

Glamury:

These try to imitate mazhory but they do not declare it openly, they rather show that they can spend time as well as 'jeunesse doree'. They wear 'shining' imitations of brands or buy out-of-date clothes during end-of-season sales.

Emoes (short form of 'emotional') are infantile:

Clothes: tight-fitting jeans, large gym-shoes, striped knee-length socks.

Meeting places: Sbarro, McDonald's, rarely — somebody's apartment (today, such meetings are called 'vpiska'— crash pad)

Leisure: clubs where emo musicians play.

Drinks: any affordable drinks — beer, cheap cocktails.

Main signs: always cry at the slightest opportunity; range of colours — black and pink combination: black hair with a pink lock/bow/hairpin/, one side fringe, lots of badges on clothes and bags; piercing (punctured skin below the lip, eyebrows, etc.).

Fans:

Clothes: Lacoste gym shoes, a checked cap, a coat and a scarf with a sports club logo on it, a Merc bag on the shoulder.

Meeting places: football, hockey matches.

Leisure: sports bars, Coffee House and other respectable places.

Drinks: beer, vodka, martini, etc.

Main signs: aggressive look, sport club colour clothes, cadences.

Goths (the name originates from ancient Goths):

Clothes: gloomy romantic style: long skirts, loose trousers, lacy jabots, smart 'collars', a coulomb with an ancient Egyptian symbol of immortality, elbow mittens, long dyed hair.

Meeting places: inexpensive cafes.

Leisure: cemetery 'sit-round gathering', discussing music, poetry.

Drinks: cheap cocktails.

Main signs: intentional paleness, demonstrative depression.

3. Low Price Category

Punks:

Clothes: gym shoes or grinders, multi-coloured hair sometimes Mohawk-styled, a dirty jacket.

Meeting places: courtyards, block of flat corridors, punk concerts.

Leisure: Theatre (see above), McDonald's, courtyards.

Drinks: beer.

Main signs: careless and untidy.

Rockers:

Clothes: a rocker-style leather jacket, dirty jeans, torn boots, usually long hair.

Meeting places: someone's apartment, garage where they can play their guitars.

Leisure: with lots of beer and playing the guitars in one's garage.

Drinks: mainly prefer beer!

Main signs: a dreamy look, a guitar behind the back, a rocker-style leather jacket.

Gopniki (used to be followers of prison romanticism; now they have strayed from it):

Clothes: sweats, winklepickers, a long leather jacket, a cap worn so that ears could be seen.

Meeting places: block of flat corridors, children's playgrounds, garages, militia departments.

Leisure: block of flat corridors, standing idly near the underground station.

Drinks: cheap cocktails at 20—30 roubles sold in tents (usually Jaguar).

Main signs: up-country slang, waddling.

Therefore, subcultures have a great impact on a person's spontaneous socialization, especially in teenage and adolescence years, which allows taking them as a specific socialization mechanism conditionally called stylized mechanism. According to A.V. Mudrik (2006), being more or less evident, any subculture influences its carriers' self-consciousness and self-determination, their selecting the environment and preferred methods of self-actualization. As a result, using subculture characteristics means that the society needs to master 'Martian language of the new generation' to have a market dialogue with its children.

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L.L. Pazova, Vladikavkaz

SOME ASPECTS OF FORMATION OF CIVIL CULTURE OF PRESENT-DAY STUDENTS

Social changes of the modern Russian society actualize various objectives on modernization of socio-economic and political systems, surmounting instability, and growth of major macroeconomic indexes, lowering of the level of social tension, improvement of convenience and security of the social environment of the Russians. Today an attitude exists that these objectives can be met through the formation of the civil society. Such a position determined rapt attention of sociologists to civil society, stimulated its studies on the level of theories and actual researches. In terms of the problem under the current study — socio-cultural aspect of the civil culture of student body — indissoluble link between education and culture is of major importance. The present-day crisis of culture in Russia is to a great extent a consequence of crisis of education. The role of education lies in practical realization of the major objective of culture — formation of personality. As well as culture, education is dependent on the general situation of the society, its economic, political and mental life, though it has inherent internal regularities». ¹⁴⁰ The federal research, carried out in 17 cities of the country, has considerably confirmed positive changes that took place over the last years is increasing professionalism of higher education. It is very important to accentuate it because during the last years this very feature of the growing prestige of higher education has been significantly underestimated by school leavers and students.

The formation of civil attitudes in the student body is impossible in the situation of total legal nihilism, which, according to some experts, is expressed not only among young people. However, in our opinion, the dead stop is being shifted now because, among other factors, the power of the country accentuates legal education of the RF population. Nevertheless, legal literacy of population, including the students, is still a long way off. In the framework of the research sociologists tried to identify the sources of formation of civil culture in the student body. The obtained data are rather interesting. According to Russian students, their civil culture is mainly influenced by their families and friends, while the influence of mass media is not that significant. It is worth mentioning that public organizations, as well as various youth movements, which have emerged and developed on the Russian political scene, do not play any considerable role in the formation of the civil culture of our students. Whatever different may be the attitudes of students of the interrogated RF high schools, they all share love for our country, and — it's a new tendency — willingness to work for the sake of its prosperity. It became «stylish» among

¹⁴⁰ Cohen L.N. Sociology of Culture. Yekaterinburg, 1982. P.72—74.

students to be a patriot. It seems that a wave of negative attitudes to the motherland became a history, though not forgotten. 70% of students are proud of their country, 24% are ready to give up their interest for the sake of the country, 29% have respect for the veterans of war and labor, etc. The civil culture of the society is a rather capacious concept; it embodies various attitudes, including the religious ones. Thus the formation of tolerance and mutual respect of nations and peoples residing in multi-confessional and poly-ethnic Russia is one of the major problems. In our opinion, the country has not yet developed the models of purposeful work with youth that would aim at the formation of culture of interethnic interaction, crucial for the balanced democratic society and, in the long run, for the civil society. The sociological survey has confirmed the fact.

To summarize, we will single out the general tendencies, contradictions and problems of formation of the present day Russian student body civil culture, determined by the certain socio-cultural grounds. First of all, its social status was considerably influenced by growing social differentiation as one of the negative tendencies of the Russian society development. Today the student body structure is impacted by numerous and expressed social and, in particular, socio-cultural differences in terms of value attitudes and ways of adaptation to present day life. Students are not contented with the results of the reforms and their high social cost (young people, who failed to adapt properly to the new conditions, consider the previous generation to be responsible for their current situation). Contradiction between young people, regarding their youth a value in it, the time for self-affirmation and self-realization, and the society, which still considers youth as immaturity, is growing. Equally contradictory is the perception of inter-generational relations by students. On the one hand the aspiration of students for self-dependency and autonomy is growing as well as the significance of their reference groups, which often are at odds with each other. Boys and girls, who found themselves outside these groups, feel insecure, not protected. It is distinctive that such reference groups tend to form on the basis of pecuniary and ethnic features, the commonality of student interests moving to the background at that.

The character of youth culture changes accordingly — from subculture to styles. On the other hand the significance of parental families and dependence of students on them is growing. Contradiction of the idea and practice of paternalism is also evident. A transformation has shattered the values of senior generations, let alone the young people whose value and normative attitudes have been developing in the context of changes in Russia. Transformation of value attitudes of students is particular painful because the social feeling of youth is influenced by various types of crisis — crisis of self-realization, of socialization, of trust in socio-political institutions of the society. The settled core of the Russians' values includes order, family, communication. Order is regarded as safety of life and equality of rights, guaranteed by the law. Since the population has been experiencing significant lack of such order over the last years, its value is of utmost importance in the mentality of the Russians. For the majority of the Russians, family and communication remain the reliable harbor, saving from social upheavals. Four groups of prioritized students' values (both on federal and regional levels) can clearly be seen. The first and second places — with significant break from other indexes — are occupied by health and family correspondently. Actually, they are pronounced in many other surveys, though the places may vary.¹⁴¹ At the same time the students (and youth in general) demonstrate a considerable break between verbal significance of this value and actual behavior of the majority, which is far from meeting the norms and requirements of healthy way of life. The third group of values (from 20 to 30%) combines rather heterogeneous indexes — from money to freedom. However in the present day structure of youth the link between money and job is ambiguous. For a certain part of young people the money became a value in itself, for them the money «does not smell». Though a considerable part of students have job and treat the earned money differently. The fourth group embodies the values, which are significant for 10—20% of respondents.

¹⁴¹ See: Vishnevski Y. PR., Shapko V.T. Sociology of youth. Yekaterinburg, 2006. P.216—251; Zhuavlev V.V., Rodionov V.A., Tsepilyaev A.N. Social values of the present day Russian youth: state, dynamics, direction. M., 2002; Semenov V.E. Values of the present day youth // Sociological Studies. 2007. №4. P.37—38 and others.

The group includes success, professionalism, security and business. The concept of success, as a value ranged by youth and students, has changed considerably. For the major part of young people success is, first of all, welfare, achieved through carrier, obtaining of a high social status. Paradoxical form of social being and consciousness of the present day Russian society, which is in many respects objectively predetermined by its disintegration («the bonds of generations have broken up»), aggravation of multiple contradictions, is especially pronounced among the youth. It becomes aggravated because of marginality of the place of youth in the society, of emotional and lively perception of life, peculiar to youth, of flat estimation of opinions, positions, of forms of their expression. All these peculiarities of youth consciousness and inherent paradoxes should be taken into account while studying the culture of student body.

R.K. Tangalycheva, St. Petersburg

ACCULTURATION IN RUSSIAN BIG CITIES: CULTURAL ASSIMILATOR METHODOLOGY (ON THE DATA OF ST. PETERSBURG)

Introduction: At the age of globalization intercultural contacts are expanding, cross-cultural interdependence and interference have been dramatically intensified. The new actors of transnational operations have emerged, e. g. multinationals' staff, overseas tourists and students, diplomats, migrant, etc. The identity of the participants of intercultural exchanges has been significantly extended and relativized. Huge cities, especially such capital cities as Moscow and St. Petersburg have become the main venue of cross-cultural contacts. However, effective intercultural contacts are rather an exception than a norm in contemporary societies. International cooperation participants are faced with many difficulties in adapting to various cultural environments, which, in turn, minimizes the success of international project realization and impedes the acculturation of migrants.

Since the early 1990s St. Petersburg has been gradually acquiring the features of an international metropolis. The General Consulates of the leading nations have been established, many multinationals and joint ventures have started operating in the city. Numerous cultural centers, representative offices of governmental and non-governmental organizations, international educational programs have been launched. According to the Federal Agency on Tourism of the Russian Federation, 6825 people from the CIS (the Commonwealth of Independent States) and 3769 people from other foreign countries arrived in Russia during the year 2007.¹⁴² St. Petersburg accounts for the major part of these arrivals, because it is a dynamically developing economic, cultural and educational center. Multinationals' and joint ventures' staff, as well as the number of foreign students, and locals married to foreigners and living in St. Petersburg has been continuously increasing. Many foreigners expect to raise their earnings and living standard in St. Petersburg. All the categories of people mentioned above opt for various acculturation strategies depending on economic, social and cultural resources they possess. However, all of them go through the similar process of adaptation to the socio-cultural environment of the Russian metropolis. This common experience they share enables one to develop a single unified training technique for overseas citizens aimed at optimizing their acculturation and boosting the efficiency of international cooperation.

Research objectives:¹⁴³ and aims: The following research objectives were stated: (1) to analyze the acculturation strategies of foreigners in the socio-cultural environment of

¹⁴² Tourism in numbers: 2007. Moscow, 2007. (In Russian).

¹⁴³ The research was conducted in September — December, 2008 by the scholars of the Faculty of Sociology, St. Petersburg State University. It was supported by the Russian State Scientific Foundation and the Government of St. Petersburg.

a Russian metropolis; (2) to develop a training program aimed at increasing intercultural sensitivity on the basis of a cultural assimilator technique «Cultural assimilator as the tool for adaptation of foreigners to the socio-cultural environment of Russian big cities (by the example of St. Petersburg)».

Methodology: The training program developers have employed the methodology of general cultural assimilator by R.W. Brislin and K. Cushner based on 18 problems, faced by the migrants in the period of adaptation¹⁴⁴. Various approaches to the study the acculturation problems were also in focus of researchers, especially the one suggested by J. Berry, who elaborated the fourfold «acculturation strategies»: assimilation, separation, marginalization and integration.¹⁴⁵

Research participants and data collection techniques: 70 people representing five regions, and 32 countries were involved in the research. 25 expert interviews and 6 focus-groups were conducted by the researches. Executives of overseas companies and diplomatic services' functionaries, high profile foreign professors and instructors of foreign languages, post graduate students were involved as experts. All of them have been living and working / studying in St. Petersburg at least for three years and speak Russian fluently. The groups of interviewees were formed in the following way: two groups of students and post graduate students studying at St. Petersburg's universities and institutes; two groups of employees of multinationals and joint ventures; one group of labor migrants and one group of persons married to foreign citizens and permanently residing with their spouses in St. Petersburg. On the whole, 45 foreigners were involved in the group interviews. 27 participants came to St. Petersburg from Western countries (Austria, Germany, Spain, Canada, Italy, the Netherlands, the USA, France, Finland, Rumania, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania), 21 participants arrived from the CIS (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belorussia, Georgia, Kirgizia, Moldavia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan), 9 individuals came from Asian countries (Vietnam, China, South Korea, Japan), 8 persons came from Africa (Cameroon, Guinea, Morocco, Mozambique) and, finally. 5 Russians married to foreign citizens and permanently residing in St. Petersburg also participated in the research.

Findings: The training program aimed at increasing intercultural sensitivity on the basis of cultural assimilator method «Cultural assimilator as the tool for adaptation of foreigners to the socio-cultural environment of Russian big cities (by the example of St. Petersburg)» includes 139 critical incidents. Critical incidents are short descriptions of situations where there is a problem of cultural adaptation, or where there is a problem resulting from cultural differences between the interacting parties. Alternative explanations and feedback are provided for each incident. The training course can help foreigners to adjust to the socio-cultural environment of Russian big cities. It can also be recommended to the residents of Russian cities who do business with foreigners and contact them on the regular basis. This training program is instrumental in helping people to deal with the psychological stress of intercultural interaction and adjustment, as well as in developing and maintaining interpersonal relations, and reaching objectives. The program contains 6 parts according to the spheres of professional and everyday communication: business, education, service, urban environment, family and household, leisure and entertainment. Most contrast patterns of cultural clashes were observed in the interaction between the citizens of St. Petersburg and the representatives of western and eastern cultures. The strategies of acculturation of the people with diverse origin are very different. The representatives of Western Europe and the USA tend to believe that their difficulties in adaptation result from low standards of local people and Russian social environment. Newcomers from far eastern countries make enormous efforts to understand the motives guiding the local people's behavior, and try to adjust to the context of local culture. Africans tend to conceal their problems. The main problem of their adaptation is the lack of tolerance from the local people resulting from physical

¹⁴⁴ Brislin R.W., Cushner K., Cherrie C., Yang M. (1986) *Intercultural Interactions: A Practical Guide*. Beverly Hills (Cal.).

¹⁴⁵ Berry J.W. (2002) Conceptual approaches to acculturation. In *Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement, and applied research* (pp.17—37). Washington: American Psychological Association.

and cultural differences. Weighing pros and cons of living in St. Petersburg they often try to focus on positive aspects and hush up negative sides. As for the citizens of the CIS and former Baltic republics (Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia), the process of their adaptation is the easiest one, because they speak fluent Russian, have been visiting St. Petersburg since childhood and do not feel enormous cultural differences. However, the lack of notable differences led to certain difficulties in constructing the cultural assimilators with their participation. At the same time, the migrants from the CIS, who came to raise their earnings living standards, are often excluded from the social environment of St. Petersburg because of their limited access to economic and cultural resources.

9.4. CONSTRUCTION OF PERSONAL IDENTITY

Olga Baranova, Orenburg

PROBLEMS OF VALUED ORIENTATION IN GENDER STUDIES: ON DATA OF URAL REGION

Abstract: The valued orientations occupy the special place among the numerous factors of socialization of personality, including such as a sexual and aging structure, financial material well-being, level of education in etc Self-determination of man his becoming, in the concrete society, in all gamut of public, including sexual relations takes place in concrete-historical terms, certain social and culture background.

System of values is simultaneously stable and changeable. Stability shows up in the permanent elements of system although they can change a place in a hierarchy. Stability is provided by fundamental values, and changeability of depends on situation and context, but here it must not darken common values. «Values, — N.I. Lapin writes, are the generalized aims and facilities of their achievements, executing the role of fundamental norms. The system of values forms the internal bar of culture, spiritual quintessence of necessities and interests of individuals and social commons». [1; 22]. Modern Russian family renders enormous influence on becoming and development of personality. A leading role today is still taking by a woman. She is the basis of domestic relations. Realities of modern Russia are such (especially of Orenburg region), that a woman is a main bread-winner in a family. In the conditions of reduction and downstream many men appeared thrown out on a street. By ages the thesis that only the man a will-power or «spirit» is incident to, preached ideologists does not maintain criticism. A woman is forced today to show enormous self-control and will-power. Sociologists assert that a modern woman is on three powerful shortages: love, respect and safety [2; 113]. Work and labour help to overcome one's deficit of respect. But for a woman it is her family that is the most important.

Most respondents their family and education of their children is the most meaningful values. In obedience to conducted by us to sociological research among the students of leading institutes of higher education of Orenburg region and Bashkortostan, basic part of young people aims to create family — 93% and only 7% would like to remain in loneliness. As visible, a family for a woman remains an intransient value. A house is the special place in life of wonderful half of humanity. In a house, in a family nobody can to replace a woman. Preeminently here she will realize the human essence, as a wife and mother.

But a woman still remains high-usage home labour. Thus this labor has to be combined with public labor. There is little time on the rest. A working day of females

is almost 4 hour longer than a working day of males due to implementation of home-works. Nevertheless, life of woman in the modern world suffers substantial changes. They, foremost, are related to plugging of woman in the active mastering of social and cultural space. «Centuries-old division, — G.A. Brandt notices, that spheres of activity are: «house is the world of woman, and the world and house of man begins to lose the outlines, a woman goes beyond set the traditional culture of the world border in the world masculine»[4;134]. It is possible to accede to that opinion, that «modern terms dictate the necessity of understanding descriptions of womanish nature» [5; 135]. However conclusion about that «all European philosophers, reasoning about nature of man as central problem of the Newly-European philosophical searches, meant only «exceptionally man», we consider too emphatic.

Plato in a myth about androgens gives a wonderful psychological ground the ideal of unicity in love. This native European ideal was once glorified by Dante and Petrarch, German romanticisms and Russians symbolists. This ideal got a reflection in our eyelid, while was not wiped off procession of sexual revolution, proclaiming «pluralism of love». However it is hard us to accede to that opinion, that «holiness of domestic bonds now examined how hardly not as funny anachronism and considered outmoded, as things from a grandmother trunk».[6, 370] So, information of our sociological research, conducted by us in a number of higher educational establishments of Orenburg region and Republics Bashkortostan (State Orenburg agrarian university, Bashkiria state university), show a next picture. Answering a question «what type of woman is dominating now days; type of mistress or type of mother» only 35% indicate the second type. Further, 79% respondents show positive attitudes toward pre-marital sexual connections. The 12,8% polled considers that morality of woman is related to its chastity. But a majority of respondents (93,6%) consider a necessity to enter into marriage relations.

Conclusion, that inevitably effluent from all of it consists of the following: modern youth (age — from 18 to 22 years) considers a main value creation of family, on possibility supposing sexual experience of partners. «Chastity» indeed retreats on a background. Family and pleasures of love are seen as the most important in one's life. Thus, 60% respondents underlined the role of love in the life and only 11,8% of students answered that they in general had difficulty to give some answer. Modern young people (mainly a questionnaire was conducted among the students of institutes of higher education) right, in our view, estimate the degree of accordance of floor internal (heartfelt) a floor physical. Only 6% respondents, not hesitating said resolutely «yes». 49% defined it as middle, 18% — as low and! 27% in general had difficulty to give an answer. Clearly, that these, got by us, information can not to full degrees reflect actual realities. However, modern youth, student in higher educational establishments of country, feels all complication of this problem.

On a question about that, «what factors are instrumental in forming of table culture», answers were distributed as follows. Into first places respondents put a self-education (58%), not second — self-education (44%). Parents (70%), friends and friends, have influence partly (59%). And play the most insignificant role: acquisition of knowledge on lectures, employment on the faculty of public professions, radio. Cinema, theater, magazines render partial influence (from 4 to 5%). 11% respondents as a considerable factor, determining a sexual culture, named religion. the 35% polled considers that religion influences on a sexual culture only partly. So, the results of sociological research show that young people take a primary role the problem of self-education. Partly it is explained that today we overcome the legacy of totalitarian the pas only, where young people were examined exceptionally as an object of education. Circumstance that young people aim to count in future on the own forces, considering developed of moral will the major parameter of sexual culture (80%), spare considerable attention the processes of self-education and self-education, infuses with certain hopes on the best prospect, «Ljubov human, V.A. Sukhomlinskiy wrote, — it is needed to educate, create, it is not passed on an inheritance, as instinct of continuation of family is passed» [7,136]. The special role belongs to the woman. It is not only a mother but also nursery that governess of man. V.A. Sukhomlinskiy supposed that a man must understand that

woman has more difficult role. He examined a woman, in the counterbalance of theory of equality of chaffs, not only as a mother but also as a keeper of human moral and comfort.

Research exposed also a certain decline of influence of lecture on forming of sexual culture and the role of faculty of public professions, radio, is especially low. These forms, morally, go away to the pas. The role of religion increases. The consuetude and traditions influence can be also specified. Analysis of reasons shows, development of sexual culture. Most respondents named financial difficulties (56%) and own passivity (49%). 44% binds main reason to public opinion, 39% — with the lack of time. Anyway, we, obviously, deal here with the whole complex of reasons. But the main among them is a presence of financial and spiritual freedom. It is interesting that 22,5% of respondents consider sense of shame as the major element of sexual culture. 50% — supposes that this sense characterizes this sphere of culture also, although, maybe, and partly. But 16, 6% destroy shame outside of a sexual moral. Fully possibly, that this percent is more high among other groups of young people. Eternal power of nature over a spirit is quite not overcame the ascetic taming of sensuality, and is in veritable marriage, in perfect relations between a man and woman. A. Forel (one of fathers of sexology) wrote, that domestic happiness is identical is based on «mental, heartfelt and sexual adaptation» of people. Spiritual love must be accompanied with material corporal love. Existent defects in this side of love answer on other its sides; can remove people from each other. He wrote that «separate bedrooms and beds is a very dangerous step in marriage, easily resulting in alienation» [8, 451]. But perceptible-corporal love doesn't depend only on spiritual. It in a certain measure determines it, or vice versa, to slow its existence. Thus, results of our surveys show that culture of sexual love consists of two basic layers: spiritual and corporal. It is impossible to humiliate none of these sides.

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IDENTITY IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY: A GENDER PERSPECTIVE

The fundamental changes in all spheres of life that have taken place recently have been analyzed in differing ways by social scientists. These changes have caused conflicting expectations, when it has addressed those aspects of human life, which have traditionally been considered to belong exclusively to humankind. These areas have primarily concerned issues relating to humankind's sense of 'self' and psycho-emotional integrity. This also includes the question of how sexual differences function in society. Under traditional societal norms, a man and a woman represented a single unit where one was specially «attached» to the other for help and support, in this traditional model the wife was given to the husband forever. This attachment represented an important addition, which contributed to the prosperity of the family unit, and, of course, propagation.

How did this traditional, religious and customary norm become no longer adhered to in modern society? The answer would appear quite obvious; societal change requires new forms of human relationships. It has changed so much that what seemed inviolable in the past is today replaced with the notion of a «war of the sexes». The female and male world today appears in opposition and disparate, even with regards to trivial matters, the former notions of «we» has been replaced by «they». The idea that it is not possible to understand each other is widespread. For example glossy magazines — if we consider them to express popular sentiment to some extent — teach women and men that the best case scenario will be some kind of adaptation to each other or, at worst women need to learn how to manipulate a «rival» in order to achieve their own goals. By doing so, it is clear that women and men still need relationships, but now the question of why has ceased to be an obvious and universally explained. It would appear that «male» and «female» outlooks process this question in fundamentally different ways.

Indeed, the relationship between men and women has become so controversial that we can now speak of the «gender challenge». This notion of «challenge», borrowed from Arnold Toynbee denotes the existence in society of contradictions that need to be resolved at a particular historical stage of development. This conceptual framework helps us to understand these contradictions/ challenges as fundamental principles that determine the specificity of civilization itself. This also relates to the way in which civilization philosophically determines the meanings themselves, and formulates its own hierarchy of values. This approach dictates strict imperatives in order to resolve the problem; that is, a civilization must give a response to «challenge», otherwise its existence will ultimately be threatened. In this sense, the gender «challenge» can be understood as a category of scientific analysis, and as a phenomenon of social life which is concerned with the transformation of contemporary masculinity and femininity.

Despite the diverse approaches to the problem, they all focus on the fact that a clear binary opposition has lost its value: if the functions and roles of women and men with relevant attributes before they were clearly pronounced, they are now increasingly blurred. This basic meaning of the separation of the human race into two halves still appear the same. In essence if a woman should continue to bear children, the participation of men is still essential. From this point of view their unity is unquestionable, but in reality there is an increasing lack of evidence relating to its function in the «war of the sexes». Presumably, the male position on this issue can roughly be formulated as follows: for unclear reasons, women began to demand more than they had been given by nature, and therefore today, in addition to the traditional birth and child-rearing roles they have also come to care more about their career and material wealth. Or alternatively, they have freely chosen to reject the essence of womanhood altogether, at least as it relates to childbirth. In all cases, women have fought for these rights themselves and ultimately the realization of them has led to acute demographic problems for some parts of the world. The female position, in turn, is a directly opposite belief. She believes that men who for centuries had seen her only as an object in order to meet their personal comfort needs and as «baby factories». This perspective now demands the division of responsibility: this says that we, like you, should be able to produce wealth, and therefore demand that all although pregnancy lasts nine months, for the remaining eighteen years of the child's upbringing, the role of men and women in relation to children should not significantly differ.

In fact, it is the formation of this global situation of apparent mutual incomprehension between the sexes that appears to represent a strikingly similar global interdependence. If we add to this the nostalgic longing for those days when everything was apparently clear and simple, the continuous search for the «real man» and «real woman» as being the embodiment of the ideal of the traditional relationship, now appears lost. Consequently what makes the ideal unattainable is the obvious fact that the «challenge» requires an immediate «answer». This situation is rather the result of an evolutionary development rather than a sudden conflict which has arisen unexpectedly from the apparent former 'harmony'. Although the time of the most

significant breakthroughs which took place during the 1960s and 1970s are often referred to as «the sexual revolution», the point is that, despite the long existence of the «war of sexes», it is not understood by social science as the problem. In fact, it has not necessarily been considered a problem in the public consciousness — certainly with regards to the subordination of women based on gender division of labor, on the one hand, and the belief in the sanctity of the established social order on the other for creating a solid basis for the patriarchal attitudes. The intellectual prerequisites for the emergence of new approaches to think about relations between the sexes can be attributed, on the one hand, as demonstrating the crisis of rationalism and the emergence of irrationality, not as a marginal branches of philosophical thought, but as self-direction. These assumptions include the rapid development of psychology, particularly as it relates to Freudism, whose influence on virtually all modern research in the field of gender relations is so valuable that it requires special attention.

It can be argued that Sigmund Freud gave birth to our understanding of modern feminism. Indeed, the very concepts of the founder of psychoanalysis, not merely justified male superiority, but also gave him both an excuse and a scientific explanation for physiological and sociocultural (the second, according to Freud, arises from the first) plans. Effectively Freud has taught us to think and talk about sex without inhibition and consequently this has taught us how to use gender terms, it is seen not only as a biological concept, but as a socially constructed phenomenon. Psychoanalytic constructs help us to identify the underlying origins of gender inequality, to find and understand the causes of the prevailing sex ratio in the society. However, Freudism logically implies the permanence and inevitability of gender differences: even those rationally reconstructed with regard to Freud's unconscious reasons and motives for action. In other words you cannot change the unconscious itself, and thus cause role-asymmetry. Therefore it is not socially deterministic as it relates to the specific historical development of society but is unconditionally given in social interactions.

Freudian 'feminists', have largely transformed his original theories, they have found much utility in some of the ideas laid down by the founder of psychoanalysis. In particular, the reconstruction of lost self-identities through psychoanalysis has become especially popular. In general, thanks to Freud, the problem of women's liberation was able to connect not only with economic and political aspects, but also enabled reflection on the psychological and cultural levels. Feminists have effectively argued that all of the problems of modern society — the social hierarchy, racism, war, violence and environmental pollution — are the direct result of the psychological need for men to dominate and hold chauvinistic control over a patriarchal type of social organization. However, when we look at the actual history of the relations between the sexes we find some fundamentally different conclusions which demonstrate how different approaches to the problem of socio-historical and intellectual preconditions relate to the situation. For example, Anthony Giddens has written of the gradual formation of «pure relationships» due to the fact that the significance of social and economic factors affecting the choice of marriage partner has fundamentally changed. Today, in his view, women and men become «relations» for the sake of the relationship, realizing the need for socio-psychological and emotional union with one another, in other words the importance of such a union is love, not social or economic ties that my subsequently arise as a product of the union. In this case, the «war of the sexes» is not a war at all. The basis for the confrontation, as being caused by the social requirement of the dependent status of women effectively disappears. In this sense the target of gender equality, leaves behind no room for mutual claims to exclusivity.

Nevertheless, the reality so far is that it has not been possible to find a solution to the problem which society has framed as the question of gender relations purely in terms of «opposite sexes». The described picture ultimately represents a very sad and hopeless situation. The only thing that might inspire some optimism (albeit

very cautiously), is the fact that the «challenge» can understood and articulated, therefore there is still an opportunity to find adequate responses.

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CULTURAL IDENTITY IN THE GLOBALIZATION PROCESS

The rapidly changing socio-cultural reality of society in transition resulting in the transformation of values, norms, identity, explains the challenges of becoming mainstream sociocultural identity of Russian society today. The specifics of Russia lie in the fact that she is going through a «pressed historical period», where a dramatic internal transformation associated with a rapid and fundamental changes in the world systems. Researchers identify the global and regional actions and the factors affecting the social and cultural transformation of Russia as the following:

1) global shift from an industrial to a postindustrial (informational) stage of development of society, manifested primarily in the processes of globalization, politics, economy, style and way of life, 2) virtualization trend of social phenomena and processes, the spread of post-ideology, 3) a process of self-identification of Russian civilization, resulting in a finding of Russian ideas and articulated in the renewed geopolitical thinking in Russia. These processes in their specific manifestations define Russia's transformation of values and identities in the Russian society. There is reason to believe that asserting it new, as yet somewhat deviant; «is transitive» culture may soon become the base. In these circumstances, the fundamental values of traditional Russian culture can finally go to the marginalia of Russian society. Although it is possible that there they will not disappear completely, and will form the basis of various reminiscent subcultures. Nevertheless, «transitive» state of Russian society is characterized as more or less stable, not least in Russia is provided by the existing institutional structures of world globalization.

Actually, the whole world is developing in many ways on similar scenarios, but with their variations. Therefore, Russia is no exception, but only invariant of the general condition of the world community. Globalization is making a new point in the organization of social and cultural activities of modern man, in the process of forming its identity; the analysis of this aspect of the impact of globalization is an integral part of studying its social consequences. As P.F. Kravchuk, and V.V. Zotov write: «Globalization is not process but results of general processes by virtue... And if people define certain things as real, they are real in their implications». Globalization has become «a driving force of history, and, consequently, affects the development of specific areas». The most important consequence of globalization of cultural processes is the emergence of global in scope and scale phenomena, structures, social meta-system are increasingly defining the nature of changes in the modern world community. In the modern concept of globalization is not so much a specific historical phenomenon, with certain economic, social, communication or other parameters, but rather as a symbol of the synthesis of change endured in recent decades the world community.

In methodological terms, globalization has always overcome boundaries. Thus, the creation of the Internet was made possible because the borders to the flow of information are either not installed or canceled. Entry into the WTO opens the country to foreign goods. Here, the removal of borders is the process of establishing a single information, or financial or market space, that is some uniformity. But the interaction of cultures, the removal of borders for the exchange of cultural values does not lead to uniformity that is approved by a single culture.

Features of different cultures, and, hence, their diversity remain. Some supporters of globalization argue that the world comes to a single culture of mankind. For example, F.H. Cassidy writes about the origin in the near future new and global forms of community — mega-society, mega-culture, super-culture etc. More categorically it was expressed by F. Fukuyama who said that the post-era is an end to the history. F. Fukuyama believes that the world crossed the history for a qualitatively new stage which removed the contradiction as

a driving force of history and the modern world is presented as a world community. This position is unjustified and counterproductive as it seems. Multiculturalism is the wealth of mankind. Recently the term «glokalization» was introduced by an English sociologist R. Robertson as constructed from two words «Globalization» and «Localization». The essence of glokalization implies processes of modernization of local cultures with achievements of the emerging global multicultural civilization; glokalization is manifested as a result of cultural hybridization, i. e., constructive cooperation and mutual enrichment of cultures in the cultural regions. Z. Bauman believes that glokalization is a process that combines the trends of globalization and localization, which are based primarily on the redistribution of privilege and discrimination, wealth and poverty, power and powerlessness, of freedom and dependence.

Processes of re-stratification of the world are based on new principles and process of creating of some new global hierarchy. These processes come out as a result of free choice for some. They are seen by others as inevitable blow of fate.

Structural elements of globalization are developed in the content of history. Globalization meant a dramatic expansion of social space for the sale of multiple connections of people and determination of cognitive and motivational-value areas of their conscience. It not only stimulates the proliferation of new types of economic activity, technology, information, life style, but also increasingly diverse cultural patterns, layers of life, motivations and values of individuals. Researching social mechanisms of globalization impact on spiritual and intellectual components of culture shows that the transformation of the intellectual culture of the components occurs in the direction of its cross-cultural homogenization. Meanwhile the spiritual components of culture, on the contrary, display a search for local identity as required by individuals of a society in the light of contemporary realities.

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RUSSIAN SPIRITUAL ECOLOGICAL TRADITION AS THE MODERN STANDARD

Today crisis and disturbance of a modern civilization about what it was told and earlier is obvious. In this connection it would be desirable to address to a spiritual heritage of Russia, in particular, to ideas of Russian cosmism, received a fundamental designation since the 19th till the beginning of 20th century. Russian cosmism is considered by many contemporaries as the sample of spiritual, ecological tradition. The most known representatives of Russian cosmism [1] (V.I. Vernadsky, K. Tsiolkovsky, N. Fedorov, P. Florensky, V. Solovev, N. Berdjaev, etc.) have put the full case of ideas which are actual and today, and also have created the base of successes of our country, including in the field of space technologies. Today the special attention was received by V.I. Vernadsky's ideas about no-sphere consciousness, no-sphere education which can help and promote formation of a person, of a citizen, civil consciousness, a civil society as a whole; the person-humanist, the creator, the citizen of the Universe. Today there were occurred new designs, systems, the subjects of socialization forming public consciousness, including, so-called «socio-techno-sphere» [3]. The reality is that that socio-techno-sphere possibility is necessary to direct, as well as the atomic energy potential for electricity supply — that are fundamental problems of a modern civilization. Concerning the mentioned problematic, in our opinion, it is necessary to address to a heritage of Russian philosophical thought: to Russian cosmism. It seems that exactly Russian spiritually-ecological tradition can become that paradigm which will direct a modern civilization on an updating way, evolution and spiritual revival. Today it is quite necessary for us to refuse of quasi-values. The sources of our revival — a spiritual heritage, a source of our force — our spiritual tradition; comprehension of the ancient and eternal origin makes people by people, puts on their faces and everyday life a human sign of justice and nobleness. It should be noted that for Russian philosophical tradition the anthropocentrism as a key world outlook is not characteristic. The anthropocosmism, one of which founders is

V.I. Vernadsky resists to it. N.G. Holodny, the Russian cosmist has directly opposed to the point of view of anthropocentrism a position of anthrop-cosmism according to that a person is not a centre the world, but one of its organic components which distinctive feature are not privileges but responsibility [2]. As the integrating factor of development of a modern society can act Russian idea for which the openness, community and positive all-unity as a key world outlook basis is characteristic.

Russian idea is organically included into a Russian context of cosmism, defining the development of ecological consciousness, no-sphere thinking, spirituality development, actualizing high anthropospace values. In this connection it is necessary to note that Russian culture according to its content has a positive character. It features by organic philosophy, penetrating all its spheres, and a positive ecological orientation of the leading philosophical paradigm in which basis the statement of unity of the person and space lies. Russian cosmism is a certain orientation of the whole culture in which basis the outlook of live, moral Universal of the person, mankind and the Universe in its relation to the Creator and creation lies. For Russian cosmism it is characteristic of the idea of the Common Matter — a sacred and cathedral matter but not a favorable business, a matter capable to unite people in the name All-Unity and sophism. N.F. Feodorov sees the meaning of the life of the esteemed person, not in comfort and consumption: «Sense search is search: a uniform common matter». In the process of a theme consideration the term sociotechnosphere has already been designated. Thus, a separate consideration is demanded for a concept «planetary consciousness», «information» (as a new reality), «planetary mind» and others. Essential lines of planetary thinking concerns self-organizing, planetary-cosmic scale of thinking and communication with no-sphere. Socio-techno-sphere [3] is an accretion of a techno-informonoo — and socio-spheres in a certain phenomenon, their interpenetration, interdependence and determinacy. It is displayed in diffusive penetration of technical phenomena, techno-sphere as a whole in the world of social technologies, social sphere; and also specificity of their influence on a life of socium, public consciousness and principles of social interrelations between individuals... Socio-techno-sphere is displayed in the factor of globalization of the medial world, an information space, institutionalization of mass-media as the most powerful subject of socialization. It should be no noted that one of the pivotal tasks of the present — global comprehension of priority of spiritual sphere, the spiritual beginning in all everyday spheres. As the resume it is possible to mentioned the following: today the scientists actualize institutionalization of eco-socio-anthrop-no-sphere social paradigm of development; socio-techno-sphere as the subject of modern socialization — the mechanism, tools, subject of development no-sphere education, formations of public consciousness; anthrop-cosmism, a paradigm of Russian ecological tradition — the standard of positive development of a modern civilization; no-sphere consciousness and no-sphere education are factors of development, formation no-sphere civilization which are based on spiritual determinant; the necessity of development of Universal consciousness.

According to the words of the present patriarch Cyril, today for Russia it is necessary to keep a spiritual matrix. Academician Vyacheslav Stepin declares that the problem of the ethic-moral control in science sphere in a coming era of information violence today has ripened. Besides, it is difficultly disagree with the words of professor S. Kapitsa: the general crisis is reflected today in the crisis of a person. But before each of us there is a choice, as well as a choice of a way on which the human civilization will go to the future, a choice of a citizen... In the conclusion the following would be desirable to say. In order that 21st century appeared to be «the Century of fulfillments», instead of «a century of ruptures» the transformation of a civil society, its Intelligence and Will is necessary [4]. These tasks should be promoted to the no-sphere education enriched by a tradition and philosophical ideas of anthrop-cosmism, and thus sophism and the Common Matter that can and should become a positive basis of evolution of a civil society, optimization of development of a modern world civilization.

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FASHION AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

Fashion is an integral and complex phenomenon. It affects almost any sphere of human life: economics, politics, and culture. Fashion is studied by a number of scientific disciplines, such as History and Theory of Culture, Economics, Sociology, Psychology, Philosophy, Aesthetics, Ethnography, and Semiotics. In a general sense fashion means attitude towards exterior manifestations of culture: life style, communication manners and behavior patterns, reading preferences, clothing, etc., which exist and are generally accepted in a certain period of time. However in everyday life the term «fashion» is commonly associated with external attributes: clothes, footwear, accessories, and even with music. The modern fashion reflects a great variety of western and global culture elements, that is why the process of globalization is so remarkable here.

In music globalization manifests itself through the fact that «music bands and musicians enjoy international, global popularity; guest performances and world tours take place in various parts of the world; fans and admirers of musicians and styles (predominantly of western and English-speaking ones) can be found almost in any country and on any continent. They communicate through the Internet as well. Distances are getting less significant than common interests while uniting people.»¹⁴⁶ According to specialists, at the moment the global music culture is being formed. Thus, the music space is growing into a «world music universe». However, the author's attention is primarily drawn to fashion trends revealed in a person's looks, namely in clothes.

It is well known that fashion is a complex social, economic and cultural phenomenon. Fashion is a search for personal style, behavior patterns, and aesthetic sense. Fashion is connected with person's internal culture and person's inner world. Fashion is a means for creation of social boundaries between people or social groups, and also of a number of attributes for identification on «friend or foe» basis. It is worth mentioning that fashion for clothes has not always been of that importance for people as it is now. Historians point out that the history of costume witnessed a kind of battle between two ideas: practical purpose of clothes (to protect from unfavorable atmospheric impacts and provide optimal temperature conditions), and its aesthetic function (to dress out and disguise corporal defects)¹⁴⁷. It is remarkable that traditional folk clothes, unaffected by fashion, combined the both ideas. It was lovely (many generations thought so) and practical. That is why folk clothes were quite stable¹⁴⁸. In the modern world fashion became universal and cyclic. It is constantly changing, that is why fashion is a short-term phenomenon as compared to a certain cycle.

Despite its fickleness fashion is one of the driving forces of progress. According to L. Svendsen, the wish to follow fashion makes people change clothes six times faster than they would change them being driven by common sense only.

¹⁴⁶ *E.M. Eremina.* Manifestations of cultural globalization in domestic culture (based on the materials of youth press at the boundary of XX-XXI centuries). Abstract of a thesis, culturology. — Moscow. — 2007. — P. 20.

¹⁴⁷ Modern clothes have far more functions. Thus, it may serve as a symbol of grief (mourning) and joy (wedding clothes). Clothes fulfill various social, ceremonial and professional functions that predetermine their functional purpose. For instance, the main function of festive holiday clothes is aesthetic, while comfort in wear and durability are more important for everyday clothes. Ergonomic functions of clothes are related to physiological, anthropometric and other characteristics of a person. In terms of ergonomics clothes should be comfortable, it should not weary or hinder people from work. Hygienic functions include heat protection, hygroscopicity, vapor- and air permeability, waterproofness.

¹⁴⁸ See: *As fashion came to Russia.* — Available at: http://afield.org.ua/mod3/mod47_1.html

Fashion exists in real social a system that is why it is characterized by:

1. Up-to-dateness, cyclicity. This feature is a fundamental value in the structure of fashion. Fashion evokes positive associations in a person's mind: progressiveness, advancement, readiness for changes and creativity. Fashion is an antipode to stagnation, routine and inertness. Striving for up-to-dateness leads to rejection of «old standards» depending on social and cultural peculiarities of a certain time period. While regulation by means of traditions engages continuous reproduction of behaviour patterns (standards), in fashion this process is discrete.

2. Dynamism. Fashion meets the needs of the society for changes and possesses quite a high innovative potential.

3. Social differentiation and mobility. Fashion contributes to integration within upper classes, layers and groups and at the same time to their separation from lower classes. A German sociologist G. Simmel stated that «any fashion is always a fashion of a certain class...»

4. Openness (developed communication channels). Fashion is one of the forms of communication, transfer of information from one person to another. The attributes of image (fashionable clothes included) can unite or separate people. In the process of communication the participants need to recognize each other and to be recognized. Individuals constantly send one another messages about adherence to the values of a group or society, they attribute striving for fashion to the desire to correspond to the norms of their groups, profession, etc.

5. Superfluity is predetermined by the fact that the system for replication of material and cultural values is getting more and more developed the number and variety of competing fashion models grow.

6. Markers of fashion models. If earlier clothing was a characteristic of a community (group), nowadays it marks a social class (social or professional group), reveals or disguises the social status of the person.

7. Compensatory function. Changes in fashion make it possible to compensate for absence of prestige and create an illusion of changes in human life.

8. Demarcation. Reflecting the status of a certain social group that influences person's consumption behaviour pattern, fashion forms images of symbols of prestige. Fashion is both a form of social regulation and self-regulation of human behaviour pattern as it attracts people to a certain system of norms and values.

9. Universality (or dissemination) means that fashion is a mass phenomenon. Mass character of fashion means that various classes, social, demographic and professional groups are involved

Even G. Simmel, who defined fashion as a compromise between the tendency to social equalization and individual's striving for expressing of their uniqueness, mentioned the ability of fashion to fulfill the need for self-expression, settle conflicts between the society and an individual. Possessing certain significant values, fashion not only reacts to behaviour of human beings, but also influences the society in general. Thus, internal values of fashion, which are called attributive, govern the behaviour of a person, and external values (denotative) constitute the end value of a denotation object in fashion. They are situation-dependent, which can be attributed to both large social systems and long periods of time. They may be represented by such values as social equality, elitism, beauty and benefit, conformity and non-conformity, etc. Fashion which attributes to things certain meaning is conditionally divided into three components: haute couture (couturiers), prêt-a-porter (created by designers and couturiers), confection (ready-made clothes, underwear, cosmetics, these are consumer goods designed by dress designers).

For a long time the elite were considered to be trendsetters. G. Simmel was the first to express this idea. However, in the XX century the theory of fashion elitism was heavy criticized (namely by G.G. Bloomer, an American sociologist) for overestimation of the role of elite in fashion functioning. In reality the key role belongs to the middle class who is the trendsetter due to its intermediate, relatively unstable position in the society: on the one hand, aiming to raise their social status the representatives of the middle class imitate elite, and on the other hand they emphasize their distinction from the lower classes. But this observation is not always true. After all, fashion is associated with mass choice and mass behavior which caused the appearance of new fashion styles in the lower layers of the society in XX century, e. g. jeans fashion, etc. According to K. Lagerfeld, a well-known designer, fashion has been greatly influenced by

street life since the late eighties of XX century: «Those who disregard street life are fools. It is street life that predetermines the fashion of the last twenty years.»

Fashion is a social regulator which demonstrates, on the one hand, social inequality and identifies differences between social classes (different social classes possess different possibilities and incentives for participation in fashion behavior, fashion models have different value and so on), and on the other hand, fashion levels out differences between social groups, being a factor of democratization of modern society. Following fashion reflects the attitude of an individual to the society, outer world, to one's self. On the one hand, persons want to preserve their individuality, and on the other hand to identify themselves with other members of the society. Latent desire to submit to fashion struggles with the urge to be independent from it, to be different from others. Fashion makes genuine choice impossible, offering ready-made alternatives, standard behaviour patterns which can be followed thoughtlessly, but at the same time it maintains the illusion of development of individuality. Due to strive for appearance individualization as opposed to impersonalizing character of bourgeois uniform and uniformity, such youth phenomenon as hippie appeared.

It is worth mentioning that when speaking about fashion, the feminine fashion is meant first of all. It is not surprising as in history the position of women was often associated with weak social status determined by traditions and rules. Fashion helped women to unite in their striving for solidarity. It offered women a kind of protection. At the same time fashion provided women with a tool to emphasize their uniqueness and individuality. Nowadays desire of women to look prestigious is justified not less. Appearance and the ability to present herself as a business person greatly influence career success. These are some aspects of the concept of fashion which loses its meaning neither during the periods of stable society development, nor during economic depression.

10. CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS AND COMMUNICATION THEORIES

10.1. INTERPERSONAL AND PUBLIC DISCOURSE: CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

T.V. Abramova, S.N. Zhiryakova, I.A. Ilyeva

CULTURE OF DAILY OCCURRENCE AND PERSONAL SPEECH BEHAVIOR

The idea of research of human or social communication which as process, occurs in certain sociocultural space and time, includes, first of all, at least persons (subjects, actors) which feel necessity, interest in communication with each other and understand the sense and necessity of a contact. Thus one of communicators is the initiator of this contact, another — can get or not to get into contact which depends on his (her) needs, interests, sense. Needs, interests and senses of communicators define a subject of communication which content is connected with the certain social information concluded in one or another sign forms and language, first of all. One person addresses to another, initiates the communication because the initiator requires the information which another owns. It is the basis for the designation of one communicator as a consumer of the information, and another as a professional communicator, rendering an information service.

In this connection it is represented to us, that the key problem of communication is the mechanism resulting individual process of transfer and perception of the information in socially significant process of personal and mass influence which is incorporated in speech activity of people where socially caused norms, rules of human life in society are realized¹⁴⁹. For this reason speech activity and its part speech behavior is taken by us as a special subject of our reflection as it is the external part of speech activity which mediates between ideas in which clothe needs, interests of the person, wishing to come into contact to other person, and his (her) actions, depending on concrete situations or sociocultural context of a contact.

Sociocultural context is that level of culture which will reach as a result of joint activity of people. Here again it is necessary to address to the characteristic of daily occurrence to understand sociocultural context of speech behavior more precisely. In the daily world each person satisfies his (her), as the American psychologist A. Maslow has told, deficiency and growth needs. The first mean the needs connected with the maintenance of the fact of a biological and social life, and the second — with the maintenance of the certain quality of life, its comfort, providing high-grade existence of people, advantage of

¹⁴⁹ In details see: *Arminen, I.* Conversation Analysis: A Quest for Order in Social Interaction and Language Use // *Acta Sociologica*. Taylor and Francis Ltd: 1999. Vol. 42. №3, p. 251—257 (7); *McGregor G.* Whaddaweknow? Language Awareness and Non-linguists' Accounts of Everyday Speech Activities // *Language Awareness*. 1998. 7:1. p. 32—51; *Schlesinger, Izchak M.* The Structure of Misunderstanding / *Izchak M., Schlesinger, Sharon Hurvitz* // *Pragmatics & Cognition*. John Benjamins Publishing Company. 2008. Vol.16. №3. p. 568—585 (18); *Арутюнова Н.Д.* Язык и мир человека. М.: Языки русской культуры, 1998. 895 с.; *Кубрякова Е.С.* Язык и знание: На пути получения знаний о языке: Части речи с когнитивной точки зрения. Роль языка в познании мира. М., 2004. — 560 с.; etc.

their life, preservation of their own sociocultural identity. The culture of daily occurrence is comprehended by philosophers most of all, who mark, that it is acquired by the person intuitively, setting him (her) the certain topography of space and regularity of time, rhythms of life, and it makes the person proportional to a society, adapting him (her) to the scales. If in the past, in a traditional society, the space of daily occurrence is precisely divided (close and distant, familiar and unfamiliar, native and otherness), but modern representation of space is connected with removing from parameters of own being, with deprivation of horizons and occurrence of a context only of a concrete place, «here», with a slight connection with other «here» places.

Social time turns into «eternal now» in which the past and the future coexist together and they are connected neither with physical, nor with socially fixed time. In all forms of a daily life the strong game element which rules constantly vary, and the reserves, interchanging the position concepts legal and unlawful, good and bad, children's and adult's, man's and female's is introduced. The person is lost in a stream of the received information, the experiences, and opening opportunities. The rational beginning ceases to supervise over behavior of the person and «the dream of mind gives rise monsters», «monsters» of communicative interaction from which the person except sufferings feels nothing.

Modern daily occurrence on the one hand leans on internal structure of consciousness of the person (that the person thinks) which is illogical, spontaneous and casual. It can snatch out only any fragment of the reality having different spatial and time scales, and is guided by structure of mentality of the person: life — death, health — illness, dream and wakefulness, motherland and expatriation. With another — on external activity which owing to the development of a communication facilities, the space of daily occurrence has made boundless, and time — nonlinear¹⁵⁰. In this situation the speech behavior feels influence as from not structured, spontaneous, illogical consciousness, and from the actions of the person determined by a situation. It defines essentially new forms of communicative activity. Communication between people is difficult to fix as social fact with its all nuances. At the same time, both technical sciences and the humanities undertake all new attempts to reveal some laws of the social communication.

If Social Anthropolgy studies morals and manners and cultural features of the communications in ethnic areas, Psychology and Psycholinguistics studies factors promoting or interfering interpersonal and mass communication and motivation of communicators' speech behavior. If Linguistics deals with the problems of verbal communication (dialogue, monologue, oral, written and others), Psycholinguistics specializes on the ways of nonverbal communication, and Sociolinguistics investigates the problems connected with social nature of language and features of its functioning in various societies. If Philosophy considers communication in the connection with other social phenomena (intercourse, information), Sociology reveals the factors causing the influence of communication onto the transformation of public opinion, reveals socially significant estimations of communicative spheres of various social groups¹⁵¹.

As an example it is possible to consider sociological research of daily occurrence, held in 2007—08 by the group of researchers headed by G.I. Osadchaya, who on the basis of the developed tradition investigated daily forms of people's vital activity, their inclusiveness in a society through the characteristic of their way of life¹⁵². On the basis of carried out research the author offers descriptive and explanatory model of modification of a daily life of Russians as forms of social practice and social representations in the field of communications, which sets the restrictions of opportunities, adjusts group interactions, forms of conflicts and effects of cooperation.

¹⁵⁰ See also: Пахарь А.И. Курс лекций по социальной философии: Учебное пособие. Ч.3.. Орел: Издательство ОГУ, 2007. С.146—156.

¹⁵¹ See: Человек в процессе эпохальных социальных изменений: Материалы теоретико-методологического семинара. 3 окт.2007г. /Под общ. Ред. Г.И. Осадчей. М.: РГСУ, 2008.; Емельянова Т.П. Конструирование социальных представлений в условиях трансформации российского общества. ИП РАН, 2006; Кессиди Ф.К. Глобализация и культурная идентичность. //Вопросы философии, 2003, №1.

¹⁵² Осадчая Г.И. Образ жизни россиян: до и после перестройки // Социальная политика и социология.- 2008, №3. С.25—43.

But, though the author also speaks about the field of communications, which adjusts interactions of people in various spheres of their life, communications in a daily life of people during which this or that type of a sociality in its daily refraction is created, very difficult to retrace. It shows that mass interrogations have limited results for research of a field of communicative interaction as a result of which today appears that daily occurrence which does not give the person any support in the world of daily occurrence.

Therefore we believe that the new paradigm, principles, approaches, theoretical substantiations is necessary for gathering an empirical material.

It is clearly to us, that the private form of displaying daily occurrence is that contact zone which arises «here and now». It can be investigated leaning on the information which is general property, the social information circulating in the interaction of people with each other and creating communicative networks. Creation of communicative networks is communicative activity where the culture of daily occurrence and speech behavior of the person adjoin. Consideration of the given interaction demands intent attention of linguists, psychologists, ethnographers, sociologists and other researchers.

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CHILDREN IN MODERN SOCIO-CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT: SOCIAL DIAGNOSTICS¹⁵³

Processes of globalization are impossible without mass skill of people to understand each other adequately. It is an obligatory condition of the dialogue, constructive decision of problems. Ability of the person to understand communicative intention of the author adequately, and

¹⁵³ Researches on the given problem are carried out within the framework of the project of the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (RFBR) «Development of communicative skills of the person depending on a degree of his socio-cultural environment» №08—06—00487 «а».

also his ability to inform own communicative intention adequately we connect with a high level of his communicative skills. An opportunity to differentiate an audience on a level of communicative skills (so-called social-mental groups) is given in the frames of *semio-socio-psychology* paradigm developed by Russian scientist Tamara Dridze. In the basis of this paradigm — representation about an opportunity of allocation in any whole and finished communicative act the structure of cognitive programs which are united by author's intention. Specifically, semio-socio-psychology uses the notion of *communicative intention* understood as resultant force of motives and goals of communication. Within the framework of the approach under discussion *intentions-oriented analysis* of text-messages was worked out. This method makes it possible to view any communication act as a structure of communicative-cognitive programs which are united by the author's intention. By employing this method one can study the structure of any text and the perception of this text by the audience and then can compare the results of these two procedures. The complex of special research procedures allows to study, how the consciousness of the person interprets the author's *intention*, and what degree of understanding it (the question understands only).

The outcomes of the research conducted demonstrate that there are problems with the adequately perception: the group which adequately apprehends and interprets the intentions of text-messages of news and socially-political mass communication texts takes up as a rule 9—18% of the total number of people interviewed. In the first place the form of material organization and presentation counts and in the second place one can talk about the stratification of the mass media audience according to varying abilities to apprehend the intentions of an author's text (so-called socio-mental groups can be distinguished). The researches executed by us show that the problem of adequate perception is actual even for those people which communicate in the same language, inside the same cultural field.

In 2008 in the center of research attention there were communicative skills of children. This work was carried out within the framework of the project «Development of communicative skills of the person depending on a degree of his socio-cultural environment», which is maintained and approved by the Russian Foundation for Basic Research. The primary goal of the project is search of the ways of development of communicative skills (which characterize a degree of skill of the person to understand adequately the author's intentions). The hypothesis of research is connected to the assumption of positive influence on development of communicative skills of the person the dialogical socio-cultural environment.

Within the framework of the project the level of development of communicative skills of different groups of an audience, and also qualitative characteristics of modern socio-cultural environment are studied. The high level of communicative skills was found out with 12 % of preschool children of 5—6 years and 15—22 % of schoolboys from 7 till 17 years; the average level is fixed at 26 % of preschool children of 5—6 years and 46—42 % of schoolboys from 7 till 17 years; a low level — at 62 % of preschool children and 39—36 % of schoolboys from 7 till 17 years. Interrelation between such characteristics as, on the one hand, sexual attributes, residence, employment of parents, and, on the other hand, a level of development of communicative skills of schoolboys, have not been fixed. It allows drawing conclusions about equal socio-mental characteristics of boys and girls; about presence of an open field of the information for children in territory of all country; about an opportunity for modern parents of the most various branches and kinds of activity to do this information accessible to the child. It is established, that children with the advanced communicative skills are identify itself as representatives of a human civilization and of the country more frequently, than other children; «tops» of their values and anti-values are adequate to universal more often; they show tolerance in relation to children of other nationality and other creed. Interrelation between a degree of sincerity, openness of communicator's intentions, his fidelity to the standard moral norms, and quality of understanding and interpretation of the respondent has been fixed. The level of understanding of children goes down in such cases: if in product there are no precise borders between kindness and evil; if the author hides his position or informs on it a rapid speech; if product is oversaturated with action to the detriment of semantic components; if modern writers or directors deform semantic accents of classical products.

«COMMUNICATIVE PERSON» AS A CATEGORY OF MODERN SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE

Recently world's sociological community started raising the question of the mission of sociology in modern society. The theme was submitted to final session of the ISA congress in Durban in 2006. All the sociologists, who held a post of the ISA president at the turn of the century, passed their opinion in this question. In the given context each of them spoke about sociology's public discourse. And 2008th year is marked by mass international discussion about sociology's future orientation to the public sphere. Michael Burawoy started this discussion in press. He links necessity of compellation of sociology exactly to the public sphere to the formed social-economical, market conditions, and namely to the third wave of marketization that in his opinion threatens the existence of the society. Sociologists in answer to the market's callings act on the following probable behavior strategies: cooperation with commanding structures, filling market's orders, scientific criticism without interference in real events, and, finally, the fourth strategy-direct sociologist's involving in civil society. The fourth strategy Burawoy assigns to the public sociology.

In Russian-speaking society the word «public» is not exactly felicitous, as it causes undesirable connotations; nevertheless it reflects the essence of urgent topic-orientation to people, to person, to public discourse. Functioning of sociology in a public discourse actualizes such a special sociological branch as the sociology of communications that investigates functional features of communications of representatives of various social groups concerning their interaction and the influence on their attitude to social values of the given society. One of the basic categories of sociology of communications is social information in a postindustrial society that emphasizes the importance of this discipline. The methodology of sociology of communications is in process of becoming. Direct interest for it is represented with such theoretical directions as behaviorism, symbolical interactionism, phenomenism, structural functionalism, personalism, the dialectic approach, neomarxism, etc. By present time the sociology of communications has defined the most essential, constantly operating factors causing the major characteristics of the social communications. It is allocated four groups of such sociological dominants: stratificational, situational, estimated and functional groups. Requirements to a role of sociology in a modern public discourse conduct to necessity of research of *actors* of the social communications, the analysis of their social, psychological, communicative features.

Construction of a civil society is impossible without movement from below; it assumes the realized interaction of individuals and the groups, considering mutual interests. The communicative role of sociology here consists in transfer of knowledge to a society about an actual condition of this society, about its modern structural organization, about interests of individuals and social groups, real painful points and tendencies of development of a society. But the other part of this communicative process is important also, that is reception of a feedback, formation of the person of the civil society, capable adequately to estimate a social reality, to understand it, to orientate himself/herself in it and to carry out socially significant activity. A plenty of social communications researches is devoted to concrete technologies of influence on the person, however construction of the scientific categorical apparatus does not enjoy yet such popularity. The significant contribution to development of the socially-communicative theory to this aspect has brought scientific groups of T.M. Dridze (semiosociopsychological and ecoanthropocentric paradigms) and V.P. Konetskaya (a substantiation of sociology of communications as a new branch of sociology). In our opinion, important is the fact that at studying the general scientific, mass phenomena

in the center of a research field the human factor is put, instead of simply ascertaining of information transfer or information interchange.

The category «communicative person» concerns to base categories of sociology of communications. Studying of the communicative person leans on definitions of concept «the person» as philosophical, sociological, psychological and linguistic category. In view of researches of these disciplines generic concept «the person» can be interpreted as complete structure of socially significant qualities got by the individual in joint activity with others and communications and defining its individuality. Definition of a person is always connected with concept «selfness». In the Russian science the selfness is treated as system of representations about itself, formed by the individual in processes of activity and dialogue. It is shown in a self-estimation, self-esteem, a level of claims, in interpersonal relations and in a degree of activity in sphere of public connections and relations.

The communicative person is understood as one of displays of the person, caused by set of its individual properties and characteristics which are defined by a degree of its communicative needs, cognitive diapason which has generated during cognitive experience, and communicative competentness (competence). Now concepts «competence» and «competentness» are sometimes used as synonyms. Often «the competence» is replaced with some faithful concepts: qualification, capability or a complex of knowledge, skills and attitudes. More logical is the approach to division of these concepts: «competence» is a subject domain in which the individual is well informed and shows readiness for performance of activity, and «competentness» is the integrated characteristic of qualities of the person, acting as a result of preparation for performance of activity in the certain spheres. To the considered category the choice of the basic word is essential – «the person» (vs. «the individual»). The word «individual» designates an isolated representative of a sort; in its activity the external, adaptive aspect is emphasized. The word «person» designates the person as the subject of conscious and purposeful activity; it means a system not only of external, but also internal correlation of the person to society.

Three parameters constitute the structure of the communicative person: motivational, cognitive and functional. The motivational parameter is defined with communicative needs and communicative purposes. The cognitive parameter gives the characteristic of the person on its ability adequately to perceive the information, to influence the partner, estimation and a self-estimation of cognitive diapason. The functional parameter assumes the concrete communicative habits connected with skill to operate by the information.

For specification of a new category «the communicative person» we offer to introduce the fourth parameter connected with the information-communicative organization of the person. In processes of an information metabolism each person demonstrates the certain typological ways of reception and processing of the information and ways of decision-making. Bases of such approach have been incorporated by K.G. Jung, and now there are some types of the models constructed on the basis of Jung's sights. One of them is the type character model by Myers-Briggs (MBTI), where four pairs of characteristics of people are allocated: extravert-introvert, sensing-intuitive, thinking-feeling, and judging-perceiving. These characteristics describe people on their preferences in ways of receiving and processing the information and decision-making. To each type there is its own set of communications features is peculiar.

Account of this parameter allows expanding a range of sociological knowledge in aspect of a public discourse. For acknowledgement of the importance of the new set of parameters a separate research within the limits of the large project studying development of communicative skills of the person depending on a dialogue degree of sociocultural environment now is carried out. The super purpose of such researches is formation of the person as agent of the social action, who can reflex and realize his/her role in public processes.

MOBILIZATION POTENTIAL OF COMMUNICATIVE RECOURSES OF AN ORGANIZATION

Abstract: *The purpose of this report is the search of resources of stability of social organization in modern conditions which is called by one of the greatest modern English sociologists Anthony Giddens a constantly «runaway world»*¹⁵⁴.

In the middle of the 20th century scientists began to search for the basis in this runaway world not only from perception of the person, but from routing in it through including in social groups and organizations. If every person felt safe and protected in the past, at the end of the 20th century, especially at the beginning of the 21st century, this feeling vanished. More than that, organizations themselves showed instability to the processes of modern society, which is characterized by the combination of dichotomy *social relationships*, serving social systems of different scales and the whole world community. These relationships can be presented by the dynamic of globalization-localization, integration-disintegration, virtualization-objectivities, and cooperation-conflict.¹⁵⁵

The ideas of communication as the basis of social order and stability developed during World War II. Researchers found out that communication processes tended to be unstable, due to the fact that the language used as means of communication, being the text in communication process at the same time, contains semantic dissociation, determined by different social-cultural contexts¹⁵⁶, on the one hand, implied sense on the other¹⁵⁷. So, researchers found out that communication processes are unstable. It was necessary to explain that fact and to find ways of overcoming the instability. It became the stimulus for special research of social-cultural context and communication as activity which is mediated by signs and symbols, but also finds its foundation in social norms and is admitted by the majority of people.¹⁵⁸ But in conditions of rapid social transformation influenced by rationality, science, technology negative tendencies connected with isolation of people from each other and from the world which determines instability not only to the life of the person but to the groups and organizations. As the result of instability so called «culture industry» appeared. The main element of it is discourse which is socially determined unit of communication. This element being the potential recourse of any social organization helps to stabilize it.

But this recourse must actualize. So it's necessary to find the factors of its actualization. The authors believe that there are at least two possible ways. The first way is connected with concretization of universal social relation dynamics which contain mobilization potential of communicative recourse. The second way is determined by intercultural communications where the communicators are people from the definite organization possessing some potential. Mobilization potential of social nets is presented by the combination of main characteristics of social interaction — interconditionality, stability, regularity, intensity, depth, scale and density of created net of action contacts which include managing subjects inside and outside the organization.

In general they present *nets of social cooperation* which help to transmit information in intersystem space, to realize ideas of rational recourse economy and their redistribution, which is adequate to priority values and norms of social time, correspondent to obligations and expectations of groups, presenting organization, reproduced values of labor association,

¹⁵⁴ Giddens A. Runaway World: How Globalization is Reshaping Our Lives. Moscow.: Ves' Mir, 2004.

¹⁵⁵ Ilyayeva I.A., Tsibrienko R.Y. About the Methodology of Sociological Research of Modern Social Processes // Bulletin of Tambov University. — 2008. №11(67). P.352—359.

¹⁵⁶ Post structuralism (Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault).

¹⁵⁷ Dzheralievskaya M.A. Installations of Communicative Behavior: Diagnostics and Forecast in Concrete Situations –M.: Smysl, 2000. 191p. See also A.G. Asmolov, A.A. Leontjev, D.A. Leontjev, V.A. Petrovsky

¹⁵⁸ Critical Philosophy of Frankfurt School (Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Jürgen Habermas)

carried out actions on mutual aid and mutual assistance. It is becoming the basis of inter organization solidarity and unity, which act themselves as indicators of real possibilities and potentialities of created interactions. The potential connections in the organization are especially important in adaptation periods to radical changes in its activity, broadcasted from inner space under the influence of modernization and transformation.

The demand for the potential, efforts on its accumulation and mobilization will be determined by adaptation aims, situation and personal orientations, first of all of the management of the organization. Organization and communication ways of constructing and supporting mutual aims and solidarity, providing voluntariness of forming unity, create the image of revaluation and fading of *traditional relation*¹⁵⁹ and their recourses (potential of natural connections and possibilities of power subordination¹⁶⁰) and actualization in modern society of *civilized relation*, which create collective, corporative and social partnership recourse. It makes sense to tell about the actualization of corporative recourse for the countries (Russia, for example) which are now on their way of artificial modernization, and which social-economic conditions and traditions of communication correspond to the uncivilized forms of market relations. In this case corporative net of interactions forms communication space which is determined by strict pragmatism and rationality. In comparison with partnership which is an optimal form of social dialogue and cooperation open for discourse and search for consensus between different groups in organization, but demanding special social and organizational conditions, corporate communication is accompanied by a great number of information hindrances and communication barriers. But in comparison with power compulsion relations where management destroys interests and expectations of social groups in the organization and as the result deprives individuals their recourses.

Mobilization potential in every person comprises communication competence, which acquires new quality — intercultural as the result of social relationship. In the communication process in the organization we select three aspects — the process of communication itself, communicators — its subject and barriers, which arise between them.¹⁶¹ We pay special attention to the communication barriers, because they, from our point of view, are the mobilization recourse, activating every communicator to find ways of mutual understanding with organization members to which they belong to and which they need. Considering the versatility of situations, which take place in the process of communication we can determine two groups of barriers. The barriers of the first group comprise underestimated motivation on cooperation with the members of the organization, compelled tolerance, low identification with the organization, non-observance of culture norms which lead to the lower status of communicators. The barriers of the second group comprise uncertainty, dominating of status positions of the members of the organization, low intensity of status contacts, underestimation of non-verbal information, group sphere priority, and as the result low efficiency of intercultural communication.

«Communication barriers» are constantly existing mechanism of actualization of functioning and structuring in the organization. They actualize bifurcation conditions when stable culture patterns meet and habitual existence in the organization is broken. The necessity to solve the problems of conflictness, intensity, uncertainty requires from the person raised purposeful activity, development of the vital decisions, and choice of this or that strategy of activity, means and ways of the necessary result achievement. These classes of barriers perform different mobilization functions. The first class actualizes the development of the person's subjectivity, personality and individuality. The second class deals with their self-realization in communication with the others, as the result of or communication requirement realization, special interests achievement and the sense

¹⁵⁹ Luhmann Niklas. Forms of Help in the Process of Public Conditions Changes // Sociological Magazine 2000. №1,2. / [www i-u ru /biblio/](http://www.i-u.ru/biblio/)

¹⁶⁰ Weber Max. Types of Domination // Personality. Culture. Society. 2008. №1(40)– P.31—47

¹⁶¹ Opryatnaya O.M. Trinity Approach as Methological Basis for Complexity Regulation // Sociology: 4M. 2005. №21. P. 29—50

of communication with others understanding.¹⁶² In the moments of destabilization the success of communication depends on the level of the intercultural communication competence of the personality. The basis of intercultural communication competence is culture identification, culture horizon and virtualization, due to which every member of the organization can take part in transnational cooperation, create communication nets, uniting representatives of different cultures and states, which is namely the mobilization recourse of the organization.

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REPRESENTATION OF RUSSIA IN EUROPEAN PUBLIC DISCOURSE: SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF CONSTRUCTING SOCIAL REALITY

Language plays the vital role in social life as an essential means of communication. In general the analysis of sociolinguistic aspects of international communications in sociological perspective may support the development of the efficient technologies of communications management. It is essential to be aware of sociolinguistic implications of social interaction due to the role the language plays in social life. The analysis of sociolinguistic implications of the process of constructing social reality can be helpful in understanding attitudes to Russia circulated in European discourse. Such research would be based on the analysis of what the social constructs mean in seeing and understanding the place of Russia in Europe to the extent in which they are expressed in and created by the language in public discourse.

The object of the research is the patterns of representation of Russia in pan-European public discourse, and one of the priorities is defining the dominating concepts in depicting Russian reality by European media from sociolinguistic positions, finding their origins and suggesting ways of expanding Russia's active involvement in formulating and building such constructs. The research is aimed, firstly, at finding out and defining the ways in which sociolinguistic aspects of public discourse affect and to a larger scale construct the social reality. Secondly, it is suggested that specific practices should be developed through which it would be possible to control the construction of negative social biases in the European public discourse and affect the formation of public attitudes through stimulating free and unbiased exchange of information. The analysis of public speeches and media content demonstrates the existence of firm and persistent patterns in depicting and explaining social reality in Russia, and many of such concepts prove to be slightly or deeply incorrect. To affect the creation of such constructs we need better understanding of how they emerge. In this perspective studying sociolinguistic implications of depicting and constructing the reality helps to expand and strengthen the proficiency in managing communications.

Methodological foundation of the research is social constructionism with particular interest to P. Berger's and T. Luckman's approach to constructing the reality through objectivity of subjective concepts and internalisation of external assumptions including so called common knowledge. Another powerful base for the research is modern discourse studies that give the tools and methods to analyse the mutual influence of discourse and social life, actually defining discourse as the actual embodiment of the sociality. The position of an individual in the society is inseparable from his fulfilment of certain social roles the nature of which may be understood through receiving informal messages of both verbal and paralinguistic character. From this point of view the language's function is articulation and logic explanation of these informal messages received and transmitted within the process of accumulating the individual's social experience. Meanwhile another tradition gives purely

¹⁶² *Ilyayeva I.A.* The Culture of Cooperation: Philosophy-Methodological Analysis. Voronezh, Voronezh University, 1989. 167p.

inferior role to the language in the social development, a role of a mere tool of expressing thoughts and needs. In the framework of this approach it is stated that a man speaks not to deliver a message but to achieve targets that lie beyond the language. Though, some scientists and humanitarians see the language as the structural foundation of the whole perception of the world, and the difference in language means from this point of view the difference in seeing the world and understanding, difference in explaining and defining it.

For the practical reasons the most optimal approach to defining the nature of dependence between the language and the society seems to be a well balanced approach which admits the interrelation between linguistic aspects of communication and the social changes and allows to study the effects of influencing the social development with linguistic tools. The issues of mutual influence of the language and the society in real situations and social environment are of top interest for the sociology as it gives the field for making conclusions on the specifics of public changes, of social behaviour of communities and individuals, on distribution of social roles and the meaning of social statuses. Obviously, the analysis of the public discourse from the sociolinguistic positions is a necessary part of studying social attitudes and biases. There is a significant potential for the development of the applicable technologies within the wide field of studies of social specifics of linguistic practices.

The work includes sociolinguistic analysis of the representation of Russia in leading media that constitute the core of the public discourse and serve as the main actors in shaping public opinion and circulating it. The time focus for the research was being done since the beginning of the 2000s to the recent modernity. The expected outcome is an in-depth analysis of dominant social constructs in depicting and defining social reality by European media and, consequently, European community. The study is aimed at making the input into development of efficient technologies of managing communications activities by major international actors in the environment of propaganda — free and feedback — provided communications. In particular, the overview of sociolinguistic aspects of the representation of Russia in European media gives the key to better understanding of the nature of controversies and misunderstanding in the dialogue between Russian and European societies. The aim of the research is defining the place of Russia in Europe, finding out of which social constructs it consists and how it is articulated in the pan-European public discourse. It is vitally important to understand what causes alienation and hampers efficient communications between Russia and European community.

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DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL SPACE UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF TRANSNATIONAL INTERACTION

The given article presents the main results of a theoretical-empiric project «Dynamics of social space under the conditions of transnational interaction» aimed at study of Russian community temporarily living in Japan. Theoretical aim of the investigation was to reveal transnational category in itself, analyse social space transformation and human capital quality under the conditions of transnational interaction. Applied aim of the work was to determine the models of transnational socio-cultural space of individuals and estimate human capital changes. This has caused a necessity of using quite complex set of research instruments in the context of theoretical analysis as well as applied aspect. And also has determined the requirements to the mathematical instrument. In the empiric research 3 main methods was directly used: expert questionnaire method, partially formalized interview method, participant observation method.

The empiric part of the research was effected in two stages: in summer 2007 and in autumn 2008, and this was available due to collaboration and support of cross-cultural research department of the university in Kobe (Japan) with special participation of department professor Mr. SAKAI Kadzunari, whose advices in theoretical part and help

in field investigation organization are invaluable for us. At the present time the following types of transnational networks successfully functioning in Japan may be marked out:

- o national communities (Russian communes, clubs and associations)
- o students' cross-cultural associations,
- o Home stay association
- o centres of local communities activity

Social space was understood by us in the project as a place/locus, in the context of which organization of social interaction relating common interest and/or problem takes place. The most important moment of our research is that for its participant — Russian living in Japan this locus is «different» from customary social structures, and it assumes encounter with other culture, other social norms and behaviour models. This causes necessity for an individual to work out new life strategy and therefore to search for its resource base, that is to reconsider and develop his own human capital. Key characters of the locus in our research were:

1. its definability (easily revealed bounds);
2. expression (individual's perception of it as a real);
3. orderliness (existence of the structures determined by culture of the receiving society);
4. ventureness (a new reality for an individual that creates new perspectives for him, but at the same time assumes a risk).

Transnational measuring of the locus is presented by a set of parameters characterizing:

1. its expansion due to interaction/discourse between the representatives of different cultures.
2. appearance of new forms and channels of interaction, involvement of own experience in newly-appearing communications.
3. openness to changes, ability to change social environment in the result of adaptation to other social space, and possibility of rupture or loss of old relations.

A factor analysis method was used to determine social space structures. The following factors (ways of social space forming) were obtained:

1. Social involvement. Interaction
2. Temporary stay
3. Intercultural cooperation.

They should be considered in detail.

Factor 1. Social involvement & Interaction: Involvement and interaction with new environment assumes presence of great number of friends and acquaintances in Japan among local residents and also compatriots, and easy adaptation to traditions and customs of a new country. This factor is inherent in the most open and communicative people, who best of all join in a new environment, adapt to it, adjust to it and interact with it more actively than others. They strive to know about country as much as possible, understand its customs, traditions and culture. In general, such people have positive feelings of staying in a new country. However 25% of them still feel themselves strangers in Japan. The rest feel them calmly, as at home. They find staying in a country, where modern technologies combine with ancient traditions, interesting and exciting. Establishing good relations with compatriots from Russia also living in Japan, they want to know more about Japan and change their impressions, speak mother tongue.

Factor 2. Temporary stay: This factor reflects non-willingness or inability of people to adapt to new environment and interact with it. Japan is considered as a country of temporary residence, and people don't intend to change their way of living. From the point of view of followers of this strategy, interaction problems appear because of disconnection in cultures, different interests and territorial disconnection. For Russian people living in Japan important factors are knowledge of Japanese language, open-minded treatment of the Japanese, along with desire not to forget their Russian background and wish of constant admiring Japanese exotic. Work in an international team means for them subjection to

interests of others, tolerance and readiness for compromises, and with this they strive to get new knowledge and skills.

Self-feeling of such people in Japan is rather negative. They feel themselves strangers in Japan, feel difficult, and have sensation of disappointed expectations. Only 18% of them feel themselves calmly in Japan. Through communication with compatriots living in Japan they want to know more about Japan and get information necessary for life and work, that they don't want or cannot get from the Japanese.

Factor 3. Intercultural cooperation: This factor takes intermediate position. Interviewed Russians living in Japan who belong to this factor are oriented to constructive cooperation in new culture. They strive to dialogue and interpenetration of Russian and Japanese cultures, they actively take part in professional dialogue with Japanese colleagues and meanwhile they try to set regular contacts with compatriots living in Japan. These people geared up for cooperation may face with difficulties yet because of different interests of the Russian and the Japanese and territorial disconnection of Russia and Japan. It is important for them to learn Japanese language and to accept rules, culture and reality of Japan as well as to respond to Japanese benevolent treatment to them.

They think that recipe for successful work in an international team is ability to find compromises, show tolerance, openness for changing knowledge and experience, in the result of which new knowledge and skills will be obtained. As for their self-feeling, they take an intermediate position too. Approximately half of them have positive feelings (calm, astonishment) and the other half have negative ones (difficulty, unusualness, strangeness). Communication with Russians living in Japan is above all memorizing of native language and culture and homesickness. However, in any situation representatives of all these strategies should orientate themselves in time and space simultaneously. These parameters never appear as separate measurements, they always come together, influencing the activity occurring in them. In consideration of transnational interaction, base forms of time typical for one or another country play important role. A correspondence analysis method was used to get scenarios of life spaces. It has helped to define interactions and interference between social space parameters and run of life scenario of the Russians living in Japan.

In the result of the correspondence analysis key life space forming strategies connected with journey to Japan were determined.

1. Social involvement. Interaction. The given strategy characterizes by orientation to past or near future, considerable slowdown of life tempo, consecutive solution of arising problems.

2. Temporary stay. Following this strategy upon journey to Japan is connected with maintenance of previous life tempo, maintenance of time order accepted in Japan, orientation to remote future.

3. Intercultural cooperation. This strategy is connected with acceleration of life tempo, orientation to the present, parallel solution of arising problems.

As for human capital, the results of the research show that it changes due to social capital redistribution, and partially due to education capital increase through acquisition of new knowledge and skills. Human capital indicators such as adequacy of initial human capital (HC) model to new social context, appliance of previously obtained knowledge in new environment, ability to create a product of a new type in other social context, ability to master new educational technologies, adaptation to new norms, rules and traditions, that is everything that makes a person flexible and easily adaptive to the life in other country and to the culture acquire special importance. Work on the research project «Dynamics of social space under the conditions of transnational interaction» continues, and a monographic book will be prepared and published based on the results of the research.

10.2. RELIGION AND CHURCHES IN RUSSIA AND EUROPE

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RELIGIOUS PROCESSES IN THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN CONDITIONS OF A POST-SECULAR SOCIETY

As a result of development of process of desecularization, that is restoration and amplification of a social role of religion [1], the society becomes more and more post secular. Now it is compelled to be considered with preservation of religious communities, to recognize their functional contribution to social, political and cultural life, to take into account in public discussions interests both religious and secular mentality [2]. The displays are least appreciable and results of de-secularization in the majority of the countries of the European Union [1, p. 9—10]. However sociologists comprehend a situation in them as amplification and development of the religious communications [3], as «redistribution of religious beliefs in a society», an individualization of religious faith, distribution of new religious movements, of secular religions and of spiritualism characterize this redistribution [4]. The symbols and metaphors from area of magic and of mystical practices will actively penetrate into spheres of leisure and advertising [5]. The business — corporation nor remain away from religious motivation and interpretation of the activity [6]. Quasireligious traits penetrate into glam [7].

21 thousand respondents from 21 countries of the world have taken part of research German Bertelsmann Foundation in 2008. By results of this research, 74 % of the Europeans consider themselves religious, 25 % consider themselves very religious. The weekly or irregular visiting of church is a part of daily life for 90 % of the Poles, 75 % of the Italians, 45 % of the French and 44 % of the German. Thus 27 % of the Europeans have told that the churches do not belong to any. 42 % have admitted that they trust or are close to the faith in pantheistical concepts identifying the God to a nature, to a universal reason. 92 % consider that in each religion there is «a grain of true». Thus, the religious factor now renders significant influence on a sociocultural life of Europe. For the majority of the Europeans Christian values are still important, but thus religion understands first of all as personal business everyone [8]. According to the results of the research, it is shown that the most religious countries in Europe are Poland and Italy (about 87 % of the population of these two countries name itself religious and more than 40 % — very religious). Russia is not a very religious European country in which in spite of about 50 % of the population that consider themselves religious there are only about 7 % of responds who insist on being very religious [9]. Thus the following picture is observed: meanwhile in the countries of Western Europe some temples are closed a number of churches in Russia constantly grow. Islam became the major factor of the European public life during the last years. But if in Western Europe its carriers mainly are the labor emigrants and those progeny, in Russia its carriers are radical peoples.

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RELIGIOUS RENAISSANCE: INDIVIDUAL DIMENSION

Speaking on the modern «religious renaissance», we should assume that its depth and the scale of resulting socio-cultural transformations depend in the terminal sense on how intense would be the impact to the individual sphere of the modern «secular man». This assumption does not downgrade in any degree the value of institutional aspect of religions and especially the contemporary processes of religion revival. Nevertheless, it seems obvious that conversion of a «critical mass» of people to a confession takes its institutional status to a higher level, while the inverse relationship is far from being asserted.

Secularization and, accordingly, de-secularization of the modern man are defined by the joint effect of two general factors. The first one is culture as a heritable symbolic capital. The second one is the intentionality of individual subjectivity, the sphere of free existential choice, or the spiritual life. Both factors are interlinked though the link is not linearly strict. The individual who explores systematically a religious culture is comprised into its world to understand, develop and enhance his religious intentions. And on the contrary, excluding the religious culture from socialization, restricted by only secular culture, means decrease of spiritual intentions and their transformation into «inverse forms» of quasi-religion. The subjectivity intentionality in its turn is both a reason and a goal of religious cultures functioning. Their basic function is symbolic tooling for cultivation of such intentionality, though religious cultures historically obtain secondary functions and gain the autonomy from the basic one.

All the above considered, secularization can be basically defined not only as the reduction of religious cultural sphere or the diminution of «inner religiosity» in the modern society, but rather as a break between spiritual and cultural modes of religiosity. Such approach helps distinguish two main ways of religious conversion of the modern man. These two ways are jointed by their orientation to reconstruct the balance between spiritual and cultural basis in the religious sphere of the human life, since this balance was offended by the secularization. What make these ways different are the accents (or priorities) in terms of religious turn.

The first way can be defined as «*reversionary*». It means bringing the secular subject back to religion and re-opening of the religious dimension in its life world through adoption of «formal», cognitive, ritual and organizational aspects of religious cultural traditions. Such way of conversion is usually linked to the value priorities of traditionalism, historical memory, explicit positive attitude towards the confession and trust to the certain religious institute and its representatives.

The second way is defined as «*conversionary*». It means «re-invention of the wheel» in a sense, that is «creative re-invention» of religion in the secular mind without any reference to classical religious cultural traditions or even athwart and detuning of them. This way of conversion often means certain psychic characteristics mainly specific for youngsters, and linked to the value priorities of creative research, individuality and personal freedom. It is also typical for people who psychologically incline to religious experience but who are bred in secular traditions: «Many members of NRM explain their

religious conversion by the religious experience which helped them understand that they can find the truth within the organization» [1, 27].

We must make a remark. Allusion of analogy between reversionary/conversionary conversions and «traditional»/«non-traditional» religiosity is false. For instance, the attempts of the secular mind to follow accurately a religious tradition nowise lead automatically to the authentic reconstruction of the tradition. To the same degree, the attempts «to catch the spirit» of the religion while we are critical to its traditional forms are far from leading to the depth of naïve syncretism and blind religious form-making in «New Age» manner and under R. Watnow «patchwork» principle. Reversionary and conversionary principles of religious conversion in the modern context are mainly static in its character which means not the stable identification with a certain type of religious doxy and practice, but dynamic identification based on the way and style of individual religious conversion. Thereupon, these principles provide the possibility of religious evolution of a person on several «stages» which can be represented by absolutely different confessions and practices — especially in terms of conversionary way.

Thus, the first way of conversion indicates that a neophyte is to emphasize voluntarily the key points while «unpacking the semantic package» of a chosen religious tradition. It usually takes a long time and the supervision of an experienced mentor to adopt finally these emphases to the authentic logic of sacral tradition. If we do not follow these rules, we will easily go off the track of the confessional tradition and canon to what Christian orthodoxy calls «heresy», i. e. «free» (or «voluntary») religious creation. Under this reason, a person who chooses the reversionary way of conversion is capable for both inconscient and conscientious transition from primarily chosen traditional religion to any non-traditional version.

The second way means that a person is often able to reconsider his primary hypercritical or naïve attitude towards the formal aspects of religious traditions through the experience (often unsatisfying) of «out-of-confession religiosity». In this context, he may re-open of the religious dimension of life on a more experienced and competent level of its understanding. To obtain such level initiates in very many cases a radical turn in individual religious research. «It is very often that after «Steiner — Gurdjiev — Zen» spin a neophyte returns to the Orthodox Christianity, throwing hastily off the borrowed clothes and hiding behind the authority and clearance of the home wisdom. It is very difficult to say which turns out to be more important — the clear and heavy-wise shape of the Assumption Cathedral, Dostoyevsky's Karamazov or the sign of the cross which an old woman makes seeing her grandson off to the school» [2, 15].

Hereby, the modern situation gives sociologists the classical problem of religious re-grouping (cross-religion circulation) readdressed in a newer manner [3, 431—435; 4, 365—369]. In this context the goals of the sociology of religion can be the following: research of the dynamics of the value attitude towards the secular culture in terms of religious choice evolution; comparative analysis of development and specifics of basic secular culture of reversionary and conversionary conversion subjects; studying of influence of secular cultural capital of the person on the dynamics of its religious searches and motivation of its transformation.

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RELIGION AS THE MAIN FACTOR OF SPIRITUAL REVIVAL IN KALMYKIYA

In early 17th century the Oirat descendants of Kalmyks, one of nomadic Mongolian nations arrived on river Volga and to the steppes of Russia. Beginning from this period the 400-years history of joint life of the Kalmyks and the Russians is developed, the dialogue of two nations in geographical, political, cultural, economic space is formed. The Kalmyks are a unique nation, which has come in Europe from Central Asia and has generated its own statehood. The important role in the creation of Kalmyk khan kingdom the religious factor has played. The Kalmyk, as against another ethnos, being a nomad and settled the territory from Samara up to foothills of Caucasus, professed the world religion Buddhism. This fact strongly distinguished the Kalmyk from other nations, which most part professed Islam. Buddhism is the core and basis of the culture of the Kalmyk people. His Holiness Dalai-Lama XIV during visiting Republic Kalmykia in 1992 emphasized, that only revival of traditional religion as the organic part of the culture of the people will lift the moral-ethnic level of a society on a new step of spiritual development. Three pastor visits of the Head of World Buddhists (in 1991, 1992, 2004 years), his direct dialogue with the population of republic had huge importance during revival of traditional religion of the Kalmyk.

Today Buddhism is capable to rescue the people from spiritual impoverishment, to resist the influence of the pseudo-cultural tendencies. To know the basis of religion, traditions, the roots are the best means of the knowledge of a history of the people, feeling of pride for original Kalmyk culture. The Head of Buddhists-Shadzhin-lama of Republic Kalmykia Telo Tulku Rimpoche and the Head of Republic Kalmykia, President FIDE Kirsun Ilyumzhinov together with multiethnic population of the republic do a great work in this complex direction. The processes of spiritual revival in Kalmykia started by the end of the 80s years. It is characterized by the following features: are actively erected Buddhist Temples –Khural; is accumulated the positive experience of the state-confessional relations, lost theoretical knowledge is restored (magazines of Buddhism literature «Mandala», Shambala are issued, club»Mandzhushri” and a library in the central khural of the basis of Buddhism is opened); the institute of the clerics is formed from among the radical inhabitants; the ritual--cult sphere revives; teachers of Buddhists schools of the different directions come and give lectures.

In 1992 in the capital of Republic Kalmykia — Elista — the youth Buddhist centre was created, which began its active educational activity including teaching of Buddhism as well The Tibetan language and ancient Indian language of logic. Later religious communities began to work with centers focused on the four main schools of Tibetan Buddhism: «Gelug», «Shakya», «Niygma», «Karma-kagiyu». Since 1994 year the study of Buddhism in educational institutions of republic began. And the subject «The bases of Buddhism «became obligatory. Buddhist culture of Kalmyk comprises traditions of moral behavior and has the powerful spiritual potential. Its inclusion in educational process promotes the formation not only separate moral person, but also promotes the spiritual formation of all nations. The ideas and practice Buddhism, being by one of the main sources of culture and spirituality of our ancestors, are incorporated in a basis of development of the national system of education of Republic Kalmykia in a context of modernity, promoting formation of feeling of ethnic self-consciousness of youth.

At the beginning of the 20th century more than 100 Buddhist temples-khural were destroyed under the certain historical and political circumstances in the territory of Kalmykia. As a result of those tragic events, prior to the beginning of 90 years last century there was no Buddhist temple-khural. During process of revival

of the traditional religion of the Kalmyks open Buddhist khurals, the number of which with is increased yearly. In 2005 year in Elista the new temple «The Golden Abode of Buddha Shakiyamuni» was built which is the largest Buddhist temple in Europe by its the sizes. In 1993 year the first schoolboys, after successful selection competition, were directed to study to India. Buddhist priests are trained at spiritual centers of Buryatiya since 1991 and in Mongolia since 1990. By now Kalmyk monks conduct a service in the khurals of republic. There are also Tibetan Lamas, who came to Kalmykia with the blessings of His Holiness Dalai-Lama XIV Tenzin Gyatso, their activity is directed on the restoration of the lost Buddhist traditions in republic. In connection with occurrence of significant quantity of Buddhist communities and temples, the problem of qualified lamas and prepared clerics are very important for the development of Kalmyk Buddhism. At the same time, it is necessary to note, that the part of the population of republic has the remote representations about traditional religion of the ancestors. An influence of atheistic of Soviet state has still been an effect. The Kalmyk scientist M.S. Ulanov, who investigates the historical experience and the modern realities of Kalmyk Buddhist culture, considers that Buddhism for the believer associates mainly with performance of the certain rituals, as Kalmyk Huruls basically are engaged the ritual activity (2; 134). The results of the numerous questionnaires, which have been carried out by us during ten years, testify about the discrepancy of a level of religious outlook and character of its display. The religious outlook, becoming the mass phenomenon, at the same time, is not accompanied by the appropriate behavior of the believers, i. e. religious outlook of the majority of the Kalmyk's carries declarative character faster. Therefore, the self-estimation of confessional identity given by our respondents, can not serve sufficient and reliable basis for the characteristic of the creed of the population of republic. Thus, we consider, that confessional self-determination of the interrogated the Kalmyks occurs not because in daily life our respondents strictly carry out the instructions of Buddha, and in the greater degree because they live in republic with Buddhist traditions, were born in family, where traditionally esteem Buddha. The self-identification «I am Buddhist» appears more widely, than actually religious identity.

Proceeding from the above-stated, it is possible to assert that the Kalmyk, considering himself a Buddhist, it emphasizes the belonging to Kalmyk culture, which main component is Buddhism.

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Elena G. Sosnovskikh

RELIGION IN RUSSIA AND EUROPE

«Religion is a specially organized social behavior of people belonging not to an individual but to the definite group».¹⁶³

The religion always plays a big part in the life of society. European Unity today is no an exception. The main peculiarity of religion is that it is a layer of culture which is closely connected with the experience of world's consciousness and with centuries-old heritage. Russian sociology took a lot and is taking now from the works of the

¹⁶³ E. Durkheim, «Elementary forms of religious life. Systems of totems of Australia», Moscow, 1994

great European sociologists. The most considerable works were worked out by the representatives of Functionalism — E. Durkheim, M. Weber and T. Parsons. All this sociologists represent one theoretical branch but their works are different. M. Weber's approach to the research of religion differs from the French school — E. Durkheim on the one hand, and from the English tradition — E. Taylor, on the other hand.

According to his scientific interests M. Weber chose the world religions as a subject of his research. The research of genesis of religion and its early forms — religious beliefs of primitive communities and the structure of religious conscience were the main interests of English and French schools. Another aspect is connected with the research of the abilities of an individual which help him to become a magician, shaman, prophet or even a former of a new religion.

It is known that in the moments of crisis in society the interest for religion grows. That is the issue of the day. But nowadays Christianity stands on the second place. By the opinion of the author of this article religion could become a regulator of social relations at the period of elaboration of the world's community. The Ecumenical movement began many years ago and developed for a long time and our country also took part in it. Not so long ago with the help of the pulpit of Aleksey II (metropolitan of Leningrad and Novgorod with the charge to manage eparchy of Tallinn) the west and the east Orthodox Churches united. Russians hope that the new patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Cyril will continue the activity of Aleksey II. Representatives of the Church in Europe should pay more attention to the theme of integration because we all represent of one the world's religions — Christianity. But could this integration be able now after nine years of the split (1054)? The author thinks that the closest population in Europe to the Russians is their «brothers in faith». At the first site (and it is a historical fact) that Europe is associated with Catholicism and Reformed faith but there are a lot of Orthodox population. They are represented by emigrants from Russia and The Commonwealth of Independent States (209.000.000 — in year 2004)¹⁶⁴. Moreover there is another tendency. According to the survey which was held in April-May, 2008 in Chelyabinsk (South Urals) many people identified their religious faith as Catholicism and Reformed faith (it was the most popular answers after Orthodoxy and Islam). It can be explained by the constitution of the Russian Federation which guaranty freedom and of the religious faith. This fact proves that the integration in sphere of religion is very important. The entry of the Russian Federation into the European Union could be provided on the religious base. That is why it is very important for Russia and Europe to pay attention on the religious sphere and to strengthen the Ecumenical movement. Not taking into consideration the difference in becoming of our countries and the opposition of different types of Christianity representatives of the religious part of the population of the country are close to each other because they believe in one God and see the Church as the tool of the regulation of social relations.

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10.3. MORAL PRINCIPLES AND DIGNITY OF CULTURAL TRADITIONS

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MULTI-POLAR WORLD: THE SPIRITUALLY-MORAL DIALOG AND DIGNITY OF DISTINCTIONS

Multi-nationalities, multi-confessions and multi-ethnicities of the modern states as socially-anthropological factors represent the mosaic eclectic social structure and co-operating among themselves form the multicultural space ignoring of which in modern conditions of global crisis is connected with social risks. The ideas about a civil society, honor and dignity of a person in the modern multinational states acquire the importance of the distinctive features promoting the ethno-confessional self-identification. The criteria of modern humanistic tendencies in the field of social communications are to be the certain requirements formulated by Sh. Muller by the following adjusting positions in the field of social management: a person is more important than qualification, the multicultural understanding is more important than special knowledge, the social competence is more important than estimations, the ability to work in a collective is more important than analytical mind. The most important component of the behavioral attitudes is to be the openness towards the acquaintance with new culture; displaying of friendliness and goodwill; deep real interest to traditions and customs of other country of its history, culture; making contacts, making open, confidential relations (J. Erhardt, O. Frik, J. Fer, 2002; 34—36).

The given characteristics make the intercultural competence, correspond to creating of a principle of the respectful relation to the dignity of a person as to the spiritually-moral value and correspond to the modern style of interaction within a social group, enable to create «warm» microclimate both in interpersonal interaction and in interethnic and interstate communications. The modern social politics at the different levels should consider a lot of factors including the spiritually-moral, educational, administrative and multicultural aspects making the uniform all-national space without which today it is impossible to realize the self-identification of the civilization model and inter-civilization communicative processes.

At the present stage as a barrier in the sphere of communications both internal and external ones serves the belief of representatives of this or that culture that their outlook, attitudes, behavior models are to be unique true; and somewhat different from an available stereotype of behavior of the representative of the other culture is obtained the label «untrue, wrong» and therefore — bad.

The outstanding Russian philosopher of the 20th century and of the beginning of the 21st centuries A.S. Panarin (1940—2003) in his monograph «Orthodox civilization in the global world» characterizes globalization as the democracy for the exclusive minority having all «democratic rights» and not burdened with any responsibility before «the native population». The philosopher defines the specifics of globalization by replacement of national elites — the national bourgeoisie responsible for the development of local economy by transnational political and economic elites absolutely not anxious with local national interests. According to A.S. Panarin, the transnational structures concentrate the enormous financial resources in their hands, with extraordinary ease subordinate to itself the national governments ceasing to be national owing to it [3, 164]. A.S. Panarin warns the world community: «New global mixing of internal and external and own and the other environment threaten with total failure of mechanisms of human identity and destructions connected with it». Keeping of cultural identity allows to accompany

the contact procedure between persons by constructive efforts which in a case of success will lead to creating the intercultural consensus characterized by a perspective of development of the conventional cultural universals not assuming the displays of nihilistic turncoats and also treachery and fault complexes [3, 166, 168].

The ontology nature of «the new people» of globalization is defined by the unknown them law-abiding and discipline inspired by «the non-authoritarian father but authoritative», by unknown them love and the compassion inspired by mother. The avidity of all these «new people» is represented by the unique an adequate line of behavior and is a compensation of their solitude and obedience [3, 166, 168, 169]. Taking into account the given problem in a context of spiritually-moral dialogue and dignity of ethno-confessional distinctions it is important to notice that the person in his everyday life understand that to serve himself, he should serve the others. The equal-sign in the equation between freedom and a brotherhood, according to the American philosopher Russell V. Devenport (1899—1954), belongs to the Free Person. His socialization allows to penetrate into the depths of spiritual world of each of us and to find out that the person learns himself and all others «I», feeling thus a spiritual brotherhood and opening the sense and meaning of freedom [1, 201].

«The dialogue» line as philosophical joint sounding passes through continents and years and converges in one general point of the humane, tolerant relation to the person and it is very important to hear and feel the senses of the given dialogue. Yet in 1955 R.V. Devenport noticed that the western civilization is unable to give estimations concerning a person, his attitude to the World and Devine. R.V. Deveport [1] states that a lot of American people including American elite are not sure in the presence of something that we can name as Devine, even the methods of understanding applied in the world of things can not help in searching of the Devine. The realization of the principle of dignity from the point of view of ethno-confessional distinctions supposes the refuse from preconception that requires of definite courage also in our times (1955—2009). Social threats of the 21st century are so dangerous that the appealing to national and confessional sources, learning, understanding and entering the specifics, peculiarities and traditions becomes more important under conditions of the post-industrial society and globalization processes occurring in it. Every civilization model, its mental component are completed from sources of its culture, religion, ethno-confessional wisdom accumulated for thousand years. The esteem of the past as the historically formed experience — is that quality that differ the educated society from wild one according to the words of the Great Russian national genius A.S. Pushkin.

Today's 2009 year is marked by the 200-anniversary from the day of the birth of the Great Russian writer N.V. Gogol (1809—1852) who has left not only splendid literature heritage but also publicist, epistolary reflecting the sermon directed on the improving of life based on Christian ideal, the sermon of the bases of the religious-morals improving of a person. According to Gogol's belief, the spiritual growth of every person and his favorable influence on the other people are necessary for the progress of all society in the whole: «The society will be healthy only then when every individual will pay attention to himself and will live as a Christian serving to the God by those means that he has and trying to render a good influence on a small group of people surrounding him. Everything will come in an order, the true relations between people will be formed and the limits legible to everything will be defined. And the mankind will move forward [2].

The main rabbi of the United Judaic Congregation of the states of the British co-operations the doctor of philosophy Jonatan Sacs develops the problem of global ethics which principle is the inter-civilization dialog on politics, economics, environmental, education, poverty, social justice in the world. D. Sacs (2008) agrees with A.S. Panarin when he warns the modern macro-civilization about the threat of frequent transformations in mechanisms of changing of the exchange of goods: «... the frequent deep changes of the state conducted with non-principal easy destroy the whole chain and continuation of the well-being of the state. The connection between generations will be lost. Thus, the state will perish through several generations, will be grinded in dirty and sand of the individualization and at last will be winded on the wind» (D. Sacs, 2008; 126). According to D. Sacs' point

of view the systems of moral principles represent an attempt to return the human being's dignity and recognize us as the authors and subjects of our acts of destiny (2008; 128)

The dignity is combined with a comprehension of life values that is love, fidelity, altruism, moral order, moral interrelation with familiars, modesty, sober, care, debt, duty, sense, wisdom and all virtues which were in all times the subject of admiration of mankind.

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MORAL CHOICE, HUMAN RIGHTS & THE DIGNITY OF PERSON

Lay and religious promoters, theologians and scientists confirm this approval. This is the subject of sociology of morale; also — sociology of human rights. The morality is the social phenomenon, as others, but almost it has not the material base. It is the spiritual law, social quotes, frequently composes the rule of life of persons and society, and their breach may conduct to social degradation. Seriously this process may touch young people, which stay often in front of so calling moral choice — for act so or else. Powerfully the loss of moral priorities and moral orientations diminish the dignity of person. Many debates are in progress about moral choice and dignity of person — and in secular rounds, and in religious. For example, very interesting is the position of religious actors — who participate on the X World Russian National Cathedral. They note, what non-acceptable the situation when a realization of, for example, human rights, suppresses the person, his faith, moral tradition, dignity, holy objects. Further. Do not remember moral and spiritual social state, it is impossible to decide the problems of national economy of country. Moral choice determines the dignity. Also the dignity is determining by human rights — exactly, by theirs providing. First of all, it is conditioned by the consciousness, also what we define as mentality; then by interior and exterior conditions, ruling in society, by possibilities. Essentially any moral choice and dignity of person depend on historical and cultural conditions, traditions and values, cultural and moral priorities, aims (purposes). Depend on mentality, mass consciousness, and moral-valuable principles ruling in the mass culture of any people, historically turned out. Each culture possesses its own principles. Since different cultures exist, then the behavior — and mass, and individual particularly — different too, corresponding to cultural conditions and possibilities which are created at present locality. For example, the highest morality it may observe in countries with brightly expressed religious direction (Islamic and other). It is known, what exactly religious priorities, foundations profoundly moral; and a deviation from moral values simply inadmissible. In given case the moral choice and undoubtedly the dignity are in blood somehow.

In countries, regions and localities, where corresponding historical, cultural, even geographical conditions and possibilities; where human rights are provided; where practically a nationalism, extremism, racism etc. are absent; where a tolerance is present — the morality to a marked degree above. As a rule, they are societies with higher civic culture, responsibility. That means a possibility of the positive choice. Such society self-develops, already preceded from conditions and reasons turning out. Diversification of cultures existing absolutely minimizes their correlation, communication between its. Sometime they are so or else influence friend upon friend. From here — dialogue between cultures, between civilizations, their pressing necessity. The end of 20th century, i. e., the 90-ths years are characterizing by certain breach of morality; when each person acts as he wanted, paid not attention to something like the order, moral

rules, conduct etc. All of them conducted to a degradation of society. In the beginning of the 21st c. the situation changed sharply. This time is characterized by the revival of morality, with the Christianity, moral principles, mutual respect and tolerance, ethic standards and legal culture. If the social consensus will be achieved on this base, risks and menaces will cease be real.

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SOCIOLOGY OF MORALITY

Sociological moralizing is essential part of sociological classical heritage. Theoretical constructions of Emile Durkheim and Max Weber are the most convincing sociological evaluations of social regulation. Socio-centric interpretation of norms as objective pre-conditions and collective representations of personal moral conscience provoke search for justification of sociology as a positive science of morality. Anthropocentric construction of motives as subjective reasons and typical intentions of interpersonal social order leaves open the subject matter of value-judging in social cognition. However, contemporary investigators in applied sociology lean to interpret *mores* as group norms, not written or rationally articulated, but producing an energetic reaction of group members in case of violation of these norms. In a wider pragmatic context any sociological query exploits this contextual competence of social actors. Sociological moralizing is transparent, being closely intertwined with principles of scientific logic as represented in rules of sociological thinking and imagination.

The most general version for principles of sociological thinking could be formulated in three maxims: (1) *look for typical in specific (social phenomena)*, (2) *look for strange in habitual (social phenomena)*, (3) *foresee ethical consequences of sociological investigation (of and for social phenomena)*. These points could be comprehended only in complex and any point could not be isolated without loss of validity. This also demonstrates social phenomena typing and estrangement as aspects of sociological moralizing. Morality as such is based on the most general and unconscious images of «live entities». Ethics is a study of ideal morality. Ethical reflection evaluates the principle possibilities of informal spiritual regulation. Ethical morality is purely non-institutional, reflecting anthropological needs in metaphysical (religious and philosophical) self-representation. But sociology of morality is impossible outside social institutional dimensions of human behavior.

General structure of social institution of morality comprises five layers of social phenomena: (1) *manners*, or typical external and instrumental features of behavior, (2) *mores*, or typical intentions and variations of internal mental states, (3) *norms*, or interpersonal criteria of social adequacy of human acts, (4) *codes of rules*, or specific formal maxims meant to symbolize «higher» norms of community, (5) *worldviews*, or personal representations of universal values. Sociological point of view is traditionally a strong demonstration of social norms. But the sociology of morality is for the most part a competent interpretation of mores as informal resource of social institutions and values.

Actuality of scientific competence in contemporary mores is awaited as ethical sociological expertise of management. Business organization culture and its variations have been actualized by globalization. Russian case is among recent phenomena of business community life. Today we are still observing an emulation and co-existence of (1) *post-soviet inertia*, (2) *expansion of shadow economy*, (3) *western management enthusiasm*. These trends are realizing a wide spectrum of common grounds, not in values and codes of rules, but in mores. Sometimes it leads to a premature identification of «soviet human being after the Soviet Union». For example, the famous Levada-Center is still charmed by long-term monitoring results, showing the inertia of soviet type of civic attitudes. Overall interpretation is linked to sociological diagnosis of public political institutions and communications, but ignores the social types of morally relevant

private intentions (mores) of modern Russia people. These mainly positive reactions and dispositions are not articulated in extensive political, value, or instrumental judgments.

Social mores comprise (1) *emotional intents*, (2) *symbolic perceptions*, (3) *characteristic modes of acting*, (4) *causing of attitudes (to other social actors)*, (5) *counter-balanced by meaning background*. The last field-like element of mores is widely interpreted by sociologists as social moods, or characteristic social atmosphere. That is the best loyalty toward Durkheim's heritage. Still, the Weberian ideal type analysis of social actions and institutional context remains as a methodological perfection. However, the sociological integrity of macro-structural functional explanation of (any) norms and micro-structural behavioral interpretation of (possible) values is utterly needed. Pitirim Sorokin's search for universal cultural types of mentality expresses existential boundaries of sociological diagnosis of human kind perspectives, and it also stresses the macro-social significance of mores' meaning background. XXI century sociological projects could be only modest in the light (or in the shadow) of such architectural reconstructions of culture. And still classics arsenal misses micro-sociological quest for subjective mechanisms of objective civilizations' dynamics, only generally sketched by Max Weber. Turning to emotional intents, symbolic perceptions, characteristic modes of acting, and causing of attitudes (towards other social actors) we must not overlook principal classical inventions, which exist autonomously in sociological heritage.

Firstly, we should reconsider some stereotypic interpretations of the very notion of moral facts as well as the differentiation of moral facts from social facts as such in Emile Durkheim's *sociologisme*. Although Wundt's influence is obvious and acknowledged, it does not condition the constructive synthesis of social and psychological in socio-centric explanations of personality and religion. The great founding father of objective values moralizing opens a wider perspective for sociological societal mission. Professionalism of mores appears to be the unique resource for rehabilitation of individualistic moral selves. Religion is excluded from moral foundations of culture, but at the same time, religion is approved as the most delicate intrinsic function of socializing mechanisms of culture. Religion-like character of any social life turns sociology into mores-free vision of interacting social groups. Sacred and profane become the most general semantic categories for social regulation. Anomy is not an equivalent for profane life, rather an absence of difference between profane and sacred. Moral sense is not motivated, but is to be perceived. Semantic layers of moral perception are in constant flux, reflecting casual situation in the context of objective social values.

Secondly, we should overcome the spell of Max Weber's social acting typology as purely intentionality's model. Rather strong anti-psychological trend of social sense had been supposed to be compensated by social phenomenology, ethno methodology, and so called humanistic-turn social paradigms at the end of XX century. But the crux of problem had been only postponed and exchanged for other bunches of heuristic questions. Classic Kantian notion of subject is still overlooked in Weberian *Verstehen* of social life. Any actor is not an automatic prescribing subject contextualized in objective meaning context. Intentionality and rationality fall widely apart in most pragmatic situations. Weber's ideal typology of objectively meaning in subjective motives is the best approval of traditional social order. Sphere of sociological explanation has to be narrow, and that is the minimum price for perspective reconstruction of human habits as the most stable facts in this world. Any social background could only worsen to counter-balance the rationalization of social technologies applied in culture, questions of salvation, rational calculation of finance, and even fashion. Mores in general are still there to reproduce any possible legitimacy.

Thirdly, social and cultural dynamics are not special demonstration of synthetic general theory in sociology. Pitirim Sorokin's integral theory is not planing foreteller of T. Parsons four-functional paradigm, as well as cultural types of mentality do not represent macro-anthropological approach towards society. It would be easy to treat methodological frameworks of Sorokin's integral sociological theory as a thorough-going review of possible consequences generated by intentional replacement of «society» by «culture». Social and cultural dynamics represent logical and historic irrelevance of pseudo-ideational mentality

dominating among anonymous masses of suffering human beings in all times and places. This is a rather peasant idea. Mores are local as it should be anyway. Globalization could not eradicate this pseudo-subjectivity of mass social behavior. Sociological explanations and forecasts have anything but moral relevance when pragmatic mores constitute not the price for sly progress but the price for inertial day-to-day life.

Sociology of morality although included by Durkheim as an essential part of social physiology is still an outsider of applied sociological investigations. Management and other social technologies could not compensate this lack of scientific models of social regulations. Corporative demand is to be reflected only by narrow evaluations and occasional reconstructions of organizational situations. Sociological moralizing is not the other side of true scientific mission of sociology, as well as it is not the background of past sociological theorizing. Ethics is not dead when the classical contradiction of obligation and existence is almost anywhere replaced by contradiction of possible and permissible. Sociology of morality takes into consideration institutionalization of morality. And the core of sociological interpretations for morality is intertwined with analysis of mores. Contemporary mores (as well as traditional ones) represent actual phenomenological aspects of immoral morale and untraditional tradition, and local globalization. Russia's sociological community is mostly successful in applied investigations of so called spiritual life (meaning here not only religion or matters of belief). Sociologists in Russia are confronted by casually changing phenomena of social regulation, mainly cultural transformations and sub-cultural variations of social norms and expectations. And these emergent objective and psychologically colored types of process and actions are adequately diagnosed!

Critically reflecting this thesis I can acknowledge the originally didactic attractiveness of sociology of morality. Sociology is widely lectured in modern Russia not only to students of social sciences, but also to technical and engineering students. And the latter are in no means less than the former motivated to comprehend modern Russia's reality in social and moral aspects.

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THE DYNAMICS OF MORAL CONSCIOUSNESS

The worlds of values of socium are changing. Value worlds are the communicative way of self-preservation and self-development of a society. The bearers of worlds of values in the modern society have been grouped by the types of moral consciousness. The individual levels of the types of moral consciousness are called: «communitarist», «the transitional type», «hedonist», «pragmatist». The basis of the structure is the active human nature (creative, pragmatic and hedonic activity), the social nature (collectivism — individualism), the priority values of the «civilized» and the «traditional» society, which are comprehended by the individual in terms of evil and good.

The Russian society is not characterized by individualism like the American one or by collectivism like the Japanese society. At the end of 90s it was defined as transitional, enriched by the power of creative collectivity and individualistic pragmatism. Now, at the beginning of 2000s there's a dangerous tendency to the dominance of hedonic values in techno-humanitarian groups. The dynamics of moral consciousness in the transitional epoch designated a number of paradoxes: from the central moving force of moral relations during socialism, after passing the point of intensity during the reforms, communitarists turned into a group which stabilized a situation they adapted and revealed high satisfaction with their job and relations in a collective. On the contrary, individualists (pragmatists and hedonists) adapted first to the dysfunction of production and greatly benefited from it, outcome as conflict groups requiring maintenance of equivalent relations in the present.

The socium requires universal paradigms, the social-ethic technologies able to unite all the strata of the society and to direct their energy to restoring the society on the basis of scientific regularities. The measure of pragmatism is determined. The number of pragmatists increased from quarter to third part of adult generation and constituted more than a half of the interrogated representatives of younger generation of the region. Females were oriented toward communitarism and hedonism, and males preferred pragmatism in the organic epoch. Under conditions of transition the gender ethics in labor display itself in the opposite way. It is especially noticeable in the dynamics of moral consciousness and the conduct of the youth. Thus, girls begin to be drawn to pragmatism, and young man to communitarism. A number of hedonists show a low level of the adherence of the society to the traditional way of life. In the course of the reforms hedonists' number increased. But from the industrial enterprises, thereby the «civilizing» effect of the reforms was reinforced, however at that the quality of human relations was worsening.

Social Origin of Workers with Different Types of Moral Consciousness

The distribution of the types is not always of the same character for other societies, but we can state that these data show the distribution typical for the industrialized society in the groups of workers, intelligentsia, students and schoolchildren. The suggested typology gave us the possibility to compare the quality of moral situation at the enterprises of the region, in general and at the particular enterprises, of the higher educational establishments, at schools, in teachers' class collectives. Hedonists have demonstrated a high moral firmness in the preference of traditional socialist values. The ambivalence as a form of the attitude to the world has not entered the consciousness and the conduct of hedonists.

The transitional type of moral consciousness, due to the flexibility of moral and ethical consciousness, like a two-faced Janus, was openly driven to the values of communitarism and expressed them in their opinions, however secretly they professed the values of pragmatism and utilitarianism. Having concentrated in themselves different qualities of the types of moral consciousness, they, as a group, began to enrich by the power of developed personal qualities of communitarists and pragmatists, and they were capable to understand others in the critical situation and — by their effort to help with their deeds, advice, and participation.

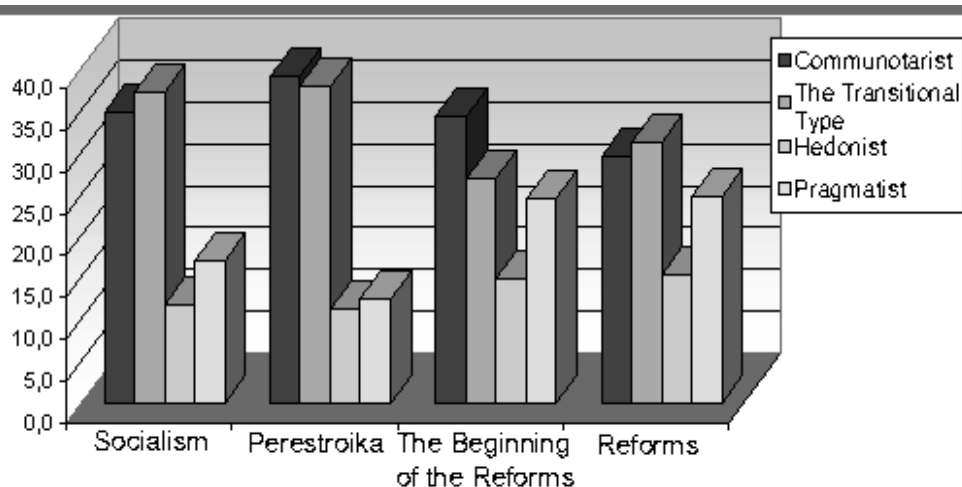


Diagram 5. The Vertical Dynamics and the New Stabilisation of Moral Consciousness.

THE COMMON BASIS OF MORAL THINKING: NEURONAL EVIDENCE

The European Union is trying to create one economic, political, scientific and social space incorporating several European nations in order to be competitive as a region in the global market. Under globalization the old balance of two forces: «the compensatory role of trade unions and the social attitude of the union of entrepreneurs» has stopped functioning in the nation-states [5, 78]. National trade unions seem to have failed to up-date their mechanism of control under globalization and social justice is at the mercy of the national government. The economic crisis makes the governments of old member-states of the EU face a moral dilemma: either to create new jobs by bringing back the production of their transnational companies and avoid social riots, as e. g., the efforts of the French government concerning their car-makers PSA Peugeot Citroen and Renault in 2009 to preserve jobs in France during the crisis [6], in other words, to implement measures directed at settling problems within their own nation-states, or to pursue the policy directed at the benefits and consolidation of the European Union (that is, for example, to allow the production of the French car-makers in the new member-states and outside Europe using cheaper labor). On the other hand, the new member-states were promised support when they joined the EU, so the governments of these member-states will feel to be deceived if not helped during the world economic crisis: it is morally considered to be impermissible when promises are not kept. So, in the end, we have arrived at the problem of moral evaluation of the action: what is fair? Moral dimension is the glue for any society. Human beings cannot but think morally. A human brain is supplied with certain characteristics and one of them is moral thinking. Speaking about the innate ability of a human being, for example, to learn the syntax of a language Noam Chomsky argues that if a child did not have an innate ability to such complicated system as the syntax of a language he would never learn the language [3]. The same can be said about moral thinking. This ability must be innate so that it might develop later. The well-known neuroscientist Natalya Bekhtereva, who headed the Institute of a Human Brain in St. Petersburg distinguished fixed neuronal links and flexible neuronal links. The fixed links characterize the structural-functional system of the brain, meanwhile flexible links permit functioning in varying conditions [2, 316]. The ability of moral thinking is realized by fixed links, perhaps, developed genetically in the process of evolution. Social morality can be considered as flexible links.

According to Tancredi [8] the ‘moral brain’ consists of two broad regions: the ‘emotional brain’ (limbic system or our old brain) that includes the amygdale, the hippocampus, the hypothalamus and the anterior cingulate cortex, and ‘rational brain’, which is the frontal lobes, where the prefrontal cortex is the brain’s ‘command post’ integrating emotions and thoughts. We should also add ‘mirror-neuron’ system and neuron-plasticity to the ‘moral brain’ which were described by many neuroscientists [4; 7]. The ‘mirror-neuron’ system and neuron-plasticity play an important role in the shift of innate morality under the societal influence. Inborn human morality adjusts to social morality depending on the existing material-productive possibilities of the particular society. However, the overstrain on the moral structural-functional biological system of the brain due to disturbing socio-economic reality conflicting with the biological function of this system cannot last for ever and it ends in social riots, terrorism, pirates’ actions, ethnic cleansing, etc. Nowadays, due to globalization processes which include global mass media, the question is not only the policy of justice towards people inside the nation-state

but also justice as fairness towards a nation-state on the part of the international society.

The answer to the question ‘Will it be either European Society or European Societies?’ depends on the satisfaction of the basic needs of a human innate moral thinking. The development of new technologies for the brain studies in the 1980s permitted neuroscientists to understand the functioning of the brain much better. The 1990s were the years of the accumulation of neuroscience data about the work of the brain. Many social sciences began to apply the data of neuroscience to both old and new theories. Social sciences certainly can gain from research in cognitive neuroscience but neuroscience can also enrich its fields of research investigating neuronal states of a brain connected with societal issues. However, it is a dual problem because neuronal evidence will be chosen according to the theoretical approach of social researchers and, on the other hand, neuroscientists have also contradictory approaches, for example: modular (specific functions — specific brain modules) and, on the other hand, distributed (specific function — many brain regions) [9]. The debates among neuroscientists include also a philosophical aspect: the relation between mind and brain. The effort of the EU is directed at creating European Society but the aim can be successfully achieved if only we know enough how a human brain works: which social, economic and political theories should be discarded because they are not confirmed by the neuroscience data (e. g. an economic Rational Choice Theory is not valid) [1] and which are relied on the innate characteristics of a human brain and mind. The upsurge of neuroscience is not accidental. It is due, first of all, to the development of new technologies for studying the brain. But another reason is globalization: there is a need for common thinking to solve common problems. The main building blocks of innate human moral thinking can be used as the common basis for European Society.

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SOCIOLOGY OF MORALS AS A SPECIFIC BRANCH OF SOCIAL KNOWLEDGE

Sociology of morals as a specific branch of social knowledge has its own system of concepts, a wide range of the studied social-moral problems. The ethic aspect of social reality is displayed in all fields of society's life: in the sphere of economics, politics, rights, culture. According to the determination given by V.M. Sokolov — the Russian researcher in the field of ethics, «sociology of morals — is a specific sociological discipline that studies the interrelation of morals with a system of social relations in the whole and its separate components. The subject of the sociology of morals is to be the sum of direct and reverse communications within the system of «society — morals» [1. P.43]

Sociology of morals begins to develop in the last thirds of XX century within the frames of sociological researches carried out by a row of European researchers. The attention to the problems of morals is especially characteristic for such founders of sociology as M. Weber and E. Durkheim. The well-known German sociologist and economist M. Weber, the author of the research «The economic ethics of the world religions» was greatly interested in the social and ethic problems in the sphere of labor activities including the business activities. M. Weber's role in the history of American sociology is defined by the following: he argumentatively showed what components of economic theory of Protestantism enable to the development of market economy [2. 42].

E. Durkheim, the French sociologists, the representative of the positivism gave a special meaning to an analysis of the concrete social-moral facts and phenomena in the practice of social life. The French Sociological School created by him conducted the researches within the frames of the appeared differentiation of sociological disciplines: general sociology, sociology of religion, juristic sociology, sociology of morals etc. E. Durkheim gave a special meaning to the main and leading norms and attitudes in a society. According to E. Durkheim, the global moral value of a society is to be the justice as well as the idea of «solidarity life» i. e. the question of social solidarity of all layers of population [3.359—360]. The role of the French positivistic school in the formation of sociology of morals as an independent science has been underlined in the Sociological Encyclopedia prepared according to an initiative of the Moscow Institute of Sociology RAS and published in 2003 [4.301].

The great contribution in the development of sociology of morals made Radomir Lukich, the Yugoslav sociologist, the author of the fundamental research «Sociology of morals» [5.161—164]. He stated that under conditions of the system, economic, political, moral, socio-cultural crisis in a society there has been displayed «the moral lawlessness» [5.161—164]. The «moral lawlessness» concept introduced in the theoretical system of sociology of morals acquired a special meaning in the modern reality that is often characterized by crisis phenomenon. R. Lukich introduced two important theses: 1/ there is no successful realization of functions necessary to a human being and a society without positive morals; «moral lawlessness» — is a negative social state arising on the base of economic crisis and characterized by the whole moral degradation, absence of social control over a system of positive morality. R. Lukich underlined that «moral lawlessness» phenomenon was early noticed by E. Durkheim who investigated it on the base of crisis phenomena in a society's life.

Up to now sociology of morals represents one of the small developed branches of social knowledge. The famous Russian researcher in the field of theory of morals O.G. Drobnitsky noticed that the concept «morals» being fundamental in ethics has met a dislike among sociologists. Really, in difference to the ethic science in sociological researches the concept «morals», «ethics» seemed to be almost excluded

from the scientific-theoretical system. Explaining this phenomenon O.G. Drobnitsky underlined the fact that in sociology aspiring to the objective analysis of real facts of reality the system of concepts of the ethic science had been apprehended as a system that has no concrete scientific meaning and sooner regarding to the fiction, religious phraseology than to the strict science [6.143]. Nevertheless, today sociology of morals acquires more and more definitely expressed scientific-theoretical basis.

It is possible to say that Pitirim Sorokin (1889—1968) have been the founder of sociology in Russia. In 1913 the question on validity of ethic opinions was risen by Pitirim Sorokin in his work «whether ethic science is normative and whether it can be it?» [7.339]. P. Sorokin stated that the criterion of validity (or falseness) of ethic postulates is to be reality (i. e. practice of social life). In Russian ethic science the interest to the sociology of morals began to actively display at the end of XX century — at the beginning of XXI century getting the reflection in the works of a number of researchers including V.M. Sokolov, B.I. Bakshtanosky [8], V.G. Ganhzin, Yu. V. Sogomonov [9] etc.

At present in Russia characterized by the dynamics of development of democratic, legal, social state the social-ethic problems acquired an actual meaning. The formation of the civil society in our country brought an attention to a question on consolidation of intellectual-moral potentials of all healthy forces of a society in solving the state tasks. The problem of moral bases of a civil society, a question of normative-legal regulation of the behavior of representatives of political parties, administrative organs, public organizations were put with keen attention by the director of the Moscow Institute of Federalism and Civil Society academician of the Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, doctor of political sciences A.N. Arinin. He put forward the idea of social contract on the main principles of moral behavior of representatives of political parties and movements, administrative-governmental systems of all levels, the civil society in the whole [10, 13—14].

Lately in the Russian sociological science there has been increased the interest to the sociology of morals. The social-ethic problems were specially separated in the scientific program of the Third All-Russian Sociological Congress (Moscow, 21—24 October 2008). The special section has been provided by the program on the theme: «Society, Culture, Morals: Concepts of 21st Century». Within the frames of the section there have been considered a number of actual problems: «Conceptualization of a problem of morals in sociology»; «Modernization in Russia and its cultural-valuable content»; «Legal and political culture in the context of valuable orientations of a society and a person [11, 29]. For the first time at the wide forum of the Russian Sociological Science there has been separated the problem of social-ethic researches within the system of «society — morals». Sociology of morals has great perspectives as one of the actual theoretical and scientific-applied sciences at the same time. Today this branch of social knowledge gets more and more accurate structure of researches, methodological techniques and problematic developing as the independent sociological discipline.

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11. MASS MEDIA AND CULTURE RESEARCH

11.1. NEW AND OLD MASS MEDIA ANALYSIS

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EVOLUTION OF MEDIA PREFERENCES IN RUSSIAN SOCIETY

Transition to a market economy brought in significant changes to the preferences of media and information in Russian society. The end of 1980s marked a sharp rise in the preferences of political information. Some of the old media of the Soviet times took on the role of leaders in opening up to the rest of the world, assumed the role of major critics of the existing totalitarian social order. The number of media, their major target audiences remained the same, but the tone of the publications, the content significantly changed. The new developments brought to the forth media heroes and journalists such as Vladimir Yakovlev, Yuri Schekochihin and others. The circulation of the most popular and concomitantly most critical news papers and magazines exceeded the figure of 35 million. Newly found freedoms of the glasnost period contributed to dramatic change of the Russian TV channels particularly in content of features. The latter became quite critical of the policies of the Communist party and all the more frequently, openly or obliquely, called for social change. With the onset of economic and political reforms in early 1990s the media underwent another dramatic change. The first tendency consisted in the gradual emergence of media interest groups in the population. Emergence of private entrepreneurship, rising interest in business and economics created preconditions for the emergence of new media specifically targeted market-oriented, economically-minded groups. A new lead was opened when Vladimir Yakovlev who established a new publishing house «Kommessant» that set out to serve the interest of the new, emerging groups of entrepreneurs and managers. The newspaper is still the most popular business paper on the Russian market with the circulation of 250000 readers. While the general interest in politics was waning in the Russian society, new group interests emerged that shaped the profile of the Russian media market. The next change came when a set of women's magazines, many of the franchised, started to come out in Russia targeting women and their interests. The gender-related separation of interests became another major breakthrough of the Russian market that set off the process of its further fragmentation. It became obvious that only a few media can continue to function as servants of general interest, other newspapers, magazines or TV channels would have to evolve in the direction of satisfying life style interest. The change reflected the trends in the Russian society: the general interest formed by the agenda of racial transformation ceded place to private or group agendas that formed the life world of individuals and performed the function of information provision, but also pain and hardship alleviation. The social studies of 1994—1997 (Social monitoring, Institute of Sociology, all-Russian random stratified sample of 2000) testified to the unfolding of the process that could be defined as the gradual privatization of life, decline of general interests and emergence of specific interests encompassing immediate milieu of an individual. The change gave boost to media oriented towards entertainment or pastimes. A whole new set of newspapers or magazines pandering to private interests came to the market. The most impressive segments of the press were formed by the following segments:

Automobiles («Za rulem» — 1500 million, «Avtomir» — 250 thousand, «Autorevue»-200 thousand). The trend reflected the rising interest and wider scope of car acquisition

and use in the Russian Federation. Opening of borders and liberalization of international trade made it possible for Russian consumers to acquire used or new foreign cars. The process is still ongoing rising to a new level of sophistication and fueling an interest in the automobile magazines.

Computers and Internet («Computer Build» -300 thousand, «PC Magazine, Chip» — 150 thousand). This is another change of the market that reflected a rise in the consumption of electronics in the Russian Federation. Currently there are about 35 million of computer users in the country and 27 million of Internet users. This number suffices to create an «interest basis» for the emergence of the relevant media.

Home and gardening. The rise of living standards that started in early 2000 created an interest in home and summer cottage improvement. In the year of 2002 close to 15% of the Muscovites claimed that they had started to refurbish or repair their homes, 5% started construction or refurbishment of their countryside homes in line with new standards. Magazines and newspapers that cover issues related to home repair became quite popular in the period. An aggregate circulation of the most of them reached the level of 1 mln.

Leisure time and traveling. With borders opening many Russians started traveling beyond the country. A whole new set of special magazines («Voyage» — 150 thousand readers) and special entries in the general interest papers reflected the trend. TV reflected the desire of the viewers to be entertained by creation of a number of «depoliticized» channels such as STS, TNT and others. The audience of STS is now fourth largest in the country. It cannot catch up with major federal channels only because it has smaller coverage of the country's regions.

The trends of differentiation and fragmentation of society provided stimuli for general interest media to evolve in the direction of entertainment and leisure interest. The existing trends in society point that the demand for large-scale political coverage is unlikely to return with society being less of a homogeneous whole, split into interest groups that have very little in common with each other.

S.G. Davydov, D.A. Stozharova & A.V. Stozharov

MEDIA AUDIENCE MEASUREMENT IN SMALL RUSSIAN TOWNS: YAMAL-NENETS AUTONOMOUS OKRUG EXPERIENCE.

The overall potential of sociology in the field of mass communication research is quite large and diverse. One can exemplify application of methods, techniques and approaches of all kinds in the field. At the same time, analysis of practical activity of mass communication sociologists both in Russia and all over the world makes it possible to conclude that evident priority in needs among the main subjects of communicative process and consequently in allocated budgets belongs to the category of research called media-metric or audience measurement. The corresponding school of mass communication sociology has long-standing and sound traditions and it is actively developing at present time. Media measurement has been carried out in Russia since early 1990s. Till that time research of mass communication audience was mainly carried out in the context of opinion-poll, though it could contain elements of measurement. A large-scale project of The Academy of the Social Sciences under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union “Mass Information In A Soviet Industrial Town” (1967-1974) under the direction of B.A. Grushin 1, polls of the Sociological center of the Higher Komsomol School, All-Russia Public Opinion Research Center, etc. can be mentioned as examples.

In 1990s, as the advertising industry developed, special sociological service of the Russian first-rate broadcasting companies (“Ostankino”, All-Russian Broadcasting Company, “Saint-Petersburg – Channel 5”) on the one hand, and sociological companies

(All-Russia Public Opinion Research Center, "Public Opinion" Fund) on the other hand activated. Yet the first audience measurement project in the country is the "Media-Focus" research of the French company Mediametrie started in 1992. It covered two cities – Moscow and Saint-Petersburg, and included wave polls held three times per year. Also in 1992 British company Russian Media Monitor started its work, in 1994 it was given a new name – Russian Research Ltd. The latter set up the first Russian national diary television panel. In 1993 domestic company Comcon-2 began a competition with Russian Research. At first Comcon-2 organized regular telephone measurement of the TV and radio audience in Moscow using day-after-recall method, and then TV diary panel. The Russian Research panel was individual, and Comcon-2 used household panel. In this context we should mention TV audience diary measurement carried out by the GfK-Rus company at national level in 1980-1999. In 1996 the first TV people-metric panels by NISPI and Gallup Media were launched in Moscow. Hereafter the latter purchased measurement business from Russian Research Ltd. and it maintained united people-metric and diary panel for some time. In 2000 Russian measurement panel became entirely people-metric. At the present time the data of the TNS Gallup Media is the standard in the field of the Russian national TV measurement. Parent population of the research is made up of Russian towns' population 100000+ at the age of 4 and older.

Considering audience measurement development in regional aspect, it should be mentioned that the first regional media measurers were sociological companies which held measurements on a national scale. For example, in 1996 Russian Research company provided information concerning 20 large cities of the European part of the country, further 6 cities of the Siberia were added to this list. Traditionally the strength of the "Moscow" researchers (at present time they are, first of all, TNS Gallup Media, GfK-Rus and Comcon) is high quality methodological researches, international standards reliance, comparability of research results in regions, high quality uniform data interfaces. At the same time while working from the center it's not easy to take into account regional peculiarity and to organize consultation with main players of the market. Imperfection of the regional audience measurement systems suggested by the central researchers was often fairly and reasonably criticized². That is why regional audience measurers offering their services on a local level are active. Being methodologically inferior, regional sociologists owing to knowledge of local realities and flexible approaches can take a lead over their capital colleagues to a marked degree.

Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug is one of the regions which are traditionally passed over by "Moscow" audience measurers. The main reason is absence of more or less big centers which could be of great interest to All-Russian media and advertisers. At the same time mass communications of the region are actively investigated. The reason of this is stable interest in media-metric information shown by Department of the Information and Socio-Political Research of the YNAO Administration and by the Regional State Broadcasting Company "Yamal-Region" – the only broadcaster at district level in YNAO. Research center "Gorizont-M" plays the key role in development of regional audience measurement. Research groups "ZIRCON" (Moscow) and GfK-Rus (Moscow) took part in media audience research in the region. RC "Gorizont-M" started a specialized and systematic research of YNAO media in October, 1997. Since then we have realized a number of projects using different sociological methods: mass telephone interviews, mass individual interviews (domiciliary), expert interviews, social experiment and armchair research. Experience in mass communication research in YNAO was reflected in a series of theoretical and practical publications³.

In 2004 Department of Information and Public Relations of YNAO initiated development of the media audience measurement system in the region. RC "Gorizont-M" together with ZIRCON realized the project. The method of scale sociological research and establishment research results were made public⁴. One of the researches made in 2004 resulted in development and adoption of a compact system for telephone surveys in order to elicit media preferences of the YNAO population. The system was realized in 2006, and 10 quarterly waves have been held within the system (4 waves in 2006 and 2007, 2 waves in the first half of 2008) by the moment of writing this article. Within

the project telephone interviews are held according to formalized form. Stationary telephony level in the region of the research is high enough; this makes it possible to use suitable technology during representative poll 5. Being the most economical method of representative population sampling, telephone interviews ensure operational efficiency of research results. Research sampling type is random. Sampling is made by means of random algorithm of phone numbers sampling of researched settlement. Parent population, geographical structure and sample size were changing during the project realization. During 2006 sampling of each of the 4 research waves included 1200 people. We polled 300 people at the age of 18 and older in each of the 4 towns of YNAO: Nadym, Noviy Urengoy, Noyabrsk and Salekhard. During the processing the data were weighed up by gender, age and the size of the population aggregate. Thus we provided the ability to analyze and estimate obtained results with regard to both population of every polled town, and population of the YNAO in general.

In 2007 sample size of one research wave reached 1500 of respondents by including 3 rural population aggregates into the sampling. There were 100 people polled in every new area. It resulted in opportunity to represent all the YNAO adult population. Field work within a research is run according to a seven-day schedule. This makes it possible to take into account different media consumption in different weekdays. Poll time is fixed from 1830 hrs till 2130 hrs. Due to this in given period of time not only working audience absent in day-time is in maximal reach, but TV audience is also analyzed. The customer is interested in the period owing to local programs which are on the air at this time. Quantity of interviews is evenly divided into half an hour periods, and interviewers fix precise time when interview begins. Above all YNAO media space research results indicate high level of mechanical media in the region. The most widespread are TV, on-air radio receiver and stationary telephone; more than four-fifths of the district population has it at home. Such characteristics as computerization level, Internet and cellular telephony spread etc. are not only higher than the country's average, but in some cases are on the level of Russian largest cities'. Particularly, according to the data of the second quarter of 2008 almost the whole regional population own TV receivers, 99,6% of respondents has one TV set in good order. The vast majority of TV sets used are color, with remote control. 69,0% of respondents has home computer. Up-to-date media technologies such as DVD-players, home cinemas etc. are gradually spreading among the population. The peculiarity of the domestic media space is significant difference revealing subject to the type of population aggregate. Though rural media space is less informative, existing differences are not so striking. The three steady leaders are the First channel, Russia and NTV. At the same time according to the data of 2004, more then 25% of TV audience belongs to the three commercial TV companies – STS, TNT and Ren-TV. Tendency towards developing of commercial TV broadcasting was increasingly revealed in the last two or three years. "Yamal-Region", the district TV channel, takes the seventh place in daily coverage of audience among the TV companies leaving a number of big "Moscow" broadcasters behind.

Table 1. Daily coverage of the YNAO TV channels audience, the second quarter of 2008.

TV channel	Daily coverage, %
The First channel	50,9
Russia	24,0
NTV	23,0
STS	15,1
TNT	11,4
Ren-TV	6,5
District TV channel "Yamal"	5,7

TV channel	Daily coverage, %
Sport	4,9
Culture	0,9
TV 3	0,7
TVZ	0,6
Another channel	9,7
Video	0,5
Don't watch TV	13,3

Among “Moscow” radio stations commercial FM broadcasters: Europa Plus, Avtoradio, Chanson, Russian Radio, DFM, Retro FM are very popular. Mayak is the most popular among the state radio stations. At the same time, regional and local mass-media level is in embryo. As a rule, this is media subsidized by government (federal, district, municipal or regional) or by big business (oil and gas industry). Local commercial media is poorly developed. However, at this level of development demand for “locally produced” information is strong enough. It is particularly indicated by high quality rating of local broadcasting companies and papers which sometimes exceeds central rivals’ rating. Some of the regional and local media have rather high audience-metric indicators; in this context we should mention regional TV-Company “Yamal-Region”, radio stations Radio Noyabrsk and Sigma, and some printings.

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ROLE OF TELEVISION IN SHAPING CHILDREN’S CONCEPTION OF SOCIAL REALITY

Television is the most popular mass medium today. The contemporary television is a vast area of ideas, norms and values reflected in people’s «world views», influencing

individuals and affecting social processes. Children are not exempt. To a large extent, television constructs their perception of the world, as well as social, cultural and moral values. It also forms their views about the homeland, the nation and the language — or in other words, their conception of the social reality. The moral climate of Russia in forthcoming decades will largely depend on the social and ethical standards and values of our children. This is why the social organizations, the federal government and scientific institutions should pay close attention to the quality of the TV media.

The semio-socio-psychological concept of the social communications developed in the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences [3;4], provides tools for studying the communication processes inside the television media, as well as their after-effects on the society. The research methods are based on uncovering and exposing the goal-motivated or intentional structures inside any integral and completed communicational act. The new method provides operational tools for the exposure of intentionality. T. M. Dridze (1930—2000), the author of the semio-socio-psychological theory, defines this term as the «resulting force of the motives and objectives of communications and interactions between people» [3, p.16]. If an integral communicational act or event can be completely actualized in all semiotic systems, then with certain skill and experience it is always possible to reveal the structure of the communicational programs connected in a hierarchy and oriented towards the intention.

First, it is possible to reveal and analyze the structure of any offered material, whether it is a written text, a verbal discourse, an image, music, etc. Second, we can obtain the structure of the interpretation of this material by the members of the audience. Third, we can compare the data from the first and the second stages of the analysis. This way, the level of the dialogical communication is revealed. Also, in case of so called «communication errors» expressed by the lack of understanding between the communicating parties, we can make knowledgeable conclusions about the problem's causes [4; 1]. It is now possible to differentiate the audience by the level of recognition of the author's (communicating) intention. Terminology used for this process includes «interpretation groups», «groups by communicative (interpretative) skills», «groups by the specifics of the perception». These terms are synonyms. When semi-socio-psychological methods are being used in research, certain interpretations of the text content structure are almost always present. They characterize the level of the respondent's communicative skills development, his or her ability to recognize the communicator's motives and objectives. The variations or levels of the interpretation are: *adequate, partially adequate and inadequate*.

Today the mass media and television in particular, to a large extent define the cultural patterns of the social bearings, communications and interactions between people. That is why the media can achieve great results in the development of the required communicative skills. It is especially important to develop such skills for the children. This is a paramount social and educational task, which directly affects the quality of life of the next generations. The research shows that people with well-developed communicative skills also possess advanced analytical abilities, they are more friendly and tolerant [1; 2]. High level of the communicative skills allows them to comprehend the text without the semantic distortion. They can better communicate their thoughts and have adequate understanding of the *others* (in childhood — their parents, teachers and peers; as adults — immediate superiors, coworkers, family members), or in other words — enter the dialog with the mutual understanding. The article summarizes the results of the empirical research «Content Structure of the Television Programming and its Perception by the Children». The research focused on communicative skills of preschool age children, which are above all characterized by the ability to adequately understand the communicator's intentionality. A poll has been conducted in several Moscow kindergartens, where a questionnaire developed specifically for this purpose has been given to 100 children five to six years of age. The assessment of the communicative skill development was based on the analysis of their interpretation of a well-known and frequently televised cartoon, which was shown to the children just before the questionnaire was distributed. All children were happy to watch the cartoon and were laughing during the session. However, only 10% of the participants were

able to interpret the contents *adequately* (high level of communicative skills); 26% of the children interpreted the cartoon *partially adequately* (average level of communicative skills development); and 64% ended up inadequately (low level of communicative skills).

One of the objectives of our study was demonstrating the correlation between the level of the children's communicative skills development and the specifics of their perception of reality. Other studies employing the method of intentional (goal-motivated) analysis established this correlation many times for the older students and adults. However, this is the first time such research has been targeted for the preschool children. Respondent's vocabulary and the usage frequency of the moral and ethical terms and categories have become significant benchmarks of their perception of the reality. The patterns which have been established for the older students and the adult audience «work» for the preschool children just as well: the frequency of such vernaculars (choice of words in the answers: kind, evil, good, bad, hard-working, lazy, brave, courageous, jealous, sly etc) was directly correlated to the child's level of the communicative skills development.

Table 1. Correlation between the level of communicative skills development and the frequency of use of moral terms and categories

	Active usage	Use at times	Do not use	Total
Adequate Interpretation	80%	20%	0	100%
Partially Adequate Interpretation	7,7%	38,5%	53,8%	100%
Inadequate Interpretation	0	12,5%	87,5%	100%

Analysis of answers exposing positive and negative values of our respondents has also produced very interesting results. Here are some characteristic answers from the children with well developed communicative skills: «*I would not want anyone to get sick with cancer*», «*More than anything, I would like to adopt a girl from the orphanage*», «*More than anything, I would like to become a biologist*», «*I hate it when somebody gets hurt or offended*», «*More than anything, I like to have friends*», «*I would really like to build a house in the country for my mom*», «*I wish my mom never gets ill*», «*I wish to have a large family*» etc. Such answers were rare among the children with average communicative skills. The group of children who were not able to interpret the cartoons adequately did not demonstrate similar wishes at all. The answers from the last group included actions related mostly to themselves or expressed aspirations of material nature: «*I would really like to fly like the Spider-man*», «*I hate being scolded*», «*More than anything, I want to become a fairy*», «*I do not like to get up early*», «*I do not like going to the kindergarten because I have to sleep there*», «*More than anything, I like to watch cartoons*», «*I dislike it when cars are dirty and not shiny*», etc.

Table 2. Correlation between the levels of communicative skills development of preschool children and the level of the social significance of their positive and negative values

	High level	Average level	Low level	Total
Adequate Interpretation	80%	20%	0	100%
Partially Adequate Interpretation	15,4%	46,2%	38,4%	100%
Inadequate Interpretation	0	18,8%	81,2%	100%

The results of the presented studies prove that the level of the communicative skills development to a large extent defines children's perception of the social reality. Therefore, it is important to encourage the development of these skills, influencing the creation or the qualitative changes of the children's «world view», or in other words, affecting their personal self-recognition. Since the mass media plays the paramount role in the children's perceptions of the social reality, all of the media and the television in particular, should participate in the development of the required skills.

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PROBLEM OF TERRORISM IN RUSSIAN PRESS: CONTENT ANALYSIS

The notion «terror» (from Latin terror 'fear, horror') is used to imply policy of deterrence, suppression of the political opponents by violent measures. The definition of a terror in the dictionary of foreign words is those. Unfortunately, in our modern life, this word has become an ordinary concept. Last decade has shown that common citizens are not safe from terrorism, no matter how detached they are from politics. Lack of safety makes clear the fact that the information about terrorism and terrorists is of interest not only for representatives of the competent organs, but also for the common citizens. People seek the answers for the questions: what is terrorism? Where are its roots? What are the reasons for concrete terrorist acts? Who are terrorists and where are they coming from? Basic and practically unique source of answers to the problems raised is mass media. From this radiant source the gaps in mass consciousness are filled, and accordingly the public opinion is shaped. Therefore it appears to be interesting to use scientific, «strict» methods of the analysis, namely content-analysis of press, to study main tendencies, special features and methods of public opinion on the problems of terrorism formation.

As an empirical basis of the research we took popular press: «Moscow Komsomols» (the daily political newspaper spreaded in 89 subjects of the Russian Federation, circulation 1.903.320 copies) and weekly newspaper «Arguments and Facts» (circulation 2.921.170 copies). The given research is a pilot one; therefore the chosen sample was small: 28 numbers of «MK» of January, 2002 and 5 numbers of «Arguments and Facts» have been chosen from the months of November, December of 2001 and January, February of 2002. In the case with «MK» we chose all monthly issues; in the case of «Arguments and Facts» we chose a few issues from different months. As in January, 2002 in Russia, there were no major scandal terrorist acts, similar to the September ones in New York; we could analyze the work of the press on a rather quiet background without any serious information «splashes».

The analysis shows that despite a rather «quiet» situation, the newspapers gave a lot of attention to terrorism. Thus, in 17 issues of «MK» out of 28 of them, there were articles about terrorism. All in all, 23 articles on terrorism were published in «MK» during the period under question. And only in three of them terrorism was just mentioned; all the other articles were completely devoted to it. On the whole, the articles took about one and

a half full turns. Smaller attention was devoted to the problem of terrorism in «Arguments and facts». Though the frequency of such materials is rather high: more than half of all the numbers (three from five) have it. On the whole, the articles took about one turn, and from eight articles in two, materials of terrorism are only mentioned on a minor plan. It is important to notice that short materials are predominate in both «MK» and in «Arguments and facts». So, in «MK» more than half of materials (12 of 23) take about half of a column. In «Arguments and facts» 5 materials out of 8 take less than a quarter of a page. From the point of view of the content of the materials, most articles in «MK» devoted to the war in Chechen and concrete Chechen terrorists, like Raduev (10 of 12). From the point of view of the subjects, all the articles can be subdivided into four basic groups of papers:

1. War in Chechen Republic on the whole (9 in «MK» and 1 in «AF»).
2. Articles about concrete terrorists (5 in «MK» and 2 in «AF»).
3. Responses to autumn terrorist acts in the USA (3 in «MK»).
4. Other (6 in «MK» and 5 in «AF»).

First group of articles can be subdivided into two groups: half of them are divided to the federal forces' successes, the other half — to their failures in Chechen. The scope of space devoted to failures is larger, while the information about successes is rather brief. It is necessary to mention an ironical tone of the first part, while the tone of the second has a neutral character. Even the titles of the first group are quite ironical: «From «cleaners» life in Chechnya is not cleaner», «We killed and killed them (Next victory in Chechen is not over the hill)», «Generals are on the «needle» There is a hunt for the generals». The photos are practically absent.

The second group of materials mostly consists of the so-called personal files, containing various facts about life and activities of the well-known terrorists. We shall dwell on them a little. First of all, we shall look who exactly has attracted the greatest attention of the journalists. The most popular terrorists are: Usama ben Laden (5); Basaev (5), Raduev (4), Mashadov (4), Hattab (4), Gelaev (2), Udugov (1), Baraev (1), mulla Omar (1), Zakaev (1). As we can see, the majority of them are Chechen field commanders, and all of them are Moslems, which is accentuated in many materials — «brothers-Moslems», Islam terrorists, Moslem fanatics etc. Let's consider in detail personal characteristics and facts from personal life that can be extracted from analyzed materials. Let's begin from the most popular, terrorist, terrorist number one (as he is mentioned in the newspapers), Usama ben Laden.

There is also a paper on the refutation of false information about adventures of ben Laden in Las Vegas which was spreaded by the American special services. On the one hand, it is devoted to the refutation of the slanderous fabrications of FBI, but, on the other hand, it is done only in two last paragraphs and looks very doubtful. At the same time all adventures of ben Laden with his friends in Las Vegas are retold very vividly with a set of intriguing detail: switching of ben Laden' underpants' on the scene, visits to prostitutes, Karaoke-singing, like Frank Sinatra«. The text is supplied with an impressive photomontage with smiling ben Laden, singing in a microphone with girls from a variety show and game automatons on the background. The text starts with a bold heading that says that while American Special Forces search in vain for the terrorist number one, he has a good life in the gambling capital of America, Las Vegas. He spends hundreds of dollars and visits American prostitutes. There is also a description of ben Laden in the article: he is described as a handsome man with short hair and sad beautiful eyes. We can assume that despite the fact that a journalist tries to refute the given information, readers will keep in mind interesting «details» about ben Laden life. They will think that «there is no smoke without lightning»: the information is vivid, and sounds as if it comes from employees and psychologists of FBI.

Mulla Mohhammad Omar, spiritual leader of the movement «Taliban», «leader of faithful», leader of Islam Emirat Afghanistan. There was rather a large paper on him in a tandem with ben Laden under a title «Two live targets» in «MK». The paper is written on the basis of foreign (American) sources of information, though the data sounds rather unproved, as well as in the case with ben Laden. The content of the article is the following: Omar managed to disappear from a triple ring Special Forces of the Northern alliance and American

Special Forces. He was carrying on him about 100 million dollars, stolen from different banks from large cities of Afghanistan. He is characterized as a half-mystical figure. He is about 41 years old or 47 years old. Those who saw him say that he is very tall, constantly wears a black turban and has just one eye. It is difficult to find out whether it is true as there is only photo of the man «who looks like Omar». It is known that he was born in the region of Kandahar. He was taught Islam in religious schools in Pakistan; in 1980s he was a member of the Islam party, which fought against «Soviets». When the period of the inner country tensions began, Omar became a leader of the movement «Taliban», at that time just a students' organization. Later there was Kabul's capture and taking under control the greater part of the country. According to a unanimous agreement of the representatives of Moslem clergy, Omar became the leader of Islam Emirate of Afghanistan. As far as his personal life is concerned, until recently he had four wives, a daughter and two sons. In the result of USA bombing one of his wives and all children were killed.

This is about all factual information, given about terrorists' personalities. It is interesting which devices journalists used depicting their images. First of all, it is necessary to mark an absolute dominance in the materials of ironic-indulgent tone. All the articles are written in an ironic manner. You can see it from the names of the articles: «Where are the underpants of ben Laden?»; «Were did mullah Omar got his fruits?»; «Soviet dreams of terrorists»; «Ben Laden feeds Russia with fruit and nuts», «Lebed's song of Hattab», etc. On the whole, all the materials leave readers with an unpleasant feeling, and do not provide with confident information. Definitions given to terrorists leave much to be desired: «small Mongol», «playboys-terrorists», imperceptible Shamil, «under-beaten», «terrorist number one», «Chechen Goebbels», bandits, gangsters, separatists, etc. Journalists hint on direct financial interest of the terrorists and their affluent financial position, about the money they operate with or have in personal possession.

On the whole, the articles of the second group, despite their small numbers, took a lot of space: about 2/3 pages in «Arguments and Facts' and 1/3 in «MK». The materials of the third subject group were all located in one issue and took approximately 2\3 pages. Their basic ideas were:

1. «In USA dollar again is more popular, than terrorists». In other words, economic interest of both the American government and common Americans moved back to financial issues. The first shock of the autumn terrorist acts vanished. In the first article, it is spoken about a political «speculation» of the American president on the theme of terrorism for the sake of his rating. He is afraid that the public will change the focus of interest and switch to the condition of economy. This can lead to «erosion of support of the President». In the second material, it is told about speculation on the memory of victims of September 11. This has to do with suits having to do with compensations and trade of baseball caps, T-shirts, and souvenirs on the place of tragedy.

2. The financial and human losses of the USA as an outcome of terrorist acts is very great, especially financial.

3. The measures against terrorists do not give any real results. The materials were illustrated by photos with an image of destroyed buildings in New York. The general tone can be described as ironical. As an example can be given the titles: «Economics fool!», «Colored ticket to hell», «Conflicting bills». In the first material, there is a photomontage: Bush in the front of the ruins.

In the materials of the fourth subject group we included the information about bloody terrorist act of the Palestinian terrorist; information about Americans' attitude towards captive tallibs and simple mentioning of terrorism on a minor plan. Two materials out of them are of major interest. The first one is the paper about Chechen children from the camp of the refugees in Ingushetia, which were sheltered in Kolomna, to treat and to heal. In a paper the issue of hatred against Russians is raised (bombing, awful conditions of life in the camps for the refugees). There is also an issue about unanimity and help of Moslems to each other and the problems of attitudes from Russians towards Chechen (There is a story about a Russian girl who was thrown into the street when people learned that there would be no money given from the government). The material is illustrated by the photo of Chechen children and the Russian at whose place they found a shelter.

Tone of the article is serious: «There is no place to run. Children are uncomfortable in the country speaking Russian».

The second material is opposite to the first one. It is possible to name it a typical «scary» article. It tells us about invasion of Moscow with Afghani refugees. The article tells us about one million illegal refugees from Asia, where people of Caucasian nationality are perceived as an integral part of the Moscow landscape. Only tallibs are more dangerous, because Afghani Diaspora lives in capital on the principle of mutual help. The common tone of an article is ironic, as well as the title — «Rare tallibs will reach Moscow». The article illustrated by a photo with an image of two Eastern men carrying a heap of boxes.

Thus, we presented information extracted from monthly survey of two big newspapers. What answers to the questions posed at the beginning can the reader get? First, let's try to draw up a collective image of the terrorist. First of all, it is definitely a representative of the Moslem world. Only in one paper the Russian terrorist organizations were touched upon, although in the context that they are capable of no real activities. Terrorists' image is evolved with certain romanticism (though it is rather true of «foreign» terrorists). He is either well-educated or tried to get a good education, and could not do it, because of his average abilities. He is overpowered with the thirst to become famous, get authority with the help of various career ladders (Comsomol, Army, etc.) or relative connections or Martial Arts. (By the way, the results of the research on the psycho-type of Chechen soldiers showed that most of them want fame). The other characteristics of the terrorists are the following: they are greatly interested in money; they have their own business and try to get advantage of the financial help to the terrorist movement. They hate people with different religious belief, because some of their relatives were killed by them. They are active, try to reach lots of goals. Nothing is said about their criminal actions. Only 4 materials were devoted to the victims of terrorism. Their smartness (possibility to hide and escape from Special Forces) is widely commented. With the last fact the question of struggle against terrorism is tightly connected. Voluntarily or involuntary, the majority of materials confirms the myth about the invincibility of terrorists by the military men, impossibility to prevent their actions and inconsistency of Special Forces in struggle against terrorism.

Speaking about an image of the terrorist created by the journalists, we can see that most of them give a one-sided picture. It looks like they try to popularize terrorists' image (romanticism, elusiveness, brotherhood of faithful, mutual help, high financial status) and undermine the authority of Special Forces.

The questions of terrorism's roots, its reasons, why people become terrorists have received almost no comment. Mostly the personal reasons (revenge, hatred), aspiration for fame and money come to the fore. Nothing is said about a political and ideological background of terrorism. Practically there is no information about the essence of Islam and its' transformations, which justify «sacred» war against unfaithful. The economic actual situation of modern terrorism and its tight connection with separatist movement isn't touched upon. The opposition of rich North and poor South is left without attention. From the point of view of international relations, there is almost nothing said about the policy of double standards practiced by the USA before September 11, when all the antiterrorist activities of the Russian Federal Center operation in Chechen Republic were condemned.

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MASS MEDIA INFLUENCE ON PROCESSES OF TRANSFORMATION IN THE CONTEXT OF REGIONAL SOCIO-CULTURAL POLITICS

Region is a special limited part and a specific socio-cultural system of a society. The conception of «the region» is nowadays one of the most often used in social sciences

and everyday life. «The region is defined as an oblast, a district, a part of the country or the world that is characterized by some community, such as economical, geographical, cultural, national and political» [1, 18]. N.A. Aitov was one of the first men who began to study the Region systematically. To his opinion «the Region was not simply a territorial but a socio-territorial community characterized by the unity of the economical, political and spiritual life» [1, 18]. Mass media play an important part in the context of the effective development of the region. The word «media» (that is a mediator) tells us that the media are the connecting part between public and a certain objective reality. Newspapers, radio and TV have a wide influence on our life and social opinion because they are the means of access to knowledge on which a lot of aspects of our social life are depend. Mass media should help to create «a political man». Their meaning in the network of political socialization is to form the criticism and a proper behavior ethics. The civics in this case is a display of a detailed attitude to fates of the society, nation and the state, to protection of the civil rights. It includes the aim at realization of social initiatives, at recognition of oneself as an individual and a full member of the society.

It is the most important politico-socialization and functional role of the mass media in the democratic state. As to mass media basic functions the first and most important one is the informational one. It implies receiving and spreading information about the most important events for the citizens and the government bodies. Radio- and TV- news, the newspapers are called to inform the audience about the events that have happened in the country and the world today and were happened yesterday. The received and spread mass media information includes not only impartial, photographical interpretation of these or those facts, but some commentary and estimation of them. According to the receiving information the citizens form their opinions about the activities of the government, the parliament, different parties and other political institutions, about economical, cultural and some other ways of life of the society.

The other significant mass media function is cognitive-enlightening. Special TV and radio programs, the newspaper articles are called to wide mental outlook. This information teaches us the things we can't do or don't know. Due to this mass media function all members of the society are provided with the acquisition of some level of cultural competence. The media are the most influential subject of politics, they form the public opinion and conscience, promote social prestige of the professions in science, education and medicine, form the ideas of the social business responsibility, expand relationship between an individual and the society. The considerable part of information refers to entertaining themes; it is called the recreational function. The mass media not only inform, entertain, enlighten the audience, but also form our outlook. It means that the mass media influence on people behavior purposefully, it is the normative regulative function. The media are the connecting section in the creation of social feedback mechanisms. They actively develop political ideas depending on the wide circle of vital interests of the millions of people. Specificity of the media space of the concrete region is defined by the complex of political, economical, socio-cultural and ideological factors.

The formation of seven federal okrugs (districts) allows marking the district informational space in the separate category out for study. As one of the most dynamic developing, the mass — environment of the Volga Federal District has been taken as the subject for the district media — space analysis. So the Volga Region consists of a number of areas and republics, including the Saratov Region. In fact every Russian Region has its own original mass media system. Increase of the mass media total amount has been recently observed in the whole country. «According to the number of mass media, the Volga Federal District takes the second place in the country (after the North-Western one — 7150). According to the statistics of Russian Federal Ministry of press, TV, broadcasting and mass communication medium, 2748 mass media were registered in the Volga Region territory in 2000, but the next year in 2001 there were 5576 of them. In the sequel, the number of mass media continues to grow: in 2002—6133, at the end of 2003 they were 6841» [2, 36]. One of the basic parameters, characterizing the condition of the informational space as in the territory of the separate subjects so in the territory of the whole Volga Federal District, is the index of the registered mass media number.

So, if in 2002 there were registered 6133 mass media in the territory of the Volga Federal District, in 2003 there were 6841 (increase — 10 %). According to the statistics of Russian MPTU of the Saratov district with population of 2709 thousand people, in 2004 there were registered 487 mass media, among them there were 333 press and 154 electronic; in 2002 there were registered 458 mass media: 291 press, 138 electronic and 29 others. Decrease of the mass media amount was the result of reduction of the number of the registered electric mass media (from 138 in 2002 to 113 in 2003). In comparison with 2002, a number of registered mass media practically has grown in all regions of the Volga Federal District. Only in the Saratov Region and the Udmurt Republic this index has not been changed.

In our view basic purposes of the mass media concentration growth consist in the increase of the number of the registered electric mass media (press in general) and in the reduction of the number of the population practically in all regions of the district. According to the eventfulness of the electronic mass media taking into account one hundred people, the Nizhniy Novgorod Region is in the lead, and the Bashkiria Republic and the Saratov Region (0,04 %) are outsiders. The situation in the mass media Internet market is ambiguous enough. It is evident that mass media amount is constantly growing. However, according to the results of 2004 year, in Russia Press Ministry there are registered only 5 mass media that are spread in the Volga Federal District Internet: they are the Samara Region — the Internet newspaper «Samara nowadays» (the founder ANO «Your Choice is Samara») and «Samara Informational Portal», the Saratov Region — the Internet newspaper «Saratov Gubernia News», the Kirov Region — the information service «Everything Over the Phone», the Udmurt Republic — «Izhevsk Informational Agency». To find out the real picture of Internet mass media existence is difficult enough because the absence of the formal registration of the Internet editions is not allowed to analyze their market in details. And with it almost in all regions of the district there are electronic versions of press and electronic mass media, the official sites of regional and city administrations. In 2003 in the regions of the Volga Federal District there were printed 479 regional and city newspapers with the total run of 2039953 copies. The biggest number of the regional newspapers is in the Nizhniy Novgorod Region — 51, in the Bashkiria Republic — 49, in the Kirov Region — 43, in the Perm, Saratov and Orenburg Regions — 38 mass media in every region, and the smallest number is in the Mary El Republic — 16 newspapers, in the Chuvash Republic and the Republic of Mordovia — 22 mass media in every region. In 2006 according to the statistics (MPTU MPTR of Russia) in the Saratov Region territory there were registered 165 press mass media, TV: 13 federal and 7 regional channels, broadcasting: 2 radio central and 11 regional programs, 13 Internet sites. In fact «... the mass informational space of Russian Region coincides the reduced model of the national mass informational space but also it is some unique socio-cultural formation that has a number of specific characteristics and features» [3]. The mass informational space of the Saratov Region may be the example of it. Nowadays in the Saratov Region there are all kinds of the mass media technically existed at the present time, such as printed editions, radio stations that are different in forms of ownership and types of broadcasting, TV channels and Internet mass media, spreading of which is far from the borders of the district. Naturally, the peculiarity of their activity is defined by the state informational politics and informational politics of the Government of the Saratov Region.

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SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL FUNCTIONS OF MEDIA CULTURE AND ITS ROLE IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

The period from the end of the 20th century till the beginning of the 21st century was marked by the intensive development of global information and communication technologies, dissemination of mass communication means having significantly influenced on media culture functioning. The concept of arousing «mosaic culture» as a prototype of the future model of postmodernism culture in its virtual variant has been presented in A. Mohl's work «Socio-dynamics of Culture». Considering the state of Western culture A. Mohl has analyzed the influence of mass media on the process of traditional «humanitarian» culture ousting by modern «mosaic» culture, which is being formed under the influence of uninterrupted chaotic information stream spread mostly by mass communication means.

At present media culture as the object of scientific analysis represents an interdisciplinary phenomenon and actual field of its study is cross-disciplinary, philosophy, sociology, psychology, economics, culturology, pedagogy, fine arts study, political science and anthropology being involved. Media culture research is in the sphere of its social effects evaluation, clarification of its place and role in contemporary society, peculiarities of its spreading within the system of mass media. The analysis of different approaches and research results makes it possible to consider media culture as a specific social phenomenon which represents:

- The field of social impact;
- The field of virtual and real culture interaction;
- A specific institution of personality socialization;
- A form and variants of information consumption;
- A source and essential factor of social conceptions formation;
- Social behavior regulator;
- A source of the beginnings of spontaneous mass public mood.

The significance of research of media culture as a socio-psychological phenomenon is defined not only by the necessity of theoretical development of new class problems but by the dramatic widening of mass media incidence, mass media globalization, transformation of media space into poly-cultural one both in content and in form. Alongside with that, the specific context of media culture itself is of big importance in defining its status as specific «human» characteristics of the mechanism of culture globalization and poly-cultural institution of public entertainment. From the point of view of its consumer media culture acts as a noticeable phenomenon of public life with entertaining, political and economical components. It can itself be considered as a significant social institution, as the culture of definite community or specific *organizational culture* which has been adopted or developed by the community or by definite group as it (the group) is learning to solve the problems of adaptation to the environment and internal integration. Arising behavioral patterns turn to be effective enough to be valuable, hence to be forwarded to new community members as the «right» mode of perception, thinking and attitude to concrete problems. These value norms are passed to individuals in the processes of personality growth and socialization through «symbolic» means of spiritual and material social surroundings. Media culture like any organizational culture has the following functions and features:

1. *Functions*: cognitive, value creating, communicative, normative-regulating, motivating, innovative, stabilizing and etc;
2. *Features*: dynamics, system, stability, structure of components, relativity, heterogeneity (the presence in poly-cultural space of contra-culture and subculture), separability and state of distribution and adaptability.

At present the issues of structure and main functions of media culture in contemporary society are discussed in detail in scientific literature, socio-psychological effects of mass media impact on youth audience are shown. Media culture impact being analyzed; both

positive and negative role of media environment on children and teenagers growth and socialization is emphasized. Many contradicting factors influence personality in socio-cultural space — these are advertising and fashion fetishes, different pseudo-values supplied by mass media. As a result, distorted norms and forms of individual social behavior in social media appear. It is also possible to study the properties of media culture as a social institution including: (1) functions and specific parameters of media culture as a social organization — mission, range and kinds of services, formation of professional personnel, manufacturing, promotion and selling entertaining services and their real consumption; (2) social effects — formation and consideration of expectation range of consumer and manufacturer, demand management, advertising effect, fashion formation, promotion mechanisms and phenomena etc.

Generalization of available literary data and the results of research done in addition and development of existing points of view makes it possible to mark out the following socio-psychological functions of media culture alongside with widely known informative, entertaining (hedonistic), mediatory and communicative:

1. *Compensatory or substituting function* which allows an individual to fill in at least virtually things unavailable in real life, to experience what he cannot experience in reality, to leave reality for the world of fantasy, to a certain extent realize short-term or long-term escape from self and in the end to create new kinds of addictive behavior (computer games, viewing CD about traveling and the like may be good examples).

2. *Identification function* gives users audience a wide enough range of patterns for imitation and copying which, however, does not turn to be that on closer examination;

3. *The function of promotion* of this or that culture into society which implements integration of promoted culture into socio-cultural space of given community (it creates possibilities for the formation and existence of local subcultures in general world culture, ensures the realization of this or that cultural product);

4. *Axiological function* forms value picture of personality world and giving and changing socially approved (in subculture given) values and ideals influences on cultural preferences of a separate individual, so affecting his/her perception of the world;

5. *World outlook function or the function of «cultivation»* lies in the fact that media culture intensively, actively and successfully changes its consumers idea about social reality and the world as a whole generalizing and sometimes simplifying the perception of everything happening in the world, drawing its consumers attention to some particular sides of what is taking place;

6. *Socializing function* consists in intensive involvement of an individual into different forms of interaction with media cultural environment. Identification and behavioral strategies given and embedded by media culture (including the assistance of manipulative technologies) may be considered as one of the most successful mechanisms of socialization of not only children and youth but adults as well;

7. *Socio-normative function* due to which mass media form the program of socio-psychological behavior of an individual, define or set the mode of life, represents a ready hierarchy of values, preferences. Besides the functions mentioned media culture (from socio-psychological point of view) implements the functions of *representation* or *personal translation* of local subculture of some community, social modeling of subjective world picture of separate personality and acts as an essential *factor of social life organization and emotional regulation of human's social behavior*.

The data of our empiric research make it possible to name significant (in order of decreasing) motives of the youth apply to media culture which determines the character of an individual involvement into socio-cultural environment:

- *Emotional-searching* or regulative motive which consists in personality's search of media culture products (journals, films, music, photographs etc.) required for the achievement of new emotional experience, look-up of deficient feelings, keen emotional states and the like. By applying to media world the subject forms the conditions needed at the given moment of time (e. g. he achieves additional energetic activation or, vice versa, relaxation). It can be said that in this case a cultural product of media becomes the object

of behavioral imitation and, to a certain extent, the mechanism of emotional identification for an individual.

- *The motive of compensation* or substitution of actual reality by virtual events. The phenomenon of «television addiction» (watching television more than 3 hours a day, watching serials and the like) is connected with the spiritual life poverty, the desire to go away from the problems of life, to leave for the better, illusive, world — the world of glamour, glitter, comfort. This motivation is directly associated with the compensational function of media culture. In this case the mechanism of social influence may be defined as follows: in the course of appealing to virtual reality the distraction from real life and its problems takes place. The danger of this compensation is that it often leads to pseudo-compensation under which the discrepancy between television tale and real life may strengthen but not weaken the internal antagonisms of the individual, bring to self-appraisal decrease, inferiority complex development etc.

- *The motive of searching new or unusual emotional states* most closely connected with hedonistic function of media culture; an individual's desire to experience a range of feelings which are not provided by everyday life is realized in social behavior and media world appeal.

- *Social motives* which are expressed in looking for identity, yearning for cooperation etc. Virtual space allows an individual to realize his need in affiliation, personal self-presentation, to display addiction to fashion, a wish not to lag behind others. Supporting blogs and chats, placing one's own photographs may also be considered as a social positioning of a subject and at the same time as a desire to belong to a certain group, to be involved into it.

- *Cognitive motives* are also connected with a number of media culture functions (promotion, world outlook, affiliation and others) which provide a possibility of poly-cultural world knowledge, mind broadening (e. g. reading the journals about culture, watching educational programs, information search on Internet and the like).

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11.2. MYPH AND IMAGE: CULTURE MANAGEMENT RESEARCH

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MANAGEMENT COMPETENCES OF THE HEADS OF THE SPHERE OF CULTURE: AN EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

The analysis of professionalism of the heads of the sphere of culture in the Russian sociological science only is put. It is possible to name researches (S. Zuev, N. Nikishin, L. Vostryakov etc.) in which there has made an attempt to generalize the required business and personal qualities or management competences for development of managers of the sphere of culture of the wide profile.

The analysis carried out by the researchers show that the modern head of the culture institutions in Russia or abroad for successful management should possess both general and specific managing skills. The specific management competences for the heads of

the sphere of culture, according to researchers, are characterized, first of all by multifunctionality of the manager, the necessity to follow the creative technologies, especially in a search of financial resources and management of people. The creative character of subordinates assumes the refusal of rigid technologies of management in favor of «inducing» influences which would consider the features of a socially-psychological portrait of workers in the sphere of culture. But as a whole, the data of researches of various authors allows to say that the specific skills of managers of the sphere of culture are not sharply dominant in comparison with the general skills. At least, the results of the analysis available by this moment do not give here an unambiguous answer on a question — what is more important specific or non-specific management competence?

The exit from the developed research deadlock is — the direct studying of managers of the sphere of culture, the analysis of their professional career, institutional norms sometimes having an informal character, developed in the management environment of the sphere of culture.

The similar approach only arises today. The majority of researches are focused on «a sight from outside» while the sight at a profession from «inside» at present only starts to be formed. However, it is necessary to recognize, after E. Jarskya-Smirnova and P. Romanov, that probability of contradictions between self-identification and indicators of social-economic situation of a subject in profession can be brightly expressed, for this reason «a sight from inside» on a profession of managers of the sphere of culture, seems to be the most perspective. At the heart of the offered theoretical approach the concept of management competence which gives a priority not to knowledge but real practices of management lies. The basis — the presence of a communication between a success of business and concrete management skills (R. Boum and P. Sparrou)

The advantage of the offered approach: orientation to practices and on revealing of the key characteristics providing efficient management. In the scientific literature there were formed various definitions of management competence — (R. Boyatsis, A. Konstabl, R. Albaniz, D. Hornbi and R. Thomas, etc.). In the given work we adhere to definition of the management competence, given by R. Albaniz: management competence — skills/ or personal characteristics promoting to effective performance of work in the sphere of management. Within the frames of such approach the main thing — an ability to practical management, contrary to a simple accumulation and demonstration of own knowledge.

The second important conceptual distinction which made in the work: dividing of the heads of the sphere of culture into administrators and managers. The administrator of culture does a policy (through development of a strategy, planning and motivation of subordinates). As a rule, it is the heads of the branch of culture of the regional and municipal levels (together with a team). The manager realizes a policy in the life. As a rule, it is the heads of the culture institutions presented by: theatres, museums, libraries, concert halls, etc. The empirical research of managers of the sphere of culture of Russia's Northwest region included the poll of 300 heads of the sphere of culture of regional and municipal levels of Northwest region. The poll has been conducted in 2008 under the «title» of Northwest Academy of Civil service (the head-doctor of pedagogical sciences L. Vostryakov) with a direct participation of the author. The poll data was compared further with the results of P. Klansi research carried out in an example of the Irish heads of the sphere of culture in 1994. The sample included 522 heads of the sphere of culture. Here it is given a summary table (№1) and the most general conclusions of the given analysis.

Table 1. Comparative ratings of the management competence of the heads of the sphere of culture of Russia and Ireland

Management competence	Manager of culture	Directors of museums	Heads of theatres	Listeners of higher school of economics	Ireland	
					Managers of culture	Managers of museums
Ability of effectively distribute time, plan the actions, organize the resources for achieving purposes of organization	1	1	1	II I	1	1—2
Ability to put tasks for the others and control its performance	2	4	2	II	12	7
Knowledge of laws	3	5	3	1 1	16	16
Ability quickly to capture the problem	4	2	5	1	9	8
Ability to count and distribute necessary financial resources and control its expenses	5	3	4	V II 1	4	9
Ability to listen to the other point of view, to conduct negotiations and pay attention on needs of others	6	8	7	V	3	3—4
Knowledge of potential resources of financing	7	6	6	9	8	14
Ability to be sure and convinced	8	7	8	V 1	2	5
Ability to create and keep contact nets and channels of communication with the world	9	9	9	1 V	7	11
Ability to hold to the plan and avoid control of yourself	1 1	11	10	1 3	11	6

Management competence	Manager of culture	Directors of museums	Heads of theatres	Listeners of higher school of economics	Ireland	
					Managers of culture	Managers of museums
Knowledge of local, national and international organizations	1 2	13	16	1 2	15	15
Ability to hold effective meetings	1 3	16	15	1 5	13	13
Ability to influence people and to be the «winner of a day»	1 4	14	11	1 0	10	10
Ability to effectively oral presentation	1 5	12	13	1 4	6	3—4
Ability to prepare good written presentations	16	15	14	1 6	5	1—2

The poll has shown that distinctions between the Russian and Irish heads are traced accurately enough: especially clearly they are expressed concerning presentation skills. Irish insist on the high importance of presentation skills for the management (5th position among managers and 1—2 position in a rating of significant competences among directors of museums), while Russians give them the more modest place. For Russians it is more important «to put tasks for others and to control its execution», for Irish people these abilities are not so required. For Russians the knowledge of laws is important while for Irish people it has no such serious value. For Irish it is much more important to be assured and convincing than for Russians (2—5 position for Irish people, 7—8 position for Russians). Also there are noticeable the distinctions between Russians and Europeans concerning such quality as «ability to influence people and to be «the winner of a day». If Irish people put this quality on 10th position, then Russians put it on 14th position (managers and directors of museums). The coincided positions among Irish and Russians are — «ability of effectively distribute time, plan actions and organize resources» (1st position among Russians and 1—2 position among Irish people).

The analysis shows that distinctions between the Russian administrators and managers exist, but they make no more than 2—3 rating points. On the first place both the Russian administrators and the Russian managers (directors of museums and theatres) put «the ability of effectively distribute time, to plan actions and to organize resources for achievement of the purposes of the organization». Here their views about a demand of this or that qualities coincide completely. While the other two qualities which have received 2 and 3 position on the importance in a rating of qualities, differ by two points between managers and heads of museums. If managers put «the ability to put tasks for the others and to supervise their effective performance» on the second rating place according to importance, then the heads of museums put it only on 4th position in a rating. The positions of managers and heads of theatres do not differ among themselves. The same situation is characteristic of and for such quality as «knowledge of laws». Both managers, and heads of theatres give it the 3rd rating position, and managers of museums only 5th position.

There are notable distinctions between three groups of managers concerning such quality as «ability to effectively hold meetings». If managers put it on 13 rating position then the directors of museums and theatres put it accordingly on 16th and 15th place in a rating of qualities. It is rather indicative that managers better than administrators

realize the importance of such skill, as «ability to effective oral presentation». Managers put the given quality on 13th place in a rating, while the directors of museums on 16th, and directors of theatres on 15th place. The significant distinctions in an estimation of managing competences between managers and directors of museums are observed also among the Irish managers. As it is seen from the given table, the greatest distinctions (5—6 points) concern such qualities as: «knowledge of potential sources of financing» (6 points), «ability to put tasks for the others, and supervise their effective performance» (5 points), «ability to count and distribute necessary financial resources and accurately to control their expenses» (5 points), «ability to hold to the plan and avoid a control for yourself» (5 points).

The obtained data testifies that there exist as well as the distinctions between countries and inside of the groups among managers of Russia and Ireland. These distinctions are caused by as social and cultural features of two countries and actually specifics of managing activity of each of the groups. It should be paid attention to the fact that the heads of theatres of Russia show the great similarity in estimations with Russian managers, rather than the directors of museums who continue to remain managers, whose entering the market goes more slowly, in comparison with the other heads of the sphere of culture.

I.N. Dashibalova, Ulan-Ude

IMAGE OF THE CHILDHOOD IN THE SOVIET VISUAL DISCOURSE OF THE 1930TH

In given article it is considered how there was a formation of a discourse of an image of «childhood» by means of visual propagation in 30th of the 20th century in Soviet Union on an example of photos and posters, and also what divergences with the created image concrete social policy of those years in relation to objects of a photo had. Designing, creation an image of «the happy childhood» it is characterized in measurements of destiny of E.A. Markizova (E.S. Cheshkova). On the photo we see a Buryatian girl held by Josef Stalin on his hands. It is known as a symbol of «happy childhood of Soviet children of all folks and ethnic groups» in 1930—50ts in Soviet Union. It has text: «We thank comrade Stalin for our happy childhood» The given visual object was favorite of mass media and mass culture during pre-war and post-war time as a propaganda symbol and an image of happy childhood. Its copies were printed on post-cards, street posters and even on boxes of sweets. It came in the form of sculptures in parks, places of rest, in buildings of schools, in streets of cities of Soviet Union.

Let us discuss the context and conditions of creation of the image of «the happy childhood» of Soviet children in 30—50s. It was supported by the various strata of social interaction. First, creators of the given social myth: the reporter who created the given picture, agents of the Soviet state policy on cult creation an image of the happy girl. Secondly, the Soviet people, including children whom we define as broad audience perceiving the given image. Thirdly, the heroes of the picture are a Buryatian girl called Geli Markizova and J.V. Stalin. The contradiction between a drama reality and mythology in which have appeared actors of the given social interaction are involved, is deep, and shows first of all an essential divergence between the idea accompanying a picture and destiny of characters. Besides, the given picture generated some kind of and «circles on water»: Childhood social policy was far from a symbol of «the happy childhood», in particular it concerned children of Soviet citizens subjected to repression.

The picture was taken during the meeting of delegation of workers the Buryat-Mongolia with the Communist party leadership on January, 27th 1936r. It bewitches till now sincerity of the heroine of a picture. However this naturalness has turned to a social myth and in the drama image has changed its destiny, despite improbable success in all country. Let us consider history of creation and participants of the given visual canon. In January

1936 the delegation of workers from Buryat-Mongolian ASSR came to Moscow. Among its delegates there were heads of republic and the commissar of agriculture A.A. Markizov who was invited to the Kremlin to participate in a meeting with party leadership. The daughter of the commissar Markizov was 6-year-old Gel Markizova. During one of performances she came to J.V. Stalin and handed him flowers with words: «These flowers are given to you by children of the Buryat-Mongolia». Press photographers, who were present at the Kremlin, photographed Stalin with the girl on his hands. Then in the newspaper «Truth» the photo appeared with comments: «We thank comrade Stalin for our happy childhood». Subsequently the picture was widely adopted, many thousands circulations were created reproductions from a photo in the form of cards, posters, sculptural monuments, and even on the boxes of sweets.

If to trust the given canon, the destiny of the girl seems to be lucky. And she could be the happiest girl of Soviet Union. After all it was great real honor for her to be on the reception with the leader as it was advertised in a similar way. Really, proceeding from the photo chronicle about J.V. Stalin, there were few pictures on which he was shown with children. Besides the pictures of Josef Stalin with his own children there was a photo picture of Stalin with 11-year-old girl Mamlakat Nahangova who received Lenin's award and the picture with unknown children taken at the airport in Tushino. However, it was the picture of Stalin with Gel Markizova which was most successfully composite decision though the reporter probably did not reflect on it is executed. It fixed the moment of donation of power and sentimentality the leader. The photogenic girl, sincerely rejoicing to the leader, became the symbol of Soviet happy children. Simultaneously it identified all Soviet children, but at the same time in it saw a feature phenomenon, exclusiveness. It is possible to tell that it was envied by all Soviet children. Impression of the picture is very strong; it presents the sincerity as though no grief was present. There are beautiful flowers, lights and a nice smile of the girl. The picture is dynamical, radiates mood of happiness. We feel happiness, spontaneity and pleasure of the heroine of the picture. In spite of the fact that it was a black-and-white picture, it was emotionally expressive and effective. The case of G. Markizova became the improbable success of propagation, ground for creators of myths about happy childhood, its shape quite corresponded to an aesthetic canon: active, emotional, attractive, charming, carrying ideologically sustained fashionable hairstyle to a penalty, dressed as a «matroska» — a navy suit — that was an attribute of noble children's clothes and at the same time it was a kind of clothes worn by adult daily of 30th years¹⁶⁵.

Through the given visual canon occurred process by means of which the power receives the justification fidelity to the leader, as an indicator of fidelity of Soviet children of J.V. Stalin, and from outside parties and the states as display of populism and demonstration of care of children. As the important semantic symbol in a picture Stalin's role as father who replaces a role of real father's acts. Embraces in which he has concluded the child, set sensation of security, guardianship, protection. The picture becomes the compiler of value of the leader and it's care of children. Ostentatious affability to all epithets and images of the leader is successfully supplemented with image of the favorite of children. The leader and the girl as archetypes express communication of generations, harmony, the general blessing, completeness of life, comfort, a cosines. The phrase «Thanks companion Stalin for the happy childhood» is used in all visual products of an epoch, as headers on demonstrations and parades. The definitive statement in a political lexicon occurs through the newspaper «Truth» on September 23rd, 1937 an article titled «Happy Children of a Stalin epoch» was published.

The certificate of mass duplicating of this slogan is colorful posters on which have been represented J. Stalin and Soviet children. As a rule, on posters, Stalin's figure is the most

¹⁶⁵ The nursery navy suit (matroshka) was considered as very elegant dress for children those years. In particular, in memoirs of V.D. Berestova «Light forces. The book of memoirs. The childhood in a small city». Chapter 1 The Origin», it is resulted the following plot concerning elegance of a navy suit «matroshka»: «White socks with sandal were put on us seldom, as well as elegant matroska with a peak less cap and gold letters on its ribbon «the HERO». When I have appeared for the first time in that heroic dress in the street, boys with contempt have looked at the newly appeared son of a rich family and have muttered: «The Sailor, in pants has imposed!» The insult struck me on the spot, and mum tenderly approved my desire to change clothes».

significant. It was seen with adoration look by both adults, and children. On all posters it is a lot of sun, light, colors, smiles. Bright pure paints prevail: blue, red, gold. A Stalin hand is the safest place. Children on posters are unusually beautiful. The cliché «happy children» strongly enters into political language and at sub consciousness level is automatically fixed in consciousness of many generations. In particular, in V.K. Bukovskogo's memoirs the given phrase is used as a synonym of «lost paradise»: «For us for all Stalin was more than God, it was a reality which it is impossible to doubt, he thought for us, it rescued us, created to us the happy childhood»¹⁶⁶

Due to A. Usmanova's statement the verbal information dominates over visual and even deforms its sense: «Logos supervises the image, appropriates to it sense, finds and assigns to it of the reviewer, imposing that to the image the true». Absolute character of the given ideological myth is connected first of all, that formation of public verbal culture occurred, mainly through the press, in particular through leading articles of the newspaper «Truth», and also radio, a cinema as most mass of arts which created the second reality with the style, stamps, and social stereotypes. However the validity extremely disperses from the created myth. The father Gels, and later her mother have been arrested and shot on charge in espionage in favor of Japan and in attempt at Stalin in 1937r. As to the girl was only 7 years, it was brought up in children's home in Kazakhstan as the daughter subjected to repression, thereby obviously without being entered in the propaganda slogan of «the happy childhood».

Picture transformation has occurred in renaming of its character (to the girl after arrest of parents in a picture have given other name and a surname), and also in falsification and photo retouching. Originally in a picture, side by side with J. Stalin and G. Markizova, there was also M.N. Erbanov, the head of the delegation who was subjected to repression in 1937. Among many political and spiritual leaders the Buryat-Mongolii whom parents Gels concerned also. After 1937 the picture has been carefully retouched also a figure of Erbanova is erased. Also in the first picture we find out that Gel was in valenki (special winter boots used by poor people in villages). Those valenki were later retouched. Thus, the photo lost its functions of reality, it embodied an instant condition, the historical moment, but it lost identity and turned to painting, became the refined popular print, the varnished illustration. Ideologically favorable elements were left. M. Erbanov was erased from the picture. And the valenki were excluded (the leader should not have a child in valenki on his hands). And even the dress of the girl (the matroska's dress was changed into a white elegant dress). In result the whole photo picture was changed into beautiful and attractive poster picture. The designed, retouched, modified image of a girl on Stalin's hands became an image of the childhood in Stalin years. It was an object of valuable orientations of Soviet society in relation to children, belonged to collective consciousness of Soviet people formed by mass media of that time. The cultural phenomenon which has arisen in propagation of 1930th, certainly, in any way did not reflect real life of Soviet children and that of the heroine of the described photo. But it makes everyone believe that there should be some place where children should be seen happy being symbols of care taken about them as the purposes of political power hence being grateful and obedient.

L. Jakovlev

ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURES CONVERGENT INTERACTIONS MECHANISMS IN SPACE OF GLOBALIZATION

In the modern scientific literature is allocated a models line of organizational cultures. They are built on an axis «Japan — USA» usually. The Japanese authors believe specificity of organizational culture in the country connected with paternalism, egalitarianism, the

¹⁶⁶ Bukovsky Century K «Also comes back a wind ...»: Letters of the Russian traveller. M, 1990. With. 64.

group nature of work. This philosophy is realized in the field of management of human resources. Corporations carry out selection of graduates of educational institutions, conduct their intra-firm preparation, and realize programs of rotation of the staff. The system of the promotion focused more likely on standardized characteristics, rather than the analysis of achievements of concrete employees operates. There are maximal guarantees of employment, in comparison with experts of other regions. Until recently rather significant there was a role of trade unions.¹⁶⁷ There are original practices of participation of workers in management. On the one hand, they are involved in discussion of the broad audience of questions, get access to the corporate information. On the other hand, it is a question of the right of a deliberative vote, instead of about delegation of powers. The right to decision-making remains behind administration. Probably, it is more anywhere in the world its representatives do not possess such authority. At the same time, it is incorrect to see in this the certificate of the big distance of authority; workers so do not perceive it, because in general differently, rather than Europeans, understand a distance of authority. Adherence of the organization and group is encouraged on the basis of эгалитарного the approach.¹⁶⁸

In this feudal model of organizational culture professionalism of the worker as its basic characteristic, is replaced with loyalty. It is supposed, that the head takes up a maximum of the responsibility. In conditions of conveyor manufacture such scheme was effective. But already then, as marked I. Nonaka, the adaptation to «economy of knowledge» in many respects was provided due to the network organization, connection of corporations with weight independent and полунезависимых structures. With the beginning of a new millennium crisis of the Japanese organizational culture is obvious. In these conditions the academic public of the country the increasing interest shows to adaptation of the «western» models of business culture.

As terminal model the majority of authors define the American business culture. Whether it is opposed Japanese, European, or to other models, it gives a convenient, indicative material for comparison. The USA cardinal feature is inherent: as much as possible high, in comparison with any other region, autonomy of management. The American businessmen and corporations always it is less, than no matter where, depend on the state. In the certain degree, this state has arisen, as club of large proprietors. The Virginia's clan role in the first twentieth anniversaries after a gain of independence is obvious. A complex of circumstances among which the essential place is borrowed also with personal qualities J. Washington, J. Adams, T. Jefferson, has not allowed authority to turn to oligarchy. However, being democratic, this authority was guided first of all by interests of proprietors, and was absolutely not inclined to populism. The second important factor is connected with it also: rather slow development of trade-union movement. Now from significant sector of the American economy trade unions are completely superseded. It concerns first of all to regions of the South and the West (so-called «Sunbelt»), but also in traditional industrial states not always at the enterprises there are trade unions. It is connected and that in the USA the share of small enterprises is great, «the public sector» where for trade-union activity of a condition are not ideal is very powerful.

Processes of evolution of corporate culture in the USA also were influenced by politics of overcoming of gender inequality and liquidation of consequences racial сегрегации. Problems of an inequality were эксплицированы and were solved publicly; it promoted the further fastening of individualism as base principle of the American organizational culture. Alongside with it orientation on formal-legal mechanisms constructions of attitudes of all levels has received the additional sanction.

Attempts to determine the Russian organizational culture by means of its aprioristic designing as медианной between the East and the West are not effective. Very high indexes of avoiding of uncertainty are fixed. In E. Danilova, M. Tararuchina research is ascertained, that in Russia conservatism is inherent in people, but thus there are no

¹⁶⁷ Kano J. Management of human resources in Japan // Management of human resources. SPb., Peter, 2002. P. 557.

¹⁶⁸ Kim B.W. Seniority wage systems in the Far East. Aldershot, Avebury. 1992

guarantees, that rules will be observed.¹⁶⁹ Actually, people simply aspire to avoid disorder known as the Russian word «bezpredel» ‘without any limits’, arguing in this case in the same way, as the medieval peasants who are not protested against operation as those, and demanding returning from «bad» folk laws to «correct». In discussion of 2003 year N. Latova stated with an idea, that in Russia «even most the «advanced» part of the population, youth, has no to the full all necessary set of values of «capitalist mentality». The participants who have disagreed this of discussion, in particular, V.A. Jadov, specified that to the full nobody possesses all feature set «The Modern personality» which were investigated by Alex Inkless.¹⁷⁰ VCIOM monitoring and many other things data testify in favor of essential distinction of systems of values, behavioral intentions and an expert of the Russian youth and the senior generations. In this cohort there is an aspiration to rise the «a business resource», readiness for risk. In opinion of some the authors using with reference to Russia toolkit Hofstede, high value of a distance of authority in Russia leads to centralization, autocratic style of decision-making and a mood of subordinates on the constant control.¹⁷¹ The distance of authority in Russia actually rather, but it is overcome, on an informal basis, extremely easily. Russia has not Weber’s bureaucracy; this place is occupied by elements of the clan organization, personal fidelity. To this it is necessary to add the consequences following from the formula of N. Berdyaev: the property in Russia developed not as earned, and as elicited, or taken away that is why it is not respected. But from absence of respect for the property follow, first, absence of readiness to submit to decisions of its owner, secondly, weakness of direct economic motivation. The worker is focused not on monetary receipts from a payment, and on an opportunity to take advantage by those or other resources, about primitive «carrying out» from work of everything that it is possible to sell, before operating by communications, images, the confidential information. Therefore and the management in Russia aspires to maximize the control, as that though something to achieve from executors and as required to use authority in the personal interests. Actually, there is only one really effective strategy for Russia: management on an end result. But thus the result should be certain extremely particularly, and ways of its achievement can be formulated with a low degree of definiteness. At a high ingenuity and ability to training Russian it will allow achieving optimum results. Globalization transforms system of the states to uniform international structure. However the uniform approach to definition of this concept does not exist.¹⁷² It is the result of domination of ideologies in discourses of globalization. At them there is a wide spectrum of interpretations, with two polar estimations. On one pole representation about fundamental positive change of all system of the social interactions, connected with transition to a postindustrial, information society.¹⁷³ The opposite pole is presented by negative treatments of globalization.¹⁷⁴ In some cases they become the basis of a confrontation.

Polemic concerning globalization lies, generally, outside a scientific discourse. It shows, as not demanding acknowledgement, slogans of «westernization» (or «Europeanization», «Americanization») organizational cultures of the countries getting in the field of globalization. In practice at the description of these processes other categories should be used. First, both European, and American cultures are not uniform. The first simply consists of a conglomerate of national and regional cultures. The second at all does not show the finished result of action «melting crucible», anyway, concerning a lot of ethnic communities. Secondly process of modernization, in planetary expansion named by

¹⁶⁹ E.N. Danilova, M.I. Tararukhina. The Russian industrial culture in Hofstede parameters // Monitoring of public opinion: economic and social changes. 2003. №3 (65). P. 53—64.

¹⁷⁰ The Internet-conference «Search of effective institutes for Russia XXI centuries» // <http://www.ecsocman.edu.ru/db/msg/118776.html>

¹⁷¹ Kochetkov V.V. Business cultures in the international cooperation. M.: Society, 2002

¹⁷² Philip G.C. Globalization and the Residual State: The Challenge to Viable Constitutionalism // Designs for democratic stability: studies in viable constitutionalism / ed. A. Baaklini and H. Desfosses. M. E Sharpe. N. Y., London, 1997. P. 285.

¹⁷³ Stiglitz J. Globalization and its Discontents. N. Y., 2002

¹⁷⁴ Sherstnev M.A. Globalization — new word, or new phenomenon // The economical sciences. 2006. №4. P. 40.

globalization, as typical model the sample of the American or European culture offers at all, and designed new culture. Its characteristics assume use of classical positions of M. Weber concerning domination efficient type of social action and the statement of bureaucracy, instead of search of archetypes in national cultures. Thus, integration of organizational cultures should be understood in a context of modernization.

Natalia V. Tischenko, Saratov

MAKING A CRIMINAL IMAGE IN NATIVE CINEMATOGRAPHY

1. In modern culture production of mass media, films and serials are the main bearers of cultural patterns. Not a long time ago examples of behavior and value reference points were formed under the influence of religious doctrines, scientific paradigms and literature, but nowadays cinematography industry determines the character of basic cultural patterns for each individual and society in whole. Jameson F. declares that visualization and cinematographic are the basis of modern cultural experience [1. This become apparent in replacement of previous vocabulary systems (idiolects), based on connotative codes by such vocabulary system which includes denotative codes [2]. The culture of typographic word was based on basic practice — finding out the sense (connotative codes) using the reflexion. As for modern visual practices they ignore the sense and propose projects of ideas, actions and situations.

2. One of the most widespread images used in native cinematography is the figure of criminal. A lot of serials and feature films devoted to criminality represent a crime and infringement as part and parcel of everyday life. The most interesting from this point of view are the feature films and television serials produced during the period of 90s years 20th century and the beginning of 21st century. This period was very difficult for Russia in political, social and cultural meaning. Previous soviet ideology turned out unfounded but new ideals and principles were not yet formed. Because of originated ideological crisis criminal utilities and principles became widespread among population. They were characterized by simplicity and made an illusion of stability and order but this order was fully criminal. All this processes were displayed in those days cinematography.

Using the specific means of artistic expressiveness modern cinematography could attach romantic and heroic features to the prison subculture and its representatives. The image of the prisoner became popular in culture as the symbol of struggle with the tyranny of bureaucrats. Determination of the strategy using which the film reproduces the norms of prison subculture will allow us to stop the spreading of functional ignorance in society and the prejudice relatively to prisons and prisoners. From the other side using the results of this research we can prevent the following spread of criminal aims in everyday life. The theoretical basis of prison subculture analysis is based on the works of M. Foucault, G. Saiks, D. Clemmer, A. Couen [3].

This analysis has not only the empiric importance but also the theoretical potential. Realization of this project will help us to fill a theoretical gap in native studies of history and traditions of films and the business of cinema. The analysis of cinematic text is a popular method in the humanitarian research, but the methodology of such analysis of cinematic text is developed rather pure in native literature and looks more like film criticism, then like independent scientific method. The majority of methodological problems concern the analysis of feature film. In visual anthropology the researchers first of all point out the documentary material, and the cinematic text of feature film is used only as an illustration. However feature film is one of the most important information sources because it contains conception of the norms and ideals of the epoch embodied in artistic image. With certainty I can say that in native literature there is no considered methodology of cinematic analysis. Using the foreign theory (Film theory,

Screen theory) and native elaborations in such field as visual anthropology, author's methodology of analysis of feature cinematic text will be worked out and approbated in this project. Semiotic and narrative analyses would be taken as the basis of the methodology.

3. Topics of the films were introduced as specific social and cultural practices that were reproduced by numerous groups of people in different situations. In such context cinema-text can be considered as a system of codes using which conceptions of «criminal and order», «just and unjust», «true and lies» could be formed. In this investigation we tried to restore scenarios of origins of these conceptions. In analyzed cinema-texts we picked out such social codes as:

3.1. Code of last man standing («Genius» (1991), «Brother», «Gangster Petersburg» (2000), «Fools die on Fridays» (1990), «Boomer 2» (2006)). The main hero not only surpasses surrounding him people but also rejects by them because of his moral, intellectual characteristics and wide life experience.

3.2. Code of guiding character («Prison Romance» (1994), «Gangster Petersburg» (2000)). Nearby the main hero there is a character who knows both criminal and official laws and who can act using dual principles. Often such character is a representative from legal organs.

3.3. Code of criminal community. («Brigade» (2002), «Boomer» (2003), «Bastards» (2005)). In this case contrary to last man standing image of a group (friends from childhood) is used. Personal relations inside such group are based on principle of infinite devotion to the leader and common cause.

3.4. Code of arbitrariness authority is present in all films devoted to criminal theme («Bespredel» (1989), «The Zone. A Prison Novel» (2005), «Tango For A Prisoner» (2006), «Lucky» (2006), «Special Prison» (2007). A man has to struggle against official authority because it is a real source of criminal. This is one of the most complicated codes that demonstrate how imperceptible and versatile the boundary that divides authority and criminal became in social consciousness. This code also reveals «positive» criminal who withstands criminal authority.

3.5. Code of the home («Cold summer of 1953» (1988), «Brother», «The Children of Arbat Street» (2004), «Boomer 2» (2006)). This code shows the social ideal to which the hero tends. Home is such a place where is no social injustice, struggle and treason. As a rule, following the plot of the film this ideal turned out to be unachievable.

3.6. The code of the law or the order is closely connected with a code of authority. The law and the order are not a prerogative of official authority. At least, that law as which it is possible to consider fair and to which characters of films implicitly submit. Principles of laws are formed or actions of the hero-single, or inside of communities. These laws have no legal status, are not expressed in documents. Force of influence of laws consists that their efficiency is checked up in practice.

3.7. The code of force invariable is present at all films which have been analyzed. The violence and aggression represent itself as a unique way of the sanction of disputed situations. And the violence is shown not only concerning «Another's» «Others» (representatives of the law, members of other criminal communities, etc.), but the violence is a part of attitudes and with «Friends» (members of communities, native, favorite people). The violence is not directed on someone particularly, and extends absolutely on all associates. The violence is shown in stages of fights, murders, in turns of speech which characters of films use.

4. Cinematography has an influence upon public opinion and attitude that is why we suppose that in modern culture was build an image of a criminal pseudo-hero. Using the specific means of artistic expressiveness modern cinematography industry could add romantic and heroic features to prison subculture and its representatives. Image of a condemned criminal became claimed and popular in society as a symbol of struggle against arbitrariness of official authority.

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MASS MUSICAL CULTURE AS A SOCIAL CULTURAL SPACE

The 20th century became the century of total musical attack. Music in all its variety and diversity, obtaining new types, forms, genres, getting more perfect technical possibilities became one of the biggest attributes of modern globalizing world. Music is obtaining the traits of mass culture and it appears in every sphere of modern life. It allows speaking about not only music itself but also about mass musical culture. Problems of musical life seldom appear to be musical problems only. They are closely connected with social factors. Any musical culture exists in certain social environment, is spread among certain social groups of the society and is represented by certain social institutions. It is very important that music organizes its own social environment. For example, audience that visits pop-concerts can consists of people with different social background but it isn't a mixed audience, but the audience which is united by appropriate type of artistic thinking and belongs to the same type of musical culture within which pop-songs and pop-music are culturally significant [1, 67]. During historical development in many regions of the planet musical culture made different forms of existence, factors define that the state of culture as well as parameters for its analyses.

Mass musical culture is not only aesthetic phenomenon but also a social one. It is connected with very different social structures that are why mass musical culture can not be explained, comprehended and interpreted completely without researching its social space. Mass musical culture is a very urgent subject for modern social humanitarian science. It is connected at least with two important circumstances. The first is the proportion of this phenomenon; the second one is the place and the positioning of mass musical culture in social cultural 'coordinate system', which determines the high degree of its influence as a modern social phenomenon on many adjacent social cultural phenomena and processes. The effect of music existence as a social important phenomenon can become apparent on different levels of people's objective reality. For example:

1. on macro social level (process of globalization, international and intercultural contacts);
2. in social group field (forming of group symbols, values, standards);
3. on the level of personal life and self-determination (structure of individual cultural consumption).

Setting this 'coordinate system' we can create social cultural extensionality of the learning phenomenon. Mass musical culture can be considered according to P. Bourdieu 'field' theory. According to this theory fields appear as a specific consequence of progressing practice division. Every field including the field of mass musical culture has special characteristics:

1. autonomy, i. e. relative functional independence from external enforcement;
2. over-determination of all external influence according to its own logic;

3. forms of the interaction of the agents' whose positions have to be considered according to their mutual relationship (assets, power, material symbolic profit). The logic of the field functioning constructs the space of the possibilities for every agent. And it is the agent that determines the field structure according to the proportion of his authority of all the other agents in the field. Thus the strategy of every agent is determined by his assets (economic, cultural, social and others), power balance and specification of the field itself. Particularly, mass musical culture field is a logic structure, a specific environment that helps to realize social relationship. This field is the field of different rules of interaction among the agents, the space of 'rates' and strategies. [2]

According to Boudreau's theory the strategy means not 'purposeful and planned achievement of different aims and goals but active enrollment of objective oriented 'action lines', that obey the regulation and form coordinated and socially comprehensive models although they don't follow the conscious rules and don't strive for the goals and aims set up by the strategist' [3, 21]. The field structure 'supports and directs strategies, which the people who take special authority use individually or collectively to keep and improve their position or try to impose the hierarchy principle which is more favourable for them' [2]. According to modern conditions the main strategy of symbolic fighting in mass musical culture field is a monopoly on musical authority, popularity and fame as symbolic power supported by means of emblems and signs: diplomas, rewards as realization of cultural capital, high position in professional hierarchy. A monopolist's position allows him to set up musical practice standards, determine priorities, positions and image of all mass musical culture fields or its separate part, identifying their aims and methods with his own ones. We should note that the attitude to music is much differentiated. It depends on the state political organization as well as social historical situation. Therefore, the autonomy of mass musical culture field will change depending on above mentioned conditions. When the value of music estimations decreases in society the status of an agent of mass musical culture also decreases.

There are two ways of surviving. The agents have either to concentrate on themselves and lead an ascetic way of life or to reduce the field autonomy: carry out social order of the power (political, economic); be under the public's thumb. These two ways lead to a certain conversion of music capital into the political sphere. P. Bourdieu notes that the power of mass musical culture that produces different things in the name of new forms of consciousness opposes the state power that produces different forms of consciousness for the benefits of the existing things order. Autonomy of mass musical culture field allows using this advantage and cross the border made by external enforcement. As for the politicians they are ready to use expressive means of music to achieve social aims and goals that are within the borders of existing social cultural structures. It is necessary to support the autonomy of mass musical culture field agents have to produce the belief in high importance of music in society. It is necessary to note that the reasons for decreasing the importance of music in society can be different: from decreasing people's general level to inner crisis inside the mass musical culture field. The level of field autonomy depends on economic resource, the ability to resist external interference and the ability to impose its positive or negative sanctions.

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SOCIO-CULTURAL CONSEQUENCES OF MODERNIZATION

Social problems in contemporary Russian society are reactions to the process of its modernization. They reflect real contradictions of the society, which combine cultures belonging to different stages of the historical process as an impact of the process of the social modernization. The technological changes are a base of a process of social modernization. Cultural changes must follow technological ones and adapt human behavior to new technical environment. Author understands culture (closely to L. White [1], P. Bohannon [2], etc. as a system of non-biological regulators of human behavior (values, norms, attitudes etc.). Culture includes regulators of human behavior for all spheres of life (family, labor, exchange, politics, etc.). One of the important functions of any culture is adaptation of human behavior on an environment [3]. The environment is changed with the processes of technological and social modernization. The system of non-biological regulators also changes, but more slow (inertness of culture).

Acceleration of technological and social changes has been appearing in West European Civilization for few last centuries. This Civilization was first one, which faced the challenged and we can see fast cultural changes in it as after-effects of technological and social ones. West Europeans were the very first people that had to choose between accepting and rejecting technological, social, cultural changes permanently. It was important fact, which separated culture of the West from cultures of other societies. Since the moment Western society has been having culture of new kind. It had to elaborate mechanisms of permanent selection and adoption new examples of human behavior, new kind of regulators human behavior that could adapt human behavior on new environment, which was modified by technological changes. Appearance of social groups with different attitudes towards permanent technological, social, cultural changes, with different levels of modernization their culture, interaction between them we can see these phenomena in West Civilization first of all. The modernization extends them outside of West. Technological revolution and Globalization increase the speed of modernization in countries of East and West Civilizations. Alex Inkeles [4] and David Smith have shown (sample 6000) new type of personality in modernizing countries that has been appearing from Modernization [4]. The new type of personality has got new life experience and some new cultural features. Ronald Inglehart's World Values Survey has shown culture differentiations in the World [5]. So any modern society is not homogeneous. There are a lot of different social-culture groups with non-equal levels of modernization of culture, and there are a lot of cultures with different levels of modernization in any country. Some people had adopted one of the kind of culture in there childhood, but after that environment was changed by process of modernization. The culture of these people does not correspond to the new environment. For example, in Russia a few generations ago a majority of population was a rural one. Their environment was based on a natural, subsistence economy. Their culture corresponded to this level of environment progress. The process of modernization has changed economy and other sides of environment during a few dozen years. Culture was not able to change so fast. People have conflict with impacts and challenges of modernization (market, new division of labor, new woman status, etc.). There are number of groups with different levels of culture modernization and different reaction to continuation of modernization. Other countries deal with the same problems.

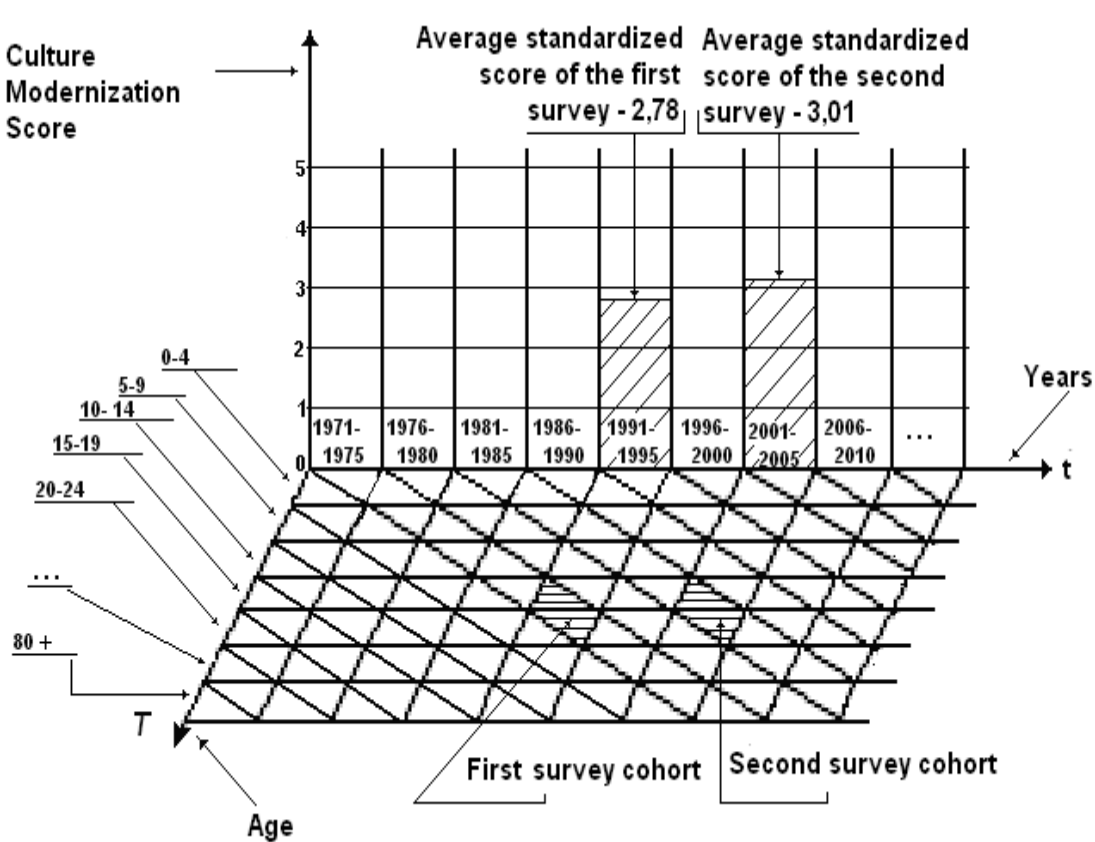
The author tried to investigate the problem of socio-cultural changes as an impact of modernization by sociological methods. The pilot included the investigation of culture of student and employees as part of the process of Russian modernization. The main concept of our research is a concept of the socio-cultural type. The type can be connected with market economy relations or disconnected with them. The process of social modernization changes social relations. The processes of urbanization, industrialization, division of labor etc. substitute personal, direct social relations of traditional society for impersonal, indirect relations, which are mediated by market. These changes of social conditions are the reason of changes of human behavior, way of life. It is impossible without culture changes. Different generations have their socialization in different social conditions, so they adapt different kinds of culture. More modernized type of culture is adapted to more modernized type of social environment. New generation has

opportunity to adapt to more modernized culture than old one. New generation comes to take old generation's place and new culture to come s to take old culture's place. We tried to check this hypothesis. According to this approach a research program and questionnaire were elaborated and more then five hundred responses were collected from students of universities in Perm (1991, first survey) and more five hundred responses were collected from students of universities in Perm (2005, second survey).

The Likert's scale was used for the elucidation of the level of modernization of culture of respondents. There were five groups of statements for determining of the attitudes toward phenomena of modern and traditional societies. One of them concerned the family sphere, another one was related to the sphere of economics, a third of the group included attitudes toward social equality, forth of the group concerned the sphere of politics, and fifth group was related to measuring level of openness (tolerance for other cultures, innovations, etc.). The culture modernization score of respondent was standardized by formula: $\frac{\text{The score of respondent}}{60} - 1$, if 60 is number of statements of Likert's scale.

After that 0 means minimum level of culture modernization (culture of traditional society) and 5 means maximum level of culture modernization (culture of modern society). Data were pulled from generation that was born in 1971—1975 in the first survey (1991) and data were pulled from generation that was born in 1981—1985 in the second survey (2005). An average standardized score of culture modernization level was applied for comparison the generations. The average standardized score of culture modernization level of the first survey equals 2.78 (standard deviation equals 0.29) and the average standardized score of culture modernization level of the second survey equals 3.01. (Standard deviation equals 0.36) The difference of the culture modernization level scores between generations has statistical significance. Younger generation were born in the early seventieth had low level of culture modernization. Older generation were born in the late eighties had high level of culture modernization. We use the Lexis diagram for visualization the cohort's differentiation of culture modernization level (see figure).

Figure. The cohort's differentiation of culture modernization level



The younger and older generations show us not only differences of culture modernization score. For example 20.3% students of the first survey cohort had a job, and 32.6% students of the second survey cohort had a job, so we can see differences of real behavior. According to research approach culture of every generation has the differences of the level its modernization (more modernized level and less modernized one). Therefore two kinds of polar socio-cultural groups of respondents could be extracted. There were first and tenth groups. The first group had minimal culture modernization score and tenth group had maximal culture modernization score in the generation. The differences of the culture modernization score between these groups were accompanied by the differences of values or real behavior of respondents those groups. For example, they have differences of opinion about capital punishment (see table).

Table 1. The differences of opinion about capital punishment between respondents of the first and the tenth docile group (%)

	The first docile group	The tenth docile group
Capital punishment must be forbidden ...	13,8	38,6
Capital punishment must not be forbidden	55,2	56,1
Practice of capital punishment must be extended	31,0	5,3
Total	100,0	100,0

The data show us the increase of culture modernization score is accompanied by the increase of negative attitudes towards capital punishment problem and quite the contrary the decrease of culture modernization score is accompanied by the increase of positive attitudes towards capital punishment problem. The research provides insight into some new sides sociocultural consequences of modernization.

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12. RISKS AND THREATS OF A CONSUMER SOCIETY

12.1. ENVIRONMENT AND ECOLOGY POLICY

Yakov Gilinskiy

GLOBALIZATION AND DEVIANCE

Globalization as a phenomenon is widely discussed in social sciences nowadays, and it has become a fashionable topic, including all the positive and negative consequences that arise. The concept «globalization» is debatable and is used to denote different things: development of economic and political interdependence of countries and regions of the world to such an extent that the creation of a common world legal system and a world organization of economic and political management is possible or necessary; intensification of world social relations connecting distant regions in such a way that what happens far away influences what is going on in a particular locality and vice versa¹⁷⁵; processes in which sovereign nation-states are interwoven into the network of transnational actors and depend on them for their power, orientation and identity¹⁷⁶.

Deviance is a social phenomenon occurring in relatively large and statistically stable forms (types) of human activity different from the officially fixed or naturally formed norms and expectations in the society (culture, group). Deviance as a social phenomenon reveals itself in various types of deviant behaviour — acts of behaviour of people (groups of people) not coinciding with the officially established or already existing norms in a given society (culture, subculture, group)¹⁷⁷. For the topic of this paper it is important to outline the following problems: First, globalization is an objective process. Secondly, globalization has positive and negative consequences, with an unequal spread of positive and negative effects on the countries and regions of the world. In parallel to the process of globalization a process of differentiation and polarization is taking place. This fact is reflected in R. Robertson's neologism — «glocalization». Thirdly, the process of globalization (internationalization) of different forms of deviance is taking place also, such as *prostitute trafficking, drugs trafficking, organized crime and terrorism*. This is an expected process because deviance (its structure, scale and dynamics) depends on economic, political, social, demographic and other factors. Globalization is accompanied by the process of «inclusion/exclusion», when some people and social groups turn out to be excluded from the society's life — economic, political and cultural.

It is important to understand that globalization increases socio-economic inequality, which is the main cause of deviance. If, theoretically, it is well known that socio-economic inequality can create deviance (from K. Marx to R. Merton and «radical criminology») the research of contemporary Russian criminologists has proved it empirically. The factor analysis shows that among a multitude of economic, social, political and demographic factors it is socio-economic inequality, the indicator of which is a *decile coefficient* (it

¹⁷⁵ Giddens, A. (1990) *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

¹⁷⁶ Beck, U. (2001) *What is a Globalization?* Moskow (in Russian).

¹⁷⁷ Gilinskiy, Y. (2007) *Deviantology: Sociology of Crime, Narcotism, Prostitution, Suicide, and others Deviance*. Second Edition. St. Petersburg (in Russian).

reflects the difference of incomes of 10% of the wealthiest and 10% of the poorest) and the *Gini index* (it expresses the degree of inequality in the distribution of incomes of the population), that correlates most closely with such phenomena of deviance as criminality: murder, suicide and other violent crimes¹⁷⁸.

According to Olkov's investigation of the situation in Russia in the 1990s the greatest number of registered murders — 32,300 a year — occurred in 1994 when there was the highest Gini index, and the lowest number of murders — 15,600 a year — in 1990 when the Gini index was lowest.

Fourthly, in response to the globalization of deviant phenomena the globalization of social control over deviance is taking place: the activities of Interpol and Europol; the development and adoption of numerous international laws and regulations conceived to counteract organized crime, drug trafficking, money-laundering; and so on. At the same time researchers' attention is drawn to the increased repressive measures on the part of police and criminal justice directed, first of all, against the «excluded», i. e. the so-called «selective approach» of police and criminal justice.

The globalization of deviance is especially clearly manifested in the activities of organized crime. Organized crime is not simply the aggregation of criminal groups and the criminal offences committed by them. It involves qualitatively new characteristics of criminality. It is built into the social system and affects its components, mainly its economy and politics. Organized crime is identified with entrepreneurship, production and distribution of goods and/or services (organized crime as illegal entrepreneurship). The formation and development of organized crime is a world process that is in conformity with certain laws. It is a particular case of better organized management at the subsystem level (economics, politics and so on). The main characteristics of organized crime as a social *institution* are the following: *long life*; *stable* functioning; performance of certain social *functions* (satisfaction of demand for illegal services or goods due to their deficit, job creation, redistribution of means and etc.); the use of work code or certain *norms*, professional *language* (slang), creation of *roles*.

The term «narcotism» means a social phenomenon that refers to the relatively spread and statistically stable consumption of drugs or other toxic and psychotropic remedies, inflicting negative medical (drug addiction) and social consequences. Illegal turnover of drugs was documented long ago as a world network with well-established channels of distribution of the main narcotics. Thus, the principal suppliers of cocaine in the world market are the countries of the «Andean group» (Peru, Bolivia and Columbia). Opium poppies are grown by the countries of the (Golden Triangle) (Southeast Asia) and the «Golden Crescent» (Southwest Asia). Approximately 90% of the world production of opium comes from Burma, Afghanistan, Iran and Lebanon. The production of hemp is almost equally spread among the countries of Africa, Europe, America and Asia. Traffic is mainly inside the region. The sources of cannabis are, first of all, Albania, Columbia, the Republic of South Africa, the Russian Federation, Jamaica and the Netherlands. Since 1998 Thailand, Ghana and Paraguay have joined them. In the overall volume of transported narcotics, Mexico, Canada and the USA play an important role. The main production of cannabis resin comes from Morocco, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Other important sources of supply of cannabis resin are Central Asia and the Russian Federation.

Terrorism is one of the most serious problems, potentially or factually, concerning every inhabitant of our planet. Terror and terrorism are defined as different political concepts: *terror* is exercised by the ruling power structures («violence over the weaker», in particular, to totalitarian regimes); *terrorism* is the violence of «the weaker over the more powerful», it is «the weapon of the weak».

Terrorist organizations and individual terrorists represent, consciously or unconsciously, the interests of the «excluded» mass in the contemporary world. Polarization into the rich and powerful minority and into the very poor majority or «the excluded» leads to

¹⁷⁸ Olkov, S. (2004) About Good and Harm of Inequality // *State and Law*, N8, pp. 73—78 (in Russian); Skifsky, I. (2007) *Violent Crime in Contemporary Russia: Explanation and Prognostication*. Tumen (in Russian); Yusikhanova, E. (2005) *Modelling of Criminogenic Processes in Subjects of Russian Federation*. Tumen (in Russian).

for each particular case the dangerous, for all humankind, division into «included» and «excluded» countries and groups in each country under globalization. This process and its consequences are not understood properly by the governing elites.

Human rights are primary and inalienable (articles 1, 2, 3, The Universal Declaration of Human rights, 1948). The violation of human rights gives rise to a reaction of violence, in particular, terrorism. The demand to limit the rights of man for the sake of «the fight against terrorism» is absurd: *firstly*, because an ideological basis for the justification of terrorism will be created (as a response to the terror of the power structures); *secondly*, the risk of human rights being violated increases.

Human Trafficking is an international problem. The concept «human trafficking», in conformity with the «United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime: Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children» (15 Nov. 2000) (Annex II), includes three elements: (1) recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, (2) the use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability, (3) the purpose of exploitation (the exploitation of prostitution or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs).

Thus, Protocol discerns the following types of trade in human beings: trade in women, trade in children (for prostitution, pornography and illegal adoption), trade in human beings for slavery and trade in human organs. A particular type is smuggling of migrants.

The data about this type of criminal business are not easily available. The official statistics are very meager and do not correspond to the real spread of the disaster. Only in a few countries official statistics reflect the real situation in the trade in human beings: Germany (Lagebild Menschenhandel, 1999, 2000, 2001), the Netherlands (Trafficking in Human Beings, 2002), Sweden (Trafficking in Women, 1998—2002). Some comparative analysis of data was published in the article by C. Kangaspunta. In the reports, Russia, Ukraine and Nigeria (in decreasing order) occupy the first places for the countries of origin, transit or destination¹⁷⁹. According to the «export» in human beings, Asia has the greatest number; the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States follow Asia, then Africa comes and in the last place are the developed countries. As far as the countries of destination are concerned, the first place belongs to the developed countries. The largest number of victims of human trafficking is recorded to arrive from Ukraine, Russia, Nigeria, Albania, Rumania and Moldova (in decreasing order). The processes of globalization have affected corruption in two ways: *firstly*, the globalization of business and finances has led to the internationalization of corrupt relations between business and state officials of different states; *secondly*, corruption money has become an important resource and reason for money-laundering.

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TERRORISM AS A FORM OF POLITICAL RADICALISM: RAISING THE PROBLEM

The terrorism is a dynamic phenomenon which is characterized, first of all, by the global scope of terrorist actions, by growth of the level and scales of their catastrophe consequences. In the modern globalized world the terrorism has received new breath and a lot of ways for development, propagation and improvements of methods of the activity.

As the global phenomenon of the present terrorism is actively investigated by scientists of various areas, including sociologists. The analysis of this phenomenon was carried out through various scientific conceptions, but none of them gave it clear and universal

¹⁷⁹ Kangaspunta, K. (2004) Mapping the Inhuman Trade: Preliminary Findings of the Database on Trafficking in Human Beings // *Forum on Crime and Society*. Vol. 3, n.1—2, pp.81—104.

determination, did not expose essence of terrorism and did not present the universal model of fight against it. Also one of the most unstudied aspects of problem of terrorism is its analysis as a form of political radicalism. In science there are no works which would pay attention to such raising of the problem. While such consideration of terrorism can be instrumental in a new tendency in its study and can be an answer to many questions.

Individually the phenomenon of terrorism is actively studied by such scientists as Z. Bzhezinskiy, B. Dzhenkins, V. Emel'yanov, D. Ol'shanskiy, M. Trebin and others. The analysis of political radicalism is presented in works of A. Ignatenko, V. Malakhova, G-G. Russo and many others.

The aim of this publication is the raising and analysis of the problem of terrorism as a form of political radicalism and also the description of constituents of its structure and level of threat for the modern society.

The beginning of a new direction of public idea under the name «political radicalism» put the socio-political looks of prominent philosopher-enlightener, writer G-G. Russo. The origin of radicalism in England in 1760—1780 accompanied by the creation of organizations of radicals, independent of parliamentary parties. They developed the program of reforms and entered the new forms of mobilization of public opinion and action in practice of political fight. English radicalism was the way of thinking, objection against privileges, abuses of power, squandering. As political motion radicalism originates in February 1769, when «Society of defenders of bill of rights» was created [1]. It had political character and was the phenomenon of intellectual life.

Destructive, religiously-political radicalism appears first in the history of Russia, in the epoch of church dissidence of XVII century. The second epoch of Russian radicalism appeared already in XIX and XX centuries. Due to revolutionary motion in Russia, the special type of secular-political radicalism appears. This type of left radicalism, practicing revolution and socialism, brought Russia in 1917 to the national catastrophe and state shipwreck. The third epoch of Russian radicalism came in 90th of the last century. It is so-called liberally-democratic radicalism. The new, modern type of radicalism appeared afterwards — the right type [2, p. 35]. Both left and right radicalisms are able to reproduce extremism and be ideological and political basis of terrorism.

Political radicalism is a practical and ideological orientation of policy, the aim of which is the cardinal change of society and political structure by the means of decisive actions. Most characteristically shows up in historical, transitional, crises periods when there is a threat of existence, way of life and traditions of certain layers or groups. The radicalism bases are: aspiration of the oppressed layers of population to change the socio-political position in society and different intellectual conceptions, the representatives of which critically behave towards the existent political and cultural relations and consider that this situation can be changed through political and organizational actions. Radicalism has such types as: political, social, church, religious, philosophical and other. The forms of radicalism can be distinguished according to the degree of activity of its representatives and also depending on the depth of the planned transformations. Moderate radicals aspire to reformation of society by moderate means with a minimum of violence (liberals, social democrats). Extremists insist on achieving aims by the most decisive methods up to terror. Revolutionaries try to carry out deep transformations of all public institutes on principle new basis (for example, communal property). Radicals differ on accordance of their ideological and political positions to the real terms existing in the society. Political radicalism activates in critical historical moments when social and political contradictions are realized and generate political activity. It can be legal and illegal. The extreme form of illegal radicalism is terrorism.

Terrorism is one of the most old, serious and topical problems of the modern world. In spite of existent divergences in dating of period of origin of this phenomenon, many researchers assert that the first case of the conscious and systematic use of terrorist practice in history was fixed in Middle East in the I century A. D when the groups of «sikaries» was physically destroyed the representatives of Jewish nobility who co-operated with Roman administration. Studying history, it is possible assert with a confidence that terrorism is a really global phenomenon as today its arena is not only the traditional

areas of international conflicts but also actually all countries of the world. There is only a small number of countries which were not touched by the wave of terrorist actions; Ukraine is in their number.

Term «terrorism», «terror» is taken from Latin, where *terror* means «fear», «horror». Concept registration of the term has a certain attitude to the period of Great French revolution of 1793—1794 and meant the «rule of horror». Till recently a word «terrorism» was used widely and meant different sides of violence that was instrumental in the loss of its concrete meaning [3, p.9]. We determine terrorism as the method through which the organized group aims to achieve the put goals by the means of use of violence.

Between terrorism and radicalism there is substantial distinction: it is the ideological, theoretical ground of political action and not action itself. For radicalism the rapid rate of changes and justification of power methods of achieving of the put aims is typical. However, it has more theoretical character. In general radicalism can be unconnected to the practical policy and can concentrate exceptionally on the field of «high» science, abstract theory. Terrorism shows up in practical political activity, in the use of extreme, mainly violent facilities of political fight. As a connective link in the analysis of these phenomena can serve the fact that the ideologies of political radicalism can be a theoretical ground and justification of terrorism.

The characteristic feature of modern radicalism is aspiration to unite religion and revolution, and to sanction national revolution [4]. In addition in a political sphere radical actions frequently become a sign or synonym of patriotism.

As an example can serve the developing on territory of Ukraine movements of nationalists-patriots which covering by good intentions, have character of the militarized radical groupings with racist looks and using fascist ideology and symbolism. Term «nationalism» as applied to these groupings is impossible to perceive without negative tints. It equates with such concepts as «chauvinism», «xenophobia», «Nazism», «terror» and «patriotism» with the term «racism».

The edge of transition of the so radically adjusted groups from protest actions to certificates terrorist ones is very thin, and possesses real threat, both for separate individuals and for the whole society.

Essential problem in the decision of questions of terrorism is a necessity of activation of international cooperation in this sphere. So, Russia and Portugal consider important to make active cooperation with the third countries, in particular, in following areas: the universalization and performance of antiterrorist conventions; struggle against terrorism financing etc. In our opinion, in the problem decision the important is the eradication of preconditions for its occurrence. For example, for Spain and Portugal illegal emigration is a problem. Participating of the countries of the world in the Iraq companies can cause also the aggression of terrorist groups. In creation of pre-conditions of terrorism the peculiarities of industrialization of countries play certain role, for example oil industry in the Arabic countries and in Indonesia, production of drugs in Afghanistan and Pakistan etc.

Today not a single state in the world is able to counteract this danger independently. The scientific systematization of constituents of this phenomenon, sociological analysis of nature of its origin and distribution, activation of scientific researches in relation to measures on warning of terrorism and diminishing the role of its influence on consciousness of individual and public processes is essential.

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ECOLOGICAL POLICY AS A FORM OF SOCIALLY-ECOLOGICAL PRACTICE IN THE RUSSIAN SOCIO-CULTURAL SPACE

The change of the Russian socio-cultural space and the formation of a civil society in many respects depend on ecological practice. In general the ecological practice can be defined as steady action and interaction of mutually oriented and interconnected individuals, groups, organizations connected by the common way of relation to itself and natural environment. The ecological practice is always historically concrete and acts as the complete system of actions at individual and collective level. In social ecological practice the collective action can be carried out through mobilization of various resources [1]. By resources it is meant not only individual factors, but also social institutes, various types of social organizations, movements, parties. The change of the collective action in social ecological practices requires a change of activity of social institutes of a society. All life of a society will be organized by means of social institutes as relatively steady types and forms of social practices. Social institutes are connected (by M. Weber) with is formally-regional bureaucracy that becomes the basic power of the state management. The social institutes as an adaptive means of a society have been created for satisfaction of its major requirements and defined by a set of specific norms and instructions that regulate the appropriate behavior of members of a society and makes it to be predicted. The activity of social institutes is defined by integration into socio-political, ideological and valuable structure of a society that allows to legalize the formal-legal basis of activity of this or that institute and to carry out the social control over institutional types of action.

The time frameworks of social institutes can be various, they appear and disappear, pass the way of formation, feel the influence of social and technical progress of a society and they influence all aspects of life of a person and its inner world, provide possibility to members of a society to get education, to satisfy material and spiritual needs, to stabilize social relations. Social institute — it is the world of due from which norms, rules, roles and statuses, interdictions and sanctions, values and ideals come. Mechanisms of formation of social institutes depend on a quality of elements of the environment of a concrete society. Elements are understood as stocks of natural resources, intellectual potential, a condition of technical systems and, finally, — a place in a world socially-ecology-economic order. The natural environment as a resource is the integral component of a mechanism of formation of a social institute and designing of social reality.

Collective social ecological practice under the conditions of potential and actual risk of the modern Russian society promotes restoration of ecological function of the state. Under modern conditions of scaled crisis the traditional functions of the state — political, economic and social — can not provide safety of development of the state and safety of its citizens. The decision of environmental problems all over the world is an integral part of activity of the state. To become civilized the state should be not only social, democratic, legal, but also ecological. It is time to speak about the formation of a new ecological function of the state which will add the content of all its other functions and will be the basis for occurrence of essentially new institutes and elements in social life.

The ecological function of the state has received a powerful push at the late eighties — the beginning of 90th in connection with an aggravation of problems of nature using and institutionalization of ecological values, requirements and interests of people as a social project of ecological culture. The ecological function of the state consists in providing of members of a society with a possibility to satisfy the ecological requirements by the legitimate way. Earlier problems of using and keeping of the environment were not beyond the frames of economic activities of the state and decided in the process of this activity. The state ensures the scientifically based ratio of ecological and economic interests of a society, the creation of necessary guarantees for protection of human being rights on environment favorable for his life activity. Along with traditional political, economic and

other functions there has been realized the ecological function as a tool of management by a society through expansion of legal intervention in regulation of use of an environment. The institutionalization of the ecological function of the state means a process of entering the frames of legal norms, daily social practices and of ecological requirements: requirements for healthy environment as a base of health of population; requirements for a qualitative foodstuff, pure territory of residing and many other ecological requirements. There has been formed the ecological function of the state depending on the ecological policy in which there has been reflected the system of ideas, concepts, views of purposes, priorities, principles, directions, ways and means of nature protection activity of the state. At the same time the ecological policy of the state directly depends on public interests. The collective ecological practice considered through a prism of social actions carried out by the actor and being at different levels of social management and having different interests, in many respects depends on ecological policy. The Interest to the consideration of the essence of an ecological policy is connected with it. The ecological policy represents a system of interaction of the economic, political and social structures directly or indirectly supposed the collective ecological practice directed on realization of a strategy in the sphere of protection of nature and environment. At an individual level the ecological policy is considered as activity with which help the public and political organizations and also separate citizens can regulate the relation of a society to the nature for the purpose of its protection and development. The ecological policy can be presented as a system of the specific political, economic, legal measures undertaken by the state with a purpose of management of the resource potential and its keeping and has the following types: administrative, pluralistic, collective [2].

The administrative type of ecological policy is characteristic of an accent on technical aspects of decision-making. The dominant role is carried out by the experts who establish the degree of the importance at the consideration of a concrete question. According to statistical data, 15 % of the world administrative elite make decisions on which the destiny of 85 % of the resources of the planet depends. The pluralistic type of ecological policy is characterized by the participation in decision-making not only experts, but also representatives of a civil society. This policy is carried out on the base of interaction of the state structures with the public non-governmental organizations. The role of the non-governmental organizations in making of a balance between a policy in the field of environment and decision-making which influence environment is recognized all over the world.

The Individual level of ecological policy is based on a concept of «the local population rights» which essence consists in transfer by the state the powers of any decisions-making to a group of citizens whose interests are directly touched. In individual ecological practice there has been important the population activity in revealing of ecological infringements «on places» and also support (by means of public opinion) of the measures on their liquidation. The population quite often realizes the right supported by the ecological legislation as a reference to the court, especially in a case of the wrong land separated, illegal cutting down of woods, building of parking places, garages. The great place in a collective ecological practice occupies revealing of infringements for which imposing of penal sanctions on the enterprises is necessary and also the control from the side of public organizations for establishing and using of clearing facilities of various enterprises and etc. It is necessary to note that the effective ecological practice synthesizes all types of ecological policy of the Russian state possessing by strategic resources, large territory and nature protection traditions. And though the society does not give to the state the due order for formation of ecology-legal restrictions of development, nevertheless the ecological legislation is also formed and it can effectively solve the environmental problems both in power structures and in structures of a civil society.

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ECO-SOCIAL IMAGES AND SIMULACRA OF TRANSFORMING SOCIETIES: ON DATA OF RUSSIAN AND MOLDAVIAN CASES

The present study explored the phenomenon of contemporary social and ecological problems in Russian and Moldavian societies which are on their way of transformation¹⁸⁰. The purpose of this study was to investigate the elaboration of theoretical-methodological basics and methods of sociological surveys of modern socio-ecological dimension of changing Russia and other European countries in Post-Soviet area, as well as eco-social images and simulacra as determinants of structurization of their socio-ecological dimension. One of the main characteristics of the socio-ecological dimension of contemporary Russia and Moldova is weak structure which is showed in unfinished institutionalization of socio-ecological interests of different social groups and strata. Such specific phenomena as images and simulacra have a significant influence on a public consciousness and social actions of different elements of societies in transition. Their meaning in structuring of socio-ecological dimension is actualized by insufficient objective natural-science knowledge in the sphere of environment and the newness of socio-ecological problems for the public consciousness as well as the competitiveness of informational field of environmental decision-making. An analysis of contemporary social-ecological problems, especially decision-making, which influence to environment, is impossible without transformation of category of ecological morality. Social-ecological consciousness, ecological ethics and ecological morality become very important during the social, political and ecological crisis and change of paradigm of society and nature relations. Ecological ethics are the moral principles governing the human attitude towards the environment, and rules of conduct for environmental care and preservation. It is the applied science, because it evaluates the concrete actions, its' subject is the moral relationships between human beings and environment. Ecological ethics motivate the necessity of nature-protecting actions in two ways:

1. People act or do not act for the sake of the nature protecting it for itself;
2. Nature-protecting actions are based on moral principles, without taking into consideration the economic interests of the human being.

«An ethic, ecologically speaking, is a limitation on freedom of action in the struggle for existence. An ethic philosophically is a differentiation of social from anti-social conduct» (Leopold, 1949). In this way, the tasks of ecological ethics are: (1) to destroy the old, consumerist relation to the nature, based on the anthropocentric myth that «the man is the king of nature»; (2) to elaborate the new ecological ideology, based on the assumption that not everything is made for the welfare of the human beings. Morality is an integrated category which includes «gentle» mechanisms of the inner sphere, in other words morality is the form of the normative and evaluative directivity in human behavior and spiritual life, mutual- and self-perception, related both to individuals and society (social orders). Ecological morality is seen as a historical phenomenon; it evolves and exists as developing and interchanging moral systems which consist of: 1. Moral norms, values and estimations — views about what is good and what is bad, about dignity, conscience, which allows people to make suggestions about others and to make choice regarding to environment. 2. Behavior as situational realization of ecological morality in outward activity of people which can lead into anthropogenic pressure to environment. 3. Moral characteristics of person. 4. Moral feelings, emotions, experiences as perception of moral part of life which differs from rational reaction.

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The authors consider that in contemporary conditions of transforming societies, the environmental situation in the country is the criteria of social-cultural level of this society as a whole and of every citizen in particular. According to the results of the sociological research, conducted by Moscow Institute of Social and Cultural Programs in 2007 ($N=1000$):

1. 32% of the respondents see themselves as «the kings of the nature»;
2. 28% call themselves «friends of the nature»;
3. 20% see themselves as «the part of the nature»;
4. only 13% of the respondents understand that the human civilization became «the enemy for the nature».

Since 2006 till now the complex comparative sociological research devoted to these issues is undertaken in Russia and Moldova. Undoubtedly, some of these phenomena are relatively inaccessible for direct observation and measuring. However, the authors have aimed to gain a fresh perspective and to explore the issues of ecological problems by using of content-analysis of mass-media devoted to ecological situation and expert survey. The conception of reflection of ecological environment to social behavior, orientations and system of values of different groups of population was developed and the reflection of these factors to people was analyzed. Results of empirical researching projects (in-depth formal expert interviews), conducted during 1990—2007 by specialists of All-Russian Centre of Public Opinion Study, Russian Academy of Science and International Independent University of Environmental and Political Studies including the authors of the paper confirm the presence of objective links between ecological situations and: (1) health of the population; (2) by one's labor activity; (3) leisure time; (4) by migrations; (5) by political stability and (6) between an ecological situation and national security. In 2006 these problems became even more important in the public opinion because of different factors:

- Presidency of Russia in «G8» and summit «G8» in Saint-Petersburg, where the problem of environment protection was seriously analyzed and discussed connecting with the problems of power engineering.
- Preparation and realization of especially significant economic projects: pipe tube «East Siberia — Pacific Ocean»; North-European gas pipe-line, going across territorial waters of Russia and Germany, economic zones of Finland, Sweden and Denmark. Primordial direction of pipe tube «East Siberia — Pacific Ocean» was not far than 800 meters from the unique natural complex Baikal and only President of Russia could change the situation.
- 20 anniversary of Chernobyl catastrophe, which consequences require serious financial recourses and threaten with health of some group of population as well as bring up the issues of safe ways of energy development.

It is clear that situation can not be changed without inclusion of ecological dimension with its own actors and interests and its morality into economy-politics-culture triangle especially in Europe when national interests lead to ecological conflicts (for example PRO in European Union). The main questions appear to be are how necessary is use of such category as ecological morality and ecological ethics in frameworks of Europe and global societies, is it applicable to the problem of interaction between person and environment? And if it is applicable why ecological morality could not exclude the demolition of nature? Nowadays it is obviously, that a new and truly ecological morality and ethics are both possible and urgently needed because the morality in general does not exist, but different concrete ethical systems do exist. And in different systems different actions can be evaluated differently.

According to results of complex comparative sociological research conducted in Russia and Moldova, 92% respondents in Russia and 85% respondents in Moldova consider that if population of the countries will be more active, the environmental situation will improve and they would like to participate in work of the ecological organizations, though their contemporary results respondents see as «not effective» (58% in Russia, 78% in Moldova). The best way to improve the effectiveness is to get the knowledge about the environmental problems and here as respondents mark, the ecological education may help. Thus, it is necessary to waking up the latent ecological morality of contemporary risk societies and firstly it can be achieved by phenomena of ecologization of education.

URBINAZED ENVIRONMENT QUALITY: UP-TO-DATE APPROACH TO THE ASSESSMENT

When assessing the quality of the urbanized environment, we can distinguish two main conceptual approaches — objectivistic and subjectivistic. In practice of such assessment the objectivistic approach is common when the environment quality is defined as the result of combination of various statistical factors — level of the key environmental components pollution, morbidity rate, child mortality rate, etc. However, lately the considerable practice of the subjectivistic approach to the urban geo-ecological studies has been accumulated. It is rest on the position that the actual quality of the life environment is reflected in the persons' internal sensation based on their intelligence, experience, as well as feelings and some other features.

Mechanism of the urban environment social assessment is very complicated. Data on the various city zones appeal with regard to living, resting, working, etc. may be used as criteria of such assessment. The present trend of the urban environment study is associated with so-called behavioral approach. It is based on the assessment of the outworld perception by the person as the important factor defining individual and cooperative behavior of people [1]. The latter, in its turn, have considerable effect on all social and economic processes and the human activity arrangement as well. However the responders participating in the inquiry are not always highly competent in the issues related to a number of subjects (for instance, when detecting the impact of the environmental factors on health, during aesthetic assessment of the urban geosystems and other), which in return may cause the uncertain results. Thus we made SWOT-analysis in addition to the sociological methods when assessing the quality of Nizhnevartovsk urban geosystems environment. SWOT-analysis, as a method, provides for the expert appraisal of some parameters and allows making analytical conclusions on the urbanized environment state, generating map documents and suggesting strategy for the city area development enabling optimization of the nature performance, technosphere and urban population. Generally the sociological methods proved to be efficient when assessing the quality of the urban environment. Thus the studies conducted in Moscow [2] indicated, that 80% of the responders answered in the affirmative to the question «Do you like the urban environment where you live». When the qualifying question «What exactly do you like?» was asked the respondents began to think about the environment components they «like». It has been found that: «not every city tree is aesthetic»; «there are few places in the city where one can have a good time in the open air». Answers to the question «What is the ideal yard for you?» contain a number of the common positions:

1. Area of the residential district adjacent to the block of flat is perceived as the living space of the own flat.
2. Requirements imposed to the yard arrangements are the highest in comparison with the requirements to the other types of the urban landscape.
3. The quality of the gardening is more important then the quantity as well as its association to the yard space areas and to the other landscaping elements.
4. Yard view from the window is very important for the main part of the citizens.
5. The yard greening is required for the residents to control the microclimate.

Thus, it became clear that in their attitude to the living environment citizens rely upon aesthetic assessment rather than ecologic one. Aesthetic perception is the principal way of experiencing reality spiritually, and its focus is on search for harmony and beauty. It is often referred to as landscape perception in terms of landscape geography and is recognized as specific 'landscape fifth dimension' [3]. By combining opinion polls (that is, aesthetic assessment of the environment) and expert appraisal (SWOT-analysis),

new possibilities for improving the urban environment assessment can be open. Nizhnevartovsk is the industrial center of East region of Khanty-Mansisky Autonomous Area — Yugra with population upward to 240 000 people. For implementation of social study, we selected the most important recreational zones of the city — the Ob-river quay, Complex of Komsomolskoje Lake and Komsomolskiy avenue, city park and walk area adjacent to park at Pionerskaya street, civic center of the city (Cultural Center square and Neftyanikov square). Selection of the territories given was conditioned by the following factors: the highest level of facilities accomplishment due to their engagement in city cultural events organization; engagement as mass sauntering place for the city. The studies were initiated in 2004 and are being provided up to present day with the participation of Nizhnevartovsk State Humanities University. Within the period mentioned, at the model territories, there were interviewed more than 1000 people, representing different age grades, genders, professions and education level.

The main conclusions reflect the following items: in spite of special activities on accomplishment, applied for central parts of the city (trees and bushes, gardening, landscape architecture products, ornamental paving and lightening etc.), environment quality is poorly appreciated by its actual users: all the facilities were evaluated as monotonous and anthropogenic faulted, what influenced on perception of the facilities given — neutral. Besides, residents had noticed poor quality of given facilities landscape gardening — insufficient planting or insufficient tending. The necessities of development of the child playing areas within the borders of model territories, and also timely garbage disposal were specified. The conclusions given were proved by the results of SWOT-analysis for nature subsystem of Nizhnevartovsk urbanized geo-system:

1. The major negative impact on the environment quality in Nizhnevartovsk has industrial enterprises, housing and public sector and vehicular transport. The situation given is conditioned by absence of buffering zone between functional areas of the city, insufficient activities on sewage waters treatment, absence of parkways along the roads. These parkways should be purposed for the residential areas protection of noise and vehicular transport emissions.

2. Current urbanized environment of Nizhnevartovsk is marked by significant disadvantages of landscape and gardening system — spatial inequality, isolation of the major verdant areas and their general remoteness of suburban areas. It provides impossibility of given facilities major functioning — sustention of city ecological frame causing the environment quality unstable factors.

At the same time, the city landscape and gardening system should be considered as a factor, establishing environment quality by means of:

(a) Improvement of microclimatic factors (degree of air saturation, negative ions, phytoncids content); (b) An establishment of aesthetically positive environment for living; and (c) The regulation of city planning layout.

Rational management for gardening facilities will provide establishment of new workplaces, engagement of investment vehicles will provide profitability of new working places functioning. All the issues mentioned above allow concluding that application of the sociological methods, based on subjective opinion and proved by expert assessments, to urbanized environment quality assessment, provide not only for the unprejudiced image, but also specify the strategy for the detected problems solution.

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12.2. ILLNESS AND DEVIANT BEHAVIOUR IN A CONSUMER SOCIETY

Tatiana V. Chekineva

PRACTICE OF TAKING ALCOHOLIC DRINKS BY SCHOOLCHILDREN

The article is written as a part of the project «Alcoholization of the population as the factor of destabilization of the Russian society. Sociological analysis».¹⁸¹ One of project purposes is to find factors stimulating and preventing alcoholization of studying youth, i. e. to study conditions of alcohol occurrence in the young generation life and conditions of coexistence of a «drinking» and «sober» behaviour norms.

Article is prepared on material of interrogations of senior pupils in Moscow, Kazan, Mozhga, Vjatsky Poliani, Buzuluk and Nadym.

According to research data, alcoholic socialisation of youth mainly begins from light (low) alcohol drinks taking. Contrary to conventional opinion that the modern youth mainly drinks beer our data indicates that in companies schoolchildren more often use low alcohol cocktails in tins — 27% from among interrogated people, wine — 20%, beer — 19%. Strong alcoholic drinks (vodka, cognac) have noted only 7 % of respondents (on the file as a whole). Light alcohol drinks and beer became a part of the youth culture, the integral attribute of rest.

The most part of children is acquainted with alcohol at the age of 13—15 years. This age is the most hazardous. Acquaintance occurs almost equally under influence of contemporaries or on one's own initiative and conditions of first tasting of alcohol don't matter for further alcoholization at that, whether it takes place during a binge with contemporaries in the street or during a feast in a parental house.

First taste often influences a process of further alcoholization. Those who begun from low alcohol drinks do not necessarily pass on strong alcohol ones and consume alcohol only ritually under the influence of external traditions. Pupils who have begun from strong drinks more often explain their habit of drinking by boredom, emptiness or by their desire to facilitate communication process. It means that there are persons among them who have already demonstrated propensity for further development of drunkenness.

We are not inclined to consider the first taste of alcohol as the reason for further development of alcoholic consumption. However, even this first experience may be caused by environment in which a young man is growing up. This environment includes family culture, attitude of surrounding people to alcohol, accessibility of alcohol to a child etc. Besides as the research and life itself show, the process does not finish by the first taste, experience is enriched in the course of time. The first taste is a significant thing for family anti-alcoholic education though parents sometimes do not pay enough attention to this event. Last years the tendency of initiation of the first acquaintance with alcohol by parents can be observed. The main reason sounds as following: let the child be acquainted with alcoholic drinks during a feast with parents. In this case, parents should do it with full responsibility, consider those observations, and experience which a teenager has got out of doors.

In process of growing up drinking habits of a child are developing, gradual transition to «adult» norm of alcoholic behaviour is going on. As a rule, subjective sensations of alcohol do not coincide with learned conceptions, traditions and prejudices. These sensations may begin temptation to renew alcoholization. At the age of 13—15 years

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in connection with any event (a holiday etc.) after the first tests alcoholization renews and gradually starts to get the new maintenance: there is a formation of a semantic component of alcoholic tradition, mastering of alcoholic ritual and values connected with it. The teenager gets in to a situation when it is necessary to choose between «necessary» risk and norms and the values accepted in a society.

Prominent feature of children's and teenage primary alcoholization is absence of requirement for alcohol. Nevertheless, they not always can choose or form circumstances and consequently appear in a situation that are not excluding and even assuming alcoholic behaviour. Moreover, the majority does not have internal motivation of the protest. At the same time to reduce the reasons of familiarising of teenagers and youth to alcohol mainly to imitation behaviour or curiosity inherent to this age, etc. means obviously to simplify the difficult social mechanism of familiarising of youth to alcoholic consumption. The basic contradiction defining teenage alcoholic behaviour consists of the fact that they perceive the norm of sobriety as «instruction», and alcohol consumption appears practically as a norm, which they observe at home, in the street, with which are acquainted on materials of mass media. The desirable, socially approved behaviour of youth assumes ability to find the compromise between «theoretical» and practical norm. This ability to remain the non-drinker among drinking — not always meets even at the senior generation. Alcoholic customs of microhabitat in many aspects define alcoholic habits of teenagers, their estimation of drunkenness of associates, the relation to their own alcoholization.

For carrying out more deep analysis the group of teenagers — «non-drinkers» (never taking alcoholic drinks) was allocated.

As our research demonstrates, 32% of school children have never consumed alcohol. The smallest percent of those who never drink alcohol was noted in Moscow then follows Buzuluk, Kazan, Vjatskie Poliany. In Mozhna this percent is the highest and equals 53%. At the same time the share of boys and girls among never trying alcohol approximately is identical. So, there are 9% of «non-drinkers» among boys in Moscow, and 8 % among girls. There are about 22% in Kazan. The share of boys that never try alcohol is much lower in Nadya, than in Kazan and also makes 13 %, girls — 10 %.

There is a question: whether the «group of «non-drinkers» differ only by absence of experience of consumption of alcohol?».

The relation to adult non-drinkers is mistrustful, suspicious in public opinion, and to non-drinkers among youth, perhaps even the guarded. A question arises among researches — «Why there are pupils who follow recommendations of teachers and parents and resist to opinion of friends?» Research show that there are distinguished by more certain uncooperative attitude to drunkenness: a number of such pupils who considers drunkenness are own business of each person is three times less. It does not give special value to a drunken condition of other person among those who never tried alcohol. It is known that alcoholic customs of a microhabitat in many aspects define alcoholic habits of teenagers, their estimation of drunkenness of associates, and the relation to their own alcoholization. The assumption that «non-drinkers» live in a special environment and do not show negative examples in a life has not proved to be true. Moreover, 16 % from them have specified that there are consumers of drugs or toxic substances among their acquaintances.

Analyzing mutual relations with contemporaries, parents and teachers it was revealed that, a share of the non-drinkers who have noted the good relation, considerably higher, than among consuming. At the same time, they have troubles in relations with schoolmates, which confirm the fact of misunderstanding of sobriety from outside associates. «Non-drinkers» a lot of time spend at home and more often notice that their relations with parents are «good, it is possible to envy», estimate relations as «satisfactory», «happens worse», «bad, worse than ever» twice less often. They more often share the thoughts, experiences, cares, hopes, and desires with parents, than pupils taking alcoholic drinks do. At the same time the structure of parental families of «non-drinkers» and «drinkers», circumstances of the childhood do not differ almost. It is necessary to mean (is proved by our researches) that the sobriety at a part of teenagers is a reaction

to a heavy alcoholism of parents (more often the father). The alcoholism of parents leads to demonstrative sobriety of children. Moreover, we cannot exclude that such teenager can leave further in any kind of deviation, for example, narcotism. It is not important if children of the alcoholic will not become alcoholics, it is important if they will not avoid abusing. It indicates a transfer of a certain non-specific predisposition to pathological behaviour, to a social illness.

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FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH TOBACO AND ALCOHOL USE AMONG RUSSIAN ADALESCENT BOYS AND GIRLS

Abstract: Health risk behaviors such as smoking and alcohol use remain a serious problem among Russian young generation. The aim of the current study is to determine which factors are associated with health-risk behaviors among adolescents in Russia.

Methods: The study is based on phase II of the Russian Longitudinal Monitoring Survey (RLMS), round 13 conducted in 2004. A fuller description of the sampling methodology is available on the RLMS website [1]. In the present study the sample is restricted to 815 adolescent respondents (430 boys and 385 girls) aged between 14 and 17. The adolescents were asked two questions about their health-risk behaviors: «In the last 7 days have you smoked anything?» and «In the last 30 days have you consumed alcoholic beverages?» Those who responded 'yes' are classified as current smokers and alcohol users in the present study.

Information was also obtained about the degree of physical exercise the adolescents engaged during out-of-school time. Those who undertook any activity (ranging from light through to intensive physical activity) are classified as being physically active. Personal factor that is considered as predictor of adolescent risk-behaviors is his/her self-esteem. The respondents were asked to either agree or disagree with the statement «I think I don't have many things to be proud of». Those who agreed are classified in the current study as exhibiting low self-esteem. Family structure was divided into three categories: two-parent family with biological parents, two-parent family with step parents, disrupted family/other relatives.

To try and determine the socioeconomic situation that the adolescents (and by extension their families) found themselves in, the following question was used: «Tell me, please: How satisfied are you with your economic conditions at the present time?» Respondents who answered either «fully satisfied» or «rather satisfied» were classified as being materially satisfied.

Environmental factor included mother's health-risk behavior. Information was obtained from the adolescents' mothers about their smoking status and alcohol use. The mothers were subsequently classified as either being not smokers and not alcohol users; smokers, but not alcohol users; alcohol users, but not smokers; and both smokers and alcohol users. According to place of residence respondents were defined as coming from an urban area or rural area. We further divided urban areas into Moscow and St. Petersburg, or other urban areas.

Details of the respondents' baseline characteristics and the prevalence of tobacco and alcohol use are presented in Table 1 and Table 2. Chi-square tests were used to determine if there were significant differences between males and female sample characteristics. Using logistic regression, odds ratios (ORs) for the probability to smoke during previous 7 days and alcohol use during previous 30 days were calculated in relation to different independent variables separately for boys and girls. Results are presented in the form of odds ratios with 95% confidence intervals (CIs) in Table 3. Bi-variety analyses (controlling only for age) were carried.

Results: The mean age of the adolescent respondents was 15.5 years (Table 1). Most adolescents lived with their biological parents in two-parent families, while over half of all adolescents were satisfied with their economic circumstances. More than third of the adolescents' mothers was not tobacco smokers and alcohol users. More than one-quarter of all respondents had engaged in physical activity. Nearly three-quarters of both boys and girls exhibited a low level of self-esteem. Finally, a majority of respondents lived in urban locations. Across all the variables there were no statistically significant differences observed between the sexes. Across the whole of Russia 16.4% of adolescents were current smokers in 2004 (Table 2). The prevalence of smoking was much greater among boys compared to girls (26.1>5.7). 24.3% of adolescents consumed alcohol with non significant difference according to sex observed (25.6% boys and 22.9% girls).

The factors associated with each adolescent health-risk behaviors are presented in Table 3. The probability of smoking and alcohol use rises significantly with increasing age among both boys and girls. Coming from a disrupted family background increased the odds of smoking for both sexes adolescents, while risk of alcohol use was greater for girls living with step-parents. Being dissatisfied with their economic circumstances has no effect on adolescent smoking and alcohol use. Maternal health-risk behavior significantly increased the odds of both boys and girls smoking and alcohol use. Those boys who engaged in no physical activity in the previous month were more likely to smoke and alcohol use. Like physical activity, the effects of having a low level of self-esteem were only manifest among boys, increasing the odds of smoking and alcohol use. The influence of place of residence differed by sex and type of health risk behavior. Living in urban areas had significant protective effect against smoking for boys, on the contrary living in Moscow and St. Petersburg increased the odds of smoking for girls. No significant effect of place of residence was found for alcohol use. In addition our study revealed the co-morbidity of substance use among adolescents (Table 4).

Comment & Discussion: The data presented here suggest that tobacco and alcohol are used by substantial number of youth in Russia despite age and legal regulations prohibiting their use. There was no difference between boys and girls alcohol use, while earlier studies showed the prevalence of alcohol consumption among male adolescents which were explained by less acceptability of alcohol use among female. High rates of alcohol involvement among Russian boys and increasing rates among Russian girls are probably a direct result of the efforts of the brewing companies and wide spread of beer advertising. Contrary to alcohol there was much greater prevalence of smoking among boys compared to girls. The research found the association between adolescents' health-risk behaviors and family structure. The evidence leads to the conclusion that two-parent family with both biological parents is protective factor against smoking for both boys and girls. This is an important finding as almost one-third of the adolescents in this study lived in disrupted families. Western researches has suggested that parental separation can weaken family ties, lead to less subsequent parental monitoring, as well as bolster adolescents' attachment to their peers and involvement with activities such as smoking [2]. In addition to this low socio-economic status of the household is known factor where single parents are overrepresented. In Russia, single parent (mainly female) headed families are among the poorest parts of the population. Experience of socio-economic hardship is also recognized as factor negatively influence the quality of parenting which in turn predicts the child's well-being, development and behavior [3]. Meanwhile, dissatisfaction with economic position was not the predictor of health risk-behaviors among adolescents in this study. At the same time our results show that girls living with step-parents are at greater risk of alcohol use. These findings are consistent with the previous studies indicating that girls are less well adjusted than boys following parental remarriage [4]. On the one hand, this may be partly explained by the close parent (mainly mother)/daughter relations in disrupted families, where appearance of the new family member may be considered by girls as threat for these relations. On the other hand, researches suggest that stepchildren (especially girls) may experience higher

rates of sexual abuse [5,6]. And this may be a factor of alcohol use initiation among them.

Maternal life style is a strong predictor of adolescents' health-risk behaviors. Several ways have been proposed in which parents might influence children's behavior: through the direct modeling by adolescents of their parents' behavior [7]; genetic predisposition that increases the probability of the development of similar behavior in the offspring of parents with health-risk behavior [8,9]. Participation in extracurricular activities such as physical exercises during out-of-school time was associated with a decreased risk of smoking and drinking for boys but had no impact on girl's behavior. On one hand, lifestyle behaviors tend to occur together, so that adolescents who adopt a healthy lifestyle with regard to one aspect of their lives tend to do so in the others as well [10]. The other possible explanation of the link between smoking/drinking and physical activity is that sports participation may leave less time for engaging the risky behaviors such as smoking, alcohol and other drug use, early sexual activity, excessive TV watching [11]. And it's may be especially actual in Russia, where transition period was accompanied by considerable reduction of the number of establishments for out-of-school activities for children and youth (including sport clubs), payment growth for such activities. The street often serve as meeting places for development of group solidarity — away from parental supervision (especially boys), experimentation with tobacco, alcohol and other norm-breaking activities.

Our findings suggest that adolescents-boys with low self-esteem are more likely to engage in health-risk behaviors than are other adolescents. Previous researches have shown that Russian adolescents scored themselves much lower compared with teens from other countries [12]. It might be supposed that children in Russia (especially boys) can be most subjected to strong pressure towards low self-esteem. While the relation between self-esteem and adolescent health-risk behaviors is complex, it is possible that these boys may initiate smoking and alcohol use in an attempt to boost their social image — especially as among many school children in Russia such behaviors are associated with being a 'real' man, and being more 'grown up'.

In the present study place of residence was strong predictor of adolescent smoking, demonstrating, however, different rural/urban gradient in the prevalence of smoking in adolescent boys and girls with boys in rural areas generally more likely to smoke. Smoking among girls was significantly more common in Moscow and St. Petersburg. The similar result was obtained for adult Russian population [13].

Our study reveals co-morbidity of substance use among adolescents which was more pronounced among boys (Table 4). This finding confirms the evidence from number of studies indicating that there is a strong tendency for smoking and alcohol dependence to co-occur, and both are associated with other drug use disorders [for example, 14]. According to «key» theory the «lock» of future dependence is opened by tobacco. Smoking is early and important step on the pathway to alcohol use and then to more serious substance use. According to other theory — cumulative risk behavior — both smoking and alcohol use are the symptoms of more general problem resulting later in different kinds of destructive behaviors including violence, suicide, and promiscuous sex. Recognizing associations allow us to focus on measures possibly eliminate, reduce or buffer the effect of exposure to the risk.

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Table 1. Adolescent Respondents' Baseline Characteristics

Variable	Boys	Girls	All	χ^2	p-value
	(n = 385)	(n = 430)			
Age				2.590	0.459
Mean (s. d.)*	15.53 (1.12)	15.49 (1.12)	15.51 (1.12)		
Family structure (%)				0.022	0.989
Two-parent family	59.0	59.1	59.1		
Two-parent family (step-parents)	11.1	10.8	10.9		
Disrupted family / other relatives	29.9	30.1	30.0		
Material satisfaction (%)				0.148	0.701
Yes	56.3	55.0	55.7		
No	43.7	45.0	44.3		
Maternal health-risk behavior (%)				0.357	0.943

Not smoker and not alcohol user	38,8	37,8	38,3		
Smoker, but not alcohol user	6,3	5,6	6,0		
Alcohol user, but not smoker	38,5	39,3	38,9		
Smoker and alcohol user	16,4	17,3	16,8		
Adolescent physical activity (%)				0.039	0.840
Yes	31.1	31.7	31.4		
No	68.9	68.3	68.6		
Adolescent self-esteem (%)				0.059	0.807
Low	73.9	73.1	73.5		
High	26.1	26.9	26.5		
Place of residence (%)				1.370	0.503
Moscow/St. Petersburg	14.5	13.0	13.8		
Other urban	48.9	52.9	50.8		
Rural	36.7	34.1	35.4		

* Standard deviation

Table 2. Prevalence (%) of adolescent smoking and alcohol use in Russia in 2004

	Boys	Girls	All	χ^2	p-value
Adolescent smoking status				62.06	0.000
Yes	26.1	5.7	16.4		
No	73.9	94.3	83.6		
Adolescent alcohol use				0.820	0.365
Yes	25.6	22.9	24.3		
No	74.4	77.1	75.7		

Table 3. Factors Associated with Adolescent Smoking and Alcohol Use in Russia in 2004*

	Boys		Girls	
	Smoking	Alcohol use	Smoking	Alcohol use
Age	2.07 (1.65—2.59)	1.82 (1.47—2.63)	1.99 (1.25—3.16)	1.69 (1.33—2.13)
<i>Sig</i>	P<0.001	P<0.001	P<0.005	P<0.001
Family structure				
Two-parent family with biological parents	1	1	1	1

	Boys		Girls	
	Smoking	Alcohol use	Smoking	Alcohol use
Two-parent family with step parents	1.73 (0.83—3.64)	1.06 (0.52—2.17)	3.31 (0.90—12.16)	2.19 (1.07—4.48)
Disrupted family/other relatives	2.40 (1.45—3.97)	1.30 (0.81—2.09)	3.28 (1.22—8.80)	0.94 (0.55—1.63)
<i>Sig</i>	P<0.005	-	P<0.05	-
Satisfaction with material position				
Yes	1	1	1	1
No	1.55 (0.97—2.45)	1.10 (0.70—1.74)	1.68 (0.67—4.21)	0.80 (0.48—1.38)
<i>Sig</i>	-	-	-	-
Maternal health-risk behavior				
Not smoker and not alcohol user	1	1	1	1
Smoker, but not alcohol user	2.08 (0.81—5.38)	1.49 (0.49—4.51)	7.91 (1.19—52.53)	2.88 (0.94—8.85)
Alcohol user, but not smoker	1.18 (0.67—2.07)	2.86 (1.60—5.14)	2.01 (0.38—10.72)	3.50 (1.76—6.94)
Smoker and alcohol user	2.98 (1.36—6.53)	4.37 (1.97—9.71)	12.57 (2.49—63.45)	3.93 (1.67—9.23)
<i>Sig</i>	P<0.05	P<0.001	P<0.005	P<0.005
Physical activity during out-of-school time				
Yes	1	1	1	1
No	2.69 (1.66—4.37)	1.85 (1.15—2.98)	1.36 (0.55—3.34)	1.11 (0.66—1.88)
<i>Sig</i>	P<0.001	P<0.01	-	-
Adolescents self-esteem				
High	1	1	1	1
Low	3.43 (2.06—5.71)	2.58 (1.57—4.23)	0.96 (0.36—2.55)	1.43 (0.84—2.44)
<i>Sig</i>	P<0.001	P<0.001	-	-
Place of residence				

	Boys		Girls	
	Smoking	Alcohol use	Smoking	Alcohol use
Moscow/St. Petersburg	0.67 (0.33—1.34)	1.06 (0.53—2.13)	4.07 (1.20—13.78)	1.49 (0.68—3.27)
Other urban	0.51 (0.31—0.85)	1.07 (0.65—1.75)	1.30 (0.43—3.95)	1.49 (0.85—2.61)
Rural	1	-	1	-
<i>Sig</i>	P<0.05		P<0.05	

* Results are presented in the form of odds ratios with 95% confidence intervals in parentheses (adjusted for age)

Table 4. Co-morbidity of Substance Use in Russia in 2004*

	Adolescent smoking	
	Boys	Girls
Adolescent alcohol use		
No	1	1
Yes	5.19 (3.13—8.60)	2.65 (1.14—6.88)
<i>Sig</i>	P<0.001	P<0.05

* Results are presented in the form of odds ratios with 95% confidence intervals in parentheses (adjusted for age)

Victoria V. Moiseeva

FEATURES OF ALCOHOLIC CONSUMPTION AMONG TEENAGERS: BASIC TENDENCIES

It was observed that in mid-nineties, the alcoholic consumption among teenagers was on the decline. However, the drug use was on the increase at the same time. Nowadays we observe the negative tendencies regarding the illness increase which is caused by alcohol consumption among younger generations. Daily consumption of beer and others light-alcohol drinks has become a pattern of addictive behavior among teenagers and lead to an initial narcotization.

This article is written as a part of the project «Alcoholization as a factor of destabilization of Russian society. Sociological analysis»¹⁸². The aim of the project is to study causes and social consequences of alcoholization of the people; the development of scientifically based recommendations and effective counter measures on alcoholization and its negative effects.

The article is based on the poles taken among school children of 7th-9th grades in Moscow. For the comparative research, Kazan was chosen as the capital of a significant administrative, political, and cultural center of Tatarstan, as well as three other small cities of Privolzhsky federal district: Buzuluk, Vjatskie Poliany, and Mozhga. These smaller cities were chosen as representatives of small regional cities with similar level of social and economical development. The sample corpus includes interviewing of 2879 persons.

As our research demonstrates, 32% of school children have never consumed alcohol. The smallest percent of those who never drink alcohol was noted in Moscow then follows

¹⁸² The research is spent with financial support of The Russian state scientific fund №09—03—00116a

Buzuluk, Kazan, Vjatskie Poliany. In Mozhna this percent is the highest and equals 53%. The drinking habits in the most European countries including Russia are such that frequent consumption of alcohol of small concentration does not lead to mass alcoholism on the whole. The use of alcohol can lead to negative effects if strong spirits are consumed in large doses, which is characteristic of the Russian drinking culture. Unfortunately, today this is also applicable to the underage children.

Our investigation confirms the tendency of alcoholization among school children. Thus, 68% of respondents in all the cities admitted consumption of alcohol. Moscow is among the leaders in this respect (81%), then follows Busuluk (67%), then Kazan (61%), and then Vjatskie Poliany, and Mozhga (56% and 46%, respectively).

It may seem surprising, but today original «culture» of youth alcoholization is developing among young people. On the one hand, the most typical features of this culture are consumption of weak alcoholic beverages (beer, wine, etc.), and strong spirits as well; one-time consumption in large doses; drinking without food; drinking for the purpose to become drunk; on the other hand, one-time consumption in large doses and frequent consumption during short period of time.

This is confirmed by respondents stating that their use of alcohol started with the weak beverages (68% on the whole). Strong spirits (vodka, cognac) consume 26% of respondents. The data reflecting the use of weak and strong alcoholic beverages is disturbing, as well as the frequency of being drunk. The drinking habits are determined not only by the frequency of consumption, but by the dose as well. There were no corresponding questions in the questionnaire. But the answers on the cases of heavy drunkenness characterize the drinking habits qualitatively, and allow to estimate some elements of the way of life. Comparing big cities such as Moscow and Kazan, we found that school children consume weak alcoholic drinks on a large scale (81% and 61%, respectively), and they were equally frequently in the state of drunkenness (45% in both cities). Moscow is among the leaders in the use of strong alcoholic drinks (37%), then follows Kazan (22%), then Busuluk (21%). Vjatskie Poliany (18%), and Mozhga (8.5%). This data confirms the tendency of the use of not only weak but strong alcoholic drinks as well. The choice of the beverage is often casual, and, as a rule, does not depend on the taste of the drink.

We remark that the number of school children being drunk after consumption of strong alcoholic drinks depends on their place of residence. Busuluk and Vjatskie Poliany take the lead, then follow Kazan, Moscow, and Mozhga. Muscovites who drink strong alcohol are being drunk less frequently than representatives of the small cities. Probably, it can be explained by low quality of alcoholic drinks in small cities (moonshine spirits, falsified vodka) and by the amount of consumed spirit.

However, the average figures hide the contradictory tendencies in different cities. Thus Kazan, Mozhga, and Vjatskie Poliany are the cities where traditional gender differences in alcohol consumption are preserved, namely, there is smaller number of girls than boys who ever tasted alcohol, or have experience in being drunk, or who drank the last month before the pole. The differences in the use of strong alcohol are more pronounced than in the use of weak beverages.

The consequences of alcohol consumption are heavy as a rule and cause harm to society and an individual as well. So, one of the principle tasks of this research is to study interrelation between the alcohol consumption and anti-social and criminal behavior and other negative social phenomena.

The data of our research give the evidence of direct link between the alcohol consumption and anti-social and criminal behavior of teenagers. Thus, the school children with the healthy way of life practically never participate in acts of vandalism, acts of violence; do not carry knives and other weapons, and, correspondingly, do not use these weapons in criminal acts. But among alcohol users, approximately 2 to 25% of the school children commit criminal acts. Thus, in Moscow every 4th participant of violent acts such as street fights has a history of alcohol abuse; in Kazan it is every 5th; in small cities this figures vary. The same dependence on alcohol consumption has the participation in larceny. In addition, the uses of strong alcohol participate in these acts (larceny from department store, from cars) two times more frequently. The school children with the healthy way of life practically never commit these offenses. Over the

last 10 years, the forms in which early alcoholization manifests itself (the use of alcohol before the age of 16, and regular use of alcohol in later teen years) significantly changed. The rapid increase in drug abuse has influenced the process of early alcoholization. Thus, modern youth prefer weak alcoholic drinks which can be combined with the use of drugs. It is characteristic that a group psychological dependence is formed. The daily average quantity of consumed weak alcoholic drinks is great (more than 200 ml of pure alcohol), and it is greater than the analogous quantities in those who consume strong alcoholic drinks (100—150 ml), which as a rule, conducive to the rapid transition to alcoholism or some other form of dependence (when alcoholism and drug abuse are combined).

An objective cause of the first use of alcohol is the habits of consumption formed through many centuries. Subjective reasons are primary alcoholic settings. An alcoholic «career» depends on circumstances of the first acquaintance with alcohol. Thus, if the first taste of alcohol was weak beverages (beer, Champaign, gin with tonic), then later the use of alcohol becomes more active in comparison with the «career» of those who started with strong spirits (vodka, cognac). This can be explained by the fact, that first impression of the light alcohol was without any shock, since it was instigated probably by adults in festive settings. This first experience — in direct analogy with imprinting among animals — plays a crucial role in development of alcoholic dependence in young people.

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DEVIAANT BEHAVIOR OF CHILDREN IN THE FAMILY AS AN INDICATOR OF THE LATENT SOCIAL ORPHANHOOD

The problem of deviant children is one of the most burning, mass and social dangerous in Russia. The deviant activity of teenagers increases every year. These deviations are determined by contradictions arisen when different social communities dealing with socio-cultural values. This problem takes particular sharpness today in our country where all spheres of the social life suffer serious changes, devaluation of the previous behavior norms. The established activity methods don't bring desired effects. Disagreement between expectations and the reality increases tension in the society and readiness of the person to change its behavior model, to be outside the existing norm. It often occurs that cultural limitations are cut off; the whole system of the social control weakens. Strengthening of negative deviations (criminality, alcoholism and narcotization of people, juvenile delinquency, immorality) and the growth of individuals insecurity particularly worry.

Since any deviant behavior is violation of generally accepted rules of conducts approved in practice, it always includes an element of unpredictability, obscurity and possible danger. So the deviation and risk are different side of the same coin. The less the risk is, the more probabilistic the individual action is, and the more predictable the system's behavior is as a whole. A particularity of the present time is a number growth of persons forced to risk, because complication of the social reality increases the quantity of unknown situations. The modern developments in the area of the social psychology witness that the deviant behavior basically becomes more and more rational. The phenomenon «social ill-being of the childhood» is a complex of material, rightful, spiritual and other facts which don't provide conditions for normal existing of children and youths resulting in development of deviant and criminal forms of behavior, estrangement from the social and material production:

— it is detected that structural-functional features of the family institute appeared as deformations serve as a source of children's ill-being, determine the specific character of their consciousness and behavior (adoption of negative conduct modes; problems with studies; inclination to violation of the law; low self-esteem; low social status; drug addiction and alcoholism);

— it is proved that not only general-system factors, but also interfamilial factors deforming the institutional fundamental of the Russian society's vital activity, influence on the reproduction of the social disadvantaged childhood.

In the context of the dissertation work the research was conducted for the following theme: «latent social orphanhood». The object of the present research was families of small towns, with girls-teenagers (at the age of 13—16) having the active sexual life. 50 families were inspected. 29 families were discovered as problem families, and 21 ones as outwardly happy families. Family as a social institute provides successful socialization of the personality through collection of the initial adaptive potential during the adoption of norms of the social life. Feelings of the child in response of a situation in his family become moving forces of his deviant behavior. Among these feelings there are guilt, fear, insult, anger. In some cases the base of the deviant behavior of the girls-teenagers was loss of the emotional bond with the mother (the mother was deprived of parental rights; the mother decided to «start her life from the beginning» after her divorce with the first husband), called in the psychology as «mother's deprivation». Social consequences of the «mother's deprivation» are unpredictable, varied and can't be controlled. Generally more serious deprivations can be a sequence of the mother's deprivation.

The mother's deprivation is one of the factors of the latent social orphanhood rise. Later, when the girl becomes mother, she will start to project (copy) the behavior to her child which was adopted in the childhood thereby causing the «effect of the secondary orphanhood». As mentioned previously, 29 from 50 families are problems families or families of social risk where one or both parents are alcoholics or deprived of parental rights and trusteeship over minors was handed to grandparents. These families have no chances or desire to consult with qualified specialists-psychologists, social teachers, specialists of «problem children» upbringing. The deviant behavior of the girls-teenagers in such families can be explained by violation of the primary socialization's processes with deformation of the ability to establish social relations. However 21 families are outwardly happy families where both parents work and have their own habitation. The girls-teenagers in these families regularly go to school, have no bad habits but tend to the deviant behavior — it is a latent social orphanhood. Parents do not give proper attention for upbringing of their child but not because they don't want to do it, but because it is necessary to support and endow the family and so they spend all time for work. The children have free time which is not controlled by adults. The result of this is deformed perception of the social-cultural norms from the position of individualism — the predominate «ideology» of the modern society. Marginal phenomena are estimated as general, but the problem of materiality is evaluated as one from those social problems which can be solved with the help of spiritual and cultural revival of the society.

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TO THE PROBLEM OF CONSEQUENCES OF MASS ALCOGOLIZATION IN RUSSIA

The level of the analysis of social aspect of alcoholism problems essentially lags behind requirements of a society. It concerns both theoretic-methodological researches and practical recommendations about struggle against this negative public phenomenon. Because of urgent problems of drug distribution in Russia, attention of scientists was concentrated mostly on problems of narcotisation last years. Unfortunately, serious well-founded researches devoted to alcoholism studying among Russian population were not done since 1990. Nowadays the majority of researches are devoted to medical aspects of treatment of alcoholism and directed on criticism of the state alcoholic policy based on fiscal-administrative measures.

Researches available at present are rather fragmentary from the point of view of the system approach. They consider either socially — psychological factors of the problem within the limits of medical or general psychological approaches, or narrow-specialised socially-psychological moments. There are no system researches of various aspects of the way of

life of persons taking alcohol incidentally or abusing, representing, in our opinion, specific big social group, characterised by special social relations. First of all the main objects of an alcoholic policy are children, teenagers and youth. That's why anti-alcoholic policy studying and researching reasons of deterioration of an alcoholic situation in the country possess certain novelty and originality. Research «Alkogolization of the population as the factor of destabilization of Russian society» is devoted to these problems.¹⁸³ A comprehension of huge danger, which consists in alcolgolization of all levels of population and lead to heavy social consequences, has induced researchers to address to these problems. Alcoholism distribution absolutely threatens national safety of the country. Alcoholism is capable to blow up fundamental bases of safety of a society, the state, the person, destroy a gene pool and moral, social, political, economic foundations, and become the reason of technological failures and accidents. Nowadays the feature of situation is a negative dynamics of distribution of drunkenness and alcoholism. There are principal causes:

- First reason is steady preservation of Russian model of alcohol consumption with prevalence of strong spirits (about 75 %) and a great number of drinkable traditions and the customs transforming consumption of alcohol into the integral element of a daily life and way of life, which promotes a display of many negative consequences of consumption of alcohol. Moreover, low culture of alcohol drinking has become rather independent factor of distribution of drunkenness among the population.

- Governmental serious errors and miscalculations committed at a process of large-scale reforms of transformation of social, economic and political bases of the Russian society have considerably increased inevitable negative consequences.

- Sharp deterioration of living conditions of many tens millions of people, their social disorder, the steady feeling of social vulnerability and uncertainty which has appeared in mass psychology — all these factors occurred during reforms, have increased demand of the population for alcohol. The alcohol use has become an original escape from the reality, a special way of overcoming discomfort and stress, oblivion from difficulties and life cares.

- A mistaken policy of the state has provoked the expedited distribution of mass drunkenness and heavy negative consequences for society and played the main role in an aggravation of an alcoholic situation.

- Moon-shining has got mass, almost uncontrollable character. According to settlement data of Russian Goskomstat, moon-shine volume makes approximately 8 litres per capita or 3,2 litres in recalculation on absolute alcohol. Looking at a quantity of fatal cases of an alcoholic poisoning in a year (from 16 thousand in 1991 to 32 thousand in 2008) it is possible to judge about danger degree of uncontrollable illegal alcoholic manufacture.

The comparative analysis of dynamics of alcoholic conditions in Russia and other countries shows that with other things being equal growth of consumption of alcohol in Russia involves more fatal consequences for a society. High disease of alcoholism, death rate for the reasons directly connected with alcohol abusing and criminality are most obvious displays of hard alcoholic situation. According to the medical statistics 2,6 million of Russians suffers today from hard alcoholic diseases. However the real quantity of alcoholics considerably exceeds the number of persons being under medical supervision. According to the experts a number of alcoholics is about 5 million persons or 3,4 % from all Russian population. These data exceeds in 1,5—2 times indicators of the majority of the European countries. Malignancy of a situation is not limited only by alcoholism distribution. According to the criminal statistics practically 30 % of all crimes are made in a condition of alcohol intoxication. By separate kinds of the crimes, first of all heavy violent against life and health of the people committed in in everyday life this indicator is much above (to 65 %). Indicators of «drunken» criminality in household sphere at territories with mass moon-shining are still above and reaches 70 %. On the average a share of the killed, being in alcohol intoxication is about 57—60 %, murderers — 77 %. Quantity of persistent drunkards (the persons regularly making illegal actions and acts because of abusing by alcohol) statistically established by law-enforcement bodies fluctuates from 10 to 12 million persons that makes 7—8 % from all population. Such situation with drunkenness and alcoholism distribution represents serious threat for life and safety of various strata of society,

¹⁸³ The research is spent with financial support of The Russian state scientific fund №09—03—00116a.

for moral principles and well-being of families. So, annual death rate for the reasons connected with drunkenness, makes from 90 to 100 thousand of persons, including: up to 10 thousand persons die because of alcoholic illness; on the average 33—34 thousand of persons perish from an alcoholic poisoning; 23—24 thousand of persons are killed by drunk persons; up to 25 thousand of persons perish because of drivers in a state of intoxication etc.¹⁸⁴

Teenagers and women active familiarising with alcohol is also the indicator of serious trouble of an alcoholic situation in the country. According to sociological researches the peak of mass familiarising with alcohol consumption has been displaced from 16—17 years to 14—15 years for last quarter of the past century that is fraught with serious consequences as for physical and intellectual development of rising generation, and for the health and working capacity of the Russian people. The increased of female alcoholization is also very dangerous for physical and moral health of the population. The index of death rate from casual alcoholic poisonings has grown up on 31,1% among men and on 53 % among women over the last 10 years of the past century (counting on 100 thousand persons). There are similar indicators for alcoholism disease.

The drunkenness problem has got especially painful character for society in the beginning of 21 century. Present wide scope of alcoholization of population by its destructive influence on a society, destinies of people, and their physical and moral health do not go to any comparison with its sizes at all previous stages of development of the country. Practically by all parameters (a level of alcohol consumption, disease, death rate, criminality because of abusing spirits, degree of teenage and female alcoholization) — the sharpness of a problem of drunkenness has got the character seriously undermining social and economic, spiritually-moral bases of society and state ability to live of, national safety. So, the main indicator of alcoholization — alcohol consumption counting on soul of the population — has increased in 1, 4 times at the two past decades (1989—2008) and has reached 15 litres of absolute alcohol (according to some information 18 litres) that considerable exceeds the level which the World organisation of public health services recognise as especially dangerous for the health of people (8 litres of absolute alcohol)¹⁸⁵. Thus, in the beginning of the 21st century Russia occupy a leading place in the world on alcohol consumption at the extremely adverse structure of consumed drinks. Thanks to some specific conditions of Russia drunkenness and alcoholism development in the country has got a bit different character, than in many other countries, and a degree of their negative influence on a society has appeared considerably above and more strongly.

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BEHAVIORAL RISK OF HIV-INFECTION AMONG THE YOUTH

The necessity of preventive measures against HIV-infections is not a special medical task that is why the public health services are only one of the components and can carry out its activity only in a context of complete social policy. The projects were realized in Orenburzhye on HIV-infection preventive measures are addressed to the target groups and have a thematic character. Owing to a special urgency of a problem of HIV/AIDS-infection among the youth, the experts of the Center of socio-political researches «Indicator» have conducted the sociological research revealing models of individual behavior of studying youth, provoking a risk of HIV-infection.

The poll format has provided some blocks of questions on spreading of various kinds of behavior of «a risk» and features of behavior of studying youth within «risk» situation; according to sources of information of preservation and health strengthening, attitudes and requirements for the additional information etc. According to the research concept there has been carried

¹⁸⁴ Data of Goskomstat, statistics of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of Health of Russia for 90th years.

¹⁸⁵ The alcohol consumption level includes legal and illegal vodka, moonshine and various substitutes.

out a sample on three cities (Orenburg, Orsk, Gai), answering to the specifics of their socially-demographic structure, geographical position and indicators of injury of HIV-infection. The sample included the secondary schools and lyceums, special technical colleges and higher schools. In total 611 persons have been polled: (4 higher schools, 9 special technical colleges and technical training colleges, 18 schools). The poll was carried out in February 2009 by specially prepared interviewers at observance of full anonymity. The information gathering was carried out by means of a questionnaire consisting of 39 questions including 328 positions. The main results of the research:

1. Among the basic problems which participants of research face, it is possible to single out: alarm for the future; smoking and the alcohol use; conflicts with the senior generation; difficulties in understanding the studying material; heavy financial position. All these problems are very closely tied with each other and leave traces on behavior of the youth. Especially in situations connected with risky behavior.

2. The more notable role in models of deviant behavior belongs to smoking and alcoholism. The poll has shown that 64 % of young men and 37 % of girls — smoke, 89 % during their life used any alcoholic drinks. In connection with the use of alcohol (beer) 40 % of polled had difficulties in their studying, 20 % had financial difficulties; preventions of friends of a danger of abusing alcohol — 18 % and problems with health — 12 %.

3. According to opinion of 46 % polled persons the use of narcotics widespread at the territory of respondents places of living. Among the close friends of the studying youth there almost a quarter of the friends who use narcotics.

4. The one thirds of polled tried drugs, among young men — 41 %, girls — 19 %. The share of those who used drugs within the last 30 days amounts a half of the trying. A number of those who have an experience of drugs injection is 3 %. It is not a lot but also is a lot, accounting as actively a group involves contemporaries in the networks. The part of polled having an experience of the use of drugs has met certain difficulties: with financial problems (16 %), health problems (18 %), difficulties at a study places (18 %), conflicts with contemporaries (12 %). The respondents note the availability of drugs — «it is possible to find it in any place» (25 %), more often at discotheques, night clubs, an apartment of dealers, market and even at educational institutions.

5. Among the youth having an experience of using drugs 24 % used hemp preparations, except them — 7 % analgesics, 8 % — stimulators, 3 % atropine-like preparations, 2 % opiates, 2 % — hallucinogens etc. The common between them — that is formed the predilection to all of them and then the dependence.

6. From the investigated cohort of the pupils having experience of tests and use of drugs, 21 % have full enough idea concerning a risk of occurrence of dependence, 27 % know where to address for the help, 5 % have an experience addressing.

7. The research has revealed an urgency of «risks» which was traced by answers on discussions on problems of smoking, using of alcohol and drugs. So, the greatest error that the regular use of wine promotes prevention of many heavy diseases (43 %), that the use of beer cannot cause disease of alcoholism (28 %) etc. The statements from the sphere of behavioral and interpersonal relations show the subjective perception by a «risk» group of certain opinions. So, 58 % consider that the constant use of beer, low alcohol cocktails will not lead to alcoholism, and 40 % consider that if not to smoke, to take alcohol and drugs on the youth parties then is simply nothing to do. There has been formed the youth subculture with low spirituality, weakness or absence of healthy ideals, non-satisfaction by themselves and aspiration to be «friend» in a group.

8. In the youth environment there have been spread stereotypes concerning sexual behavior. These stereotypes are spread both among young men and girls and are caused by the cultural environment, age and gender features of the polled. 63 % of respondents have an experience of sexual relations and hardly more than 40 % used a condom at the first and the last sexual intercourse. In a case of infection by sexual contacts a half of the polled would address to the state medical institutions, 18 % to the non-state. It is necessary to understand that it only the declaration on intentions as in a real situation the majority does not do it.

9. The discussions with respondents of a problem of safe sexual contacts have shown that absolutely true statements are not present. It is clear that all should be begun with a family and

a school. The polled note that it is difficult to them to speak about questions of sexuality with mother (46 %), with father (49 %), with teachers (55 %). It is the most easier to communicate with friends (79 %). And this circumstance is estimated by researchers as a disturbing factor.

10. The participants of the research show the spreading of false ideas concerning ways of transfer of HIV-infection, and also their fears during communication with people living with HIV. Nevertheless, the increase of a level of tolerance to patients of AIDS-infection (62 % -«it is necessary to treat») is marked. Two factors most strongly influence the negative attitude to HIV-positive people that reflect the thoughts of the youth: a thought about a connection of HIV-diagnosis with the use of drugs and a thought about a high possibility to get infection of this disease. I. e. today the HIV-diagnosis acts as an original marker of belonging of a person to a deviant group that, in turn, leads to «double stigmatization» of people with this diagnosis: as suffering from dangerous disease and as belonging to a deviant group.

11. As well as in the research of the last year, the basic source of the information on health problems are the contemporaries of their gender (60 %), telecasts (57 %), conversations with parents (51 %), articles in newspapers and magazines (45 %), conversations with medical workers (42 %). For getting information respondents would like to have a talk with experts, to listen to lectures. The participants of poll also prefer such sources of information which assume their individual getting (posters, booklets). As one more factor of risk acts the overestimated idea about own knowledge in this sphere. It leads to that on a low level of knowledge there is no a requirement to get additional, true information.

On the basis of the received data the indisputable fact is the necessity of realization of the preventive actions directed on improvement of knowledge of the youth in a context of HIV/AIDS-problem, the formation of a responsible life position, responsibility concerning own health and health of the partner, and also formation of skills of more safe behavior and refusal of risky behavior. With this purpose it is necessary the including of a component of communicative skills necessary for adjustment of interaction, both with contemporaries and with the advanced age youth and also with parents, teachers and the other «adults» participating in the process of socialization of the youth.

13. HEALTH AND MEDICAL CARE IN A SOCIETY

13.1. MEDICINE CARE AND ITS INSTITUTIONS

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ATTITUDE OF CITIZENS IN RUSSIA TO PSYCHOTHERAPY

Contradictory 1990th and difficult, inconsequent outcome accompanied by a low living standard of a considerable part of population in the first decade of 21st century (even before broken out world financial crisis) contributed to a wide spread of social and personal disorders in Russian. Particularly, up to 20% of them have one or the other border-line mental deficiency and, correspondingly, need medical assistance — a psychologist and a psychotherapist. However, psychological advice appeared in our country in the latest 1990th is a new, unknown social practice even in cities and the opportunity to receive a psychotherapeutic care free of charge and without any negative social consequences is available only for those Russian who are over 40 years old. It leads to the increase of a psychotherapist's role, as a real and potential corrector of personal and behavioral disproportions in Russian. By the way, a psychotherapeutic care development depends not only on economic resources of a society and systematic -organizational principles of medical care, but consumers' attitude to a psychotherapeutic service, i. e. men themselves.

An attitude of citizens in Russia to psychotherapy (Volgograd with its population more than 1 million) was studied by questionnaire of 1061 persons elder than 18 in February and March 2009; representative sample was a sampled population according to the age indexes.

Only 23% of respondents considered that they realized psychotherapist's work fully, while 63% — realized it partially, and 14% — did not realize it at all. 29% of interviewed agreed that «a psychotherapist is as a psychiatrist» (traditionally distrustfully suspicious attitude to psychiatry and psychiatrists exists in Russian society) and practically the same amount of men considered that psychotherapeutic care is indicated for persons with mental deficiency. Only 27% of respondents knew that psychotherapeutic care could be really received. Age, educational, gender factors and presence or absence of somatic pathology did not influence respondents' informativity.

On the other hand, if a family doctor recommended to obtain the service of a psychotherapist, less than one third of interviewed (31%) would follow it, 375 would probably do it and 32% -would not do it (women and persons suffering from chronic ailments are more positive for visiting a psychotherapist; influence of age and educational factors are not revealed).

It should be taken into account that nowadays psychotherapeutic care for a majority of population is paid for in corpora. But questionnaire results showed that only 11 % of respondents would pay for this kind of treatment 100\$(i. e. average price for one visit is about 15—25\$and a course of therapy includes 5—7 visits); 9% considered that it was no use spending money on it; 39% did not have any definite answer and more probably they shared the opinion about irrationality of spending money on psychotherapy.

So, the study conducted pointed at insufficient respondents' informativity according to psychotherapy and work of psychotherapists, and unavailability of the majority of population to ask for a psychotherapeutic care and to pay for it even reasonable sum. Citizens who posses higher economic potential and better informativity, and care for their health and have

more-opportunities for it comparing with those living in country sides and small towns who are more pessimistic were interviewed. Therefore, institutionalization of psychotherapeutic practice in our country in recent time is less possible, and correspondingly, arrangement of psychological and medical aid among citizens with common border-line psychic and behavioral disproportional will bear an insufficient character.

L.Y. Ivanova

OPINION OF MEDICAL STAFF AND PARENTS ABOUT CHANGES IN CHILDREN'S PRIMARY MEDICAL CARE AS A RESULT OF IMPLEMENTING THE PRIORITY NATIONAL PROJECT IN PUBLIC HEALTH

The underfunding, obsolescence of the technical base and low wages can be mentioned among problems that have piled up in the Russian Public Health System. The priority National Project «Health» has been worked out to correct the unfavorable situation in the Health Care System. The primary medical care became the priority sector of this system in 2006—2007. The Research Project «Higher availability of the primary medical care for children and adolescents»¹⁸⁶ was implemented in 6 local pediatric polyclinics of Moscow and in the Lipetsk Region (June-December 2007). Opinions of medical staff about changes in the primary medical care (PMC) of children were studied by the method of standardized interviews (20 interviews) in recent years, especially in 2006—2007. Satisfaction of parents of pediatric polyclinics young patients with various aspects of the PMC (68 interviews) was ascertained.

Medical staff appreciated positively such aspects of the National Project «Health» as re-equipment of medical centers, improvement of professional staffing of primary medical units and more extensive preventive activities (prophylactic medical examination of babies under one year and orphans, as well as additional immunization reducing the sickness rate). At the same time, delayed supplies of vaccines were pointed out in the Lipetsk region. Renovation of diagnostic equipment carried out within the National Project was urgent. However, not all of the equipment necessitating the renovation was replaced, sometimes the supplied equipment was not complete. Medical staff appreciated certain measures envisaged by the National Project, such as wage supplements (subventions) to the medical staff employed by the district medical centers. This measure attracted and secured new staff in the district positions (in 2005 the polyclinics staffing was about 56% [1, 18]). Meanwhile, medical staff perceived as unfair the differences in the wages of: 1 — district doctors and the narrowly focused specialists and 2 — various narrowly focused specialists. It was emphasized that all the categories work equally hard. Besides, it was stated that the subventions are a kind of fixed payments that cannot influence the work quality. Basically, they are considered to be a forced measure in the context of crises in the insurance medicine. The medical staff thinks that there are obstacles preventing development of the compulsory insurance medicine (CIM). One would think that the insurance medicine low tariffs of payment for medical services may drive the primary public health units to their extensive use and incremental scope. But there is a point after which it leads to decay of the medical services quality, since the human resources are very limited.

It is precisely due to the low tariffs fact that significance of material encouragement of the medical staff labor by means of the CIM is reduced and the insurance companies concentrate on control functions. It is especially obvious in Moscow. Tariffs grow at a very slow rate and municipal subsidies constitute most of the payments. Pediatricians underlined that the scope of their activities increased and that it cannot be further increased without negative effect on the services quality (and the rising generation health, as well, it would be appropriate to add).

¹⁸⁶ This Project has been supported by the International Research and Exchange Board (IREX) No. C SSP-SR07/Health/15ARP dated March 22, 2007. A.K. Diomin, Doctor of Political Sciences, is the Project Manager.

Parents pronounced many words about doctors. Some said that every element of the PMC suit them. Criticism towards pediatric polyclinics is not as strong as that of adult outpatient polyclinics. Partially this is due to the fact that parents considered their children's state of health as good or, less frequently, as satisfactory. Some of the parents think that in case of any health problems, the existing level of medical care and assistance might be inadequate. Permanent pediatricians in the districts, where vacancies were registered previously, is the only positive trend observed by the parents of the polyclinic patients in 2006—2007. This is reinstatement rather than development.

The main reasons of complaints about children's PMC in polyclinics is, above all, shortage of narrowly focused specialists, long waiting lists in polyclinics to see a doctor or to get passes for diagnostic examinations (ultra-sonography, first of all). The interviewed did not notice any changes in this respect in 2006—2007. Other drawbacks were pointed out, as well. In particular, there were parents who considered as insufficient the examination time during the doctor's visit. There were cases when fictitious (imaginary) medical examinations were registered in the medical cards. Some of the respondents were satisfied with the services offered, while others wanted a greater share of attention. Inadequate attention can be justified by overburden of the medical staff and low wages (the respondents sometimes have a vague idea of the medical staff real earnings). Patients are aware of the strained situation in the local polyclinics, which entails lower claims to the medical staff. Some respondents know nothing about the patients' rights; others know of the right to change a doctor, but the right seems unrealizable under the present conditions. Sometimes the right of free medical service in other local polyclinics was mentioned. The respondents neither lodged complaints to higher instances nor appealed to their rights, even if they believed that they faced lack of conscientiousness and errors of the doctors (these were rare cases in this study) or downright rudeness (there was only one case).

Local pediatric polyclinics do not offer paid medical services to young patients. These services are offered by other medical centers. The reasons for addressing paid medical services in reference to child's health are as follows: 1 — wish to advance the service recommended by a doctor; 2 — difficult approach to a narrowly focused specialist (no such specialist in the local polyclinic or a very long waiting list (it can take up a month or more); 3 — the need for urgent service, which proved impossible free of charge; 4 — a low quality of free of charge services; 5 — the need for tests and studies, not provided by the polyclinic and not included in the Compulsory Medical Insurance program.

Respondents whose children use voluntary medical insurance services (the children's policy is paid by the entity employing their parents), or are patients of departmental polyclinics, or use paid clinics, dwelled on the advantages of this kind of services. Mainly residents of the Lipetsk region referred to positive aspects of the paid medical services. They mentioned fixed time of reception, availability of specialists lacking in district polyclinics, as well as a higher level of medical attention. According to municipal pediatricians position of a general practitioner (GP) may be reasonable in rural areas. And even there the parents try to get services of pediatricians rather than GP. Highly qualified medical assistance for urban and rural population is not equally available. In a rural polyclinic there are no narrowly focused pediatricians. A team of pediatricians periodically make a trip from a regional center to rural areas to make examinations of the residing children. In the Lipetsk region, children can get consultations of narrowly focused pediatricians and diagnostic examinations lacking in their local polyclinic. Such trips do not entail serious stresses of patients with no grave diseases. However, the situation is different when the patients need prolonged examination, as in this case they have to visit the doctor several times (i. e. to go to the regional, to queue up, etc.).

The research revealed such social problems related to health care of children as unavailability of recommended medicines to low-income groups and the problems of nursing children by working women. Some mothers found the medical sick-leaves objectionable, as the practice is not welcomed by their chief. There were cases when employer advanced a claim that mothers cannot take sick-leaves when their child falls ill. The high cost of medicines was mentioned not only by low-income respondents, but also by respondents with a middle level of incomes. The absolute majority of the interviewed parents normally bought the medicines recommended by the doctor. Women, who admittedly belonged to pay-checke

or to paycheque stratum, had to ask the doctors or pharmacists for cheaper substitutes. In other words, low-income population has lower opportunities for effective medical services to their children. As a rule, rural residents also purchase medicines needed for treatment of their children, but the cost of the medicines is very tangible for their family budget. It is worth noting when speaking about medicines that some mothers were concerned about extensive use of antibiotics in pediatrics. Suggestions made by the parents and youngsters for improvement of medical services included repair of the buildings, higher availability and quality of medical services (construction of new polyclinics, their staffing, shortening of queues, fitting out with diagnostic equipment (ultra-sonography apparatuses), advanced training of doctors, etc.). Demolition of the five-story residential buildings is underway in Moscow, multistoried buildings being constructed in their place. It was pointed out that new residents arrived but no new polyclinics appeared.

In Russia there is no clear and distinct policy in public health system. There is a very weak legal base in public health. The «Health» National Project, thanks to its administrative resources, permitted quick improvement of the situation in some painful points. In 2006—2007, the primary element of the Public Health System became the priority of the National Project. And now the phase was completed, but there are lots of problems in polyclinics that still await solution, because it is impossible to overcome the negative consequences of long-standing shortage of funds in the period mentioned. There is a need for increasing the share of the GDP assignments for the branch development. Long-term programs resting on a legal base and aimed at coping with problems of public health improvement, doing away with inequality in respect to availability and quality of the primary medical services (between urban and rural areas, local and departmental polyclinics, etc) are necessary.

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ESTIMATION OF MODERNIZATION OF PRIMARY MEDICAL AID BY POPULATION

The international experience has proved a number of advantages of the models of public health services oriented on the primary medical help (PMH). This model unlike the models on the basis of the specialized help has proved itself as a model raising the availability of medical services to different categories of population, less expensive both for patients and for public health services, promoting to the increase of a level of satisfaction of population. For Russia the transition to such model also is urgent because of a low level of culture of self-keeping among the population for many decades which is in many respects formed in places of primary help where the first contact of doctors and patients takes place.

The efficiency of this model with an accent on the primary help is provided at the expense of two conditions. On one hand, services of primary medical help can provide a complex approach in treatment on the basis of diagnostic base, coordination of the therapeutic and specialized help and satisfaction of prophylactic activity of a patient. On the other hand, among population there is formed an attitude to prophylactic activity and it in due time addresses for medical aid. The treatment of diseases at early stages gives faster positive results and is cheaper both to a patient and medical institutions.

What are the conditions of satisfaction of requirements of population today after the lapse of two tens years of modernization by services of PMH and what is a behavior of the population concerning their health and how it estimates services of the primary help? These questions were studied within the frames of EU Project «Support of development of a system of institutions of primary medical help at the state and municipal levels in Russia» in November-December 2006 in polyclinics of Lipetsk and Tyumen areas (1).

The results of the research testify to the decrease in availability of medical services practically for all categories of patients irrespective of their incomes, age and employment. Patients indicate three basic and equivalent factors of decrease in availability of services: the bad organization of their ensuring (turns on writing to doctors, on medical reception, on diagnostic researches, difficulties with a direction to specialists and to the other medical institutions), a considerable quantity of paid services and unsatisfactory relations with doctors.

Getting services in polyclinics is inconvenient for working and pupils in connection with the great losses of time, and for the older persons — the basic visitors of polyclinics, it is difficult to stand in turns on a state of health. The turns on diagnostics deprive patients of timely correction of treatment and, hence, its quality. As a whole the low quality of polyclinic medical help is explained, firstly, by insufficient and out-of-date diagnostic equipment, shortage materials, secondly, by bad coordination of the therapeutic and specialized help. The respondents indicate on impossibility to have a constant doctor because of the features of writing down to them, because of their great flow. There is noted the disinterest and the carelessness of doctors explained not only their professional qualities, but also the objective reasons: the inadequate salary, loads and out-of-date standard of time for receiving a patient. There is also noted a psychological non-readiness of doctors for dialogue with various categories of patients. At the same time since a period of free medicine in the opinion of the population the local therapists possess the lowest professional status, unlike doctors of hospitals and doctors-specialists of polyclinics. The mechanism of competition among doctors and medical institutions itself provided by the reforms and directed on improvement of quality of given services and professional level today does not work. There is also absent a legal regulation of relations of a doctor and a patient.

The basic function of the primary help — prophylactics of diseases of population, which carrying out should provide an efficiency of a new model of public health services — is not carried out because of in polyclinics there have not still created condition for this. There realized the reduced prophylactic medical examination according to cheap standards only concerning the predetermined categories of pupils and groups of the working population. The respondents note the inefficiency of prophylactic inspections as they are carried out on the bad equipment and on the basis of the primitive diagnostics. Patients do not see a sense in prophylactic activity on the base of polyclinics.

The growth of paid services in polyclinics is not connected with a scale of quality or expansion of a structure of services but with giving a possibility to reduce losses of time and for covering of deficiency of polyclinics in diagnostic and medical materials. Doctors are forced to appoint treatment not on medical indexes but on the payment ability of patients that as a result becomes more expensive for the state during the subsequent stages of development of diseases. The majority of patients do not expect that paid services will guarantee the better quality, than free ones because of that these and those are given by the same doctors on the same equipment. But they hope at least on the greater attention to them when they pay money. However, and these expectations in most cases appear to be vain. Therefore, according to the witness of patients besides paid services there takes place a practice of the informal payments with a purpose to get more attentive relation from the side of doctors and personnel.

The results of the research show that the further growth of volumes and a structure of paid services are impossible. The population has lost the possibilities of co-financing with the state of the public health services and refuses from its services. The practice of addressing to the market of informal medicine, refusal from treatment or addressing to medical aid at late stages of diseases, self-treatment has received a wide circulation.

Modernization of the Russian public health services is carried out without consideration of two important factors for its realization: opinions of population on a desirable direction of reforms and the formed and spread strategies of behavior of the population concerning health — that is without considering of social consequences. Modernization does not consider the interests of the population which expects from the reforms first of all an increase of availability of medical aid, realization of declared guarantees.

SOCIAL STATE OF HEALTH OF RURAL POPULATION OF REPUBLIC BURYATIYA: ON DATA OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

The social events of the 20th century like collectivization, deportations of ethnic groups, industrialization and urbanization led to transformation of socially-professional and branch employment in Buryatiya. There was a transition from a nomadic way of life to settled, there was the national working class, and the national intellectuals were developed. Nevertheless, in rural regions there were attempts to preserve traditional folk culture and trade of rural Buryat. It helped to prolong the life of culture, language, customs and traditions. Disorder of an agricultural production has negatively affected social development of village, a financial position of people, and marginalization greater groups of the population. There was a strengthening migratory outflow rural the Buryat in city and large rural settlements. At the same time besides factors negatively, influencing social state of health rural the Buryat factors of positive influence take place. First of all, this revival of national culture has given an opportunity for search of new adaptive strategy. In economic sphere are attempts of revival of forms of traditional managing in the form of revival of forms nomadic managing, development of cattle breeding and sheep breeding. In welfare and spiritually-moral spheres — revival old cultural and religious the expert, allowing positively to influence ethnic consciousness rural the Buryat and by that not allowing them to be dissolved in modern society. The given process the Buryat allows to find out again created original forms of inclusion in social experts and new niches of ability to live modern rural.

13.2. HUMAN HEALTH AND SOCIETY

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THE ROLE OF FAMILY IN THE REALIZATION OF THE LIFE PLANS OF CHILDREN

There is no doubt that that the family is greatly concerned about the destiny of a child and child's life purposes and achievements. Under the influence of the family ideology there have been formed the life values of children and their professional plans. Therefore, it is possible to consider a family with its system of values as the primary institute of formation of social structure of the future society.

Monitoring «Social self-feeling of a family as an institute of education» (2007, 980 units of polls of schoolchildren and their parents) done at schools of Moscow Region allow us to define the structure of values of teenagers (Table 1).

Table 1. Hierarchy of the life purposes of teenagers (%)

N	Important in life	2000	2004	2008	
				Gymnasiums	Secondary schools
1	Many friends	67	59	38	59
2	Much money	24	21	68	30
3	Family happiness	79	56	58	75
4	Good children	37	9	43	39
5	Possibility to have many trips and see new world	25	16	72	30
6	Respect and love of the people	49	35	31	51
7	Good health	60	26	9	65
8	Work with high salary	38	27	99	47
9	Independent work	6	9	-	14
10	Work with a guarantee from unemployment	6	5	-	13
11	High qualified work demanding new knowledge	9	4	40	13
12	Interesting work	37	34	41	43
13	Prestigious work	31	21	82	38

In Table 1 it is shown that there are observed noticeable differences in positions of teenagers from secondary schools and gymnasia. In the system of values generated by parents the orientations to material achievements and highly paid work are more strongly expressed among schoolchildren of gymnasia; it is greatly higher the need to have much more trips and see new world; the defined orientation to prestigious profession in the future and its high qualification; readiness for losses of personal labor on such preparation; the moderate aspiration to acquire a lot of friends; moderate and more proper estimation of possibilities of family happiness; personal independence from an opinion and respect of people; readiness to sacrifice by own health for achievement of the purposes.

The reasons of anxious among teenagers from secondary schools and elite schools attract a special attention in a retrospective of consequences of a default of 1998. The default has considerably reduced a motivation of all children (and, perhaps parental family) to receiving an interesting profession. The difficulties with money among families have increased for the next five years, the level of conflicts of teenagers with their parents has risen, and the relations between parents are worsened. The relations of teenagers with their friends have also sharpened that is a consequence of increasing of anxious and aggression in a society, and strengthening of competition. The difficulties of mastering by children of the school program became more appreciable; the attention of teenagers as well as their parents has concentrated on material difficulties. By 2008 the importance of material problems in a family becomes less expressed. After a default the problem of health of adult members of a family has become aggravated and the alarm of children connected with possible consequences of its deterioration is more definitely expressed.

The comparative analysis of answers of teenagers from secondary schools and gymnasia shows that in motivation of life values of schoolchildren of gymnasia the aspiration to get good profession is more precisely expressed, they are disturbed much more often by a state of the budget of a parental family (as a guarantee for realization of the life plans). The teenagers of gymnasia show the raised alarm concerning personal achievements in educational process, they displays the higher degree of responsibility

for success of education. At last, schoolchildren of gymnasia are more often anxious by own health, as a necessary condition of realization of the planned achievements. In connection with high loadings in educational process 47 % of the asked said about a strong tiredness after school classes. The family of schoolchildren of gymnasia is greatly included in a school life of their child: 61 % of parents regularly help their children with their home-tasks (in a secondary school — 16 %), 32 % — help episodically (48 %). Only 7 % schoolchildren of gymnasia and 36 % of teenagers of a secondary school do not use the help of parents in preparation of home-tasks.

The transition of children into the teenager's age is accompanied by the strengthening of their external orientations, by an intensification of communication with friends. In this case the absence of life experience can lead to illegible friendly relations and finally — to the deviating behavior of children. Therefore, the parents of teenagers should make more careful control over their free time. The polls of teenagers and their parents in a parallel mode show that the last are often inclined to overestimate their information where and with whom their children spend a free time (Table 2).

Table 2. The level of information of parents about free time of their children

Level of information	Answers of parents	Answers of children
Always know where and with whom their children spend free time	72	46
Know not always	27	49
As a rule do not know	2	5

As we see, the real knowledge of parents (determined by answers of children) much more low their own opinions about where and with whom their children communicate and spend time. Accordingly, the danger of involving of a child in a situation of risk and possible negative consequences for his further destiny greatly increases. The family education equally with the parental control is carried out through the parental support of a child including the help, emotional attitude, approval, praise etc. If the control purpose — to bring the behavior of a child into accord with public norms and behavior rules (the interests of a society are primary) then the support purpose — to create the good conditions for the personal development of a child (interests of a child are primary). By means of a support parents together with a child define his own interests and the life purposes. The modern Russian way of development of a society within a paradigm of market relations increases the importance of interests of the separate person over interests of a society and so, the value of a support in the structure of measures of educational influence increases. The level of carrying out by parents of a support of a child is possible to track according to a fact of addressing of children to parents for advises in difficult situations (Table 3).

Table 3. Addressing of children for advises (%)

Usually consult	According to answers of parents	According to answers of children
With mother	75	64
With father	9	23
With boy-friend (girl-friend)	9	35
Do not consult with anybody, make decisions themselves	1	18

The comparison of answers of parents and children shows that the overestimation of their role as the advisers of the child is characteristic of the parents. Summing up to the spent analysis it is possible to draw the following conclusions.

1. The parents being anxious by education of children and their future aspire to provide the more qualitative education to their children: education in the gymnasia classes under the profound program with profile subjects which will be the basis when entering the Higher Institutes. The children getting such education have been programmed by parents on higher education and achieving of life successes. The teenagers studying at gymnasia have the advanced life purposes and a positive orientation to achievements. At the same time their life values are more concrete and narrowly focused, more focused on the material sphere. The readiness to sacrifice by the emotional component of private life (family happiness) and expectation of the high salary, the smaller orientation to dialogue with friends and the big orientation to travel, acquaintance to the world is to be characteristic for them.

2. The parents of children studying at gymnasia regard to the education of children more responsibly, actively participate in school life, help children with their home-tasks and show the expectations of their high successes.

3. Children under such conditions are more often oriented to getting the approval of parents and highly motivated on school successes. They understand the value of education and receiving new knowledge better than children from a secondary school, they have the accurate life scenario, know how to use the received knowledge in the future. Namely, this category of children will further structure the most prestigious, responsible administrative positions approved by a society in the country.

4. The comparison of answers of parents and children on adequate questions testifies that on many positions parents badly know their children and are insufficiently interested in individual world of children. Therefore it is substantially possible to state about the presence of considerable reserves for the further development of the educational potential of the Russian families.

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HUMAN HEALTH IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBAL CHANGES

Abstract: Human health as scientific and social problem is an important problem that we used to consider global. The problem of health according to its practical importance and urgency is in the one rank with such big social tasks as struggle against starvation, preservation of the environment, improvement of the environment and preservation of nation gene poll. The problem of population growth and their health preservation can be referred to the most important global problems. The main traits of mankind dynamic development as a global community are rate and character of demographic growth. Rates of population growth were not constant during mankind history. There are some forecasts according to which the population will increase approximately to 6.9 billions people.

Fast population growth observed since 20th century got the name of 'demographic outbreak'. It characterizes the developing countries. 'Demographic outbreak' means that the level of birth rate is more than the level of death rate. Lately decades world processes in population have influenced international relations, states policy, and the direction of the social economic development of different regions of the world. S.P. Kapitsa identified this problem as the most important and crucial. He says: 'Problem of population growth is the most crucial problem of nowadays. Modern people's destinies and future generations' perspectives depend on rates of population growth and the direction of the mankind structure quality [1, 48].

Problem of population's health preservation becomes very important. This problem itself shows negative tendencies of modern civilization in solving of the problem in general. Resent surveys show different factors that influence people's health. These factors are political, economic, social, ecological and psychological ones. Every factor is very crucial. Interacting with ach other these factors according to different conditions can be harmful

for national gene pool. Researches let know beforehand that the problem of preservation of gene pool becomes very important because if the degradation of gene pool continues the nation will disappear itself in two or three generations. It will happen because gene damage of 30% of the population will lead to its death.

Modern period of scientific technical development is characterized by high quality level influence on social and natural human being environment. Influence of scientific technical progress on man's health is very big, difficult and contradictory. From the one hand scientific technical progress influenced the health protection very much: new methods of prevention, diagnostic, treatment and rehabilitation, effective possibilities of using technical means are appeared that exalted medical science and practice of health protection in most countries to qualitative level. From the other hand, contradictory character of modern world development reveals in the increasing number of so called 'illnesses of civilization' [1, 61]. This name unites pathological processes that connected with both the influence of separate negative factors of civilization and ordinary factors and well-known cause that lead to illnesses. Scientists proved that the main reason of increasing many illnesses is stress. Modern world is characterized by big speeding and intensity of social changes while biological processes programmed by evolution are changing very slowly. We will find one of the reasons of the civilization illnesses facing these two factors. Modern science is considered human health both a difficult phenomenon of the global meaning that has philosophic, social, economic, biological, and medical aspects and object of consumption, introduction of capital, individual and social value. Health is the phenomenon of the system character that interacts with environment.

General results of different surveys of dependence of man's health from different factors prove that the level of the development and the state of health protection system determines approximately 10% of the whole complex of influences. The rest of 90% includes the conditions of environment (approximately 20%), inheritance (approximately 20%) and the most — way of life (50%). So, medical aspect and the development level of health protection is not the main in totality of influences on the man's health. Level and life expectancy determined by conscious human being attitude to his own health, realizing health meaning for himself, his future for the society [2, 39].

Professor I. Muravov insists that healthy way of life is not enough to be healthy. Health way of life as effective way of preservation and strengthening of health has to be on higher qualitative level i. e. to transform in health culture [4, 126]. Health culture is totality of philosophic, educational, medical, social and psychological knowledge that make rich psychical, physical life of the human being, form personal attitude to the health and life activity, help to a person to comprehend different paradigms of existence. We agree with this scientific point of view. We consider that both the man's health and the health of all mankind depend on self-knowledge and awareness of health as main life value. But we think that it will be more correct if we speak about forming of inner health picture because it is integral personal view on the health as 'for-himself-knowledge'. The contents of the inner health picture influence forming of healthy (or unhealthy) way of life. We should note that the concept of the inner health picture is forming now. Term 'inner health picture' is used in works of V. Kagan (1986). He defines it as integral personal view on the health as 'for-himself-knowledge'. It is the view of the individual about health that he correlate with his real, nowadays state. The contents of the inner health picture influences forming healthy way of life and timely call for help. Annanyev V. sorts out three main structure components of the inner health picture:

1. Cognitive. It is the rational side of the inner health picture. It includes totality of subjective thoughts about reasons, development tendencies and types of health preservation.

2. Emotional. It is sensory side of the inner health picture. It includes complex of emotions and feelings about health.

3. Behavioral. It is motor-volitional side of the inner health picture. It includes actions determined by his belief system [4, 57].

So, the inner health picture is totality of elements of health connected with psychological, subjective aspects of existence. The inner health picture is 'field of the health for itself' where a human being tries to know himself and his health first of all.

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SOCIAL AND LEGAL ASPECTS OF INTERACTION IN RENDERING ASSISTANCE TO CHILDREN INVOLVED IN DIFFICULT LIFE SITUATIONS

The requirement of studying processes occurring in the social sphere of the regional community, defines interests to the applied researches of one of its segments (system of social protection of the population) and one of social work objects — children who have got into a difficult life situation. Concrete forms of social partnership of public social institutions and charitable organizations are becoming a consideration subject in sociology. Studying these forms of social partnership has allowed us to allocate one more aspect of research — administrative interdepartmental interaction of educational establishments and public social protection institutions. The requirement for such form of interaction for rendering assistance to children who have got into a difficult life situation, has been revealed at studying cooperation between public social bodies and establishments of the Penza region and those charitable organizations on the territory of the region which render social help to families and children. In the course of the expert interrogation of heads and experts of various bodies and establishments of social protection of the population of the Penza region (quantity of respondents — 66), held in 2008, we revealed the reasons, preventing the establishment of partner relations not only with the charitable organizations, but also with the educational establishments. These are lack of knowledge of each other (45 % of the questioned), lack of development of interaction mechanisms and technologies (29 % of the questioned), lack of resources, necessary for cooperation (26 % of the questioned). We paid attention to the fact that 26% interrogated have noted absence of a standard legal base, allowing regulating interaction of establishments and system of social protection of the population.

The obtained data allow for the fact specifying perspectives and problems of the complex applied research directed towards perfecting the system of analysis and estimation of efficiency realized in a state policy on children's protection from troublesome situations. One of the aims is to work out a method of comparative analysis of the standard legal base regulating the activities of educational and public social protection establishments. The given technique assumes that the work with the collected material is carried out according to the problem- focused matrix the key parameters of which are:

- Kinds of standard- legal documents and their list;
- Kinds of difficult life situations of children and their list;
- Spheres that involved difficult life situations of children;

- Comparison of acts on similar aspects;
- Allocation of dot discrepancies in the legislation regulating education of disabled children and orphans, and in the legislation regulating their social protection.

At research of standard legal acts we take into consideration that:

- means and ways of solving the same or alike problems of social protection of children who have got into a difficult life situation are mainly the subject of the comparative research;
- legal rules of administrative interdepartmental interaction are considered to be comparable if they deal with the same question, thus its decision can be various and even opposite;
- formally identical legal terms can have the unequal content at the international, federal and regional levels.

Estimation of the legal acts which are object of comparative research is carried out by formal and content criteria. Formal criteria of the estimation concern:

- the quantity of standard legal acts on the research theme, taking into account their kind (laws, codes, decisions and so on);
- the choice of standard regulation level and a kind of the standard legal act for the solving of a specific target of interdepartmental cooperation (the President, the Government, the Federal Assembly, the ministry and so on);
- system relation with other standard legal acts, concerning problems of children in the society (interrelation and a coordination of concepts and contents), completeness of compared standard legal acts (whether they are settled from the point of view of the purposes and problems of social protection of children), their regulation for the duration of validity period, territory, categories of children;

Content criteria of the estimation concern:

- the content and character of the compared legal documents (their similarity or difference, the degree they correspond to the norms of the international law);
- the presence of the mechanism providing legal decisions in cases children get into difficult life situations (including presence of actual legal collisions between standard legal acts of different departments);
- the degree of educational and other social legal acts provided with resources of various kinds ;
- coincidence (divergence) of the level of legal guarantees to the level of the problems realized by educational and public social protection establishments.

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CULTURE OF INDIVIDUAL AND PUBLIC HEALTH AS A KEY HEALTH-FORMING FACTOR

The problem of health and illness is discussed in social sciences year after year. Health is the basis of professional longevity, high physical and intellectual efficiency and social activity. The increase of the «human factor» role in living and development of the modern society conditions its objective need in physically, psychically and socially fit people; however, the medical statistic data of the recent decades reflect the tendency of the Russian population's health deterioration.¹⁸⁷ Despite the intensive development and extension of medical knowledge, the modern man's health problems can not be solved by the effort of the healthcare system only. The ratio of the healthcare system work in the group of health-determining factors is just 8—12% that of the environment 20—25%, human genetics and biology — 18—22%, and the most influential ratio is lifestyle:

¹⁸⁷ Healthcare in Russia. — M., 2005, www.gks.ru

its share accounts for 50—55%.¹⁸⁸ In sociology lifestyle is traditionally understood as a way of living formed by an individual or/and a collective under certain social and economic circumstances. Lifestyle does not come down to material and non-material determinants of individual existence conditioning it. A person chooses his or her lifestyle independently mainly due to one's knowledge and information available, behavioral standards and rules within available systems of value, life priorities, etc. taking into account certain conditions of one's existence.

Culture acts as an immediate regulator of a person living; therefore health culture is the basis for everyday health management activities, for healthy lifestyle formation and dissemination. Many famous national scientists (V.P. Kaznacheev, V.P. Petlenko, E.M. Kazin, L.G. Tatarnikova, V.V. Kolbanov, etc.) speak about the need to develop individual health culture in the modern society as the task and requirement of today. Health culture, being a kind of panhuman culture, is a system phenomenon consisting of a number of interdependent elements. Major components of health culture are as follows:

a) the complex of values and standards: health culture is a certain commonly shared system of values, meanings and standards with regards to the external environment of the nature and society and to the internal environment of the human body, which is assimilated by the individual in the process of socialization and living, and on the basis of which they form their health-related behavior;

b) the system of knowledge about health and ways of its establishment: health culture, as it has been truly observed by N.N. Malyarchuk, «is experience accumulated by the mankind in the area of health, not only the health of body but also the health of mind...»¹⁸⁹; health culture contemplates that the man knows his genetic, physiological and psychological abilities, methods and ways of health control, ways of preservation and development of body and personality, knowledge of risk factors and life safety fundamentals;

c) the health-formation activity: health culture is the man's activity related to formation and long-term maintenance of physical, psychical and social health, to the increase of adaptation capabilities of the body, the basis of which is in valeology knowledge and comprehension of health as the major human value, as well as the formed need in it.

Health culture is the basis for healthy lifestyle — goal-directed valeologically reasonable behavior. The process of establishing individual health culture depends, on the one hand, on internal factors (psychical and physiological features, individual abilities of the man, etc.) and, on the other hand, on external conditions of life and activity under which this individual is forming, i. e. on the level of public health culture development. Public health culture, in its most general aspect, may be determined as a component of the social and cultural system ensuring conditions and prerequisites (economic, social, legal, world-view, etc.) for the formation of the individual need in health and the possibility to realize this need in the existing social structure of the community. Regrettably, the situation in the health culture area in Russia at present can not be called optimal. The activity of key social institutions: education, mass media, healthcare and family — as a rule is not aimed at establishing individual health culture. Despite the wide scientific grounding for valeologization of the educational environment and availability of valeology-oriented educational programs, in practice the process of education and upbringing in educational institutions of any level is still to the minimum extent oriented at translation of valeology knowledge, at fostering a conscious attitude of pupils and students to their health. In their turn, mass media do not only pay due attention to the problems of public health but, on the contrary, frequently promote unhealthy lifestyle, advertise «fast-food» products which can affect health, primarily target the man at recovering the lost health with passive means, by taking certain medicines, but not at prevention of illness. Extremely little air time on radio and television and

¹⁸⁸ Baronenko V.A., Rapoport L.A., Student's Health Culture. — Yekaterinburg, 2003, p.8.

¹⁸⁹ N. N., World-View Aspects of the «I ԁalth Culture» notion // [w \v\ . Liimn. ru/scc74](http://w.v\ . Liimn. ru/scc74)

place in printed media (apart from specialized printed publications about health) is given to covering matters of healthy lifestyle, sanitary and educational work, formation of the system of values and motivation to strengthening health. The Internet is a special kind of media: there is access to hundreds of Russian specialized websites about health; however, the contents and reliability of the information accessible via the Internet raise concerns of the medical community¹⁹⁰; furthermore, due to the low level of education in the area of health, most people are unable to adequately orientate themselves in the variety of the information offered and to evaluate the reliability of the data provided. Nowadays the healthcare system, in spite of the quite successful implementation of the national project «Health»¹⁹¹, with difficulty and not always with good quality copes with its primary objective — treatment of the ill, prevention of infective diseases and population health survey. The educational, informational, sanitary and educational activity, the object of which is a completely healthy person, as a kind of everyday activities of the healthcare system is hardly performed. For instance, according to the data of the expert poll, doctors, observing the low awareness of schoolchildren of health matters, however, do not think that it is their responsibility to perform sanitary and educational activity among schoolchildren, considering this task to be the prerogative of the education system and the family.¹⁹² The brief overview of activities of the education system, healthcare and mass media has displayed that they do not pay due attention to the matters of formation of health culture and preventive behavior of the person, therefore family socialization turns out to be the primary external factor of developing individual health culture. The family is the most fundamental social institution fulfilling a number of socially significant functions, among which the most essential ones are the socialization functions in forming health culture: formation of the fundamental system of human values; fostering stable cultural and hygienic skills in all family members; habits of everyday physical exercises; correct organization of the living mode; teaching the basics of health preservation; formation of the culture of interaction with the social and natural world around us, etc. However, the modern Russian family has a low level of health culture and translates the outdated model of behavior in the area of health.¹⁹³ The process of formation of individual health culture begins once the person is born and continues throughout their entire life, as the contents of its major structural components changes depending on the stage of the age development and psychical and physiological features of the person. Therefore, in our opinion, one of the strategic priorities of today's social policy must be development of the complex program taking into account the variety of factors and institutions forming health culture, ongoing and consistent system of its extension on the state, public and family levels.

E.N. Zaborova & T.L. Markova

A CITY AND HUMANS: ISSUES OF COMPATIBILITY

Modern scientists continuously discuss issues related to human life appearance on the Earth. According to some estimates it dates back to 1—1, 5 million years ago, according to the other — 5 millions. Homo sapiens appeared nearly 45—40 thousand years ago. In terms of historical time this period is very short. What are the basic facts for fixing this time? There are some material remnants of humans' activity, i. e. remnants of utensils or dwellings. A city is an ancient creation of the human being. Throughout human civilization there were several historical forms of spatial dwellings

¹⁹⁰ See: *Craigie M., Loader B., Burrows R., and Muncer S.* (2002) Reliability of Health Information on the Internet: An Examination of Experts' Ratings. *J. Med. Internet Res.* 4(1): e2.

¹⁹¹ See the website \w\ wtomxu to find out about the course of implementation.

¹⁹² *Zhuravleva I.V.* Individual and Public Attitude to Health. — M., 2006. — p. 195

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*-p. 182

ranging from so called first dwellings to countryside villages and settlements. Small, middle-sized, big and super big cites, agglomerations and conurbations, megalopolises emerged later. A city has secured a special place in this line. According to some data, early cities appeared in the Paleolithic epoch, i. e. 15 thousand years BC. Other experts assume that a city appeared along with the slave society. Jericho is quoted to have been the first city. Archeological excavations prove that the flourishing of ancient civilizations every time resulted in the birth of big cities.

Why did cities emerge? Objectively, the reasons can be identified only theoretically. Yet, we have witnessed the emergence of many modern cities and are able to trace the underlying reasons. In fact, it must be noted that the real causes and their genesis are much deeper. The fact that cities appeared can be attributed to a combination of general, particular and special reasons. The general reasons spring from the man’s specific social and biological nature as the kind. Fundamental social and biological reasons include the gregarious lifestyle of the mankind and an increase in population. And there are social reasons such as the development of the man’s social nature, ability to think, modify the world as well as create the society. The civilization reasons stem from the society development and include the labor division (the appearance of cattle-breeding and agriculture), the emergence of trade and communication system. Lastly, the special reasons can be related to a specific impulse, for example, the discovery of the mineral resources in a particular place or a beneficial geographical position, the place of religion pilgrimage, location in the trade route crossing, etc.

Table 1. Reasons for City Emergence

General reasons	Civilization reasons	Special reasons
f gregarious way of life of the mankind f historical accretion of the human population f ability to think and modify the world f creation of society.	f labour division f technology f trade activities f communication system	f b e n e f i c i a l geographical position f deposits mineral resources f place of religion pilgrimage f location in the trade ways crossing f protective point f decision of the government

Nowadays just fewer than fifty percent of the planet total population lives in cities. The anti-urbanization trends are increasing; many people are not willing to reside in cities. In these conditions the issues of the City and the Man compatibility are becoming increasingly debatable. The key issue is that a big city represents a synergetic holistic formation, so-called manageable chaos. Every positive influence the city has on a man leads to a known or unknown negative effect. At the moment the cumulative effect is unlikely to be assessed. City is humans’ biggest artificially created territorial-spatial environment. It provides people with comfortable physical and social-cultural conditions. Unlike rural settlements, city has some distinctive pluses including comfortable residence, public utilities, transport, a variety of ready to use consumer goods. No doubt, cities have played a leading role in the civilization development: $\frac{3}{4}$ of basic production assets are concentrated in the cities. The bigger the city is the more powerful social center it becomes. Being an artificial environment created by the mankind, the city is a landmark of the social-spatial and cultural forms in the civilization progress. The city is a *source of all social innovations and acts as a forceful field, as a centre of attraction for other types of settlements*. For example, basic migration streams have always flown from the village to the city. People tend to be willing to settle down in places within easy reach from a city. Although the city consumes the village produce, it supplies a village with scientific and technological advances.

Being a social phenomenon, the man is much better adopted to living in the city creating more comfortable conditions for people’s studies, work, family life, etc. Here the man

has more chances to obtain good education, find a job or entertain oneself. City with its multiplicity and mobility creates a peculiar atmosphere incomparable with the one in towns or villages. *However, the notion of a city is contradictory by nature as it can be not only pleasant but also dangerous.* Thus, the city is an antipode of nature. It represents the biggest man-made environment. Almost everything in the city has been created or modified to some extent by the man. City dwellers live in buildings made from artificial materials such as brick, concrete, glass, plastics, polyethylene. Those made of wood are covered with varnish or paint. Urban residents are surrounded with man-made things such as laminate, linoleum, artificial fibre, etc. Man-driven vehicles rush, creep, fly through the city. The city air is polluted with exhaust gases and emissions; it is artificially heated or cooled with air-conditioners. When it is windless weather, the temperature in the city is 2 °C higher than in suburban areas with a «dome» hanging above the city. Drinking water is to be treated and purified to make it usable. People tend to wear clothes made from artificial materials — polyester, artificial silk, lurex. So, natural fabrics such as flax, cotton, silk make up a small percentage of the merchandise. In addition, food is processed, boiled, fried, salted, sugared, conserved and on the whole it is far from original natural product. This list can be prolonged.

Initially, the city took into account the nature as the factor of environment including landscapes, mountains, water and climate features, and prolificacy of adjacent territory. Today due to the advances in science and technology the city can be created both in the conditions of permafrost and desert. Under unfavorable environmental conditions the city can be built even under the ground. A shining example is the subways in the world's biggest cities which look like real underground cities. Relations between the city and the nature tend to be aggressive rather than friendly. City pollutes the environment. Every minute tons of poisonous-gases are released in the air and water. Hundreds kilometers away from big cities, the ecological situation is estimated as extremely critical. City heavily relies on nature for water, minerals, gas and oil. Forests are destroyed, animals are killed, and flowers are plucked for people's enjoyment. It is difficult to estimate the real impact the human activity makes, but today the mankind has witnessed climatic changes such as tsunamis, floods, droughts, snow in Africa and heat in the north regions, the volcano eruptions, earthquakes, ozone holes, etc. Big cities are the main culprits of these dramatic climate shifts.

Undoubtedly, there can be found a lot of evidence how people assist nature. They save endangered animals and plants, clean rivers and lakes, plant forests, etc. But these are only pitiful attempts to restore what has been destroyed. Clearly, the idea of the city itself as a place of habitation has absorbed all the pathos of domination of a human over nature. City is the man's incursion into the world of nature; it is an antipode of nature. City as an artificial environment proves the man's power and intellect. Evidently, the man has wonderful adaptation ability. Unlike many animals that are much stronger, every man is physically slack. Thus, the city is some kind of gigantic protective shell created by mankind for survival. Just as a smooth and slack snail hidden in the home-shell to survive, the man has been protected by artificial environment, i. e. the city. As a way of adaptation the city is undoubtedly blessing for civilization. Nevertheless, a man as a biological species failed to get adapted to the city environment. Urban habitats do not satisfy human real needs and longtime interests. There are thousands of modern publications on the adverse effect made by the city on human health which prove that living in a city seems dangerous for mankind. Like the city itself, a man is becoming a rather artificial creature with inlays, fake teeth, dyed or implanted hair; gold threads in face tissue; lengthened nails, etc. The hearing-aids are used to replace the weak ear and contact lenses or eyeglasses help poor eyes, specially implanted devices make human heart work better. If an average modern city resident is deprived of all the blessings of civilization, he/she will have little chance to survive. Life of urban residents is affected by social rather than natural rhythms. City rhythms are not in concordance with nature: time of sleep or activity is dictated by social rather than biological needs. As a consequence of heavy dependence on the artificially created urban environment, the man's physical nature is degrading. There are taking place modifications in the man's psyche and physical health. 83% of the Sverdlovsk region population lives in the cities whereas only 33% of newly-born children are reported to have sound health.

14. CONTEMPORARY FAMILY POLICY

14.1. FAMILY AS AN INSTITUTION

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF INSTITUTION OF FOSTER FAMILY IN RUSSIA

Russia in the XX-th century has endured two post-war periods of growing of number of children without parental care. In such circumstances it was easier to place the majority of children under the government facilities control. In the 1990s in new crisis time the number of so called "social orphanhood" is increased again. The main reasons of "social orphanhood" are deprivation of the parental rights and refusal of newborns.

From the end of 1990s one can see the transition from mainly state upbringing of children to family forms. But according to statistics the proportion of children arranged in families and government facilities haven't changed much for recent decades.

Guardianship is the most widespread family form. Guardianship is practiced mainly by relatives – grandmothers, sisters of mothers who lost their rights. The tendency of adoption of children by Russian citizens has not changed dramatically since the beginning of the 1990.

The foster ("accepting") family is rather new institution in Russia [1, p. 401]. Since first experience of such families in Samara region in 1996 the number of "accepting" families is increasing each year. In 2004–2005 it was 5827 of "accepting" families in Russia, in 2007–2008 – already 22017.

The results of interviewing of 96 "accepting" families (89 mothers and 7 fathers) provided in 2008 by Department of Family and Gender Study in three cities (Moscow, Murmansk and Novosibirsk) showed some problems in developing of such new institution. First of all it is deterioration of living conditions for more than 1/3 of families. Also the number of children returned back to government services of custody has increased especially in region without the support institutions (psychological, special medical services and so on).

At the same time there are many indexes of positive direction of the process of development of "accepting" family. The majority of "accepting" parents (mothers and fathers) are believers that usually connect with adherence of moral values. In normative (first marriage of both parents) and stepfamilies much more fathers take care of children and get busy with children in comparison to usual sample of such structural types of families [2, p. 134]. Many potential parents (but not all yet) visited special training before accepting children and so one can see the professionalization of parenting.

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PARENTAL COMPETENCE AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM

Parental competence problem is very actual and sharp in modern world. Less of children in a family are world wide spread, only 1—2 children are born in a family and parents don't have any possibility to master their parental skills. Moreover parents themselves were brought up in families where they were the only children. Emotional competence can be found in ability to control your own behaviour as a parent, manage your own, and identify yourself with motherhood or fatherhood. Emotionally inadequate parents are definite threat as a child has to seek protection from parental emotions. Higher than in norm anxiety, disequilibrium, hot temper, depression, contradictory demands, desire to demonstrate parental love and demand of mutual expression of love, gratitude, appreciation force children to adapt to unpredictable behaviour of parents. Emotional incompetence of parents in communication with children is considered as a fact. Comparing readiness of female and male to play parental roles it is obvious that women demonstrate higher indexes. Women playing role of a mother feel themselves more confident, than men in role of fathers.

Stable gender stereotype confirms the same: a woman spends most of her time with a child and learns role of a mother quicker and more effective than a man learns role of a father. Anthony Giddens analyzing relations between children and parents uses the term 'toxic parents'. He calls toxic those adults who constantly treat their children in such a manner that it threatens their feeling of self-respect. Even single inconsiderable children's deeds arouse their indignation and negative sanctions in a form of verbal or physical violence. Parents' discontent with their children became an integral part of present-day life. Parents can talk endlessly long how bad their child is and give arguments to this opinion, but it is harder for them to speak about positive features of character, behaviour of the youngest member of the family. There is a lack of praise between children and parents, and between conjoins. Instability of relations between conjoins provokes inconsistency and divergence in parental behaviour. A. Giddens distinguishes several levels and types of toxic parenting. Toxicity can be minimal and maximal. First group unites emotionally incompetent adults, second category of toxic parents control maximally everything concerning their child. They control his study, range of friends, interests and prefers, free time, clothes, occupations. Typical reaction of children who are treated like this: 'Why don't they allow me to live my own life?' Third category of toxic parents consciously holds away from process of education and responsibility for their child being totally indifferent to them. They give total freedom of actions to a child, don't control schedule of his day, nutrition, study at all. Toxicity of parenting is found in verbal insult of children.

Maximal concentration of toxicity is traced in families with antisocial behaviour — alcoholics, narcotics. Obvious threat for children is a family with criminals — where one or both parents have an experience of being at institutions of confinement. According to official information of Ministry of Internal Affairs almost 1 million men simultaneously are at penitentiary establishments of Russia, every 4th man of middle age has an experience of being at prison. Possibility of situation when a parent with a criminal past brings up

a child is very real. Many parents are not anxious about prosperity of their children and emotionally reject them. We hold a questionnaire among 112 parents (families with both parents) who have children of different age. Respondents considered age of 20—25 to be the most appropriate for the birth of children for women and 30 years old for men.

Our request showed that women feel themselves more confident in the role of mothers than men in the role of fathers. But every 3rd woman consciously rejected to repeat the model of behaviour of her parents towards her own child. We asked how parents punished their children to get obedience. None of respondents confessed that he/she punished his child physically. The most popular punishments were verbal when a child was abused. 18% of respondents prohibited to watch TV, play computer games; 12% leave their children at home, prohibit going out, communicating with friends. Only responsible model of parents' behaviour can exclude or minimize negative influence on child's personality.

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THE TRANSFORMATION OF INSTITUTION OF PARENTING

The crisis of institution of family at the beginning of the XX century during industrialization was analyzed by Russian sociologist P. Sorokin. XX century in Russia was the time of revolutions and wars that produced the new disorganizations of institution of marriage. After revolution in 1917 the religious marriage was forbidden. Officially registered and the civil (unregistered) marriage (till 1944 could be accepted as registered) arose instead of religious marriage.

From the beginning of 1990's in Russia the social mechanisms that constructed compulsoriness of marriage and "marriage forever" failed to work: soviet ideology – "already", religion – "yet or already". Demographical statistic and sociological researches show the growth of different patterns of marriage life (juridical marriages, cohabitation, "living apart/together", sometimes with several partners as modern type of polygamy and as a result of migration and having "two homes in different places" and so on), high level of divorces. Ethnical and regional (level of modernization) varieties add additional variability in marriages practices.

In such situation one can see new directions of development of institute of parenthood (new norms) and parenting (new practices). One of them is further separation institutions of conjugality and parenthood (growth of registered marriages without children, from one side, and unmarried mothers and fathers from the another side).

Another one is separation parenting from biological ties. Many biological fathers (seldom mothers) don't live with children as a result of high level "out of marriage" birthrate and divorces (only 31% of divorced fathers in 2005 pay any child support money and less number of them visited their children). At the same time the number of stepfathers (juridical or as cohabiters of mothers) became higher. The number of fathers and mothers whose rights are terminated, from one side, and foster ("accepting") and adoptive parents, from another side, grows each year. There are many children, who have "episodic" parents and live with grandparents, which are often juridical guarder of their grandchildren.

Looks like the role of father have become more important for new generation of men. At least in young families more fathers do not just play but also care about their child (the results of comparison of author's researches of 265 young families in Moscow in 1991 and in 2006). This is especially true for educated couples who live without grandparents.

According to the same research in 1991, 66% of young mothers and 53 % of young fathers have agreed that "young child is suffering if mother works outside home". In 2006 only 32% and 35% correspondingly think so. Also less of them consider that "young

mother must stay at home"). At the beginning of 1990s the generation of young women wanted to differ from their mothers who worked full time in Soviet period. But at the beginning of new century, along with the majority of young women, especially with high education, even young mothers would like to work outside home.

The more and more young parents especially in big cities invite babysitters because of reducing of kindergardens during declining of birthrate in 1990s. In big cities as in many western countries it is demonstration of tendency of "global care chains" (A. Hochschild), the "cheap" babysitters often are migrants from postsoviet countries.

The study teenager's perception (980 of boys and girls 14-15 years old) of parenting in 1995 by using of D. Olson approach shows that more than half of this generation of mothers preferred nonoptimal parental style: "authoritarian" (19%), «permissive» (18%), "uninvolved" (15%) and refusal (8%) practices (15 % are democratic, others 25% – "bad balanced". Possibly among new generation of parents these styles have changed.

The role of government institutions in rearing children is reduced in comparison with soviet time. Looks like in some western countries it is an inverse tendency. Probably in both cases it is a development to rational balance "state-family" rearing of children.

Above mentioned tendencies are only some, most visible ones. The further researches are needed for understanding of new trends in development of institute of parenting in Russia in comparison to other countries.

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FAMILY POLICY IN THE NEW SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REALITIES

The modern situation in Hanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Region–Yugra is characterized by a search of ways of the decrease of consequences of the global world crisis and keeping of stable development of a district. At the expanded meeting on a discussion of a package of anti-crisis measures of the Government of autonomous region and the project of the Program of anti-crisis measures of the Government of the Russian Federation for 2009 the Yugra's Governor Alexander Filipenko has declared: «I personally support the necessity of preservation and even strengthening of public obligations of the state. Irrespective of a situation in the economy the Government is obliged to take care of the citizens, especially about those who mostly suffered from crisis consequences, about needy and lost income sources. From our part we also have taken up such obligations. Under the conditions of falling of incomes by half, the expenses of social character are kept at a level of the last year that in itself is the major anti-crisis measure» [1]. Since 2004 in autonomous region there acts the law «About a support of a family, motherhood, paternity and childhood in the Hanty-Mansiysk autonomous region — Yugra» allowing to carry out the ensuring a complex keeping of the family policy, oriented on the increase of a status of a family, more effective performance of its functions..

In the research on a theme «Family and children» carried out by the Committee of socio-political analysis on the demand of Department of work and social protection of population there has been polled more than 50 experts representing the different levels of population (specialists dealing with problems of family and children; teachers, young mothers and fathers with a great experience of family life; pupils of the eleventh class etc.). The participants of expert groups repeatedly marked the presence in Yugra, in comparison with other subjects of the Russian federation favorable conditions for satisfaction of base requirements of a person. The relatively high average level of wages, the balanced social policy and stable socio-political situation promote to the well-being of a family, growth of demographic indexes [2]. The majority of Nizhnevartovsk respondents positively estimate the social and economic policy conducted in the district

that «absolutely» positively influences the increase of a birth rate [3]. In their answers to a question «Does the social policy spent in a district promote to the increase of a birth rate» respondents gave also concrete examples: «Yes! Promotes, if, for example, payments of 5—15 thousand roubles to the women-mothers who were in a maternity leave» or «Conditions are favorable, a great attention give to lying-in women, give various consultations». Although a number of positive answers on a question «Does the social policy spent in a district promotes to the increase of a birth rate» exceeds a number negative ones, but a great number of answers it is possible to regard to the following answers: «It promotes theoretically: there is a hypothecs, and practically — people simply live, create families and they have children» or «more likely all depends on a family».

As the negative statements it is necessary to give the following «The wages is low, the habitation for state employees is absent, there are a little kindergartens. Education and leisure should be paid. The higher education — is inaccessible; to acquire a flat for a child — is unreal». As we see, there are still a lot of problems on realization of the youth social policy in a district and a city. But the youth cannot do without jokes and to soften negative opinion on the district demographic policy, our respondent has written: «It is not present; it is not intimate enough, in my opinion.» The family youth has been asked to estimate the medical service of pregnant women, lying-in women and newborns in Nizhnevartovsk [4]. Answers are given in Table 1.

Table 1. Estimation of medical aid in Nizhnevartovsk on a five-point system

Points	Pregnant women	Lying-in women	Newborns
Average	3,99	3,97	4,24
1	0,53	1,06	0,53
2	4,26	5,32	3,74
3	20,21	20,74	10,70
4	45,74	40,96	41,18
5	29,26	31,91	43,85
Total	100,00	100,00	100,00

Almost a half of the asked (44 %) have estimated a level of medical aid for newborns on «excellent», 41 % on «good», 4 % on «two» and «one». The medical service of pregnant women and lying-in women are also estimated highly enough on the average on «good», but estimation «satisfactory» has been given by much more respondents, than estimation given to medical service for newborns (20—21 % against 11 %). The estimations «satisfactory» to medical service can not stimulate a birth rate increase. One of the family respondents, who have no children, has put estimation «two» for medical service. Perhaps, because of poor medical service they have no children.

In 2008 the general indexes of death rate in Hanty-Mansiysk Autonomous District — Yugra have decreased by 2,5 %, death rate of mothers by 12,6 %, babies — by 0,5 promills [5, 73]. During many years in Yugra there have been conducted the actions directed on the improvement of position of women, health strengthening, life expectancy increase, support of families with children and birth rate stimulation. In 2008 Hanty-Mansiysky Autonomous Region was the first in a territory of Russia that has begun vaccination against a virus of a papilloma. For the purpose of a decrease of oncological diseases of female reproductive sphere two thousand girls-teenagers are imparted from a cancer. For a given period 145 pregnant women have received medical aid, sanatorium treatment. 201 women-patients with chronic female diseases were treated in sanatoria. In departments of auxiliary reproductive technologies of the District clinical hospital and Surgut clinical prenatal centre there were carried out 106 cycles of artificial fertilization. From the beginning of 2009 within the frames of the program «Born certificate» of the national project «Health» the regional branch of the Fund of social insurance has transfer

about 37 million roubles to medical — preventive organizations of Yugra.. In total for these purposes in 2009 it is provided of about 232 million roubles.

Within a plan of measures on carrying out a year of a family in Hanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Region — Yugra in 2008 (the order of the Government of the Hanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Region — Yugra from October 09 2007 №440 –) in the beginning of a plan there is a section «Popularization of base family values in mass media». Thus, all actions of the plan are directed on strengthening of the base family values. In the law of Hanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Region — Yugra «About introduction of modifications in the law of the autonomous region «Demographic development of Hanty- Mansiysk autonomous region — Yugra for 2008—2010» there is a subprogram «Increase of birth rate and strengthening of a family status of citizens of Hanty-Mansiysk autonomous region — Yugra». In this program is provided «the payment of the monetary award to the persons awarded by the honorary title of the Hanty-Mansiysk autonomous region — Yugra «Fatherly Glory», payments of lump sums is provided: from 01.01.2008 a lump sum of 5 000 roubles at a birth of the first child within two years from the date of registration by his parents of marriage in civil registration state structures; from 01.04.2008 a lump sum of 20 000 roubles at a birth of the child (children) to persons from the radical small people of the North, having the status of the subject of the right of traditional nature management; from 01.01.2009 a lump sum at entering of a child (children) the first class of secondary school on the first and second child in a size of 6 000 roubles, on the third and the subsequent children in a size of 9 000 roubles for families with average income which is not exceeding 1,5 living minimum of wages (taking into account indexation).

The main task of social policy consists in harmonization of public relations, providing of political stability and civil consent [6]. Without an active social policy and mainly stable it is impossible the prosperity of a district, population and a family living in a district. Without such policy it will be difficult to young families to dare, first, at a birth of children, secondly, to grow up them healthy and comprehensively developed. But all depends on the decision of the family and from values attitudes of the future parents, what values they consider to be on the first place: material or spiritual. On the care of a district and municipal structures about family, families answer adequately, there are more and more pregnant women in the streets of cities, settlements and villages. The social effect of the first year of realization of a program «Demographic development of Hanty-Mansiysk Autonomous District for 2008—2100» is the following: as a result of measures directed on improving demographic situation in 2008 a birth rate in a district kept at a high level. The natural growth of population in the last year amounts more than 13 thousand persons that is more by 10,8% of indexes of 2007. In 2008 there were born 23 321 child that by 6, 6% or 1434 babies is more than in 2007. The number of the second born child increased by 9%, the third child by 60%. In a district it is registered 9350 multi-child families that it is more by 13% than in 2007. Also it is increased a number of adopted children in families of Yugra. It is about 1800 child [7].

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INTERETHNIC MARRIAGES WITH FOREIGNERS: A DIALOGUE OF CULTURES

Terms of globalization actively contribute to the free flow of interethnic marriages with foreigners in the Russian society and in Europe as a whole. Globalization as a historical process of convergence of nations is reflected in relation to marriage with a foreign partner as a cultural and information exchanges between different individuals in different countries with a view to marriage. Individuals free to enter into social interaction, which is the nature and content of interpersonal relations between individuals of different sexes. The social space of interaction supports interethnic marriage market, which is within the boundaries of the world's geographic space. Every person from every state in Europe, America, Africa, and Asia could become a potential participant of interethnic marriage market. According to the Palace of marriage number 4 in Moscow that is the only body Moscow ZAGS that registries Russians' marriages with foreigners, in 2002 year 476 Russians married citizens of Europe and 222 married citizens of America. There were 459 marriages registered by Russians with the citizens of Asia and 110 marriages with the citizens of Africa. There were 28 marriages of Russians with the citizens of Australia. Thus, there has been a blurring of traditional boundaries and interethnic marriage is, to some extent, a way of uniting people.

Marriage partners of interethnic marriage usually have different civilian identities, which expresses their self-identification with a native state whose nationality they have. An important basis for the civil identity is the knowledge of belonging to the state, which includes the image of the state and its territory, the nature of people and their culture, language, tradition and value system. Therefore, each of the marital partners represents a «national culture», to which he was attached to the birth, which took place in his socialization and which embodies the socio-cultural heritage and historical practice of separate, specific nationalities. In the interethnic marriages with foreign spouses each embodies the specific experiences of specific social and cultural-historical community, which gives it the unique features of the culture and determine its identity. Thus, the observed association of two different cultural started, that is, there is a dialogue of cultures. Two different cultures are united by interethnic marriage and they are constant exchanges in daily life spouses.

Dialogue of cultures presupposes the mutual creation of cultural space. Married to a foreigner, this fact is reflected in the original design of cross-cultural realities of interactions spouses. Every marriage — it is individual and unique blend of cultural traditions and customs of partners, which creates a lot of different options for the practical expression in the family activities of spouses. Dialogue of cultures is an important form of cultural communication, a central element of which is language. According to the phenomenological sociology P. Berger and T. Lukman one is to understand a language in order to understand realities of everyday life since everyday life events and procedures are shared with others through a common language. Language is recognized as the main national distinctive feature and it is also a means of communication in interethnic marriages with foreigners due to the possibility of trivial social partners and the impact of communication in daily marital events. In such a marriage language plays its role in terms of cross-cultural communication,

it contributes to the achievement of an adequate interpretation of actions and events at the interpersonal level, for different actions. In marriages with foreigners a common language helps to recognize, accept, approve and express their own relationship to the culture of the partner. The language allows penetrating the essence of cultural properties, to know their variety and come closer to the primary culture of another culture.

The main feature of the dialogue of cultures is a result of changes in value systems, ideology and the development of new forms of cultural creativity and lifestyle. This is the dialogue of cultures distinct from other forms of cultural cooperation, which do not involve significant changes each interacting parties. Interethnic marriages display interpersonal space of the continuous and direct contact of the couple observed the social and cultural changes that the primary cultural forms under the influence of culture partner. Areas of these changes are different and depend on the dominant role of partner in a marriage (the partner of a culture is the leader in marriage), of individual cultural preferences of each of the marital partners and the extent of his correspondence, the level of the free acceptance of cultural innovation. The range of changes depends on the particular wedding couple and the combination of cultures, united in marriage: a relatively similar culture (such as marriage partners — representatives of Europe), a relatively alien culture (such as marriage partner — the representative of Asia).

In the interethnic marriages with foreigners, there is a dialogue of cultures due to cultural transformation and the creation of new designs of combinations of cultural traditions. Marriage partners formed as a personality in its natural cultural environment, transforming the original cultural values and adapt to a new culture of the partner. This fact indicates that the interethnic marriages with foreigners contribute to rapprochement between the peoples and the interpenetration of cultural components in the global community, whose representatives have come in interethnic marriages. The process of understanding other cultures and lead to it through this form of marriage, to a large extent, contributes to the unity of individuals in a community with a view to a harmonious existence. Interethnic marriages with foreigners have broad geography and apply to all geographical continents, so useful to sociologists from different countries to join efforts to study this form of marriage with a view to joint problem-solving.

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CHANGES IN RUSSIANS' FAMILY PRACTICES

Results of comparative studies aimed at dynamics of human ways of life and performed in 1982—2008¹⁹⁴ register numerous, rather contradictory, inconsistent changes in everyday practices of the Russian families. These changes evade unequivocal assessment. They testify that the 'silent revolution' has occurred in Russia: types and forms of matrimonial unions have become more complex, marriages have become more unstable, birthrates have been decreased, people have started to marry at later stages of life, and proportion of cohabitation without registration of marriages as well as proportion of children born out of wedlock have been increased while content and significance of family functions and family relations have been changed.

¹⁹⁴ Change of human way of life over the post-Soviet expanse. Chiefs of the project: G.I. Osadchaya and A.A. Vozmitel. Members of the temporary creative collective: A.V. Noskova, L.I. Mikhailova, V. Ya. Krasnikovski, M.N. Yakovleva et al. In 2008 1000 persons were polled. The sample represents the population of the European part of the Russian Federation by gender, age, education and type of settlement; Conditions and principal trends of the Soviet way of life development. Chiefs of the project: I.T. Levykin. Members of the ad hoc scientific team: A.A. Vozmitel (chief of the project deputy), T.M. Dridze, Yu. K. Ivanov et al. 10 000 persons were polled in 29 regions of the USSR. The sample represents the population of the European part of the Russian Federation by gender, age, education and type of settlement.

Thus, according to Russians' self-assessment, interpersonal relations in families have deteriorated. In more than one fourth of families conflicts permanently emerge, 45% of married respondents had an enduring extramarital love affair; virtually a half of respondents had short-term love affairs. Every third person polled had experienced serious regret about marriage he/she is engaged now. In 1982 relations in families were assessed as bad by 1.7% of respondents while in 2008 7.4% supported this assessment. 24.1% and 48.1%, respectively, assessed family relations as satisfactory, 74.3% and 44.6% assessed them as good. It should be noted that conflicts in families are aggravated with poor housing conditions, lack of children common to both parents and, strange as it may seem, with very high incomes. In families with low income 36% are pondering of divorce while in businessmen's families 61% cherish such ideas.

Nevertheless, majority of Russians think that creation of strong, stable families was their principal achievement in the past years. Russians still retain basic family values. Due to continuity of traditions, un- or subconscious psychological urges family remain to be the highest life value for the overwhelming majority of Russians (i. e. for 80%). The overwhelming majority of respondents (81.5%) hold to the opinion that a female's life can be full-fledged only if she has children. Parents' duty is to do all they can for their children (86.6% of respondents share this opinion). Priorities in upbringing of children traditionally are cultivation of honesty, decency, kindness, responsiveness, and good education. In spite of liberalization of Russians' attitudes to premarital sexual relations, civil marriages, divorces and homosexual relations the mass consciousness still retain the positive attitude to marriage. 7 of 10 Russians think that people who create families have to register their union and a child can develop normally only in a full family.

Studies testify a negative dynamics of families' functioning quality of matter environment indices, deterioration of social well-being and social moods of Russians. In the period from 1982 through 2008 rise of population living standards expressed itself in decrease of representatives of the poorest strata who experienced difficulties with foodstuffs and clothes provision.

At the same time a number of people who appraise their own prosperity as a medium one decreased. Earlier 41% had difficulties with purchasing durables (refrigerators, TVs) while now 52% of this group representative's encounter such difficulties. Number of those who have difficulties with acquisition of an apartment, a car, a country house in the group of well-to-do people also increased. Number of respondents who, according their own assessment, do not limit their consumption also diminished.

The global economic crisis contributed to deterioration of families' life. Life of 40% of Muscovites and 52% of families dwelling in regions deteriorated in the last month only. More than a half of Russians (over 60% of Moscow residents and residents of regions) perceive the financial and economic crisis as a threat to themselves and to their families.²¹⁹⁵ Deterioration of families' external environment makes itself felt in a lesser availability of scarce resources and public goods for families. It had become more difficult to negotiate places for children in day nurseries and play schools, to provide a good education and high quality recreation for children. In conditions of the unregulated market development performance of health and medical service, public amenities, public transportation and cultural institutions impaired in varying degrees. For instance, if in 1982 7.7% of respondents thought that health service performed poorly in 2008 28.4% gave the same estimate. Therefore, number of those who consider health service quality as inferior increased more than 3.7 times. The same index for public amenities is, respectively, 15.2% and 29.1% (nearly twofold increase), for transportation it is 18.5% and 26.5% (increase by factor of 1.4). For cultural institutions the index is 12.8 and 22.8% (increase by factor of 1.8). At the same time human requirements and claims have expanded. According data obtained, only trade

¹⁹⁵ Russians' social moods and attitudes in the context of the global crisis. Chief of the project: G.I. Osadchays. Members of ad hoc scientific team: L.I. Mikhailova, A.V. Noskova, A.A. Sazonov et al. 1000 persons living in the Central Federal district of the Russian Federation. The sample represents population of the Central Federal district of the Russian Federation by gender, age, education and type of settlement.

service improved in organization of external environment of towns, settlements and villages in a more than 20 year period.

Deterioration of health service goes hand-in-hand with worsening of physical health self-conception. If in the 1980s 85.3% of people appraised their health condition as good or robust, then nowadays this index went down and is equal to 67.7%. Number of those who appraise their health condition and physical well-being as satisfactory decreased while proportions of those who appraise their health as good or bad increased. The issue which causes a particular worry is level of satisfaction with quality of health and medical care, either free or paid: the level is declining and its decline goes on. For example, in 2007 only 17.9% of people polled were satisfied with fee-based medical care and 6% of respondents were satisfied with free medical service.

Housing conditions that comprise the basis of human physical survival and level of satisfaction with food provision also declined. For instance, in 2008 number of people who thought that their housing conditions were good reduced by 12.8% in comparison with the number of people who gave this estimate in 1982. 47% of our contemporaries do not have separate rooms. Level of families' satisfaction with their food provision declined by 12.8%. Number of respondents who consider life trajectories of their relatives and friends successful decreased by 16.7%. Studies testify the negative dynamics of social well-being indices in comparison with 1982. If under the Soviets 98% of respondents were satisfied with their lives than nowadays only 29.8% are satisfied. 20 years ago 9 of 10 Russians were confident that their future was secure, now only 27% share this confidence. In the real life only a half of respondents feel themselves comfortably while every fourth Russian feels uneasiness and anger. 5.7% more feel fear, despair and hopelessness. It should be noted that 6 of 10 respondents felt despair in the recent years. Certainly, this strain affected their health.

Every second respondent thinks that financial and economic crisis poses some threat to stability of society and can serve as an impetus to protest actions (strikes, picketing, meetings etc.). It should be emphasized that residents of regions express this opinion more often than residents of capital. Every fifth Muscovite and every fourth resident of other Central Federal district regions are ready to join mass protest actions. According to them, the principal causes that may prompt people to join actions of protest are surge of prices for necessities of life, loss of employment, decrease or long delay of wages, actions of authorities. The social and economic context as it has developed will, most probably, have a negative impact on number of new marriages because Russians consider level of income to be the main prerequisite for creation of family. It is precisely level of income which permits just married couples to live independently of parents and relatives. The social and economic context will also bring about reduction of birthrates because Russians consider material and financial problems to be the main obstacle for birth of children.

Thus, nowadays the Russians' familial image presents a result of emergence of relatively stable organizational forms, peculiar formal and informal game ruled and value systems, new cultural stereotypes, and development of specific skills that facilitate adaptation of family practices to the present day social and economic context. However the new repertoire of actions lays over the traditional way of action, over the old orientations and the familial way of life acquires a double status of co-presence in various forms of innovations and customs.

Some innovation may have a negative impact on development of the Russian society. For instance, further liberalization of Russians' attitude to pre-marital sexual relations, cohabitation, and divorcement, homosexual relations will hardly have a positive impact on the society. Decrease of Russians' living standards as well as unavailability of scarce resources and public goods to the population as a whole and growth of negative affective estimates of the real way of life connected with dissatisfaction with various aspects of life, lack of confidence in the future, feeling and anxiety and irritation, fear, despair, hopelessness will be destructive for everyday life of Russian families.

In connection with that a new task emerges: the state and society are to create conditions for correction of Russians' familial way of life trajectory as the principal resource for resolution of tasks our country faces.

L.V. Popova

ALTERNATIVE FORMS OF MARRIAGE RELATIONS IN A MODERN SOCIETY

In a civilized society more and more people prefer not to marry at the very beginning of the relations or not to conclude the official marriage at all. In this connection, the quantity of the young men aspiring to alternative forms of the device of own home life increases, occurs not only evolution of forms of marriage, but also the attitude towards marriage is essentially transformed. Now researchers distinguish a significant amount of similar alternatives to a traditional family. We'll list some of them. The concept of «open marriage» starts with a recognition of value of human individuality, mutual inclination and trust in the relations between near and dear people, partner relations in conjugal pair. K. Rogers's theoretical reflections, his psychotherapeutic experience have served as a basis for the development of the conception of open marriage, experience.

Open dialogue is wanted as necessary to help couple to express the thoughts and feelings. The openness in dialogue assumes an exchange both positive thoughts and feelings, and negative. It is important, that this exchange happens without an estimation and criticism and gives space for other opinion, for different experiences. Preservation of the own authenticity, acceptance of authenticity of another is a necessary condition of the development of intimacy in marital relations. Recognizing the right of a partner to be what he or she wants to be as well as one's respect of one's partner's rights as a person, gives pair possibility to keep naturalness and affinity of the relations. The openness in interaction of spouses concerns also their role functions. Unlike traditional patriarchal marriage where male and female's roles are accurately dissolved and don't suppose any mixture or an exchange, in open marriage roles are mobile. The trust in matrimony is incompatible with jealousy. «The static» trust, which essence could be expressed by the formula: «He is my husband and I believe he'll be faithful» — a main principle of patriarchal marriage, is necessary to complete with «dynamic trust», deprived of jealousy and assuming respect to extra family interests even if they are connected with interests to another sex. The formula of such trust can be presented in words:» I am happy, if you are happy «. The ability to appreciate the present moment of a life to live it in all completeness, instead of to revel in memoirs on the past and dreaming about the future, gives special value to marital relations. The planning Future of the future, care of a forthcoming old age should not stir real pleasures of the present.

Interrupting marriage is a marriage at which spouses live together, but consider admissible to part for any term: week, month, and half a year. The travel reasons can be different: from official journey to necessity to have a rest from each other. Time limited family is similar to interrupting marriage. Marriage consists of a certain term which is stipulated in some contract. After this term marriage is considered it is automatically terminated. Then the former spouses, having weighed the results, solve: whether to leave, or to conclude new marriage for term, or to conclude a marriage without any terms and contracts.

Meeting families are rare enough. Marriage between spouses is registered, but partners live separately. They meet several times a week. If there are children, as a rule, they are brought up by mother. And father is engaged in children only when he has time and desire. Cases of extramarital sexual relations and intimate friendship are also considered. However the first one assumes or supposes some participation of partners' in common housekeeping, possibility to have children. Such communication of the man with the unmarried woman having his children, we name «concubine». The second — intimate

friendship — seldom threatens the stability of primary marriage, can last rather long (an order of 10 years), very high level of affinity and trust in primary pair is thus observed.

The most widespread alternative of marriage relations is a «civil marriage» or not registered marriage — joint residing of partners without official registration of relations. We will analyze arguments pro which are resulted usually by supporters of not registered marriage: such form of relations represents «training» of certain type («trial marriage»); in cases of not registered marriage is an approbation of forces and compatibility («trial marriage»); not registered marriage provides more spirituality and satisfaction in relations («none marital home life»). The spectrum of negative sides of a civil marriage also is great enough: the status of children, sensation of insignificance of feelings, instability of relations in absence of obligations, problems at section of joint property, possible injustice and absence of legal protection, experience of relatives and friends, etc. Analyzing aspect of satisfaction in not registered marriage, researchers mark significant differences in their gender roles. If men show as a whole satisfaction with the status, of own roles, for a female part officially recognized family remains the potential purpose and value. 39 % of women and only 16 % of men are anxious how to bring up children in the conditions of not registered marriage; and 25 % of women and 14 % of men-how to achieve happiness in home life.

The mentioned factors does not exclude also other orientations, dictated to present time generation — its realism, a pragmatism, a computerization, the increased risks of unsuccessful vital start. So shown in the late eighties — the middle of 90th years a phenomenon «prolonged education», connected with growth of quantity of the young men preferring continuation of formation of uncertainty expecting them an attempt to find a job as was an indicator of uncertainty of the social status of youth and uncertainty in ability to play family roles. Also features of the people inclined to not registered marriage are described. Their generalized psychological portrait is characterized by more liberal installations, smaller religiousness, and high degree of androgynous, low school successes in the childhood and adolescence, smaller social success, however, these people occur from rather successful families.» Experimental «forms of a life demand higher level of a reflexion and ability to dialogue, and also the forces, allowing resisting to pressure of public norms. For this reason their distribution should depend on a social accessory and an educational level.

For Russia, except psychological, there are still the original social and economic reasons influencing not registered marriage. These are housing problems, a question connected with a residence permit, possibility of reception of the children's grant as single mother and other. In representations of many young men the registered marriage acquires set of standard formal requirements. To be ready to it, it is necessary to finish formation, to receive economic independence from parents, to get own or at least demountable habitation, to save up money for not cheap, status wedding. The list impracticability is authorized the introduction into the union obliging to little. Taking into account all said above it is possible to draw a conclusion that various forms of marital relations with the problematic, specificity, tendencies are considered as alternative for a certain part of a modern society, but officially registered marriage is still the starting point.

Irina Trotsuk

BASIC TYPES OF FAMILY SUPPORT IN RUSSIAN SOCIETY

Throughout the 20th century types of family support and its basic components in Russia has gone through various changes. The first branch of kinship ties studies is characterized by various cliché-like phrases according to which «the family is basic unit of society» [6] that either reflects the essence of the current changes in society as a whole,

or, on the contrary, is seen as an island of stability, protecting its «population» from the outside social transformations.

The logic of family functioning is tied in with other institutions which allows to classify the Russian family studies into several groups [7]: during the past decades, the monopoly of the production approach (the family is the social institution of society reproduction was undermined by other approaches (evolutionary, in particular), which stressed the transitory and historically determined nature of family types. S.I. Golod identifies three «historically ideal family types» [3]: the traditional patriarchal form of family «dependence of the wife on the husband, and of children on their parents» that gradually gave way to the «child-centered» («modern») family, characterized by excessive attention to private life as a whole and the emotional element of parenthood in particular; the contemporary «matrimonial» («post-modern») family type is based on the «symmetry of the rights and responsibilities of both spouses». Although even village families went through transformation from a complex family through to the small nuclear family, the most archaic patriarchal family type, based on kinship interdependencies, is still preserved in Russia, especially in the countryside.

The second branch of kinship ties studies is based on «social networks» approach which is comprised of three lines of research: 1) anthropological approach focuses on the symbolic meaning of exchanges (for instance, peasant studies focus on distribution and administration, aimed at collective survival); the more hostile the state was — the more organized and wide-scale family survival co-operation became, and, on the contrary, with the state assuming a number of important social functions — informal co-operation weakened and shifted to the level of cultural, spiritual and psychological support [8] network approach stresses the functional significance of networks as the structural base for various social processes.

Usually kinship networks are established on the basis of long-term loan giving: for decades parents unilaterally invest into their relations with the children, while the children help them in old age, i. e. reciprocity is ensured on the level of generations. According to the frequency of investments in the form of gifts, networks may be intensively, occasionally or rarely invested. The first type includes family networks of close relatives; the second — networks of friends, acquaintances and neighbors; the third type of «sleeping» networks presupposes single gifts «of gratitude» for certain services [4].

Analysis of the RLMS data allows to make the following conclusions: the most intensive exchanges occur between parents and children, both in the number of transfers and their size; the bigger the settlement is the more widespread is help among friends (and not only relatives) and vice versa, the most transfers occur in town settlements, and the least — in villages; in private transfers exchange priority is given to the ties between generations — children's and parents' households help each other, while there is practically no redistribution of transfers from the old generation over the middle to the youngest family members. Exchange of transfers between households with different incomes varies: the poorest households give almost half of income, the richest — only the fifth or less, in rubles the average size of transfers in the richest households is twice bigger. The structure of exchanges shows that households are connected by equal and stable flows.

If we sum up all types of transfers and kinds of variables, we will see that the poorest households, in addition to money and food, appear to be the most active consumers of labor assistance, not giving help to anybody themselves. The most prosperous households supply all the resources to the group of poor households, and in return receive only labor and connections. The generalized indicators for RLMS surveys show that during this period there appeared a trend of gradual growth of the average size of private transfers. At the time of the 1998 crisis many households changed their behavior and the isolation strategy worked: from all the other types the majority of households moved to the category of the independent, the donors moving especially actively. During the crisis, help to parents grew sharply, and help to children was growing gradually, the presence of preschool children provides the biggest contribution to the total received transfer. Most insignificant are state transfers — they have a small effect on the eventual size of received and given transfers, i. e. informal transfers make up an independent

sphere, parallel to the system of state social relief. Moreover, the inefficiency of the state system led to the formation of such a powerful informal system of transfer exchange.

Results of the monitoring (the «Russia» project) [2] of Russian population economic situation and health condition show that every fifth Russian city dweller turned to relatives for material help, and every tenth person turned to friends, considering such moves as possible ways of survival and strategies of adjusting to the new life conditions. According to urban residents' assessment, asking relatives or friends for material help appeared to be one of the most effective ways of adjustment; the least effective way was to turn for help to a social relief agency or other state organizations. Expecting support from family relatives is notified among internal migrants who move to Russian rural regions from the former Soviet republics. They choose that place of residence in Russia where their relatives have settled and live [1].

Researchers note a contradiction between the renewal of organizational communal forms and the break-up in commune relationships [5]. At the beginning of the 20th century the commune molded a specific sociopsychological type of peasant with steadfast traditionalistic aims, passed from generation to generation. The soviet state did not plan to use the commune in its reconstruction of the village — on the contrary, the socialist system of land tenure was to start with destroying the commune and establishing a new type of public land tenure based on single economic governance. Nevertheless, in the absence of an effectively running system of land tenure, it was the commune that redistributed the confiscated lands and coped perfectly with the fiscal tasks. Today some elements of communal life are actively restored in a modified form (for instance, in the 1990s a significant part of lands was passed over to the rural administrations regulating land tenure). However, the restoration of the outward collective forms is accompanied by a decay of the collectivist mind, which is usually more rapid in regions with the prevailing Russian population. T. Nefedova [6] believes that the Russian man's readiness «to give gratuitous assistance» is doubtful — in the village practically everything is done for money: odd jobs become an important and sometimes the only source of real money, with only very close kinship and neighborly ties making an exception; elementary cooperation is rare even when necessary (for example, in selling farming production). On the whole, the Russian society has not lost the solidity of family ties and traditions of «collective action» that compensate the weakness of the state social policy by redistribution within kinship economic networks, though aid is not based on full equivalence, but on principles of reciprocity and mutuality. These principles fit into the model of survival of the peasant community proposed by J. Scott in his «moral economics» theory: the aim of peasant family economics is to provide a survival opportunity for all, although on the lowest level, which was the purpose of the traditional Russian community institutions.

Throughout the 20th century the family in Russia, like in all modern societies, was becoming child-centered and getting smaller. Modernizing changes in marriage forms and birth rates happened and are continuing under the impact of establishing consumer society, developing contraceptive industry, and most importantly — greater women's emancipation and shift of notions concerning gender roles in the family and society, strive for emotional and intimate community of the couple. On the other hand, there exists an opposite trend, which W. Beck called «the growing attraction of matrimonial community», when against the background of global and local social instability the family (in broad terms) becomes a long-wished-for island of stability and affection in the sea of «boundless individualism».

In fact Russian society is evolving towards diversity of family types and inner-family relations. Investigations conducted in different regions of Russia revealed two opposite trends in informal cooperation and people's collaboration: in some cases (usually in town) cooperation does not go beyond the relationship between children and parents, people shut themselves up in their family world (in the country it is the result of poverty, with the family mobilizing itself to survive, severing almost all ties). On the opposite pole we have, for example, the Kuban stanitsa, rich in mutual obligations, where exchanges are conditioned not only by traditional peasant thrift (to sell or merely give away the surplus, so that it is not wasted) and redistribution of obligations in the sphere of official

«privileges» and opportunities («exchange of access channels» removes the need to make purchases, allows to save money), but by preserved communal traditions of giving inter-family and good-neighborly aid to «one's close people». Today, when the patronage function of the state is obviously weaker, the kolkhoz-sovkhoz system has disintegrated and the new big economic actors are unwilling to bear the burden of social obligations, networked mutual assistance is working again.

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14.2. CHILDREN AND CHILDHOOD

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PROBLEMS IN THE GUARDIAN FAMILIES

The population decline that is currently occurring in Russia is mostly seen in the youngest age group, 0 to 9 years. In the last ten years, this age group has shrunk by 10 million people. At the same time, there are about 800 thousand orphans in the country. The majority of them are so-called «social orphans», i. e. children whose parents are still alive. Social orphans constitute 80% of the orphanage population. These are the children who were 1) Abandoned at hospitals; 2) Taken by the state from families where parents were denied parenting rights; 3) Ran away from difficult families themselves. Being a social orphan degrades a child, both her personality and health. The studies by domestic psychologists demonstrated that a child brought up in deprivation, especially in an orphanage, has a lower self-esteem and has difficulty establishing his identity. An orphan child does not have any bonds with adults. This lack of a bond adversely affects her psychological development. An orphan does not have a role model of good family and community, even though she lives surrounded by other people.

In modern Russia, one of the approaches to take care of this problem is to find replacement families for the orphans, to reduce the population in orphanages. A guardian

family is one of these replacement families. In this family, bonding with secondary parents can form. In 2007, the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, in collaboration with the Department of Youth and Family of the city of Moscow, conducted a sociological study of guardian families in Moscow, led by the author of this article. Over the course of this study, several problems of guardian families were found, based on their requests and suggestions. These were meant to be taken into consideration by the Moscow city Government for subsequent work with the families.

Problems of guardian families could be divided into three groups:

1. Adaptation of children in the replacement family; 2. Financial support of the families; 3. Age of guardians (grandparents).

The first problem is adaptation of the child to the family. Adaptation is one of the most serious problems, whose solution depends on a number of factors: 1. How prepared the guardians are to accept a child; 2. Prior living conditions of the child; 3. Child's age (adolescents have most difficulties adapting); 4. Personal features (character) of guardians and adopted children; 5. Qualified guidance of a child's new family by the social services.

Relationships are harder for those guardians who took children from an Orphanage. Some children, especially those from orphanages, are very suspicious of their future guardians at their first meeting. Adopting a child who is already convinced that nobody needs him is not easy.

The problems of adopting somebody else's child were equally important for parents who had their own children as well as for those who did not. The former group would seem to have all the necessary experience. However, as they said, they still need help of qualified psychologists in order to relate to these children. Today (in 2009), the «Schools for adopting parents» are open in all ten Moscow districts. In these schools, psychologists and teachers prepare prospective parents to accepting orphan children: they model difficult situations, tell how to prevent conflicts, etc. In addition, the on-going guiding of the guardian families is very important for successful adaptation of children. The guiding service looks after the newly formed families and offers them psychological and social help as necessary. How are the current relationships in guardian families? Results of surveys show that they are usually good. Almost all guardian families report normal, conflict-free relationships. Only a minority of the respondents (less than one tenth) reported «unhappy relationships». Their reasons are mainly «insufficient finances» and «inadequate living conditions». A small group of guardians reported that the reason of conflict relationships in a guardian family is the child himself («own children didn't accept the adopted child» or «the adopted child brought fighting into the family»). It is quite possible that these things happen, while on the other hand an adopted child can also lead the family out of a crisis situation caused by tension between spouses, as well as difficult behavior of own children.

The second group of problems of guardian families is related to the financial support. During the year of the study (2007), the guardians were supported by a monthly payment of 6,000 rubles (about 200 USD). The question «In your opinion, do you receive adequate financial support from the government to help with raising the adopted child» was answered affirmatively by less than a third of the guardians. More than half of the respondents were not satisfied with the amount of financial support. The analysis of their answers to this question showed that: 1. the majority of the guardians would be satisfied by the financial support in the amount of 15,000 rubles (about 500 USD); 2. The guardians that adopted an unhealthy child are significantly more dissatisfied by the amount of the financial support from the government than those whose adopted children did not have any serious illnesses; 3. The respondents think that a pay scale is necessary for children of different ages, i. e. a higher amount should be paid for an older child since the expenses are growing with child's age.

As we found, more than half of the guardians did not have money for medical treatment of children in case of serious illness. When asked whom they had turned for support in that case, they said: government social programs — 41%; relatives — 38%; charity

foundations –14%; friends — 6.3%. And who really helped? Respondents' answers are as following: relatives, 37%; government social programs, 33%; charity foundations, non-profit organizations, 12%; friends, 6%. The alternative «Nobody helped» was chosen by a quarter of the respondents. In the case where aid for ill children was offered, it consisted, first of all, of money (76.5%). 41.2% of the respondents noted that the aid consisted of medical and other services, 17.6% mentioned medications. One fourth of the guardians said that their children were given free medical treatment. In addition to money, friends also provided a moral support. In 2008, the Moscow Government increased the amount of monthly financial support for the guardian families to 10,000 rubles (about 330 USD).

The third group of problems is the age of the guardians. As we noted earlier, about 80% of the guardians are grandparents. Answering the question «What are you missing for satisfactory upbringing of the child you are looking after?» The respondents ranked their health and time right after financials. The guardians are dissatisfied with their health since a lot of them are not parents but rather grandparents of the children. One of the guardians in our survey was an 87 year old grandmother. Being of this age, she is still able to support her grandson and not send him to an orphanage.

The reasons that guardians don't have enough time are: 1. In an old age, people get tired sooner and need more time to recover; 2. Some of the guardians have chronic illnesses and must get medical treatment, which takes time; 3. Due to insufficient financial resources, some guardians are forced to both work and look after grandchildren. Because of the latter issue, one the guardians' requests to the Moscow Government was to create «More after-school programs for children». This request has two aspects: 1. How to organize children' leisure time and how to develop children interests so they do not look for activities close to deviant behaviors; 2. Freeing up the time of the guardians. In conclusion, we would like to note in case of almost any problems, the guardians turned to the government offices which exist in every Moscow district. They were usually helped in one way or another

Svetlana N. Mayorova-Shcheglova

CHILD LABOR IN RUSSIA: RIGHTS AND GUARANTEES OF PROTECTION FROM EXPLOITATION

Modern Russian children and adolescents meet with totally different prospects at the stage of receiving their first work experience as compared to their parents. In the past, the youths' coming to the labor market was strictly controlled. Adolescents used to obtain work skills in socially useful work; after completing their education, they were guaranteed a job. The youths' opportunities and choices were significantly limited; at the same time, however, they felt a prospect, relative stability, and opportunities of social integration in the working community. At the initial stage of entering a job, they were guaranteed some privileges, financial support, and help from official adult mentors. In the new labor market, present simultaneously are new opportunities, new obstacles, new prospects, and new challenges. Precisely that creates serious difficulties for those taking their first steps along this road. In megalopolises where failure to honor children's rights in the sphere of child employment is of massive nature, children are the least informed by their schools about the legal bases of child labor: only 34.4 percent of Moscow students and 15.2 percent of those in St. Petersburg responded that they had learned at school about the rights in the sphere of labor activity; at the same time, those cities have the largest number of children and adolescents who are totally unaware of the fact that minors have labor and employment rights.

When children and adolescents work, they mainly do it voluntarily. One cannot say that work brings to naught their studies. Most of the adolescents who work are not forced

to do so. Many live in well-to-do families and have loving parents but wish to have their pocket money. Child labor is used mainly through the inclusion of children into «adult» sectors of activity, housework (work on garden plots, babysitting, family business), and crime. In major cities, street child labor prevails (work in «adult» sectors and involvement in crime), whereas housework is typical of small settlements. Irrespective of city size, among children of the same age, labor often acquires the traits of some gaining at the expense of others who suffer due to lack of fashionable clothes, poor health, difficulties in studies, etc. To gain possession (even if temporary) of fashionable clothes, videos, and cassettes, they are prepared to run errands for their «employer» classmates. Most adolescents are not forced to work: many kids even from prosperous families wish to have pocket money. Most often, adolescents receive their first earned money from parents and relatives for doing housework. Male youths fairly often name loading as a paid job, and girls, messenger functions. Car washing and work at gas stations is the first labor experience of 10 percent of surveyed adolescents. About 3 percent names these as the source of income: gambling for money, begging, and resale of stolen items. Children from well-to-do families strive to have a job more often and are more particular about their jobs than children from poor families. The latter ones are willing to do anything as long as they are paid money, and they are more often involved in criminal types of activities and «adult» labor sectors.

Most people ignore children who earn their living in the street, both those begging and those offering various services (car washing, pamphlet handing-out, etc.). Some people tell them to wash windshields, buy drinks and periodicals from them, etc. Motorists believe that such trade is very dangerous, because it is fraught with road accidents and is a direct threat to the children's life and safety. It is incomprehensible why the road police (even in the capital) are absolutely indifferent to this fairly widespread practice. Parents, as a rule, know that their children work (4/5 of the surveyed adolescents said so). They view the fact differently depending on their level of education: the higher the level, the more often they view negatively their children working for money. In general, however, the parents of Moscow schoolchildren were divided in their assessments almost equally. In rural areas, the share of positive assessments is higher, because there child labor is more often connected with agricultural production and is helpful in obtaining a future profession.

The study gave rise to the assumption that the phenomenon of child labor is in part of seasonal nature. We could not directly observe many types of child labor (for example, agricultural labor). We also assumed that at the beginning of school year fewer adolescents work, because parents and school personnel control school attendance more strictly. Most of the working schoolchildren had only satisfactory and unsatisfactory grades, and for a certain portion of them studies have become totally unimportant, because they earn more in the street than their educated parents.

Child labor may be divided into skilled and low-skill. Skilled labor includes repairs on automobiles and radio and electronic equipment, sale and resale of cartridges, and creation of software. Low-skill labor includes newspaper delivery, babysitting, car washing, newspaper sale, collection and sale of glass bottles, etc. We note an absolute prevalence of low-skill labor. The forms of child labor that are quite acceptable to children and develop their intellect and work skills are extremely limited. Today, we may speak about the presence of elements of child labor exploitation in Russia and view it as activity that hampers the child's development and negatively influences his morality, even in those cases when direct sexual molestation is not present. Most of the children involved in the sphere of paid labor are doing harmful, immoral and, therefore, dangerous types of work. We are convinced that the main area of work with such children and adolescents is helping them to continue studies and receive professional training.

Those forms include, among others, early beginning of working activities, combining work with studies, which prevents the working person from getting a full-fledged education; unskilled, rough labor, work in harmful and often life-threatening conditions, employment to do types of work that are prohibited for minors (for example, loading and unloading, guarding facilities, washing automobiles on roads, working at gas stations);

involvement of children in antisocial, unlawful actions (including vagrancy, begging, drug distribution, stealing, prostitution, etc.). The problem of child and adolescent employment in the worst forms of child labor is one of the aspects of a more global problem of social maladjustment of minors and is closely tied with its manifestations such as neglect, homelessness, school evasion, early addiction to alcohol and drugs, and deviant, delinquent, and criminal conduct. Homeless children constituted 2.38 percent of the total number of children in Russia as of the beginning of 2008, according to estimates of the Ministry of Social Development. Involved in the worst forms of child labor are, first of all, homeless minors and minors from families finding themselves in a difficult life situation (families with many children and indigent families, in which parents or other lawful representatives fail to carry out obligations of educating, supporting, and schooling their children).

We disagree with the opinion of a number of researchers who believe that children do not rival with adults on the labor market. Those researchers argue that the «jobs that adolescents do, as a rule, are in the labor-market segment to which adults have no claim.» One of the tendencies in the labor sphere consists in that women are replacing working adolescents. This has to do with the overall situation on the labor market: women are being crowded out from the official economy into the informal economy. While the youths welcomed the survey in their midst with interest and enthusiasm, other categories of those surveyed were very hard to deal with. Parents would respond to our questions as succinctly as possible and would try to give us as little information about their private life and about their children as they could, in our opinion, intentionally misrepresenting, for example, information about the level of well-being in the family. Experts, on the other hand, would point out orally and in some cases in writing that they do not see any problem in the subject in question. The general tonality of what people say at meetings, especially in smaller towns, is well represented by these words: «Adult people today cannot use their right to work; all the more so, adolescents must not and may not work.» At the same time, many types of child labor, such as work in the child community, use of children's special talents and abilities, agricultural labor, and housework in challenged families, remain outside of the field of vision of experts and specialists in work with children.

Efforts to counter this phenomenon produce no results in part because the focus is on calling to morality and ethics, i. e. values that cannot stand against cruel economic reality of commercial activity. Media and internet reports on child labor draw society's attention to the most horrifying stories, targeting people's emotions. Such presentation of the material is often associated with reports on the dark side of life and provokes disgust, not a desire to help or change something. Government structures do not manifest due interest in providing employment assistance to persons under 15. They practically opted out of organizing child labor. Employments services are passive, and only in exceptional cases do they assist in searching for a suitable occupation. As a rule, however, they limit themselves to taking part in professional orientation work.

The scope of child labor in Russia may be reduced by combining legislation and its enforcement with other important economic, cultural, educational, and political factors.

1. Discontinuing dangerous child labor and exploitation of adolescents. Dangerous and exploiting forms of child labor, including slave labor, commercial-sex exploitation, and work that is in the way of child's physical, social, cognitive, emotional, or moral development, cannot be tolerated.
2. For that, Russia needs to develop a relevant regulatory base. It needs to introduce fines and other penalties for unlawful use of child labor in «invisible» spheres, for example, exploitation in a family business or exploitation of children's special talents and abilities. Legislation must encompass an overwhelming majority of cases when child labor is used in the informal sector of the economy, including work in the streets.
3. It is necessary to ensure social monitoring of child labor. Russia needs a program under which groups of social workers, police officers, workers of the procurator's office, NGOs, and the media would regularly study the conditions in which children work and remove from work those children who are threatened.
4. Ensuring free and mandatory education. The school's role in the organization of work must be

increased. Laws concerning child labor and education must pursue the same objective and be applied in such a way so as to complement each other. School and child labor are closely interrelated. As we have seen, work may be an obstacle to school attendance. At the same time, poor education often makes children drop out of school and begin work at an early age. In spite of the fact that officially high-school education remains free in Russia, more than 15 percent of the children responded that their parents were paying money for school. Free schools have a poorer quality of education, and therefore the more prosperous layers of the population prefer paid education for their children. On the other hand, quality education may keep children away from work. The longer school education lasts and the higher its quality, the smaller is the chance that the child will be forced to engage in dangerous work. 5. It is necessary to publish specialized literature for parents and teachers, whose contribution to educating children about their rights needs to be significantly increased. 6. It is necessary to register the births of all children, including those of migrants. Some ethnic groups in Russia, for example, the Roma, cannot be registered, because no adequate laws exist, and society has long been turning a blind eye to the issue. At the same time, children in those ethnic groups as well as new groups from refugee families have to share their parents' way of life, which is vagrancy and begging. 7. Data on child labor are not numerous. To obtain them, it is necessary to carry out a number of modern sociological and pedagogical surveys, which must include questions on child and adolescent labor. The data must be regularly updated (every six months) due to unstable economic situation. Working children must take an active part in the assessment of their situation and development of suggestions to improve their living and working conditions. 8. The media must inform society about the problem of child labor as a social phenomenon that has its objective roots and contribute to a search for solutions to the problem and for technologies to solve it and report on positive results, not just state the fact.

A.R. Mikheeva, Novosibirsk

MODERN RUSSIAN FAMILY: CONJUGALITY VS PARENTHOOD?

An analysis of recent trends in the demographic processes of family formation (nuptiality, fertility, divorce) at the All-Russian and at the regional levels makes it possible to assume that these trends reflect the regular transformation of social institutions of marriage and family. An important, if not the main, feature of this transformation is an ever-increasing divergence between the sub-institutions of conjugality and parenthood. Both home and foreign investigators of the family are now discussing this divergence (autonomism). Under the conditions of this transformation, of great importance is the study of its social and social-psychological consequences for the rising generation, a rather numerous group of children whose fates are affected by these processes. Changes in the «parental composition»: divorce of parents, coming of a stepmother or a stepfather into the family, and possibly occurring more than once, are now becoming for from rare phenomena in the life of modern children. According to our calculations made on the basis of the RLMS data on the families with children of up to 18 years of age for 1995–2002, in Russia there occurred at least one change in the «parental composition» in 30% of these families, and two and more changes in 9% of the families.

The paper presents the main results research project «Risks of Child Neglect in Modern Russia»¹⁹⁶. The scientific problem to be solved consists in revealing the determinants/conditions, which «contribute» to the growth of the risk group: neglected children, homeless children, and social orphans. The objects of the research were the families of schoolchildren from primary classes (6–10 years of age). There was also a special task set in the research: to study character of interaction of divorced parents in

¹⁹⁶The project has been supported by the Russian Humanitarian Scientific Fund (RHF), №06—03—0098a.

the matters of guardianship, maintenance and bringing up their children, as well as to reveal the problems of children in step-families (with a changing parental composition). The investigation was carried out in the Siberian cities of Novosibirsk, Gorno-Altajsk, Tyumen, and Khanty-Mansijsk. The selection of these cities was determined by the fact that they represent fundamentally different types of Russian regional centers. The methods of collecting the information were as follows: 1) four focus-group interviews with specialists from district education departments: psychologists, social pedagogues, officials from the departments of custody and guardianship, and the department for juveniles and protection of their rights;

2) the questionnaire method, i. e. interviews with the parents (fathers and mothers) of schoolchildren of the first-to-fourth classes accompanied by filling questionnaires (N = 1533); 3) expert interviews with teachers on the subject of the peculiarities of behavior of children whose families are characterized by the instability of the parental composition; 4) interviews with the parents of «problem» children; 5) expert interviews with specialists of special institutions and organizations whose activity consists in the orphanage prevention.

The materials of reconnaissance focus groups have shown the specialists on childhood to be worried over the growing level of aggressiveness, contentious temper of primary school age children as well as over their disobedience, excitability, and dependence on their parents.. Of the seven groups of determinants of such a behavior of children only one group, according to experts, can be considered a relatively extrafamily group of factors: «education reform, problems of family legislation.» The six remaining groups of factors are family ones: 1) the composition of the family with children (an incomplete family, a family without parents, but with the children's other relatives, an altered/recomposed family, a family with an unstable parental composition); 2) the stage in the life of a family (a stage of divorce, a post-divorce stage, a stage of forming a step-family, etc.); 3) the type of mutual relations in the family (contentious, indifferent or, on the contrary, superpatronizing, pretersensual, etc.); 4) nonparticipation of the parents in the life and bringing up of their children; 5) deviant/criminal behavior of the parents (hard drinking and other deviations); 6) exchange of gender roles (mother becomes the bread winner).

The analysis of questionnaire materials characterize the state of modern young families with a child of 6—10 years of age in the following way: 41% of those questioned live in families of 4 members (2 parents and 2 children), 32%, in full families with one child, but 5% in incomplete families. At the same time 33% already live in step-families, and 17% of 6—10-year-old schoolchildren in these families have stepfathers or mother's partners rather than their fathers; 11% of respondents live in families as cohabitants; 30% have already been divorced, almost half of them were divorced 3—10 years ago, so in most cases a respondent's small child has gained some «divorce experience» as well; 13% of male respondents have noted that they have under age children living separately from them.

The expansion of the phenomenon of step-families with one step-parent of six- to ten-year-old children can be regarded as an indirect indicator of the fact that the «infant centrism» is exhibiting a tendency to decline and the «conjugal family» is coming into being (Ph. Aries, S. Golod, I. Kon, A. Cherlin).

In the above situation one could discourse on the poverty of young families or of the cities as a factor causing the absence of the responsibility for children. But the above analysis has shown no connection of this kind either on a family lever or on the macro-level (of the 4 cities). Although the average personal income of the respondents are essentially different — 13,600 roubles in Gorno-Altajsk 24,000—25,500 in Novosibirsk and Tyumen, 40,400 in Khanty-Mansijsk — in the latter 38% of the respondents have given affirmative answers to the question whether their child was looked after during the out-of-school time. In Tyumen these answers amount to 61%, while in Novosibirsk and Gorno-Altajsk, 65%.

The positive attitude to the parental mutual interaction after divorces has been expressed by 45% of respondents (men and women equally), besides, 93% of men and 90% women agree or agree rather than otherwise that after the divorce the fathers must have the right to bring up their children. This appears to testify to the fact the young parents

are already aware of the necessity of the post-divorce co-parenthood for «smoothing» the negative consequences of divorces both for children and former spouses.

The primary emphasis in our research project was placed, however, upon the transformation processes in the family, and these processes have proven to be predominant in the hazardous situation of the child neglect expansion in Russia. For the Russian family, there appears to becoming the decline of «infant centrism», too. But this also points to «the bloom of maturity», which, in its turn, implies the responsibility of the grown-up society, the development of public institutions of socialization rather than the competition with «childhood» (say, for resources).

Z.H. Saralieva, S.S. Balabanov

FAMILY AND VALUE OF CHILDREN IN RUSSIA

Reproduction of new generations is an obligatory condition for the existence of any society. There are numerous examples in history when death rate exceeded birth rate because of wars, natural cataclysms, famine, epidemics, and whole states and nations were wiped out from the map of the world. On the other hand, during the past centuries, even despite horrifying infant mortality and low life expectancy of adults, population numbers invariably restored and gradually increased owing to that fact that families, especially rural families, had many children. Today many developed countries (and Russia among them with its death rate to birth rate ratio) are facing the threat of depopulation under the conditions of a general welfare: traditional families break up, women give birth to less and less children. Unlike in the past centuries, there is no hope that modern spouses will recollect themselves and will have as many children as required for maintaining the demographic balance.

The solution of the birth rate problem is tightly linked to the problems of the modern family, which is now in a crisis (more and more common with the young people are such things as non-family way of life, cohabitation, trial and late marriages, childlessness and having only one child). Without exaggerating the advantages of the traditional monogamous family, one should note that in comparison with its other family and quasi-family forms, «married people have better health, feel happier, live longer and are more successful in life than single people; children have better performance at school, they are less inclined to consumption of alcohol or drugs, and committing acts of crime if they live with both parents who are legally married. Other types but the full type of a family leads to undesirable consequences» [1; 46]. How can one achieve even the simple reproduction of the population without resorting to immigration? These problems are especially pressing for Russia, since in this country death rate is quite high (according to this parameter, we are in the same cluster with African countries), and birth rate is low as in the European countries.

As Russian women move to gender equality demonstrating high employment figures and aspiration to excel in their professional activity, this inevitably leads to their desire to restrict themselves to the minimal number of children which, with other things being equal, interfere with the realization of their plans. It is obvious that a woman with several children is more attached to her home, she has less opportunities for rest, less free time for her personal development, she is more (or completely) dependent on her husband from the financial point of view. And these are just a few factors for the minimization of the number of children in families. Proper ways and acceptable means allowing to consistently combining birth and education of children in the family, on the one hand, and woman's work outside her home, on the other hand, are yet to be found. 100 years ago children in a rural family were workers and were engaged in all sorts of work since their young age, but today in an urban family they are dependents, «extra mouths». The load on the family budget in connection with the expenses related to child rearing and education

increases and lasts longer, especially since the ideas of what loving and responsible parents should do for their children by way of care, development and education are multiplying and imposing a heavy burden on family expenditures. Almost two thirds of mothers of preschool children and teenagers in the Nizhniy Novgorod region of Russia (2006) believe that with the birth, for example, of the third child the expenditures related to child support and education will be very burdensome for the family budget.

With the development of social security, first of all, of the system of state pensions, the motivation to have many children as supporters of elderly parents who cannot work is abolished! According to our data, less than 10 % of Nizhniy Novgorod women count on material aid from their adult children after they retire. The achievements of modern medicine in decreasing infant death rate and preserving human progeny are unquestionable. However, medicine has interfered with natural selection by saving even unviable individuals. Such children require extra care on the part of their mothers who are really tied down by them. The growing number of mothers who refuse from their children is a reaction to this sort of circumstances. The better the doctors work, the more institutions will have to be opened to take care of the babies left by their mothers after birth. Pupils of children's homes, social orphans grown outside a family without experiencing in due time their mothers' care and tenderness and their fathers' strict attitude, will give, in turn, sickly and unviable progeny (if any) and will be inadequate mothers and fathers. Modern people (60—70 %) do not want to have in the future the same kind of family as their parents. It is partly justified, as life is changing and it is not necessary (and impossible) to simply repeat the experience of family life from generation to generation. However, can we be confident that personal experience of family life of new generations of mothers and fathers will be better than that of their parents? There will be no exaggeration in asserting that the majority of parents are mere amateurs in education of their children. They learn through trial and error, so the transformation of their nice children into spoilt teenagers and still worse — into «moral monsters» — is a natural result of home education with a known proportion of parents.

During the Soviet times, no less than a quarter of all parents of schoolchildren (according to teachers' estimates) were pedagogically incompetent. Given the fact that both parents are busy at work, many of them physically cannot devote enough time to their children. Proposals of the type «let the man work while mother is in charge of housekeeping and brings up children» are unacceptable in this country at least for two reasons. Wages and salaries in Russia are some of the lowest in the civilized world, and it is difficult for a family to survive with only one wage earner. Modern mothers do not want to become isolated within the four walls of their home. According to social workers who work with large families, having many children today is more often a consequence of the woman's irresponsible attitude to motherhood, her inability to plan the number of children in the family. In the course of the research under the International research project «Value of children and intergenerational relations» (Principal investigator Prof. B. Nauck (Germany)), in 2006 in the Nizhniy Novgorod region of the Russian Federation 300 mothers of preschool children, 300 mothers of teenagers, 300 teenagers and 100 maternal grandmothers were surveyed. Actual reproductive behavior of women, investments into children, and attitudes of teenagers of both sexes to the number of children in their future family life were studied. The most important reasons to have children, in the opinion of an overwhelming majority of those surveyed, were the happiness and pleasure of interaction with a small child, the special kind of love developing between the parent and the child, and the motive for continuing one's own life through the children. However, to satisfy all of these needs it is enough to have just one child and to come down on this child with an avalanche of parental love. It is also necessary to study another side of the population's reproductive behavior — the reasons for unwillingness of some people to have even one child.

The theme of anxiety and concern about the future of children during our unquiet times — as a factor of refusal to have children — runs through the answers of all generations collecting a high and steady percentage of respondents' agreement with this statement. Instability provokes a decrease in birth rate. On the average, every second

mother refers to this circumstance as important/very important. Teenagers' mothers name such principal reasons of their refusal to have subsequent children as their satisfaction of the number of children they already have (mostly two — 64 %), their state of health not permitting to have more children (61 %), and poor housing conditions (49 %). Poor housing conditions (54%) is the predominant reason for young mothers with small children. For many young families, it is still typical to live with the parental family of one of the spouses, which adversely affects the young family's well-being and stability. Half of young mothers are satisfied with the number of children they have (just one child in 66 cases out of a hundred).

The attitudes of teenagers of both sexes to the number of children in their future families are identical and replicate the intentions of their mothers and fathers: one-quarter of them want only one child, two-thirds want two children, and 8 % wish to have three children. Apparently, Russian authorities' attempt to create by means of the Law «On maternal (family) capital» an incentive for parents to have a second child and subsequent children will not succeed, since the law does not address profound positive motives of the value of children for parents, and is more focused on the elimination of the negative causes of having few or no children. The paradox consists in the fact that the more the social state helps a family, the more it eliminates the spouses' need to have more children.

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Olga Savinskaya, Moscow

WORK AND FAMILY IN MODERN RUSSIAN FEMALE LIFESTYLE: A CASE OF MOSCOW CITY STUDY

In Russia's Soviet period, a persistent double-career family model has been developed and practiced, with both parents employed in the formal labor market and the so-called «working mother» contract used with regard to women. This meant that declared and/or real policy measures were developed at the government policy level to encourage maternity in the country, coupled with the demand for women to stay in the labor market as formally employed.¹⁹⁷

This model of family life continues to remain the most widespread in Russia's post-Soviet years as well, obviously, because it continues to meet the requirements of Russian families to the greatest extent possible. To obtain representative statistical information on the ability of combining family and work duties by Moscow women with pre-school children, a special sociological survey was conducted. The main goal of the survey was to find out how convenient it is for young mothers to combine motherhood and work. To this end, a mass survey was carried out from September to November 2007, whereby a thematic questionnaire was filled out by the respondents. The sample size was 1,225 respondents. The survey was conducted with help of the Moscow's pre-school education facilities network (PEFs).¹⁹⁸

Socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents

These data show that a major portion of the women interviewed were in two age groups: from 25 to 29 (35.1%) and from 30 to 34 (32.6%). Altogether, these two age groups accounted

¹⁹⁷ S.G. Aivazova, *The Working Mother Contract: the Soviet Type // Gender Kaleidoscope: A Lecture Course. Moscow, Academia, 2001*; A. Tyomkina and A. Rotkirkh, *Soviet Gender Contracts and Their Transformation in Modern Russia // Sociological Studies, 2002, No. 11.*

¹⁹⁸ Hereinafter, «pre-school education facilities» are referred to as PEFs or «kindergartens».

for two-thirds of the total number of respondents. That supports the MosGorStat¹⁹⁹ data on an annual rise in the average age of birthing mothers and the sociological data on the popularity of «delayed motherhood» as a dominant life strategy of modern young women.

Among all respondents, there were women with scientific degrees (Ph. D. and higher) — 1.7%; women with complete and incomplete higher education — 55.2%, women with secondary general and secondary professional education — 41.2%, and women with incomplete secondary education — 2%. Almost one third of all respondents were persons with higher education. Almost one third of all respondents were professionals with higher education. One fifth of respondents (19.3%) identified themselves as office workers, 10% — as managers of various levels. Only 5% of Moscow women with pre-school children have chosen to be homemakers and another 10% of respondents said they did not work, but were self-motivated to look for a job or work.

Self-identification of women. Three types of life strategies were singled out in the course of the study. It was assumed that the women opting for the first type of life strategy — «businesswoman with children» — would be characterized by active behavior in the professional area. Such women would be more result oriented than others in their work and would give a high priority to their career growth. The second type — «working mother» — would suggest more compromising behavior to combine work and family duties, without damaging either of them. The third type — «homemaker» would characterize a life strategy chosen by those women who have no professional ambitions and consider their self-fulfillment as homemakers quite sufficient. To identify the prevailing life strategy among Moscow women, they were asked a question the answers to which are given in Table 1. The distribution of the answers shows that most of the women interviewed intend to combine work and motherhood. The percentage of women associating themselves with homemakers, or «guardians of hearth and home», almost equals the percentage of women counting on career growth.

Table 1: Distribution of answers to the question: «Which type of life strategy is most appropriate to you?»

List of life strategies	As a percentage of all respondents
Being a homemaker, a «guardian of hearth and home» and devoting myself to family and children	10.5
Combining work and motherhood, to have my own income and enough time for bringing up children	77.3
Focusing on career growth and self-fulfillment in public life, but not forgetting about the children	9.7
Other	1.2
No answer	1.2
Total	100.0

Work after childbirth: special working conditions

For many women, the childcare leave becomes a period of re-assessing their professional abilities as well as the new requirements related to the change in their family status. One third of respondents (37.6%) changed their place of work after the expiration of the childcare leave. Some 3.6% of all respondents wanted to change their place of work, but did not do it, and 39.5% retained the same place of work. 19.3 per cent refrained from answering this question. To better understand which specific working conditions are most attractive to working mothers with pre-school children, we

¹⁹⁹ Moscow Statistical Committee.

developed a set of questions containing 12 characteristics. These characteristics were ranked by the percentage of answers «very important» received from the respondents.

The possibility to take a sick leave was estimated as a «very important» working condition by 82.9% of respondents. The second, in terms of importance, was the possibility to have a vacation in summer, which was estimated as «very important» by 81.9% of respondents. These two factors constitute the first set of working conditions in terms of importance. The second set of conditions includes close location from home, flexible working hours, and positive psychological climate at work. The third set of working conditions includes «availability of a medical insurance policy for the child», «additional corporate benefits and allowances for employees with children», and «assistance in solving the child care problem» (enrollment in a PEF). Ranked fourth are the following characteristics: «shorter working hours» and «advanced qualification training». The «flexibility» of the workplace and the «possibility to bring the child to work» appeared to be of lesser priority compared to other working conditions; they make the last and least set of conditions.

Special attention should be given to the first set of conditions. This high need for sick leaves is related not as much to the disease incidence among female employees as to the high disease incidence among their pre-school children. The high disease incidence rates for pre-school children may indicate the overall weak state of health of preschoolers and the poor quality diagnostic services and prevention measures against the spread of diseases at PEFs. In this context, the issue of availability of a discounted medical insurance for the child, partially or fully paid by the employer, becomes a pressing one. Such practices would promote higher quality of medical services provided to the children of the employees, which would help reduce disease incidence rates. This would also be an additional attractive benefit for new employees. This characteristic was highly praised by the respondents themselves — 68.5% consider it «very important».

Therefore, most women with preschool children who have a desire for self-fulfillment and a need to earn money face the problem of availability of special working conditions for them to return to their place of work. Lack of such conditions at the previous place of work may be a substantial reason for women to change their job or work for a more «convenient» one that would meet their new requirements. To retain female employees and to encourage their motivation for work companies and organizations will have to offer them a «work contract» that would be more appropriate to meet their expectations in accordance with the hierarchy of requirements presented in this section.

14.3. BUSINESS-WOMEN: GENDER STUDIES

Olga Korniyenko

BUSINESSWOMAN IN CONTEMPORARY EUROPE: AN IMAGE & WAYS TO SUCCESS

At the beginning of the 19th century the European society saw processes of gradual destruction of the «chamber» life of woman. There appeared a number of opportunities for her to take part in public social life. After getting economic, political and social rights, they went on to struggle for gender equality. Over scores of generations the woman's role focused practically on a single thing: to take care of family, to continue it, and to bring up children. Woman's position in the family and in the society changed dramatically at the modern stage of historical development. In highly-developed countries, women have

got equal rights with men in the course of the last two or three generations. They have kept their traditional role, but this equality has added to it a new one — that of a working wife, a businesswoman, a business-lady (which is not less important or complicated than keeping and continuing the family). Naturally, women owe their economic and overall independence to this role — but also a bundle of new duties coming with it. Just recently, whenever a «true leader» notion was mentioned, people imagined a prosperous man... So it was, but not after the businesswomen stepped forward to the life arena.

Ideally, a businesswoman is a bright personality — womanly, neither cruel nor cold, who is active mentally and physically. She makes the decisions herself, yet feels the others' moods fine. Petty patronizing of the subordinates is not in her character. She is ready to risk; she is goal-oriented and sure of herself. She can face criticism, remarks and even insults quite reasonably. She is able to switch social roles quickly — from «leader» and «businesswoman» to «daughter» or «mother» and «wife». She is sure she is understood, supported and helped by her husband and children. A businesswoman is constantly to prove to the others that what she does is really her vocation. A woman-leader has a keener social intellect and a keener feel of shades of relationships, including those towards her. She can estimate and forecast other people's behavior. The trouble is, however, that she is more prone to be led by her emotions, rather than men are, — and hysterics and leadership are incompatible. Women are more communicative and think more down to earth. If men tend to make long-term plans and count on long-term prospects, women prefer a definitely guaranteed result, which is «here and now». Women control others' and their own mistakes better than men do. As a rule, women also word their thoughts and ideas better. It has been noted that women react to courtship and harassment in business relations less as compared to men. Women clearly distinguish between business and entertainment. Modern social life is full of separate symbols hiding the new power of women. However, the fair sex does not have prospects of success as bright against the daily grind. It is dimmed first of all by the following circumstances.

Career planning is important for single women. In most cases, the position of a married woman is determined by that of her husband. Advancement problem is not the start of professional activity that is the main problem — it is raising one's rank in the hierarchy. A significant pay gap, disdainful peer men, and a problem of combination of family and business life — these are the most common factors that come up whenever the problem of fewer chances for a woman to make a career is discussed.

Prejudices exist as far as character features and behavior styles essential for success in business clash with mother and wife functions.

Interaction and training are helpful alongside support programs launched in some enterprises, there have two strategies (interaction and training) formed in practice, which are based on mutual aid of women in order to improve their situation. Networks are developed through which prosperous women-managers share their experience and success strategies. *Interaction* is a problem. Men have long been efficiently pulling the various connecting threads within and beyond the company, while women-managers believe they will cope with everything on their own. *Training* is wanted as a strategy that may enable women to occupy leading positions more actively, notwithstanding the quotas. Both training at the company and at other companies are organized.

Everybody is striving at success, and every woman wants to take just the best from life. Thinking it over what could help one achieve success, many people have arrived to similar conclusions.

Five tips:

1. Higher education? — Why not. Yet be careful to choose the «right» branch. Education is the most important factor of a successful career. There is no way without a higher education. According to a poll, 80% of large companies select new staff for managerial positions among the employees who have a higher education in economy, engineering or sciences.

2. Practice. Practical training in one's profession (abroad, if possible) yields much more efficient than theoretical background. This is because the professional experience facilitates making useful contacts with prospective employers.

3. Independence. Consider a comprehensive solution: to launch one's own business. At present there is a real boom of new companies, and women venturing into the independent professional activity create their own network of contacts, too.

4. Bringing up children and housekeeping. Can children and career be combined? Some wonder: «Why not?» And the answer is: «On no occasion!»

5. It is not only your abilities that get you a job. It is also your skill of demonstrating the abilities to other people — just like actors do.

Being a leader requires a great commitment, hard work and a man's ability to abstract from domestic cares. If a woman succeeds in overcoming the scores of obstacles on the way of her career advancement, she will be able to efficiently manage her business and to keep abreast of time. Today women have more opportunities for self-realization in business. Before managerial jobs were occupied almost exclusively by men, but at present, the situation is changing, and women chance to get leading positions as well.

N.V. Kuznetsova & M.V. Rybakova

NON-TRADITIONAL ROLE OF THE WOMAN IN THE SOCIETY: PROFESSIONAL CAREER

From the beginning of 1990s years the interest to «gender problems» increases in the Russian society. The documents of the IV World Conference on the position of the women (Beijing-95) that use the terminology of «gender prospect», «gender equality», «gender examination» issued in activity of Gender Bureaus of the United Nations in the former Soviet Union have played here a great role. For the first time the term «gender» in the domestic science has been used in the article by A. Posadskaya, N. Rimashevskaya, N. Zaharova «how we solved women's question» published in magazine «Communist» (1989, №4). Abroad the term «gender» has been entered into scientific discussion by the psychologist R. Stoller and J. Mony, in 1972 this term was used by feministic anthropologists, in particular Ann Oukli in her work «Sex, gender and society».

The works of the domestic sociologists have played the great role in the research of gender aspects of employment of women: E. Zdravomyslova who researched a phenomenon of women-housewives of various social groups of the society; Z.A. Hotkina researching the gender aspects of work and employment of females in the various sectors of the Russian economy. The gender approach within the frames of sociology is most brightly presented in works by O.A. Voronina and T.A. Gurko. In the modern literature the business career of women has been considered first of all as a professional career. The researcher from St.-Petersburg E.P. Ilyin separated for example three types of careers that characteristic of women:

1. Linear career — constant conducting housekeeping, the woman does not work anywhere in connection with family circumstances

2. Non-constant career — the woman for a certain time stops to work for the sake of family duties, and then again comes back to her work in the organization.

3. Parallel career — the woman simultaneously works and is in charge of housekeeping.

Considering a phenomenon of a career from the point of view of gender approach we can notice that the gender influences the career claims and strategy of their realization. In the structure of views on the success of women-specialists some authors at once single out some key factors. Among them: The success of the woman is estimated (hence, there is some system of measures); The success is marked (hence, there is a set of laws and symbols defining this concept); The success is recognized (it means that there is «a jury» which states an estimation, that is, recognizes the status reached by the woman in the organization etc.) [1]. A successful woman is the woman succeeded in private life, in a family and in work. A successful man, on the contrary, is the man who has made

professional career. The female career, as a rule, develops by 35—40 years whereas professional and status growth among men begins in 24—30 years. Most of Russian women who have succeeded in a career have higher education, and 30% of them have the doctor's degree.

In distinguish from many foreign countries in our country the financial difficulties predetermine the pre-schedule returning of women to work on their profession. Some employers hold the opinion that women can not be used for the role of the heads as basically they deal with problems of a family, children, their education. In the organization there is a term «discrimination on the basis of rational bias» according to which the clients are inclined to trust less to the woman-head in comparison with the man. Unlike many foreign countries women in Russia also collide with the unwillingness of employers to give holiday on care of a child, low social payments and privileges designed for the child. The main obstacles in the way of women to a career, in our opinion are:

1. Gender stereotypes assuming that the woman is not able to become the effective leader: the director, the manager, the politician etc.

2. Absence of possibility of the women to show their talents, organizing abilities in the organization.

3. Absence in some cases the support of women from the side of men, necessary recommendations.

4. Traditional personnel politics of corporations, firms, organizations preferring to use men as the head, the administrative personnel; thus, women more frequently endow the career for the sake of well-being of a family and for the sake of a career of the husband.

Among the reasons and the circumstances pushing the Russian women to the decision to refuse from the birth of children there have been named the material conditions of a family, a desire to make a professional career in the organization. Results of many sociological researches show that respondents (in our case women) assert that the childlessness has some plusses: women spend more time for career construction, well-being achievement in the financial plan, are respected in a society. It is sad, but the fact: today the childlessness at a level of values in Russia is recognized as the legitimate reproductive strategy. The results of the polls of population carried out by VCIOM in August 2008 in 150 settlements of the country (the sample amounted 1600 respondents) in particular have shown that family values are on the first place among Russian women, that is a family and children are in the top of the life purposes of Russians: 39 % the asked have stated in desirability of a birth of children; 7 % would like to live in the non-registered marriage according to the family legislation of the country, and in a civil marriage without registration of family relations.

As an ideal variant many Russian women consider a possibility to work and simultaneously have a family. The modern young women as a dominant life strategy choose a combination of work and motherhood, the readiness to compete on a labor market. The non-stable office position under conditions of social and economic crisis in the country, the reduction from the work without corresponding payments, have regarded several millions Russians among which the considerable part is made by women. The gender as the daily world of interaction of man's and female's embodied in practices and ideas is constantly reproduced both at consciousness level and in behavior of women.

According to a principle of gender equality the political, economic and social resources should be distributed between men and women on an equal basis. The policy of the state mainly formed by the representatives of one gender cannot meet the world standards any more. In Russia there has been created the necessary legislative base for the observance of human being rights without dependence on sex. The gender equality and gender justice become the basic principles of democracy impossible without equal participation of women and men in the society affairs at all levels of acceptance and realization of decisions. However, despite the results and progress reached in our country the policy has led to the reduction of a quantity of women at the Federal Council of the Russian Federation, in the Government of the Russian Federation (only two ministers among

women), to the growth of female unemployment, there is observed the violence in the relation of women in a family and a society.

The discrimination reasons, from our point of view, are the following:

- absence of the political order for a woman as a social-political component from the side of the Russian power structures (This law has a temporary character and it is displayed during elections of the legislative and executive power bodies at the federal, regional and local levels) 1

- discredit of an image of the woman in mass-media, literature, cinema, art, advertising etc.

- non — competitiveness of a women in comparison with men under the conditions of a rigid economic crisis, absence of the effective social help and protection from the side the state structures

- absence of the female political movements, female solidarity displaying in total absence of a support of women-politicians by the women-voters giving a priority to men at the elections in public authorities

For realization of principles of gender equality in the political sphere of the Russian society it seems to be necessary to us:

1. Creation of the Ministry of affairs of women, its divisions in the bodies of executive powers of all levels in which competence there would be ensuring of a policy of equal rights and possibilities of men and women, and the main thing — control of carrying out of a gender policy in the scale of all society.

2. Introduction of a mechanism of quoting. The main idea of quotas consists, in our opinion, in that essentially increasing political representation of women, actively include a process of acceptance of political decisions at all levels; or — in the case of neutral gender quotas — to correct representation of both sexes in management, politics, economy.

The task of realization of a quota system consists in that women (the female population makes half of population in the majority of the states of the world) should occupy at least from 30 to 40 % of places («critical minority») in the parliaments of the countries. Being based on the international experience it is necessary to take into consideration and that the quota system at all positive characteristics is not deprived vulnerability and demands perfection.

3. Introduction of the obligatory gender examination of laws in force and bills; introduction of gender indicators in the state projects, programs, plans.

At present some of the mentioned measures have been successfully realized. It should be noted, in particular, the active work of the female organizations; in Moscow and a number of regions of the country there have been conducted Forums, the scientific and practical conferences, promoting to propagation of political and public role of women of Russia; the gender Centers and chairs at the High Schools working in the field of gender problems are formed; there have been published the textbooks on gender sociology. The authors of the given report have developed and read for a number of years the course of lectures on the bases of the gender policy and gender sociology for students of the High Schools of Moscow.

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SOCIO-CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF GENDER PARITY

The processes of modernization have opened new possibilities for the self-realization of women, but at the same time there has been a strengthening of neo-conservative tendencies in support of traditional gender roles. In Russia, gender inequality is well-entrenched and those who defend it argue that women are a priori «not real human beings», or they impute to women what are traditional male patterns of behavior. It is known that during the Soviet period policies were adopted which sought to liquidate gender inequality by working out a compulsory ideology of state paternalism towards women. The driving force for the changes in gender roles was the will of the state, rather than being an organic social change brought about by education and experience. Society itself had not yet formed the objective and subjective prerequisites for installing meaningful organic transformations of gender relations. The task is to test the hypothesis that, in the conditions of the late-arriving and accelerated modernization of Russian society, the majority of women see material self-sufficiency and well-being as their top priority, and assign a lower ranking to other factors, such as a rich cultural life, job satisfaction, and marriage and family. The most important factor in this values-determination process is unemployment, which currently has and for a long time has had a feminine face. Thus women's concerns about the threat of job insecurity and resultant deprivation have had the effect of worsening the asymmetry in the status of men vis-à-vis women which already existed in Soviet times.

Modern sociological researches demonstrate contradictions in stabilizing new gender relations. We may look, for example, at the most remarkable changes in gender status, which is observable on a global scale, and that is the elimination of sharp differences in gender contacts. While this wide spread change has penetrated all spheres of life, it has brought about until now mainly the spread of masculine behavior patterns only slightly modified when they are freely accepted by women. The main contradiction emerging in this connection is that while struggling for equality, women as a rule acquire masculine type of behavior and do not reveal their individual traits, which when realized, might bring beneficial results in a direction that is positive for women. A larger goal of the thesis is to show how and in what areas men and women during the twentieth century have in practice broken down the previous gender system and slowly forged a new one. At the same time, we will seek to show the causes and socio-cultural foundations for co-existence of traditional and egalitarian models of gender interrelation in present-day Russia. In following the analysis of transformation period in Russia undertaken by V. Yadov I accept his conclusion that pyramid-like construction of Russian public sphere is a historic-cultural legacy and its influence will still be felt throughout the XXI century, even if a middle class emerges as the main element of a civil society. The top of this «pyramid» is very steep due to underdeveloped system of NGOs and this vertical societal / government construction is male dominated.

The novelty of my work is to be its attempt to analyze the successive steps of global change of gender relations, particularly the change which implants masculine patterns of behavior and relations, and veils feminine principles *per se*. Understanding of this process may eventually help create a harmonious gender system, based on principles of genuine realization of self and egalitarian interaction between men and women. The survey puts forward the concept of women's role in society which is defined on the principle of anthropocentrism as opposed to androcentric (male-centered), the latter being a tradition in gender scholarship exposed by Du Bois (1983) and Maria Mies (1983), which restricts women to their family function and locates men in the public realm.[1] The author will attempt to expose the problematic of modernist and neo-conservative tendencies in their perceptions of women's role in society, and seek to reduce the influence of a male-oriented subculture on the ethno-national self-identification of a person and his/her socialization.

The methodology is based on a socio-gender approach, as elaborated in the works of various Russian and foreign authors (G. Sillaste, G. Karelova, Rybstova, N. Lapin, A. Michel, U. Gerhardt, S. Walby, Ch. Delphy, M. Barrett, M. Daly, F. Anthias & N. Yu. Davis, L. Christianson-Ruffman, et. al.) It will use both micro and macro sociological approaches to the analysis of the studied phenomena. It will recognize that the complexity of such a study of the role of women in society demands analysis that is interdisciplinary in nature. It will also and necessarily be cross-cultural, in order to show the dynamics of perceptions of women's role in differing which are undergoing different stages of modernization. The task demands the use not only of sociological data but also demographic, historical, ethnological, socio-psychological, and medical. Source material will include articles, statistical reports and empirical data in Russia and in other countries as feasible. Russia itself contains many different ethnic societies. Some of the empirical data which forms the foundation of work comes from surveys completed with the author's participation in countries which are undergoing different stages of modernization — Russia, Mongolia, Turkey and France. In each case, the survey sampled 400 people, using a sampling design which reflected each country's population with regard to employment and proportion of males to females. Other research data includes content-analysis of women's journals and expert interviews (face-to-face and in-depth, including a short structured questionnaire). All interviews are recorded and transcribed and software for qualitative data analysis (NUD*IST) is planned to be used.

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EVOLUTION OF RUSSIAN MANAGEMENT IN GENDER DIMENSION

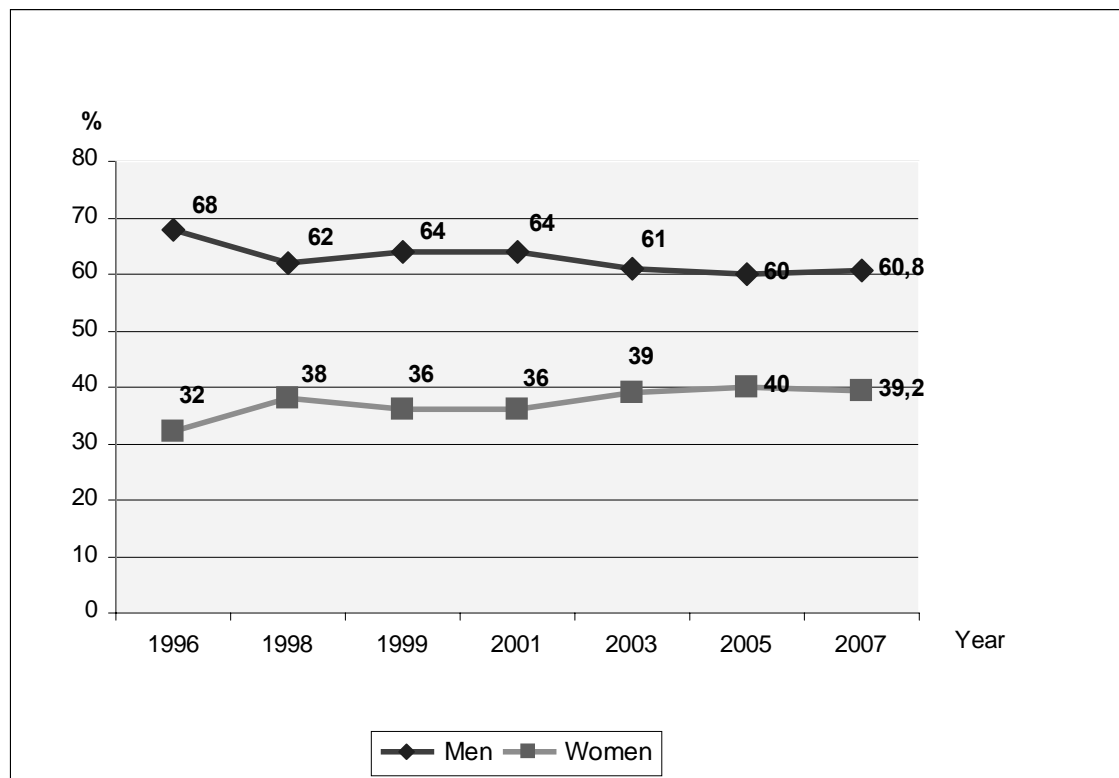
The competitive capacity of Russia in the world market under conditions of globalization of economics is determined not only by rich raw materials stock but also by intellectual potential of its citizens. The moving force of dynamic development of organizations and at the same time a «bottle-neck» is the development of key competences and organizational capacity of employees. Successful company management in the 21st century is for the most part dependent on attracting, holding and using effectively the potential of talented managers. The necessary condition for selection and realization of their managerial potential is diversity, including the gender diversity. Under conditions of competition and business globalization competitive companies now cannot allow themselves to limit the selection of managers only to one half of humankind. And that is not just the gender equality but a necessary precondition for business survival and maintaining its competitive power.

During the last fifty years in Russia and worldwide significant changes in the social status, education and professional position of women have occurred. These changes have lead to freeing powerful intellectual potential of the feminine half of humankind. In Russia today a vivid promotion of women in economics is seen in their climbing the managerial career ladder, confident business launching and fulfilling entrepreneurial potential. At present in Russian economy women constitute almost a half (49,6%) of the working force (35110 thousand people in 2007). For the period from 1995 to 2007 the number of working women in Russian economy has grown by 4082 thousand people (31028 thousand people or 47%, in 1995). As for the men's working force, its growth for the same period was only 291 thousand people (from 35413 thousand people or 53% to 35704 thousand people or 50,4%) [1,2].

Notwithstanding the significant growth of the number of working women in Russian economy on the whole, the horizontal and vertical segregation by gender on the employment market still remains. 63% of all women employed in the economy are related to those professional groups in which more than 60% of all employed are represented by women. They are first of all specialists of the high and medium levels of qualification,

services sphere employees, as well as house maintenance services, trade, and other related kinds of activities. Women managers constitute only 5,9% of all women employed in economy (2007). To compare, an analogous group of male managers constituted 9% of all men employed. At the same time in 2007 in a selected group of managers (representatives from the government and administration) on all levels, including CEO's, the share of women was 39,2%, which is significantly less than the share of men (60,8%) [2]. It is worth mentioning that before the transfer of Russia to market economy, the share of women managers was only 26% (in 1989). The analysis of statistical data dynamics vividly shows the appearing tendency to the closing up of gender shares among top level managers and the growth of women share in the management (Fig. 1). However, on the whole the data prove gender asymmetry with men being in the majority.

Fig.1. Employed in Russian economy as «managers» in 1996—2007 (%)



The data shown in the rate named «The 2006 Russia 50: Most Powerful Women», including 50 representatives of the higher managerial level of major Russian corporations prove that the role and influence of Russian women in Russian companies have grown by today to such a significant level that one cannot simply ignore. However, the share of women on the top managerial positions of major Russian companies is still comparatively low (about 6—9% in different areas of economy). Along with that on the medium and low level of management women the number of women is higher. At the same time certain interdependency is seen, i. e. the higher level of management, the lower the number of women it is represented by. In fact women easily climb the career ladder up to a certain level, but then their promotion is down and only a few can get to the top. That gives grounds to presume that women managers have to overcome significantly more obstacles compared to men to reach the same level of positions. They have to show significantly more professional knowledge and put significantly more effort to overcome inner corporate competition, as well as stereotypical thinking existing in the society towards the role of women.

High level of employment among Russian women is supported by a high level of their education (34,2% of all working women have higher professional education, to

compare, among men this index is 29,7%) and traditions rooted in the society when the involvement of women in the for-profit economic sphere of activity is socially accepted norm of behavior. However, notwithstanding the high level of education among Russian women, their income is significantly lower than among men. Thus, the ratio of salary level between men and women in the Russian economy constitutes 63% (by data of 2007) [2]. One has to mention that women invest a lot of effort in their professional growth. In the last decade Russian institutions of higher education enrolled a rather high number of female undergraduate students (71%) and female PhD students (40%) majoring in Economics and Management (2007г.), who showed their interest in business and management as their future occupation. The share of women who got their MBA degree is growing. More women want to go up the career ladder, who aspires to self-actualization and economic independence.

However, among the Russian managers, as well as in the society as such, a sustainable understanding of the fact that economic development is impossible without understanding gender equality and creation of conditions for the development and realization of personal creative potential of all people. The diversity of managerial potential in the gender aspect is an endless source of innovations. The energy which appears when different types of thinking and styles of behavior of different gender entities collide supports the innovation process. If the intellectual disarrays and sprouting contradictions would not be moved in the direction of creativity, they would move toward interpersonal collisions and would lead to subduing creative impulses of individuals, as well as the organization as such. The strategy of transitions in organizations is determined by the necessity to envision a unique impact of managers (both men and women) and creating conditions for receiving a synergy effect of their interaction. Companies that ignore the significance of diversity of the workforce in management will experience problems in being competitive on the market.

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WHAT IS PUBLIC POLICY FOR THE WOMEN? FROM CONSTANT TO THE EXPLANATION

The gender inequality — one of the main problems for many countries, it has a long history and underwent diverse changes. The women constitute big half of the population of our planet, but in most they are unequal in their rights with the men. The situation varies of historic period, from a country to the other one. First of all, it is necessary to illustrate two key concepts which will abundantly be used in this article: on one hand, the public politics and on the other hand the gender theory. The study of the public politics, a relatively recent branch of the political sciences, knew its development in the middle of the 20th century. This analysis is justified on one hand, by the distribution of economic models of the governmental efficiency to quantify the costs and the profits of the actions of the State, and on the other hand, by the increasing requirement of the society to observe the governmental actions and appreciate the results.

The problems of the equality man-woman are frequently used under the concept of gender, word of English origin, exported in the other countries. To understand better

this concept, it will be better to distinguish the notion of the sex and the gender. The sex answers the biological characteristics which present men and women. On the contrary, the gender or the gender's theory refers to the social roles, responsibility and chances which determine men and women. In the perspective of gender, the power is a central element because we consider that his distribution between men and women is unequal, the first ones are most privileged.²⁰⁰ The women meet more obstacles to exercise completely their political, economic and social rights, to reach resources and so that their voice is listened to, that is to participate and have a just representation in a hierarchical system. Public politics in favor of the equality between women and men tend to coincide with the equality of their rights and real equality. The gender is thus at once omnipresent, but also mostly implicit, in the public politics.²⁰¹ There are politics which examine explicitly and directly the question of the gender's relations; many politics were organized in most of the western countries since the 1970s, which has the aim to promote the status of the women and the equality between men and women. These public politics appear on the definite level of the development of the society and its contents depend on several factors. In the situation of the disparity we shall mark out the following factors: the understanding of the feminine question, the ideology dominating in the societies; the type of the economic relations and the level of the socioeconomic development of the State; the character of the political system, the level of the democracy in the State and the society; the position and the initiative of the subjects of the politics of the State of the structures of the power, the political parties, the public movements, the feminine masses.

The balance of all this factors in the society contributes to the integration of the women in the life of the society and all domains social, economic and politics. The theory of Virginia Shapiro. The imbalance of the mentioned factors brings to the effect of women's marginalization. Viola Klein proposed the conception of the marginal position of women and has it defines as the state of the person simultaneously living in «two various worlds», «two cultural systems», where the one is «superior with regard to the other one». The women try to combine two standards, carry out the double work.

The representation balances between men and women not reached in the political life yet. The women stay in front of glass ceiling in politics. These invisible barriers set up by behavioral and organizational prejudices of order prevent the women from reaching normally high responsibilities. But in the past decade, women's visibility in and impact on public life has grown. What factors promote women's access to representative politics? Do women in public office really promote women's interests in public decision making? Under what conditions can they and their male allies be effective in producing gender-sensitive public policy? The obstacles are many and based on various arguments. How to change such situation? So we ask the main question. How to settle the contradictions of the politics in favor of the women and to register on schedule of the state of the measures which concern them specifically? Several factors are judged as facilitating the public decision-making in favor of the women:

The representation of the women in the legislation can increase the public politics favorable to the women? The answer is: Yes, the representation of the women in the legislation can increase the public politics favorable to the women. It is necessary consider the many factors.²⁰² To open the political arena for the women, and to create «the critical mass». The expression «critical mass» comes from the nuclear physics where it indicates the necessary quantity to the release of a chain reaction, a point of not return, a fall in a situation or a process new. By analogy, we say that a qualitative change would take place that the women exceed 20, 30 or 50 percent of an institution or an assembly. The organizational theory of Rosabeth Moss Kanter and the famous article of Helen Mayer Hacker; Child and Krook. More the women are numerous in the Parliament; more

²⁰⁰ Lorena Parini, Editions Seismo, 2006, Questions de genre// Le système de genre. Introduction aux concepts et théories, Sciences sociales et problèmes de société, p129.

²⁰¹ T. Carver, S. Dayan-Herzburn, M. Dietz, 2000, Genre et politique// Débats et perspectives, Gallimard, p542.

²⁰² Mercedes Mateo Diaz, 2005, Representing women? Female legislators in west European parliaments, ECPR, Press (277)

they have chances to make audience to listen to the women's preoccupations and their opinion in the debates, the work of commissions and groups. Little numerous, they have only rarely the opportunity to intervene in this direction. Women's proportion in a group influences the consideration of their interests. According to this approach, the progress in politics towards the women would thus depend on weight of the women in the authorities of decision. According to this analysis, everything takes place as if the elected women became the spokeswomen of the women and the representatives of the interests of all the women. To make this idea it is necessary to take account a series of factors mattering of every country that can be favorable or not to the increase of the representation of the women in the power.

Level of Economic Development. Countries with a larger Gross Domestic Product (GDP), a higher the ratio of GDP per person, and a higher proportion of the population that is urban, tend to have higher percentages of women in their national legislature because they have more highly educated populations, more women in the work force, and more women in professions (such as law) that lead to politics (Christy 1987²⁰³; Norris and Lovenduski 1995²⁰⁴).

Socio-Cultural Traditions. A second set of variables hypothesized to help or hinder the election of women includes social and cultural conditions. Having more women professionals, managers, and administrators means there will be more women in the «pool» from which to select people for legislative office. The higher a woman's social status within a given country, the more likely women are to be elected to national office, other things being equal. Countries with higher levels of support for a women's movement are also more favorable to the election of women. Women often have higher social status in countries where there was an assertive campaign for the right to vote, and where there is a longer tradition of women's suffrage. Countries with traditionalist cultures and high levels of religious adherence generally have lower proportions of women in their national legislatures.

Political and Electoral Systems. Democracy can take many forms. Some democracies are liberal while others are social or radical. The values underlying the principles of social democratic government and political culture are associated with the election of women. In many instances, countries changing from social to liberal democracies (for example, in Central and Eastern Europe) saw a stark decrease in the proportion of women legislators. Electoral system influence also the number of women legislators.

Civil war and crisis. Another condition that is thought to increase the representation of women is the presence of a crisis. A crisis of democratization, however, brings the potential for change and for power relations to be renegotiated. One well-known framework for describing the process of democratization was developed by O'Donnell and Linz and Stepan²⁰⁵. It featured a sequential process, progressing from a crisis, to a period of transition, and finally into consolidation of a liberal democracy. During the crisis, there is a time when politics as usual is suspended, when new and creative ideas may emerge. For example, traditional power arrangements may be undone, new political entities may emerge, or the rules of governing may be rewritten.

But there are a number of perverse effects, it is necessary to consider them: All the women are not forcing engaged in feminist fights. It is supposed to contradict the principle of national sovereignty based on the inviolable principle that an elected representative is not the representative of a particular group, but that of the quite whole nation. The principle of the pyramid of power is valid for the women (more power fewer women) the number of women in the legislation is not important because the power has the shape of the pyramid and left the power according to the importance. The number of the women can be raised but concentrated on the secondary posts.

²⁰³ Christy, Carol. 1987. Sex differences in political participation: Processes of fourteen nations. New York.

²⁰⁴ Norris, Pippa, and Joni Lovenduski. 1995. Political recruitment: gender, race, and class in the British Parliament. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

²⁰⁵ Linz, Juan J., and Alfred Stepan. 1996. Problems of democratic transition and consolidation : Southern Europe, South America, and post-communist Europe. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

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