Russian Society of sociologists

Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology is a collection of more than 60 papers of Russian sociologists from different regions of the Russian Federation. The papers present achievements of the 71 Regional Affiliations and 33 Research Committees of the Russian Society of Sociologists which are dealing with problems of social life under conditions of the processes of the transformation and modernization of Russian society.

In the three Chapters of the book the urgent issues of economy, ecology, education, social policy and entertainment are in a focus of theoretical discussions of the social sciences. The results of applied and empirical surveys made in the megalopolis like Moscow and urban and rural regions of the Northern and Southern parts of Russia are presented for further discussions.

The book will be of interests for scholars and scientists, postgraduate students, as well as for journalists, students, managers and experts in international trade and commerce.

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Theory, Methodology and history of Social Science

Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 1.Theory, Methodology and history of Social Science

Choiropov, Tsyren Ts., Ulan-Ude

The Process of Socialization as Reproduction and Development of Man

Abstract

In the article the process of socialization is seen as reproduction and development of man as a social creatures and society as the basis of all human relations.

Keywords: reproduction of man, essence and existence of the man, socialization of the person, humanization of the society

The process of socialization is not limited only by mastering the individual's social values and get the necessary qualities for life in society. Socialization should not be interpreted as a kind of occurrence some seem initially «not socialized» human individual («creatures with biological instincts») in some already ready socialized finally environment sphere… Neither separately in fact no and cannot be.

Even the very moment of birth of the person marks not only the beginning of the socialization process. It is at the same time, there is a continuation of the process of socialization of the mother, all their relatives, newborn and ultimately - generation, society, human race … This process is always mutual and inseparable. He essentially has no «beginning» and no «end», while there the human race. In other words, neither the fact of birth of a human being, nor the fact of his death does not indicate the beginning or end of an eternal process of socialization…

Without human individuals not human society itself, no and individuals outside of society; without formation and development of the human individual in «ontogenesis» there and «phylogenesis» - the formation and reproduction of the human race, on the contrary; without the process of socialization of the person there is no process of humanization of the society, on the contrary.

It is in this sense the society produces man as person public, but man makes society as a society of human. You could say that the process of socialization is the reproduction and development of the man - person associated, and at the same time, there is the reproduction and development of society - humane society. But also so you can say: socialization is the process of formation and implementation (implementation in reality), on the one hand - the essence of man as the set of all social relations, and on the other side - the essence of society as the ensemble of all human relations. Finally, you could say that socialization is the process of formation and reproduction, on the one hand - humanized society, and on the other - associated person, that generally means socialized humanity.

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Generally speaking, socialization is the very positive livelihoods of people. But - the livelihoods of the immanent (inherent in the people), i.e. due to their vital actual human needs and motivated relevant interests, goals, ideals. This activity is in itself is a universal value and should be recognized as a priority in any social system. Because this is the calling and the sense of human existence, the process of self-reproduction and unlimited development of self-development. It is just that life source, the socio genetic thread and fabric, which form and recreate herself public life of man and human society. This world is and the world stands. This timeless eternal condition of the human race.

However, such positive creative life darkened utilitarian empirical methods of their being. Because the inherent human life is not always manifested in everyday empiricism. It is carried out and indirectly, generally, in the modified reflected forms. It positively creative accompanied during concomitant (inclusive, negative destructive) flows and deviations. Her deep process is obscured and changes multilayer offsets, until deformation on the surface of existence…

In short, socialization is diverse complex but ultimately holistic internally contradictory process. It takes the form of continuous development and permissions empirically inexhaustible complex of contradictions. Their common invariant can be fixed in the most typical contradiction. More concretely: between the social activity of people at the level generic universal entity and the diverse ways of its functional implementation at the level of empirical existence. You could define this contradiction: between essence and existence of the person; between the social meaning of human life and its empirical cognition, and so on.

The dialectical process of interaction and incarnation of the «sides» of contradiction, of its development and positive resolution, is the process of socialization of the person, of the society and all of its subsystems. This is multifaceted, but in the end the whole process, which is reproduced as human nature itself and empirical ways of its implementation. It is at the same time, the process of interaction of the individual and race, person and society, their eternal renewal.

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Dolgorukova, Irina V., Moscow

The Main Components of the Corporative Social Policy used by Modern Organizations

Abstract

On the basis of analysis of social practices related to implementation of social policy and responsibility by the Russian companies to identification of priority the principal components of the CSP implementation it is possible to discriminate the principal components of the present-day Russian enterprises' CSP innovative development. There are five principal components of the CSP innovative development: organization of interaction with the state in the CSP sphere; Contribution to socio-cultural development in the CSP sphere; environmental activities in the sphere of an enterprise's social policy; legal and ethical norms of business conduct; organization of social and labor relations in the CSP sphere.

Keywords: social policy, organization, corporate culture, business associations

At the present time it is possible to say that corporations all over the world implement a wide range of social projects aimed at local communities as well as at the internal sphere of organizations. However effectiveness of these activities is not always high and requires a renovation of conventional approaches to corporate social policy management.

The term "corporate social policy" (hereinafter referred to as the CSP) means, in this particular instance, one of the most important directions of a corporation's activity intended to ensure a corporation's interaction with the society and the state, establishment of social guaranties system within a corporation and a corporation's participation in implementation of social programs and measures. The term also includes formation of corporate culture standards [Dolgorukova, 2011, p.47]. Not just management structures that will develop directions and standards of the CSP implementation and stimulate compliance with these norms can be the corporate social policy agents. Business associations may also be agents of the corporate social policy. In the present day situation one may also speaks of a peculiar role of the state in development of the CSP system. Without effective support of the state and a system of incentives provided by the state to companies private enterprises are unable to implement social guaranties for their employees to the full extent. Therefore the state will also act as an active participant of the CSP.

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Yet it is our opinion that a role of a separate company as the main carrier of the CSP should not be downgraded. It is precisely the managerial staff machinery of any particular organization develops principal directions of the CSP on the grounds of an organization's financial resources and its aims and targets. An employee of a company may act as a subject of the CSP (being, for instance, an active trade union member and a representative of a company's CSP) and as an object of the CSP on which main vectors of the internal social policy are focused.

Introduction of innovative forms of social support provided to a company's employees and of incentives given to them should be based on adoption of the CSP innovative strategies by principal subjects of these activities, i.e. by managers and employees of a company. New forms of managements have to be, first of all, internalized and expected by employees and, in the second place, be correspondent to the general strategy of a company.

In 2011 a sociological survey of the CSP condition and factors that affect the CSP development at big and medium-size Russian enterprises was carried out on the Russian State Social University basis. The research was done within the framework of the «Corporate social policy of the present-day Russian enterprises" project in the "Philosophical sciences, sociological sciences and cultural studies" direction of the Federal target program "Scientific and pedagogic cadres of innovative Russia" for years 2009-2013. 1500 respondents-workers of enterprises in five Federal districts took part in the survey. Also 210 managers of big and medium-size enterprises also were drawn in capacity of experts. Representing characteristics are as follows: sphere of an enterprise's activity, distribution of enterprises over the Russian Federation (the RF) regions, form of ownership at an enterprise. Needs of employees in renewal of such aspects of the CSP as protection of employee rights and interests have been revealed i the course of investigation. In this connection respondents indicated that trade unions have to play a role of significant importance.

Employees were offered several options of the most significant directions of social help they need personally. Responding to this offer the employees pointed out that the most important direction is an assignment of vouchers to vacation houses and children-care centers. This answer was chosen by more than 43% of respondents. It turns out that such directions of development as health insurance and prompt payment of wages proved to be no less important aspects. Nearly 40% and more than 36% of respondents chose these answers, respectively. The least popular answers were favorable/mortgage loans (only 25% of respondents opted for such loans) and support of retired persons (14%).

Top managers involved in the study were asked to choose directions of their companies' social policy they considered to be of high priority. According to managers such directions as social protection of employees and their families, payment of high wages and durable reliable employment are directions of higher priority (these answers were chosen by 60.8%, 47.1% and 46.7% of respondents, respectively). Such directions as protection of Russia's interests, improvement of environmental condition and support of education proved to be the most unpopular (12.4%, 11.9% and 13.3% of answers respectively).

In this connection the evaluation of effectiveness of business participation in implementation of the CSP various directions by managers is of interest. 35.7% of respondents appreciated effectiveness of their companies' participation in solution of labor and wages issues quite highly. 30.5% of respondents said that their companies are effective in promotion of employees' vocational training of skilled workers. And 31.9% of respondents appraised highly effectiveness of their companies' efforts in rehabilitation of territory where an enterprise develops. Involvement of enterprises in struggles against mass child neglect, against counterfeit and falsified products and against the poverty was mentioned as the least effective. 21.6%, 16.8% and 13.3% of respondents chose the respective answers. See fig. 1.
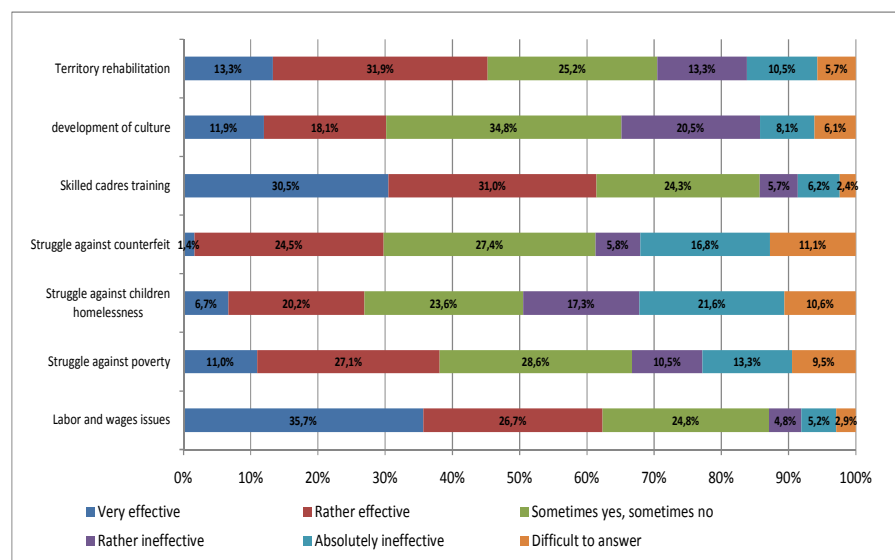
Fig 1. Distribution of top managers' answers to the question: "What is your opinion, whether participation in solution of the following problems is effective or not?" »

(% of the total number of respondents)

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Chiefs and top managers of companies can define certain direction of their enterprises' CSP as effective but they have no chance to implement such directions to the full due to various reasons. In the course of our study respondents were asked about possibilities to implement directions of the CSP related to specific social help to employees of their companies. The most popular directions proved to be prompt payment of wages (74.3%), health insurance (58.6%), optimization of labor conditions (37.6%).

On the basis of analysis of social practices related to implementation of social policy and responsibility by the Russian companies, to identification of priority the principal components of the CSP implementation it is possible to discriminate the principal components of the present-day Russian enterprises' CSP innovative development. Approaches that take into consideration the main directions of the CSP are presented in the Russian sociological literature [Chirikova, 2005, p.75]. Normally these directions are confined to the following list: personnel development, improvement of employees' skills and proficiency, formation of corporate culture, improvement of employees' health and their rehabilitation, provision of material assistance to employees, sport programs, help to children of employees. However the mentioned above results of the sociological survey of the CSP condition at the Russian enterprises enabled us to discriminate innovative components of companies' CSP development that top managers and employees consider to be of priority importance.

Five principal components of the CSP innovative development:

1. Organization of interaction with the state in the CSP sphere. Such component implies, in the first place, adherence to the legal fundamentals in corporate activity, Compliance with laws effective in the society, payment of taxes pursuant to schemes prescribed by the tax laws, transparent and open financial reporting can be indicators in this sphere.

2. Contribution to socio-cultural development in the CSP sphere. This component implies the maximum participation of the entrepreneurship institution in creation of favorable social environment in the community within which it exists. Charity (it should be distinguished from sponsorship; charity does not bring any direct profit to a business but it is beneficial to business because charity creates a propitious environment for further development); long-term social programs; development of social infrastructure of a city and regions can be used as indicators in this sphere.

3. Environmental activities in the sphere of an enterprise's social policy include a thought-out environmental policy of a company and concern with avoidance of damage to the

environment. Environment-oriented policy of a company, environment-friendly production, participation in environment programs and in elimination of technological disasters' after-effects can serve as indicators in this sphere.

4. Business partnership in the sphere of the CSP implementation implies work in accordance with legal and ethical norms of business conduct. A socially responsible company develops its relations with business partners on the principles of professional standards of activity, financial responsibility and so on. Ethical conduct of business, compliance with legal norms of business activities, financial responsibility to partners and similar moments can be used as indicators in this sphere.

5. Organization of social and labor relations in the CSP sphere. It implies a businessman's obligation to perform in accordance with the labor law norms. Maintenance of employment; provision of social guaranties to employees (many big companies and Russian branches, for instance, Wimm Bill Dunn, Mars, Novoteck etc. make payments to their female employees on maternity leaves in amount of a half of their wages); provision of good wages; assistance to training and formation of skilled labor cadres (this direction offers wide opportunities for organizations engaged in provision of services in the sphere of vocational retraining and skill improvement); housing loans (this practice is widely spread in a number of major banks, for example, VTB 24 bank; employees are offered mortgage loans on favorable terms); corporate culture (such culture may mean a code of the most important tenets of an organization's activity defined by an organization's mission and strategy of development; such tenets are expressed in the totality of social norms and values shared by majority of staff. Components of corporate culture are the adopted system of leadership; styles of conflict resolution; effective system of communication; position of an individual in organization; adopted symbolism; slogans, organizational taboos and rituals).

Realization of main directions of the CSP allows achieving new effects in management of a company's social sphere. Thus it is possible to say that the CSP as a social institution performs a number of functions that are important for the society. Indicators listed above allow appraising a degree of efficiency of the CSP model employed.

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Part 1.Theory, Methodology and history of Social Science

Goloukhova, Daria V., Moscow

Measuring Interpersonal Trust: Qualitative Approach

Abstract

The article is devoted to the problems of measuring trust. It is argued that qualitative approach to trust should mainly focus on behavioral patterns rather than to assess trusting attitudes. The article reviews major theories of trust and summaries the results the sociological research based on the suggested approach.

Keywords: interpersonal trust, qualitative approach to trust, social studies

Trust is an essential part of interpersonal, intergroup and international relationships as it provides stability and sustainable development of the whole society. According to Adam Seligman, "power, dominance and coercion can… be a temporary solution to the problem of social order… but they will not in themselves provide the basis for the maintenance of said order over time" [Seligmen, 1997, p. 13]. In his opinion, it is trust that enables enduring social relationships. The atmosphere of distrust, on the opposite, creates alienation, impedes innovation and negatively affects social interaction. It is, therefore, crucial to study and measure trust in order to be able to maintain it at a high level.

Measuring trust in qualitative surveys is often based on self-assessment questions such as ''Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?'' In particular, this approach is used in World Value Survey, General Social Survey held by National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago (USA), FOMnibus held by FOM (Russia).

While this approach allows researchers to assess trusting attitudes, it gives no insight into the patterns of trusting behavior. Actual behavioral patterns relating to trust are most likely to differ from the proclaimed attitude towards other people. For measuring trust properly it is, therefore, desirable to have a number of indicators describing multiple patterns of trusting behavior. These indicators can only be devised on the basis of existing theories of trust.

Cohesive and coherent theories of trust appear in sociology in the 20th century. Niklas Luhmann distinguishes between confidence and trust taking into consideration the difference between danger and risk. Unlike confidence, trust "is an attitude which allows for risk-taking decisions" [Luhmann, 2000, p. 103]. "If you choose one action in preference to others in spite of the possibility of being disappointed by the action of others, you define the situation as one of trust" [Luhmann, 2000, p. 97]. Luhmann, however, offers no clear definition of trust.

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The problem of trust is further developed in Francis Fukuyama's *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity.* The author approaches trust through the concept of expectations which arise within the community. According to Fukuyama, trust occurs when members of the community expect each other to be honest, cooperative and obey established rules [Fukuyama, 1995]. Similar approach towards trust is present in Piotr Sztompka's works. In *Trust: A Sociological Theory* the Polish sociologist gives the most general definition of trust: "Trust in a bet about the future contingent actions of others" [Sztompka, 1999, p. 25]. By this he implies that trust consists of two key elements. Firstly, it involves certain expectations about actions of the others. Secondly, trusts suggests active actions, making decisions which are connected with risk and may entail negative consequences.

While Sztompka and Fukuyama mainly focus on expectations as the major attribute of trust and generally exploit a more cognitive approach to the concept, James Coleman primarily regards trust as behavior. Basing on the rational choice theory he outlines several aspects of trust. Firstly, trust occurs in the situation when the trustor puts resources they possess in the hands of the trustee or transfers control over these resources. Secondly, placing these resources at the disposal of the trustee is voluntary, "without any real commitment" [Coleman, 1994, p. 98] from the trustee. In this way Coleman introduces the concept of risk into his theory. Premises drawn from Coleman's theory allow us to define trust in terms of rational choice theory as a type of interpersonal relationships between the trustor and the trustee when the former, being in the situation of risk, hands over a part of their resources to the latter.

Further conceptualization of resources makes it possible to draw on a classification of them. This description is primarily based on Pierre Bourdieu's [Bourdieu, 1997] classification of capital types with reference to Valery Radaev's interpretation of Bourdieu's theory [Radaev, 2002]. Thus, we can distinguish the following kinds of resources: physical (e.g. life, health), economic (e.g. money, possessions), social (e.g. connections with other people), human (e.g. skills, knowledge), political (e.g. power), symbolic (e.g. authority, reputation).

Further operationalization leads to designing concrete indicators enabling us to measure the level of trust in society. Implementation of the described methodology in the research held in Moscow in 2012 allowed the author to measure the level of trust and revealed the following results. According to its results, the vast majority of Muscovites completely trust their friends, relatives, neighbors, colleagues and acquaintances. As for the strangers and the newly acquainted, the level of trust towards them directly depends on the resources involved in placing

trust. Thus, physical, economic and symbolic resources are the most valuable for the Muscovites, so they are least often trusted to strangers and the newly acquainted. Obviously, the higher is the risk of losing entrusted resources, the lower is the level of trust.

In accordance with the findings, trust highly depends on the age. Cluster analysis revealed three groups different in terms of trusting behavior. Two of them demonstrated opposite patterns of this behavior. The first group with higher proportion of young people showed higher level of trust while another group with higher proportion of the elderly demonstrated more careful behavior.

To sum up, suggested approach provides greater opportunities for measuring trust and enables thorough research which takes into account not only trusting attitudes but also actual behavioral patterns.

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Ipatova, Irina S., Nizhny Novgorod

Language as a Phenomenon of Unity and Discord

Abstract

The number of Russian speakers in the world is decreasing along with disappearing Russian culture. It is due to the latest trends of the post-Soviet politics. There within the language diversity is interpreted and treated as an inequality and provokes the language of guns.

Keywords: the Russian language, culture, the Russian world, non-Russian speakers, language diversity, inequality

Nowadays on the planet there are about 2500-7000 living languages (the numerical divergence is caused with absence of a common approach to selecting a language and its dialects). Together with this, seven languages are universally considered as "the world ones": English, Spanish, Arabic, Russian, French, German, and Portuguese.

Approximately 500 million people knew the Russian language in the 1960-1970's and around 350 million people by the end of the 1980's [Arefiev, 2006]. In the 1990's Russian was spoken as a native or a second language by 285 million people worldwide [Weber, 1997, p. 18]. In the beginning of the XXI century Russian is still native for 118.6 million and second for 18.9 million people – Russian residents (according to 2010 All-Russia's Population Census), native for 144 million and second for 110 million people – residents of other states (Ethnologue Languages of the World Statistical Summaries of 2009). In 2013 Russian was placed second among the most popular languages on the Internet (Lenta.ru, 21 March 2013).

The Investigators of the contemporary Russian propagation have arrived to a phenomenon which is called "The Russian World". "Russian people have created the most extensive state in the world which belongs to the top ten of the biggest populations. Not all states and peoples fall short of giving rise to the global phenomenon, which can be identified as a "world", i.e. *a transnational and transcontinental community close-knit to a certain nation and loyal to its culture*. Along with Russia such worlds are possessed only by Spain, France, China, Ireland, Great Britain" [Tishkov, 2007].

The Russian world is far greater than the state boundaries of the modern Russia. It has its own traditions, (the Russian Abroad literature history of the three waves of the Russian emigration), problems (including ethno-cultural causes of the fourth wave of emigration from the post-Soviet Russia) and perspectives, one of which is the propagation of the Russian language

(with regard to all interferential and other processes taking place within language systems interaction).

As for the official status of the Russian language on the territory of the Russian Federation it is covered by the federative law of 1 June 2005 № 53-FZ "About the National Language of the Russian Federation". Among the certain range of countries the Russian language is accepted as an official language on the national level (Byelorussia and Kazakhstan, etc), on the regional level (Moldova, Romania, etc), has the status as an international language (Tajikistan) or some official functions (on the territory of the USA, Israel, Uzbekistan, etc). In the period of the USSR Russian as the major national language would be spoken by 286 million people, it used to be familiar to almost all people in the Soviet republics and should be obligatory for each schoolchild. By 2006 there had been numbered more than 140 million people of the population in the fourteen former Soviet republics, but less of the half – 63.6 million people – spoke Russian actively (at work, studies, home), moreover 39.5 million people spoke Russian passively, and approximately 38 million no longer spoke Russian.

In the experts' opinion, the disintegration of the USSR gave the Russian-speaking population three variants of a survival strategy: assimilation in the title culture and language, leaving for Russia, and fighting for equality in the new community. The Russian-speaking population, from whom on 26 December 1991 the boundaries of their own motherland "were migrating away", struggled for the third. And it was not without a success. On 25 June 1992 there was adopted European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages by the Committee of Ministers at the Council of Europe and was open for signing on 5 December 1992. On 10 May 2001 the Russian Federation joined the Signatory-countries [Sokolovsky, Tishkov, 2013]. Nevertheless, according to the forecasts, by 2016 the number of the Near Abroad population, non-Russian speakers, will increase up to 80 million people and somehow will exceed the number of those who speak Russian – 60 million people. The number of those who speak Russian is decreasing especially among the younger generation in the majority of the former Soviet republics, and it is due to the removal of Russian as an obligatory subject from the curricula, even on the level of the not-native and a second foreign language [Arefiev, 2006]. Not long ago it was a signal of saving culture, today it is becoming a problem of saving the world.

"Is there anything better than the language? – exclaimed Aesop. – With the language people come to an agreement, administer laws, and impart wise things... What can be worse than the language? – continued the philosopher. – With the language people lie to each other, start

quarrels, discords, wars..." Due to today's bitter experience, the language diversity interpreted and treated as an inequality provokes the language of guns.

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Part 1.Theory, Methodology and history of Social Science

Ivashchenkova, Nataliya V., Moscow

Theoretical Problems of Occupational Choice in Western Social Theory:
Main Prospects and Results

Abstract

      The article provides the conceptualization of main theoretical approaches to occupational choice in Western social science. The logic and basic concepts of theories in this area are traced on the basis of contemporary achievements in fundamental social theory. The author engages in the given theoretical review the analysis of such theories as neo-institutionalism, sociology of social change and theory of market for «lemons» elaborated by G. Akerlof, embedding them into the outlook of history of sociological thought.

Keywords: occupational choice, prestige of occupations, youth aspirations, opportunities structure, professional milieu, sequential screening

Introduction

Sociological theory is organized upon the theoretical problem that is fundamentally significant for all the social science – the problem of society and personality, their interaction and mutual influence. The dualistic character of sociological theorization in the epoch of the formation of sociological paradigmatic foundations in the beginning of XX century was closely connected with this problem. The dualism consisted in the fact that either social structure or social subject were taken as the starting point for social theory. Social realism which was connected with the sociology of E. Durkheim declared the primacy of social structures over the space of individual consciousness and practice; and the opposite approach which has been referred to as social nominalism was defended by M. Weber who created the project of 'sociology without society' in which the subject of social action and the space of subjective meanings that organize social reality were considered as the main reference point. For a long time social theory has been polarized, and it was expressed in the analytical division between personality and society in sociological image of the world. The limitation of social realism consisted in the investigation of social life as a life of all-sufficient structures deprived with personal characteristics and in the negation of significance of individual action and interaction as constituent elements of social reality. The disadvantage of social nominalism was the lack of macro-vision of social problems which resulted from the attention that was given to uniqueness

and originality of personal existence as well as the inability to explain social phenomena that go beyond the subjective meanings, social action and interaction.

The sphere of education represents the social space in which the problem of structure and agent acquires particular significance. Theoretical problem of occupational choice that consists in dialectical nature of interaction between the structures of individual consciousness and external social circumstances possesses the special importance among the problems of contemporary sociology. This problem becomes the field of approbation of theoretical theses that have been elaborated in various realms of social knowledge.

Theoretical and methodological foundations for occupational choice study

Occupational choice is one of the most important decisions in everybody's life. The position in the system of social division of labor, the social group the person will belong to, and the lifestyle depend from the decision. It is possible to say that occupational choice determines the whole life of the person. The problem of occupational choice is in focus of many disciplines such as general sociology, sociology of labor, psychology, social psychology, theories of personality, economics, demography and many others.

Occupational choice investigations in Western sociology and social psychology

Many Western sociologists have worked in the field of occupational choice theory. Among them there are Roberts, Heystead, Musgrave, Coulson, Keil, Riddell and Struthers, Williams [Brown, 2002]. The influence of the pleiad of these scientists is reflected in many studies in Great Britain, mainly in those ones that investigate the influence of social factors (social class, family position and school type) upon the individual aspirations.

Roberts proposed the theory of 'opportunities structure' in which "career should be handled as a developing model formed under the influence of chance structures" [ibid, p. 38]. In this case the opportunities the individual faces in the process of education and afterwards at work are implied. Personal ambitions are the reflection of influence of various structures, through which an individual passes. The fact whether the graduates will become managers, engineers, psychologists, lawyers or economists depends on educational ways the young men walk and their possibilities to build a career by the moment of graduation to a greater extent than on their aspirations. The space of occupational choice after obtaining the higher education, even if it is the highest-level education, is strongly limited. The original occupational positions do not

radically differ; they are rather embedded into the inequality system. For instance, why university graduates rarely become street-sweepers? In that case it is possible to assume that the 'choice' is done by the society through the formation of the inequality system of professional work in the social consciousness.

The question under study arose in America. In USA the influence of family, milieu and education upon the wish to possess skills in one or another profession is often investigated. Widespread is the opinion that in democratic society youth is able to create its future, confining itself only to its own talents and abilities. In this connection the aspirations of young men have been viewed as the main determinants for choosing schools, colleges, and universities.

In Great Britain the approach was different: youth aspirations were not perceived as main determinants for the educational process. At the same time, such subjective factors as aspirations, dreams, and abilities were taken into account in the research. According to one of the sociological schools, they are the main variables that give an opportunity to explain the interrelationships between the background of students and their educational trajectories.

Musgrave, Coulson, Keil, Riddell, Struthers, Heystead have researched the influence which is exerted by the limitations connected with social structures over the processes of socialization and role adaptation. There is no complete agreement concerning the fact how social structures form expectations and individual choice. Heystead has noticed the importance of self-consciousness, acknowledging the influence of social variables [Haystead, 1971]. It is implied that an individual realizes the collision between his or her own character traits, professional characteristics and requirements.

The first attempt to build the conceptual scheme of occupational choice was undertaken by the American enlightener and founding father of professional orientation Parsons. His 'formula' of successful choice of occupation was founded upon the following three factors:

1) It is necessary to clearly understand and evaluate one's propensities, abilities, interests, resources, and limitations;

2) The knowledge of requirements and conditions for the achievement of success as well as disadvantages and compensations, opportunities and perspectives in various directions;

3) The correct and well-founded correlation between these two groups of factors [Brown, 2002, p. 3].

Such investigators as Ginzberg, Holland, Gati have exerted great influence upon the understanding of how the search and choice of profession occur.

The theory of compromise with the reality (Ginzberg's theory) [Rice, Dolgin, 2010, p. 610]. According to the views of this researcher, choice of occupation for a person is "a developing process, everything occurs not instantly, but during a long period" [ibid, p. 613]. Occupational choice occurs not right away, but is forms through passing of three basic stages: the phase of phantasy, testing phase, and realistic phase [ibid]. By means of comparing ideals with reality during the three mentioned periods, the choice of occupation is accomplished. Let us see them in more detail:

- The phase of phantasy

At the phase of phantasy which lasts up to the age of 11, child can fantasize himself or herself to be whoever he or she likes. His or her notion about the future profession before the age of 11 by no means sorts with such factors as his or her own abilities, training, needs of society, material factors and other practical considerations. At this age children want to be actors, singers, pilots, jugglers, astronauts.

- Testing phase

By testing phase whose duration lasts from the age of 11 to 17 years, children take into consideration the greater quantity of factors that influence the choice of future occupation. In the period from 11 to 12 years (the period of interest) children rely upon their own interests and propensities. In the period from 13 to 14 years (the period of abilities) there occurs the recognition about the requirements for one or another profession, about the abilities, skills that are needed for working within the given speciality. Children make an impression about whether their abilities suit for becoming a doctor, juggler, sportsman and so forth. In the period of estimation (from 15 to 16 years) there occurs the comparison with "their value orientation and real opportunities" [ibid, p. 614]. And by 17 years (the period of transition) a young person forms his or her notion about the future specialization under the influence of school, parents, friends and others.

- Realistic phase

In the period from 17 years and upwards adolescents try to make the final decision about who they will become: they make efforts for acquiring the necessary knowledge, define the direction of future speciality, specify professions (by choosing the more narrow specialization).

The theory which has been offered by Ginzberg is criticized because of excessively strict criteria of defining the stages of occupational choice, their duration and nature. There is an investigation that disproves the existence of differences in readiness level concerning

occupational choice between the pupils of 9th grade and 12th grade [ibid, p. 615]. Nevertheless the theory has become the push for further findings in the given sphere of research.

Theory of professional milieu (Holland's theory) [ibid, p. 617]. In this theory the personal characteristics and 'professional milieu' are put in the forefront. The conformity between personality type and 'professional milieu' enhances the probability that the person will choose one or another occupation. Holland has distinguished between six types of personality – realistic, intellectual, social, conventional, enterprising, and artistic [ibid, p. 616]. The investigator estimated the type of personality. By answering numerous questions of personal test it is possible to reveal the person's preferences regarding professional environment.

Investigations that follow this theory confirm it only partially. People choose occupation not only because it suits them in accordance with their personality type. Frequently people have to work within the profession due to some constraining circumstances: unwillingness to change something, material wealth, team, nearness to home and other factors.

The model of sequential screening elaborated by Gati [ibid]. According to Gati, the process of occupational choice can be divided into two big phases: lookup and in-depth analysis. Professional aspects (interests, abilities, values) are opposed to internal preferences. Professional aspects should precede internal preferences.

The insights of Gati were used in job centers for aiding in defining the future profession.

G. Akerlof. The market for 'lemons'. The American economist, the Nobel Prize in Economics laureate (2001) for analysis of markets with 'asymmetric information' has offered a conception that unites such two concepts as quality and uncertainty. As Akerlof notices, the presence of variety of one and the same goods poses interesting and important problems of market theory [Akerlof, 1994, p. 91]. There is a large quantity of markets in which buyers use statistics for making a judgment about the quality of one or another goods. Generally, the high quality of goods makes a good reputation for all the sellers in the market, from whence the sellers are tempted to sell goods with low quality. "The presence of sellers who aspire to pose their good as the high-quality one brings about dislodgment of fair business" [ibid, p. 97].

G. Akerlof describes the institutional mechanisms that help to fight with the uncertainty in various markets. For instance, guarantees that are given to consumers for durable goods. The risk is laid upon the seller rather than the buyer. The trade mark testifies about the quality. The third institutional mechanism is various licences in the form of some documents, diplomas, certificates, scientific degrees, Nobel Prize and other certifications.

Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 1.Theory, Methodology and history of Social Science

Generalizing materials represented in the media, on sites of Russian sociological organizations and on sites of official statistics, it is possible to say that first places in the list of the most prestigious professions are occupied by lawyers, financiers, businessmen/entrepreneurs/merchants, doctors, and programmers. For understanding what is behind the concept 'prestige of occupations' it is necessary to turn to the investigations in this field.

Conclusion

At present time in sociology there are observed the signs that testify about the overcoming of unilateral character of macro- and micro-approaches as well as a tendency to constructing of analytical models of social reality without division between the spheres of personal existence and functioning of social macro-structures. The problem of agency and structure gains its development and widening in the theory of 'social becoming' elaborated by P. Sztompka. The imperative which is proclaimed by him – "There is no agency without structure as well as structure without agency" [Sztompka, 1996] – becomes the foundation for understanding of mutual conditionality of individual action at the micro-level and social macro-context that influences the performance of daily life. Social agent cannot be understood as an independent subject of social action, he or she is inseparable from the institutional context. Theories of occupational choice in sociology proceed from the acknowledgement of unity of action and institutions both in social theory and in the practice of social life.

The other approach in sociology which is connected with an understanding of institutional conditionality of subjective actions is neo-institutionalism. One of its representatives D. North sees the essence of social institutions in 'the rules of the game' which have been created for the purpose of maintaining order for lowering uncertainty both in the market and in the broader social space [North, 1997]. Understanding of social institutions including the institutions that are responsible for the transmission of cultural patterns through education as structures of order is also based upon the fact that institutions organize the space of human activity and interpersonal relations by creating the framework for this activity and the structure of interaction stimuli. Fundamentally new is the view of neo-institutional theorists upon social institutions that are understood as changing in time structures that define the dynamics of social system development and serve as a cause of historical change rather than as steady wireframe that stably reproduces one or another behavior patterns. Institutional changes bear incremental character, and this fact

assumes the cumulation of preceding experience of institutional system performance and influence of this experience upon the contemporary institutional development. This view contrasts with discrete understanding of institutional changes which is based upon the independence of contemporary trajectory of social institutions development from the direction of preceding development. Occupational choice serves as a field in which individuality is closely bound with institutionality, and the system of relations between the personal choice and external limitations, while maintaining and reproducing its functioning, is influenced by social macro-context.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 1.Theory, Methodology and history of Social Science

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Labor Productivity: Principles of Research, its Position-Semantic Characteristics and Converted Forms

Abstract
Development of the labor sociology in the country shows that its stadial forward movement is based on the research of the system characteristics of labor productivity: integral-measuring principles and system categories: "place of a subject in the activity", "sense and value of the activity", "converted forms of labor productivity".

Keywords:place of a subject in the activity, sense and value of the activity, converted forms of labor productivity

Fifty years of development of the labor sociology in the country shows that its stadial forward movement is based on the research of the system characteristics of labor productivity: integral-measuring principles and system categories ("place of a subject in the activity", "sense and value of the activity", "converted forms of labor productivity" etc.)

In particular, it is connected with the *principle of integration*. This postulate aims at studying the trends of socio-cultural and professional formation of workers, at the elaboration of "integration paradigm" of the development of labor content, at its cultural and sociological, economic and psychological cognition. This synthesis is due to strengthening of relations between science, technology and production, operation of technical systems that create new objects and subjects of labor, which develop on the basis of technical and human-oriented laws, integration of the labor productivity of workers.

System principle - another basic postulate, which is necessary for theoretical generalization of research results of contemporary labor productivity of workers. Due to this principle, the study of modern labor processes is moving to a holistic knowledge of the essential links between the production development and culture of the society, to the analysis of the main factors of the development of socio-economic relations of modern manufacture, of the hierarchical structures of professional activity, their integration problems, to the questions of formation of common concept space of sociological, psychological and professional categories about the specific labor activities, about the socio-cultural and professional potential of the modern worker. System principle precedes the analysis of measures of labor productivity. It serves as the basis of its cognition from the point of

view of the special scientific principle of measure.

Scientific principle of measure is a special vertex of defining and developing of the system postulates of sociological research. From the point of view of the principle the measure of labor productivity content most fully manifests through the perfection of technological support (substantial level), correlation and quality of physical and mental elements of activity (structural and morphological level), social and professional status of human activity (which reflects its economic, social and sociocultural level). The principle of measure allows to express the essence of labor productivity more precisely (show the synergy of its quantity and quality, to integrate together its target, value and sense components). It implements the following important relation: if the synthesis is a dialectical specification of the analysis, and the system principle is the specification of the synthesis, then the measure is a categorically fixed level of specification of our understanding of the essence of labor productivity of the workers. Knowledge of its measure is the system of its analysis, involuted in particularly higher degree. This is the systematic approach, so to speak, of the highest order, as it involves not only categorically expressed content (our knowledge) of the truth, but also the "true" practices under the laws of beauty. These postulates of the study involve the implementation of *the principle of quality of work life*. They provide an opportunity to consider the productive labor as a complex, multiply mediated process of real incorporating of workers in the life activity of civil society: the content of productive labor in its "cultural capacity" approaches to such categories as "standard of living", "quality of life" and "lifestyle"; in labor producing process the employee appears not only as a product of social and economic relations, but also as the subject (creator) of the specific nature of the production (and it – the production - forms the basic elements of a modern civil society).

Position-semantic paradigm of a research in worker's labor productivity is the subject of the study not accidentally. Its distinction from the functional-specific slice of the research in professional activity (and its advantage) is that it allows to analyze the work process from the standpoint of special emergent units of cognition: attitudes and values of the activity. Position-semantic level of knowledge of worker labor productivity provides the opportunity to discover the enlarged structure of role and personal interactions of the subjects of the production, to justify the sociocultural vectors of the development of its potential, to rest not on functions and certain types of productive labor, but on positions and values of the subject as the special unit of sociological analysis of modern production. This enables a fundamentally different way to reveal its structural relationships: move not from the material elements and functions to the value of activity, but from the value, the meaning

- to its substrates and functions. This research methodology of productive labor allows presenting it as a system of emergent qualities defined by objectives, functions, positions and values of the subject of production. Allows to take into account the special synergy of its material, organizational, technological, information and communicative elements. In our opinion, under the conditions of modern professional labor becoming more complicated and with enhanced integrity level, under the conditions of the increasing value of human capital in order to achieve high efficiency of production, this approach and this research paradigm can be extended to the study of all integrally organized types of workers' productive labor.

Position-semantic paradigm of a research in worker's labor productivity allows to analyze holistically the interaction of socio-economic components of labor productivity, show the whole "system" of a particular work process, to explain categorically the essence of its complexity, - through vocational-qualificational status of workers at factory, - through the ratio of their physical and mental labor functions, - through positional opportunities, target ,value and semantic characteristics of the development of subjects of labor process. The fact is that the complexity of labor is a socio-economic measure of interaction and development of all the components of a particular workers' productive labor. It most fully expresses the essence of the content of their work process, including its dependence on the macroeconomic conditions of the life activity of the society. Sociological analysis of such interactions enables us to determine not only the relatively stable elements of professional labor, but also its specific dynamic socio- economic forms - those characteristics of the content of labor, that interact with its fundamental social conditions.

Socio-economic analysis of the content of workers' labor activity shows that the study of it to be synergistically integral must include an examination of such a specific category as a "converted form of the labor content". This conclusion we have made on the basis of studying the changes that occurred in the nature and conditions of labor productivity in the last three decades[1]. As the sociological analysis shows, they influence the content of the labor indirectly through particular socio-economic converted form – "meaningfulness of labor". The research of workers' professional activity revealed number of features of meaningfulness of labor as a converted form of its content. First of all, the empirical data, that we obtained, showed that the complex structure of the interaction

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[1] The studies took place at manufactures and at the vocational schools and colleges of Leningrad, Petrozavodsk, Vyborg and Saint-Petersburg from 1983 to 2010. More than 4000 workers and 800 students-graduates, who worked at the enterprises and in the companies of non-productive sphere, took part in it.

of material and creative elements of the content of labor under the conditions of system transformation of society has completely refreshed: meaningfulness and creative potential of workers' labor (in both positive and negative perspective) has become causally related to economic components of industrial production, market interests of enterprises, the level of management development, human resources, that are involved in the actual production. Analysis of these facts allows us to assert that the meaningfulness of labor is a special system characteristic of industrial labor processes, it expresses objective relationship between the essence and socio- economic forms of its manifestation, as such, it serves as a kind of intermediate "bridge" for their interaction.

Using this conclusion, we attempted to develop a model - an algorithm – of the value assessment of the meaningfulness of labor, as a converted form of its content. As its basic elements, we used the indexes of work complexity and overall professional development of the subject of productive labor. Theoretical model - an algorithm – of the value assessment of the skilled labor content (CLva) of industrial workers can be written as the following connection:

$$CLva = L0 \ x \ (CQ_1 / CQ_0) \ x \ (PQ_1 / PQ_0) \ x \ (LT_1 / LT_0),$$

Where: L0 – monetary cost of low-skilled types of labor actions for a specific time period, RUR;

CQ0, CQ1 – integral coefficients of qualificational characteristics of low-skilled and high-skilled labor, points;

PQ0, PQ1 – integral coefficients of development of professional qualities of unskilled and skilled workers, points;

LT0, LT1 – monetary cost of capital-forming function of low-skilled and high-skilled labor for a specific time period (rubles of transferred and earned value for a ruble of the salary)

The algorithm of the value assessment of the development of the content and meaningfulness of workers' labor shows that we are dealing with productive labor process, which is performed under highly developed commodity production: the existence in it of money value "is only a formal, sensually perceived expression of the monetary soul that permeates all parts of the production and all the movements of bourgeois society" [Маркс, 1974, с. 20]. In other words, we have developed an algorithm that can reveal the modern socio-economic nature of the content of productive labor, to show that it is determined not only by the production technology, but also by the laws of movement of goods and capital: as subjects of social production perceive the usefulness of the purchased goods, so they evaluate appropriateness, complexity and the actual content of total attempts spent on its production by workers. In the conditions of market economy formation the socio-economic nature of the content of labor may be modified not only by the activity of a specific subject of labor, but also by the competition between the workers themselves, may possess not only physical but also ethical

deterioration (the proposed algorithm essentially models it). These processes can be likened to the influence, "that is caused each time by only one movement of a figure on a chessboard on the value of the position of all other figures involved in the party" [В. Брожик, 1982, c. 52]. The developed algorithm shows the dependence of the monetary evaluation of the content and meaningfulness of a productive labor on the nature of the movement of industrial capital as industrial relations: in a market economy conditions value judgment of the content and meaningfulness of the workers' labor, being an integral part of the capital, bases on the laws of cost, on competition between entities of public production taken at various levels of its organization and functioning.

Sociological analysis of the interaction of content and meaningfulness of the workers' labor showed that social studies can fruitfully investigate not only "quiet" characteristics of phenomena, but also their "dynamic" converted forms. Our research has shown these cognitive and logical possibilities of studying the content of the productive labor of industrial workers: a scientific analysis of the content of labor can fruitfully begin with the basic foundations of its nature and gradually move on to the study of social converted forms, in particular, the meaningfulness of the labor process. In this case, the category of "meaningfulness of the workers' labor" as a converted form of its content would reflect the direct and inverse interactions between a directly disparate components of the content, organization, social and economic forms of productive labor process. To reveal the objective and epistemological functions of the converted forms of socio-ontological phenomena. Namely: to provide a comprehensive and coherent knowledge of the workers' productive labor from the standpoint of its content and form; to overcome (resolve), explicate and substantialize the contradictions of its development; to promote the commensurability of the development of labor subjects in its various forms; to promote an adequate categorical expression of the influence of macro-social and economic characteristics of production on professional-working activity of workers; to help conceptually express the movement of abstract and exact labor by disclosing of the role of meaningfulness of work in the interaction of its components as a special converted form.

The research on the meaningfulness of the labor, as a special converted form, shows its active role in the development of relationships of components of workers' productive labor: *interaction of material, social-economic and subjective aspects of workers' productive labor (at the essence level) is mediated in the process of its deployment and development (at phenomena level) by the relationships of its converted forms.* This connection, as it relates to labor sphere of material production - the ontological foundation of life activity of any civil society, can be regarded as the law and the essence of any other social interaction. We believe that the importance of this objective

connection (the law) for the development of industrial sociology is due to the fact that the discovery, explanation and categorical application at the studies of "converted forms" is possible only by identifying ontologically given to us dialectics of social processes. In the steady state of social and economic relations converted forms can be neutralized and blurred by intrinsic components of social processes. Only the constant presence of their dynamics, real (or epistemologically organized), enables sociologists to open and categorically fix, explain and understand the converted forms of social processes and to separate their phenomenological dynamics from the essential dynamics of the elements of workers' productive labor. Where the formal logical techniques rule in the knowledge of the social reality of production processes, such revelations do not usually happen. Conversely, every discovery of social converted forms in the human social practice based on dialectical methodology - is a quite firmly established regularity.

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Prospects of Sociological and Institutional Analysis

of Professional Associations in Russia

Abstract

The paper focuses on the analysis of professional/occupational groups that are depended more than others on the support of the state for their prosperity. We consider approaches to the definition of the methods of this support, principles and models of interaction of the state and professional/occupational groups in the processes of professionalization. A significant influence of historical and social context requires not only sociological but also institutional approach for the analysis as well as appropriate institutional concepts. Institutional isomorphism approach and an institutional matrices theory are applied in the paper to investigate interaction between the state and professional groups, with conditions and prospects of their interconnections. Empirical data about professional associations in Russian engineering sphere is presented.

Keywords: professional associations, professionalization, institutional matrices theory, X-theory, Y-theory, X-matrix, Y-matrix

Introduction

This paper addresses a research problem of the diversity of models of professionalization and discusses inclusion of institutional analysis utilized in economics[2]. Our assumption is that interdisciplinary approach might enrich our ways of explaining variations in the interrelation between the processes of professionalization and the state. In recent years, economists-institutionalists have been increasingly including sociology of professions approach into their theoretical approaches (analysis framework). It might also be helpful to utilize institutional approaches in sociology of professions. First, we will briefly demonstrate how institutional mechanisms of interactions with the state (identified here as professional associations) are problematized in the sociology of professions. We will then turn our attention to the justification of approaches in institutionalism in interpreting the differences of the interrelation between professionalization and the state in various institutional environments.

We will focus, in more detail, on the concept of institutional matrices of one of the co-authors - Svetlana Kirdina. This will allow us to take a closer look at the functions of professional associations on the basis of preliminary analysis of the professional associations

pilot project in Russia [3]. These are professional associations in the field of science and engineering, where interactions with government are particularly strong. We analyzed websites of these associations, as well as interviews with their leaders.

Our main hypothesis is based on the application of institutional perspective to evaluating the differences in interrelation of professionalization and the state in different institutional environments. Professional associations are examined as models of institutional mechanisms of professionalization. Professional associations occupy "intermediate" position between the hierarchies (government agencies) and the market. However, we can assume that the functions that are performed by the professional associations may, to some degree, vary in different institutional environments. First, the institutional mechanisms of their structure and organization may be more "market oriented" (from the bottom, financed by the participants, etc.) or more hierarchical (established with support of the state, with use of its resources). Their classification as a particular type is determined by the historical role of the state in its control over professionalism, which is being actively discussed in the framework of the Anglo-Saxon and continental approaches. Secondly, the very content of the functions of professional associations may vary - mostly serving the interests of either market subjects (economic actors-professionals), or serving government structures.

The research question lies in identifying opportunities and limitations of analysis of the relationship between professional associations, as institutional mechanisms of professionalization, and government structures, depending on the influence of different institutional environments.

Professional associations in Russia: analysis methodology

Let us turn to the analysis of the functions of professional associations. Their variations in different socio-historical conditions are of most importance to us. There was a large number of approaches and studies conducted in this direction. We will only point out the main ones, which are most relevant to the subject of today's presentation.

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[3] A research project "Development of professional associations in Russia" (head - A.A. Moskovskaya) conducted with support of the National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE) Foundation for Development of Applied Search and the HSE "Career World" project (head – Ph. T. Prokopov). See: [Moskovskaya A., Oberemko O., Silaeva V., Popova I. Nazarova I., 2013].

- In our interpretation of professionalization, we emphasize achieving and maintaining a *professional status* by a certain group through demarcation and institutionalization of professional practices that are recognized and accepted but not controlled from the outside. Characterization of the *interactions between professional associations and the state* are the most important part of this process.

- Professional associations - are the key institutional mechanisms of professionalism as means of control in employment arrangement and labor market position of knowledge-based occupational groups that provide expert services. They are based on such institutions as licensing, training, collective decision-making, autonomy, code of ethics, etc. [Abbot, 1988; Larson, 1977] that are encompassed into the process of *professionalization*.

- The main point of interaction with the state is related to the legal basis of the status of a professional group.

Specificity of solving these issues is determined by the socio-historical context, differences between the institutions that govern this process, and especially the role of the state. This context was examined in studies of evolution of professional groups in achieving the status of the profession [Caplow, 1954, Hughes, 1958; Wilenski, 1964]. Depending on the socio-historical context, we can single out two main directions of professionalization and the role of professional associations in these directions. They are: "the way from bottom up" – from activities of a professional group - to efforts toward legitimize their status; and "the way from the top down", where the state plays an active interventionist role in the initiation and administration of professions.

A defined, specific set of functions carried out by professional associations, in accordance with their primary objective and goal, varies not only from society to society, but also depending on the changes in current conditions. Traditional objectives of professional associations are related to the professional development of professionals-practitioners, interactions with the government regarding guaranties and means of social protection from non-professionals and professional control, achieving the objective of improving the status of a professional group and protection from competition, maintaining professional culture, self-regulation and code of professional ethics [Popova, 2013 (b)].

These objectives transform and become more complex in a changing environment. These are the directions of modification of professional control [Evetts, 2011], limiting professional

type of conduct due to market orientation [Noordgraaf, 2011], regulation of professional activities on the basis of EU-oriented basic standards and the formation of European professions [Oligatti, 2008]. The role of the European Union in administering, training and licensing of professionals in Europe is leading to the emergence of new forms of so-called Euro-professionalization, where government agencies play the major role [Neal, Morgan, 2000].

Starting from the 1990s, in Russia, a large variety of professional associations has been growing rapidly. While researching this emerging institution, it is important to understand how it functions, embeds itself in other social institutions, and interacts with the state. The specificity of this institution can be researched based on the impact of institutional environment, which is formed historically.

Institutional approach and the institutional matrices theory

Institutional isomorphism approach is the first methodological precondition of our research. This approach explains the mechanisms of the spread of applying new institutions in existing institutional environment, as well as the rules and mechanisms of their adaptation.

P. DiMaggio and W. Powell [DiMaggio, Powell, 1983] introduced an institutional isomorphism approach for the sociology of organizations in 1983. Now this approach spreads widely as a productive analytical framework. "Institutional isomorphism" describes the process of forced adaptation of the borrowed institutions to the institutional environment in which they are introduced as a result of activities of social actors. "Organizational structure, which used to arise from the rules of efficiency in the marketplace, now arise from the institutional constraints imposed by the state and the professions. The efforts to achieve rationality with uncertainty and constraint lead to homogeneity of structure (institutional isomorphism)" . Isomorphism is a "constraining process that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same set of environmental conditions" [Hawley, 1968, p. 28].

In accordance with DiMaggio and Powel there are three mechanisms of institutional isomorphic change: Coercive Isomorphism, Mimetic Processes, Normative Pressures. Coercive Isomorphism is connected with a pressure from other organizations in which they are dependent upon and by cultural expectations from society. Some are governmental mandates, some are derived from contract law, financial reporting requirements. Co-authors stress that organizations

are increasingly homogeneous within given domains and increasingly organized around rituals of conformity to wider institutions. Mimetic Processes are provoked by uncertainty that encourages imitation. Organizational models can be diffused through employee migration or by consulting firms. Normative Pressures mean pressures brought about by professions. One mode the legitimization inherents in the licensing and crediting of educational achievement. The other is the inter-organizational networks that span organizations. Norms developed during education are entered into organizations. Inter-hiring between existing industrial firms also encourages isomorphism. People from the same educational backgrounds will approach problems in much the same way. Socialization on the job reinforces these conformities. Institutional isomorphism approach helps us to explain mechanism of institutions' adaptation in different institutional environment.

We also applied an institutional matrices theory (IMT), or X- and Y-theory [Kirdina, 2001, 2004, 2012, 2013] to investigate interrelation between professionalization and the state in different institutional environments. In IMT a society is seen as a social system, within the main 'co-ordinates' being *economy*, *politics* and *ideology*. These value spheres are strongly interrelated morphologically as parts or sides or components of one complete whole. Each sphere like economy, politics, and ideology is regulated or guided by a corresponding set of basic institutions. These economic, political and ideological institutions comprise the "institutional matrix" of human society. Historical observations and empirical research as well as mathematical modelling and a broad philosophical approach provide a ground for hypothesis by Kirdina about two particular types of institutional matrices named as —an X-matrix and an Y-matrix. These matrices differ by sets of institutions forming them.

So, the X-matrix is formed by the following basic institutions: in the economic sphere these are *redistributive economy institutions* (Karl Polanyi introduced this term). Redistribution means that the center mediates and regulates the overall movement of goods and services, as well as the rights for their production and use (this is different from 'Central Planning' of old Soviet system, but in some ways similar); in the political sphere *institutions are of unitary-centralized political order*; in the ideological sphere a *communitarian ideology* dominates. It is expressed in the idea of priority of collective, public values over individual ones.

Different basic institutions are connected with the Y-matrix structure: in the economic sphere these are *institutions of a market economy* (often neo-liberally regulated); in the political sphere they correspond to *institutions of federative political order* (where power is held outside

of the center); and *the individualistic ideology* dominates. It proclaims a subordinated character of collective values to individual ones. These are *ideal types* that are never realized in their total form; there is always a combination of both matrices in each society or nation.

Main hypothesis of IMT is that an institutional structure of each society can be presented as a combination of these two basic institutional matrices. In some societies the X-matrix institutions dominate, while the Y-institutions help them (it is true for Russia, China and most Asian and Latin American countries). At the same time in other societies the Y-matrix institutions are predominating, whereas the X-matrix institutions are complementary and additional, as, for example, in most countries of Europe, the USA, Canada and the like.

So the main task of social and economic policy in each country is to support the optimal combination of predominant and complementary institutions. For example, the economic policy has to find the best proportion between market and redistributive institutions as well as forms of their modernization.

There is an explanation hypothesis why X- or Y-matrix institutions dominate in different countries. The material and technological environment is considered as the key factor. The environment can be a *communal* indivisible system, where removal of some elements can lead to disintegration of the whole system, - or it can be *non-communal* with possibilities of its technological division. In a communal environment the institutions of X-matrix are dominant whereas Y-matrix institutions are complementary. In a non-communal environment it is *vice versa*.

Institution of professional associations in Russia: case-study

It is of particular interest, to review the application of the theory of institutional matrices in explaining the specifics of certain functions of professional associations in key sectors of the economy. The following aspects are being tested:

▪ *In Russia the X-matrix institutions (Redistributive centralized economy, Top-down political order and Communitarian ideology) are predominant, whereas the Y-matrix institutions (Market economy, Bottom-up political order and Individualistic ideology) are complementary and additional.*

▪ *What are the specific functions of professional associations in Russia within such institutional environment?*

In our study, we attempted to evaluate professional associations in the field of science and engineering in the following aspects:

1)   Professional groups reviewed, are segmented in accordance with industry. We focus our attention on those segments of the scientific and engineering professions, which are considered "key" to the economy (related to the fields of natural sciences, high-tech, transportation, etc.). They have always been under government control and closely interacted with the state.

2)   Professional associations in the field of engineering are the oldest in Russia. At the same time, there was a lot of new professional association emerging. Function of these professional associations are quite specific.

At the initial stage, we analyzed the data of a number of professional associations published on their web-sites [Popova, 2013 (a)]. Defining an organization as a professional association is based largely on an analysis of executable functions. During the process of analyzing the materials of the websites, these functions were defined and their content was filled with more concrete, "live" indicators (see table 1).

Table1: Functions, competency, and types of activities of professional association.

Function	Competency, types of activities of professional association
Lobbying for the interests of professional group/ professional activity (legislative activities in cooperation with state authorities of different levels)	Participation in the development of federal laws, regulations of the Russian Federation, subjects of the Russian Federation, bodies of local self-government connected to the professional activities; Participation in the development of socio-economic programs and investment projects on a national scale; Organization of independent public examination of laws, bills, programs, etc.; Legal protection of the interests of professional groups, communities (eg, challenging in court: law acts, decisions, and (or) the action (or inaction) of public authorities of various levels, violating the legitimate rights and interests of representatives of professional groups); Participation in the work of the committees, responsible for placement of orders, tenders, conducting competitions, examinations and inspections (in regard to production activities); Participation of the representatives of association in the work of

	public authorities of various levels (inclusion into the committees of government agencies, etc.);
	Participation of government representatives in the work of a professional association;
	Requesting and receiving information from government agencies of various levels;
	Preparation of materials and proposals for public authorities in the sphere of professional activity.
Professional development	Participation in the organization and conducting of further education, retraining courses;
	Conducting specialized seminars, technical training of the specialists;
	Participation in the certification, accreditation of employees;
	Participation in professional competitions among students at universities;
	Participation in professional competitions among working professionals;
	Development of ethical standards (norms, laws);
	Participation in organizing postgraduate studies in professional sphere.
	Development of ethical standards (norms, laws);
	Participation in organizing postgraduate studies in professional sphere.
Quality control and licensing of organizations / experts and specialists	Participation in the development and revisions of regulatory, as well as guidance documents (building codes, standards, rulebooks, requirements, guidebooks, etc.) in the professional field;
	Development of standards (rules, requirements) for access to those particular types of jobs, which have an impact on safety and security;
	Participation in the creation of a public system of standardization, metrology and product certification;
	Consulting on the application of rules, standards, etc.;
	Development of reference materials, methodological guidelines for professional standards, etc.;
	Development of a system of disciplinary actions for non-compliance with standards, rules and control regulations;
	Application of disciplinary action for non-compliance with standards and regulations;

	Reviewing complaints against members of the professional community;
	Conducting research in the professional sphere (issues of their financing, contracts, etc.);
	Supporting and promoting innovation activities among members of professional community, as well as the use of new developments in the professional activities;
	Assistance in obtaining research and development patents;
	Spreading the best practices in the professional field.
Information and integration of the professional community	Updating the website and mailing of the information for the professional activities (laws, regulations, regulatory documents, etc., the data on organizations, etc.);
	Accommodation of information exchange forums between professionals - blogs, forums, classified ads, etc. on the website;
	Releasing printed materials aimed at informing the professional community of new developments and trends;
	Organizing competitions, exhibits, conferences, meetings, seminars and other events in the area of professional activity
The development of international cooperation in professional activities	Membership in international professional associations;
	Participation in conferences abroad, organized by international professional associations;
	Cooperation with international professional organizations;
	Establishment of temporary international creative teams aimed at conducting research and promotional work on contractual basis.

The second stage involves analysis of the activities of associations, based on interviews with their leadership. Preliminary analysis of a number of cases demonstrated that in reality, there is a number of particular characteristics behind the execution of these general functions. Their analysis led us to the following conclusions regarding professional associations as the mechanisms of institutional change.

1. The association of public research centers was established during the early 1990s after the "exit" of the state from the field of applied science. It encompassed the so-called "sectoral" research institutes in the fields of natural sciences, high technology, manufacturing, etc. At that time, in order to support and rescue them from total collapse, a status of the State Science Center was established. Professional Association was created in order to set up a verification procedure of the status of these organizations (research institutes), as well as to insure the protection of

their interests and legislative activities, etc. This is an important mediator, centralizing negotiating function for a wide variety of such organizations and government bodies that fund their work. Methods of formation of this institution can be defined as normative pressures on the part of legitimizing authorities and, partly, coercive isomorphism. From the point of view of IM-theory it can serve as an example of institutionalization of the process of centralization under new conditions, following the destruction of the old state hierarchy. Moreover, this role of a professional association as a link, which supplies central authorities with information for justification of their budget funding, was initiated by these very scientific and engineering organizations.

- The goal of association – survival of sectoral research institutes and organizations;

- The government's task - national security;

- Common goals - to ensure sound budgetary funding of applied research activities in the country.

2. Professional associations in the field of automotive transportation (3 associations) – became an answer, on the one hand, to the challenges of globalization and increased competition in the automotive industry, on the other hand, to the collapse of the framework of automotive industry in the country. Thus, the Association of Automotive Engineers was established on the basis of a State Research Institute, back in the late Soviet period on the initiative of the government, but it also on the appeal of the International Association. Its main role is defined as the information platform for automotive companies and engineers. In modern conditions, the association assumed a role of an intermediary between government agencies, large enterprises and the market. This is an example of transferring and modifications of standards and normative samples of the old centralized structures. This association can be regarded as an answer to institutional uncertainty under the influence of mimetic processes, as well as coercive isomorphism. It also plays a centralizing informational and legislative role in the industry.

- *The task of automotive companies - increased competitiveness with global manufacturers, industry's survival, as well as organizing and managing its work;*

- *The government's task – insuring that activities correspond with the interests of society, integration into international structures, as well as support of national transportation infrastructure;*

-       *Common objectives and functions of professional associations - negotiations and legislation of standards and regulations, establishing connections with international professional associations.*

Thus, we can determine that the relationship between the state and professionalization in various institutional environments manifests differently. Certain types of institutions are prevalent, which is reflected in variations of the sets of functions of professional associations. In this particular case, Russia is characterized by a combination of basic and extra, additional institutions, where X-institutes of centralized redistributive economy are predominant. Accordingly, scientific and engineering professional associations in these key areas of the economy (that we are examining) appear in a rather paradoxical way. On the one hand, they are meant to function as complementary institutions of Y-matrix (and in many ways they fulfill these objectives), but on the other hand, they perform many of the functions that correspond with the X-matrix institutions. They are often created and managed from the "top" by the government structures, as well as filling the "vacant" niche in the hierarchical structures of the government, which are more characteristic of redistributive economy, connecting the lower links (companies, research and educational institutions) with the control center (government).

Conclusion.

The main conclusions can be briefly summarized as follows:

-     Institutional approach can be useful to study the professional associations as institutional intermediaries from the viewpoint of the conditions of their formation and functioning;

-     Application of the institutional matrices theory shows a different role of professional associations in countries, where X- or Y institutions dominate;

- Evaluating the role of professional associations, we should note their limitations and capabilities in various institutional environments, as well as interrelation with the complexes of institutes. This will help to better assess their function and evaluate the prospects of development;

-     Institutional isomorphism approach serves a proper explanation why the professional associations institution borrowed from the European and North American market institutional environment changes its function in Russian mostly redistributive institutional structure. In the Russian context the professional association institution s fills the "vacant" niche in the hierarchical structures of the governance and helps to strengthen the links between companies,

research and educational institutions, on the one side, and the control center (government), on the other side.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 1.Theory, Methodology and history of Social Science

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The Contemporary Inequality and Social Exclusion

Abstract

The article considers various scientific approaches to social inequality, the principle of equality of opportunities and redistribution of wealth. Social exclusion can be in education, health service, gender, income, living standards, social class and status. The impact of social policy on social inequality and social exclusion is very important in the contemporary society.

Keywords: social inequality, exclusion, social injustice, population, equal possibilities

Nowadays social inequality is one of the most important problems in many countries in the world. The problems of poverty, unemployment, social inequality and exclusion have not been solved and widely discussed in different scientific fields. New challenges in our contemporary society induce to revise some sociological concepts. First of all social inequality is characterized by the existence of unequal opportunities for person in society such as access to good education, information, health service, social mobility, promotion in career and many others. At the same time social inequality is an unfair redistribution of goods, services, income and national resources. The social polarization is still growing in not only in developing countries but also in developed ones especially after the recent economic crisis and even in so called welfare states where protection and promotion of the economic and well-being citizens play the important role in society. The policy of these states based on the principle of equality of opportunities and redistribution of wealth, providing a decent level of life and protect from social exclusion.

During the recession and recovery, social spending were the smallest especially in those economies most affected by the crisis. That is why the stimulus programmers were enacted some governments to increase the employment and reduce poverty in order to create economic and social stability. One can observe the following situation, better to say a vicious downward spiral where economic downturns resulted in deficits as tax revenues fell and social spending increased then deficits required additional consolidation, which after that conducted to further economic decline. From one side some scientists call for redistribution taxation to redress the situation connected with social inequality. From the other side some scientists insist on that if all incomes were equal it would benefit most people very little, probably only small part of population would improve their living standards.

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The economic changes are closely connected to changes in the social sphere. Any adverse changes in the economy affect the social life sooner or later. Needless to say that any claim to equality must take into consideration of the diversity of human beings and their characteristics. One of the famous economists A.Sen argues that we should be concerned with people`s capabilities rather than either their resources or their welfare and suggests to pay attention to different types of inequalities for example, the gender, race, cast, age, class, political inequality and others. A.Sen stresses that poverty is the lack of capability to function and notices to human needs and social justice, he emphasizes that if society was to make a decision about the degree of inequality it would tolerate, then it needed a suitable agreed measure of inequality.

According to the United Nations and Eurostat the social inequality has been increasing even in European economies, with strong social welfare models such as Germany, Denmark, Sweden and France. Social exclusion is often associated with social class and status, education, income, real property, living standards and how these things might affect access to various opportunities. Also an inequality increased substantially in most countries with economies in transition after their turning to a market economy. Income and wealth are more equally distributed in Europe, but this varies considerably by country. In generally within Europe inequality is the highest in the United Kingdom and the lowest in the Nordic countries. Social inequality is often associated with social tensions and instability in society that can lead to social unrest. In order to avoid social upheavals it is important to ensure substantial public investment and promote private investment in human resource development, including education, public health, social protection as well as in empowerment and participation especially for people living in poverty or suffering from social exclusion.

The social exclusion as a scientific term was first used in the early seventies of last century in France, when individuals or social groups are limited in their human rights, resources and opportunities. It is considered essential to recognize that the enhance the capacity of the public administration must be transparent, accountable and responsive to the needs and aspiration of all social levels without discrimination to foster participation citizens in governance, social policy, political processes in their country. Contemporary social policy must firstly protect the vulnerable social groups: children, youth, women, pensioners, indigenous people, persons with disabilities to enhance their welfare, the quality of life and also to create job opportunities helping people out of poverty. There are many possible causes of poverty: low salaries, old age, various physical or mental illness, lack of social mobility, globalization and

rapid technological progress, when technological changes demand high skills. The salaries should be sufficient to provide people with a decent living. The lack or low level of social mobility is another significant reason of injustice when the poor stay poor and the rich get richer across generations. As a rule people with low level of education, training or skills, suffering from serious illness, long term unemployment as most at risk of social exclusion.

There are several complicated issues lead to social exclusion: living in a poor household, low salary and income, unemployment, disability or serious illness. Finally social exclusion is a process through which individuals or groups become excluded from full participation in the society where they live. Several specific groups of population also require attention and protection. One of such groups - immigrants as legal and illegal invited and uninvited. Their unequal position of ethnic and migrant population, especially women and children migrants from developing countries must be essential part of social policy using for that financial and political instruments to resolve possible future problems, remembering street protests and riots in the cities of France and United Kingdom over the last few years. The exclusion in education can manifest itself in access, process and outcome. These forms can have a cumulative effect beginning from school to changing labor market. It is necessary to overcome inequalities and stereotypes, to improve the coordination between school and home, to understand that educational system is the extension of care and important part of social policy. The employees with higher levels of education have not only well-paid jobs, but new opportunities for promotion, professional and social mobility. Today many European countries pay great attention to education and lifelong learning which can provide improved guarantees for adequate and fair returns in the labor market and personal development in modern society.

The most widespread view among Europeans remains that social injustice in society continues to be the most common explanation for poverty, that the implementation of wrong or ill-suited policy generates poverty, social tensions and social exclusion in their country. It is necessary to overcome poverty and meet peoples` basic needs, which is an important requirement of justice. Now the most important problems is an ageing population and at the same time it is the problem of social inequality. Unfortunately a widely accepted policy response to this has been to suggest to raise the retirement age for both men and women. It should be noted that the increase in life expectancy has been largely the result of higher income people living longer. Raising the retirement age overall requires unskilled and poorer people who often have physically difficult and low paid jobs to work longer in order to support rich people`s

longer retirement. The young people with good education very often have not opportunities to find well paid jobs without experience. The basic problems of youth are unemployment, lack of money, own real property and crimes. Gender inequality is expressed in a lack of opportunities to participate in political life, to occupy responsible positions of power. In comparison with men women have lower education, salary, income. Accordingly they have low economic and social status in modern society. The bright example is India and Saudi Arabia where women were considered as an oppressed part of society and their rights have not been recognized for centuries. Although in many countries the constitutions protect the rights of men and women in equal parts in real life it isn`t so. In addition some articles provide that the state can make any special provisions for women and children. This type of inequality is widespread in developing countries but it also exists in the developed countries of the world. The ethnic population is ageing and older ethnic women in particular are a comparatively deprived group. Non-white women may feel double inequality: racial and gender, probably an ageing.

It is considered that racial inequality remains a thing of the past but reality of our days shows that some discrimination based on their race, national heritage and manifests itself in different situations. The racial inequality has various appearances. It differs from country to country. In the United States of America is widespread racial wealth gap, vast differences in income across racial and ethnic groups, in rates of home ownership, residential segregation, access to power, crimes and so on. The racial inequality actively shapes the labor market and makes it far harder for non-white workers or specialists to find jobs. While the employers deliberately discriminate against black and other non-white jobseekers, they take actions that make it more likely that white people will be employed without thinking they are doing amounts to discrimination. Up to now the main source of income for individuals and householders is earnings from employment. That is why people need decent wages for a decent standard of living. As a rule earning inequalities are moderated by taxes, social transfers and benefits and are generally measured at the household level. In our days the employment can not longer provide a guarantee against poverty and exclusion, so governments should take this into account and work out flexible social policy protecting all citizens.

Political inequality is of the great importance in recent years, it can be defined as extent to which social groups are unequal in their influence over decisions made in management at various levels of local or federal, political decision-making. Government policies are very often not able to meet the needs of disadvantaged citizens. It is necessary to underline that social

policy in any country should have a global aim at eradicating poverty, reducing social inequality, promoting high level and quality of life, social integration. For achieving economic prosperity at national and international levels is the importance of recognizing that the empowerment of people is a very essential issue. The political inequality is the defining issue of our time and encompasses political, economic and social outcomes.

At the beginning of this century technical innovations rapidly developed and improved. The potential of information and communications technology gradually but significantly improves the quality of every person`s life in order to enable to participate in sustainable development and global economy, to promote universal, equitable, safe and an affordable access to information and communications technology, to remove all barriers to a new digital technology. The best approach to solve the problems of inequalities and social exclusion would be focus on these initiatives which concern major tax and benefit policies such as real improvements in income support, increasing income guarantee and pensions, child benefit and also increased public spending on services: education, health, transport, regional strategies. The problems of contemporary inequality and social exclusion must be addressed not only to sociology but also to neighboring disciplines such as economy, political science, psychology, statistics and others. In other words the sociologists should pay attention to the new developing trends, scientific directions, important comparative researches in the studying of social inequalities and social exclusion in our rapidly changing society. It is important to realize that the endless cycle of inequality without analyzing its causes prevents our modern society to be actually democratic, stable and prosperous. The social inequality, poverty and social exclusion need urgent governmental action and a new reasonable social policy.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 1.Theory, Methodology and history of Social Science

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The Becoming Complex Socium: Social and Cultural Traumas

Abstract

According to the theory 'arrow of time' (I. Prigogine) all the matter (this concerns as material as social worlds) is being developed increasingly quicker and quicker. The becoming complex socium produces new vulnerabilities in the form of social and cultural traumas. The sociological discourse of trauma deals with the problem of negative, dysfunctional, adverse effects that major social change may leave in its wake, the 'trauma of change' inflicted on the 'body' of a changing society.

Keywords: becoming, complex socium, social and cultural traumas, cultural sociology

The Nobel prize-winner I. Prigogine has worked out the theory 'arrow of time', according to which all the matter (this concerns as material as social worlds) is being developed increasingly quicker and quicker. The socio-cultural dynamic becomes more and more complex, including points of bifurcation and new vulnerabilities. But uncertainties and turbulences that have come into our life do not presuppose a pure chaos, rather *non-linear development* [Prigogine, 1997] to which people have to adopt. It means as constant novelty and new advantages for them (increasing social mobility, more consumption, better health, and longer life) as well as unanticipated consequences and challenges to knowledge.

The very becoming complex socium produces new vulnerabilities in the form of *social and cultural traumas.* According to P. Sztompka, the modern world is in a state of *becoming* that means constant appearance of novelty – new structures, values, norms, styles of life, referent groups, different innovations, etc. He proposed the theory of *social becoming*, aimed at the analysis of the 'society in action' [Sztompka, 1991]. The sociologist argues that social change and novelty take place alongside with *traumas* that are, in fact, the attributes of social becoming. The sociological discourse of trauma deals "with the problem of negative, dysfunctional, adverse effects that major social change may leave in its wake, the 'trauma of change' inflicted on the 'body' of a changing society" [Sztompka, 2000: 450]. As one can see the scholar extends the metaphor: "Trauma would indicate a specific pathology of agency… understood as a complex, synthetic quality of human collectivity allowing for its creative self-transformation" [Sztompka, 2000: 452]. According to him, traumas lead to the cultural disorientation that is non-linear in character and is expressed in gaps, splits, ambivalences, clashes within a culture. A new alien culture comes to people who have to do with sudden and

unexpected novelty that undermines their everyday life, knowledge, and the traditional culture. "A traumatic sequence is started only when such maladjustments, tensions, and clashes are *perceived and experienced* as problems, as something troubling or painful that demands healing" [Sztompka, 2000: 455].

The vulnerabilities of traumas are both objective and subjective in nature. Its objective side may be potentially expressed in side-effects of innovations - the growth of unemployment, relative poverty, inflation, and degradation of status. Here are some subjective characteristic symptoms of the trauma: mistrust in the institutions of power as the political elite is affected by corruption; a gloomy outlook for the future, reflected in the fears and anxieties; nostalgia for the past; political apathy, the manifestations of civil initiatives are rare.

The American sociologist J. C. Alexander specially studied the traumatic event as a *subjective cultural construction* that is *becoming* in character. [Alexander, 2003]. From the standpoint of the methodology of his cultural sociology, the social trauma is not an actual social fact, but something of the status of evil as the result of the becoming - coding, narrating its meaning through the certain cultural values and norms. "Traumatic status is attributed to real or imagined phenomena, not because of their actual harmfulness or their objective abruptness, but because these phenomena are believed to have abruptly, and harmfully, affected collective identity" [Alexander, 2012: 14].   Originally coding   is performed by means of the binary opposition, which represents the relationship in a socially and culturally constructed systems in which the sign acquires its meaning only in context with the other signs, located in the opposition to it (good - evil, liberal democracy - democratic repression, sacred – profane, etc.). It is essential that the phenomena are coded as traumatic, if they violate the collective identity of people, thereby creating cultural vulnerabilities. Alexander argues that "trauma is not the result of a group experiencing pain. It is the result of this acute discomfort entering into the core of the collectivity's sense of its own identity" [Alexander, 2012: 15].

Thus, the becoming complex society is associated with social change in the form of novelty and traumas, cannot but affect the interests of the majority producing new objective and subjective side-effects that produce vulnerabilities to the socium.

Taking into consideration these new realities the author argues for a humanistic turn in sociology, based on the integration of sociology with hard and humane sciences that may be a new theoretical instrument for minimizing the effects of vulnerabilities and overcoming the appeared challenges to sociological knowledge.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 1.Theory, Methodology and history of Social Science

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Theory of Personal World Outlook Evolution

Abstract

The article covers basic categories of personal world outlook evolution theory: world outlook, world image, world view. The author gives the outline of essential features and characteristics of this theory. It is proved that evolution of world outlook stands for subjective, individual process of learning about the properties, values, connections in the world around, ways to experience and transform it. These processes are similar to the world view development in phylogeny. Certain world view (mythopoetic, natural-philosophical, universal-symbolic and scientific), that is stage by stage consistently developing throughout all human life, results in the world outlook. The mechanism of world view development can be explained by amplification - enrichment of mental development. © IDOSI Publications, 2013.

Keywords: culture-congruent model of education; Theory of world outlook evolution; Unity of ontogenesis and phylogeny; World view

The sources of world outlook, or feeling the world, seeing it lie in the earliest period of human life. It is quite trivial to say that we all come from our childhood, it is this age period when positive or negative way of looking at life situations and finding solutions is formed. Well-known statements, however, do not make teachers and parents refer to natural aspirations of a child, take into account his/her specific understanding of the world around. As for the purposes of education, adults frequently mention developing aspirations for success, leadership skills, enterprise activity and other socially focused qualities. It can be easily explained in the context of modern political, economic and sociocultural situation and is quite achievable, in case this aspect of education gets into the focus of attention. But quite often the problem whether such education conforms to the issues of information safety, preservation of mental, physical health of children and their emotional well-being remains unseen.

The given issue is studied in different countries of the world. In particular, American scientists proved that: «Preschool experience plays a role in children's development. However, for programs with language and early literacy goals, the question remains whether preschool instructional experiences are sufficiently effective to achieve these goals for all children» [Greenwood, Carta, Atwater, Goldstein, Kaminski, McConnell, 2013].

For this reason, the search for ways of pedagogical support and assistance to natural development of children's world outlook remains a topical issue in pedagogy.

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The need to provide scientific grounds for the theory of personal world outlook evolution is also connected with the fact that modern educational system designs a kind of "flickering", as M. Heidegger puts it, vision of the world in consciousness of a child [Heidegger, 1993, Pp. 41-62]. Adults aspire to actively develop intellectual sphere of a child, starting from preschool childhood and forming rational type of thinking. Curtailed connections between a person and the world around that is shaped in children's minds, narrow ideas about the Nature, seen only as the source of material benefits, become the reason why values, humane attitude to the world is replaced by rigid pragmatism. The system of rational concepts begins to be rigidly, compulsorily imposed on initially complete world outlook of a child, and two badly matching each other world views appear in his/her consciousness. They are mythological and poetic (formed naturally) and scientific (imposed by educational system) world views. In many respects, such situation has developed due to the fact that the process of world view changes in children has not been thoroughly researched into by pedagogical science.

Modern culture-congruent model of education is aimed at complete development of personality, including values and senses. In the information society, more and more attention is given to sincerity, spiritual comfort of a person that determine certain world outlook and ways of interaction with the nature, people, things, information, oneself. Humanistic Pedagogy is aimed at developing a harmonious, successful, competitive individual capable and ready to enter a dialogue, eager to start cooperation, to co-act, to co-exist in the culture and society. Such purpose can be achieved only if a complete world view is developed in the consciousness of a person and it can result from the world outlook development.

Let us state the basic categories of personal world outlook evolution theory.

One of the major categories of the theory of world outlook evolution is **"world outlook"** itself, treated as perception of the world through the prism of culture, its understanding and interpretation, value-notional attitude to it, experience on the basis of ideals and beliefs, personal and social dispositions, life purposes. World outlook reflects the reality in its integrity and in variety of its manifestations, allowing the person to model in one's consciousness any world view (mythopoetic, philosophical, universal-symbolic and scientific), causing transformation of life space.

Mythopoetic outlook is characterized by integrity due to subject - object relations where even natural objects are perceived as spiritualized, alive creatures. It allows finding answers to many questions that reveal categorical dependences and relations. Myths as cultural phenomena

are heritage of the most ancient knowledge, they are the way to comprehend the surrounding reality in such a way which not only explains the existing order of things, but also predetermines certain mode of actions for a person in this world.

Natural-philosophical world outlook is characterized by the fact that the general, allocated in subjects and natural phenomena, is realized in close connection with the particular and is expressed through these or those objects and phenomena in which the general properties are most precisely shown. Further on, interaction between various objects of social and natural reality isolates the general from the particular, the latter losing its visual representation and starting to be expressed in abstract concepts. Thus, universal-symbolical world image arises.

Universal-symbolical world outlook is historically formed on the basis of divinity as it used to stand for the "highest generalization" of social practice of an individual, used to give a valid sign system in terms of which members of society realized themselves and the world around and found its substantiation and explanation. It does not include ethically neutral forces and things: all of them correlate with the space conflict between the good and the evil and are involved in the world history of salvation.

The heart matter of *scientific world outlook* concerns with working out, systematizing and checking knowledge. Science is characterized by concrete subject-related nature, use of observation, taking measurements, carrying out experiments, aspiration to deduce quantity indicators in order to prove the received results. The existing sciences can be experimentally proved or denied by other scientists at any time. Scientific world outlook lacks personal aspect, it is objective. The great value of practical and experimental evidence for science is determined by the fact that it is one of the criteria to prove validity of theories and laws. Science always has a wide range of open and generally valid problems to be solved. The discovery made by one scientist in any area of reality becomes the universally recognized fact.

World outlook results in the world view. *The category* **"complete world view"** refers to the phenomenon of consciousness that includes ideas about the world around. They may be characterized by integral unity of the real, the figurative and the abstract; certain degree of orderliness and interdependence between the objects and phenomena of reality and the system of cultural values; awareness of interrelations and interdependence of the world elements; emotional-value coloring; high demand for the world transformation.

According to M.K. Mamardashwily, complete outlook not only "gets accumulated" in the human being, but rises above the flow of time and actions, and in this "floating above being" gains its own life and background assumption [Mamardashwily, 1994, Pp. 5-20].

Outlook represents the result of rational and spiritual development of the world, expressed in the system of views about the world and the place of a person in it, the attitude to the surrounding reality and to oneself, as well as the beliefs caused by these views, ideals, principles of knowledge and activity. The outlook determines individually-personal opportunities for world transformation, certain aspects of interaction with the world around, readiness for creative communication, achievement of the set purposes and self-presentation in the society.

Intrinsic features of personal outlook evolution theory include adhering to the history of culture development, unity of ontogenesis and phylogeny. The logic of social historical development is that mythopoetic and scientific pictures of the world are mediated by philosophical and universal-symbolic (religious) ones. In culture, science and myth do not adjoin directly. Philosophy performs a role of the integrated basis of culture and, due to that, unites essential features of science and myths. In historical cultural process, it is philosophical context that made it possible for a personality to develop forms and categories of abstract, logical thinking, methods of grasping the reality by ideas.

Lack of reflection on the world around, ignoring philosophical thinking in teaching children aged 3-10 breaks one of the major principles of pedagogy – principle of culture congruity, known also as the principle of ontogenesis and phylogeny unity, which G. Hegel considered to be one of the essential issues of pedagogical method [Hegel, 1977]. He emphasized that, in one's individual development, certain person in short passes all the stages of mankind evolution: a child masters the world by means of sensual perception, further from sensation moves on to contemplation, from games to learning. It is reasonable to start teaching with the most abstract knowledge which can be accessible for children's spirit. Such knowledge, from his point of view, is language which refers to "air-like element, which is sensual and not sensual at the same time, through all extending knowledge of which, spirit of a child rises above the sensual and individual, ascending to the general, to thinking. The greatest contribution of primary education consists in getting this ability to think." [Hegel, 1977, p.87]. G. Hegel considered cognitive development of a child to be similar to ascending certain steps: from sensual contemplation and perception to rational and conceptual – in other words, to reasonable thinking. Recognizing the need to cognize logical abstractions, Hegel mentioned sensual-

contemplating cognition of the world and importance of harmonious unity of these ways, aimed at formation of a complete, reasonable way of thinking. "Already in antiquity, children were not allowed to stay too long in the field of sensually perceived knowledge. And the spirit of new time absolutely differently towers above the sphere of sensual and gets much deeper into the inner world, than antique spirit." [Hegel, 1977, p.87].

According to the principle of unity of human spirit ontogenesis and phylogeny, world outlook evolution is characterized by consecutive change of world views: from mythopoetic, natural-philosophical and universal-symbolic to scientific. We shall consider these stages in detail.

During phylogeny, a myth historically turns out to be the first form of outlook, thus, basic level of culture and consciousness development. Mythology is focused on fundamental issues in human life, on harmonization of a person, society and the nature, on comparison of natural and socio-cultural phenomena, on hominization of the surrounding nature and animation of fragments of space, as well as on moral and aesthetic attitude to the world. Mythopoetics refers to the expression of special form of public consciousness, way of experiencing the world around that is inherent to people since early stages of their development. The word "mythopoetics" itself reflects the real life, mirrored in the myth, basing on moral and ethical standards. According to V. Dahl, poetry includes everything that is artistic, spiritual and fine, it stands for creativity itself, the gift to dismiss the thoughts about daily routine, to rise up to superior limits in a dream and one's imagination, creating prototypes of beauty. These are myths that bear the meaning of reflection on the first moral ideals, by which the mankind has been guided for many thousands years so far. Those energy and interest, which modern people devote to scientific knowledge, were dedicated by ancient people to myths and fairy tales, as carriers of signs and symbols which made emotional, ethical, aesthetic, intellectual and cultural sense [Dahl, 2001, p. 736].

Spirituality of the world in mythopoetics can be well illustrated by the words of Henri Frankfort: «A cave man saw the world around not empty and lifeless, but abundant in life. This life is reflected in personalities – of a human, an animal and a plant, in every phenomenon a human faces – in a lap of thunder or unexpected shadow, in a scary unknown forest clearing, in a stone that he tripped over while hunting. Every moment he can face with any phenomenon like with "It" or with "You". [Frankfort, 1984, p. 29].

Mythopoetics gives a complete and consecutive idea about the world and about the place of a person in it, being supported not by logic, but by associatively shaped connections. While

creating training process for preschool children, it is necessary to consider that figurative consciousness of a child possesses such features, as high level of visual expression, integrity, syncretism, symbolism, genetism, in other words, mythopoetic nature. Mythopoetic consciousness, in fact, stands for symbolic consciousness, it is some kind of symbolic language, in terms of which a person models, classifies and interprets the world, society and oneself. Cultural context of teaching promotes child's aspiration to understanding various cultural languages (nature, literacy, mathematics, music, etc.) while considering, decoding meaning of their uniform signs and symbolic nature.

Children's consciousness is spontaneous, naturally formed in the context of mythopoetic outlook that determines interaction of a child with objects and phenomena of the world as part of the world transformation. By the age of 4 or beginning of learning, a child generally has well developed mythopoetic world image which is based on the belief in miracles, magic and mysticism. The given world view is determined by poetic and practical ways of experiencing the surrounding reality. According to B.Inhelder and J. Piaget, such features, as magic (ability of a word to influence human life), animism (when things and phenomena of the world around have their own will and mind) and artificialism (when a child thinks that all the objects and phenomena are made by people for their advantage) are peculiar to it [Inhelder, Piaget, 1963, p. 302]. Mythopoetically colored outlook presupposes a special behavior strategy which is caused by the fact that mythopoetic knowledge is based on global determinism. It assumes - being its main principle - general interrelation between all objects and phenomena on the basis of miracle, magic and symbol. The feeling of unity with the nature is the strongest and deepest impulse of mythopoetic thinking of a child - preschool child, in particular.

Being spontaneously formed in consciousness of a child as a result of sensual comprehension of the world, as well as knowledge of the spiritualized world of fairy tales, mythopoetic outlook causes prior to logic acceptance of the ethical and aesthetic values, which were developed as far back as in the Antiquity. Such world view is based not on rational grounds and reasoning, but on complete, emotional experience of the world. One of the features of a myth is that it explains "everything"; it does not have anything unknown or obscure. A myth allows a child to answer those questions scientific explanation of which one learns only at school and higher educational institutions. These are questions about the essence of the world and forces, operating in it. Unlike science, a myth instantly gives an account of the Good and the Evil, tells about purpose of human life, about due behavior. And, what is more important, everything is

explained not by means of concepts and abstract reasoning, but in the form of images accessible and clear to a child. All the issues that culture subsequently differentiates into science, morals, law, religion and art, exist in the conjoint, solid unity in myths and fairy tales.

According to the principle of ontogenesis and phylogeny unity, both an archaic person and a child of preschool age search for the place in the world, mastering it "from oneself", considering oneself to be its center. In mythopoetic world image, personifying the nature and its forces led to the fact that a person not simply allocated them with mind and other inherent abilities, but also externally made them similar to oneself. Human shape was attributed to the entire universe: aspiration to animate and humanize the nature and space logically ends up in seeing the nature not as simply possessing these or those human qualities and features, but as being directly similar to a person. The universal person comprises all the steps and stages of the universe development. In a similar way, a child reveals his/her place in this world – "from what is close to the things that are far": "I" in the family, in a kindergarten, in transport, on holiday in another city and then in another country.

Philosophy, generalizing all achievements of mythopoetics, reproduces the complete world image in its variety, numerous connections, properties and relations. Philosophical outlook refers to some individual semantic context where secret personal beliefs and ideas lie deep. Theoretical analysis of philosophical knowledge development allows drawing the conclusion that the main task of philosophy is moving to real being in life, real penetrating into life, its understanding and interpretation. In philosophy, spiritual searches for interconnections (between "part" and "whole", "external" and "internal") and dependences ("reason" – "consequence", "interaction") of the Universe are reflected. Attitude to life is not distantly contemplating, but active, creative, aimed at the realized purpose of positive transformation of the reality on the basis of such values, as the Good, Beauty, Truth and Love. The unity of forms of experiencing the world, sensuality and categorization in world outlook shape the complete picture of the world that is understood in qualitative and quantitative aspects, spatial and time relations, unites sensual and logical perception of the world. Interrelation between an individual and the universe as macro and micro spaces enables to realize total unity with the Universe.

Such characteristic features of philosophical world view, as generality, integrity, multi-dimensionality and poetic nature, create a real opportunity of pedagogical support of its development in children since preschool age. Philosophical outlook, seen as the conscious and proved system of general views at the world around and human place in it, makes the core of the

complete world image in consciousness of a child, with its many-sided nature, great significance and value of its parts. Nowadays, society faces the problem of reviving cultural values, spirituality of a person. For this reason, making children familiar with the ways of philosophical reflection about the world allows to solve a complicated problem of overcoming negative influence of mass media, negative impact of masscult (to be exact, lack of culture) on a child.

In historical retrospect, the first developed kind of philosophical world image was natural philosophy, philosophy of the nature, speculative interpretation of the nature considered in its integrity. The nature was thought to be a certain creature, orderly arranged by the space. To understand the nature of each thing meant to define its origin and place in the uniform nature identical to the space. The first ancient Greek philosophers of VII - VI centuries B.C. Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes were representatives of naturalistic philosophy who aspired to explain variety of the sensual nature, basics of variability, instability of things. Philosophy of nature is dramatically different from mythopoetics that builds up knowledge about the nature, cosmography, its reasons and origins. The first philosophers saw such alpha in any material element: Thales - in water, starting point of every matter; Anaximander - in certain original matter from which all things come and eventually are absorbed into; Anaximenes - in air; Heraclitus - in fire; Xenophon - in ground. According to opinions of the first naturalistic philosophers, original element makes that steady beginning which underlies various changeable forms of the nature. All natural things originate from this first element and finally they all turn into it, when destroyed. The first philosophers defined the nature of material elements differently, but all of them were sure that material element has uniform, motionless, homogeneous nature; it is something which gives birth to natural things, their variability. They focused on understanding, "what" the nature consists of, on deciphering its signs and symbols. For the first ancient Greek philosophers, the nature became the reason of everything that occurs in the nature and to the nature, to a person and human community. With the development of ancient philosophy, the idea of original matter gets wider and deeper; internal logic gets more and more thoroughly untwisted. Both "water" by Thales and "air" by Anaximenes, as well as "elements" by Empedokles were nothing but some kinds of images, symbols of the general concept being born. The main issue was getting more evident - that the original matter makes beginning of all beginnings, the basis of all bases. And it means: philosophy singled out the general and started to work with it.

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General laws studied by philosophers (Heraclitus, Thales, Anaximenes, Empedokles, etc.) are identical neither to separate things, nor to material processes. The general is shown through categories "special and individual", being words of philosophic language. Contrasts, interactions, causes and effects act as those universal categories which characterize practically any area of reality: the nature, society, the world of own "self" of a personality. This idea is embodied at Heraclitus's works in some space-like, ethical and aesthetic form, since unity and contrasts make the backbone of both existence and harmony of the world. Discrepancy pulls together – this is the paradox by Heraclitus. Materiality as such and a great number of material things, events and conditions were clearly explained by means of the coined by Democritus concept "atom", seen as the original matter. By means of the given concept, he explained the unity of material world: in fact, atoms are absolutely uniform origin, alpha of everything.

The main principle of natural philosophy is to understand the world not only as an object, but also as alive, having soul - space soul - subject. The natural-philosophical world image is the part of general picture of the world existing in consciousness of each person. In its historical development, the mankind now and then turns to the topic of nature, dialogue with it, to opportunities of its salutary influence on formation of healthy mentality, way of life and activity of a person. Constant contact with the nature that embodies the ideal, beauty and purity, helps an individual by concentration on experience of natural harmony. It helps to embody it in the soul, to lay foundation for healthy, moral attitude to the world and oneself, to understand oneself as part of nature and inner natural "self".

The purpose of philosophy is to teach a person to think, to philosophize, to develop certain culture of thinking. M. Lipman (USA) worked out the concept and program of teaching philosophy at school from 1 to 11 grades. He suggests making children familiar with philosophical notions in researchers community where they discuss ideas, make clear concepts, elaborate hypotheses, evaluate possible consequences and, in general, learn how to hold a discussion. The value of philosophical conceptualization, in his opinion, lies in the fact that children develop social, emotional and creative aspects of communication. Social aspects are revealed in connections between members of society, their interdependence, in giving each person the right to have one's own point of view and world outlook; emotional – in mutual respect; creative – in stimulating independent thinking, isolated, figurative and original [Lipman, 1988, p. 148].

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When children are called small philosophers, we mean their constant inner readiness for dialogue, for answering ultimate questions about the world via refracting the world through their own experience, in this way being supported by available knowledge, invention or imagination that often appear to be quite close to reality. In this respect, there exists a popular expression: "truth comes out of the mouths of babes". Natural-philosophical world view may evolve in the consciousness of a five-year-old child owing to highly developed mental processes and, in particular, thinking and imagination. L.S. Vygotsky emphasized the importance of imagination for expansion and enrichment of children's experience, development of their creative activity. The main direction in imagination development lies in its gradual transformation into means of putting certain plans into life (I create a fairy tale, music, I think out future activity, etc.). Children confidently enough distinguish between imagination, fiction and reality (playing, they say that something is "for fun, in pretence"). However living through, feeling and perceiving some imagined, fantastic, invented images enriches natural-philosophical world view that is formed in children' consciousness [Vygotsky, 1991, p. 93].

Evolvement of natural-philosophical world outlook occurs as a result of constant comprehension of the meaning adherent to signs and symbols of existential continuum. Internal pulsing kernel of the given world view is made of semiotics and value meanings of various spheres of reality, harmoniously connected with each other. A child gets the knowledge about mutual relations in the world and one's own "self", about signs, symbols of the nature owing to fundamental need of a preschool child for new impressions. For a four-five-year-old child, new knowledge about life deals with essential interrelations existing in life, shaped by fundamental concepts that make elements of the universe - Fire, Water, Air and Ground. These four alpha elements create the world around since they are present in all the objects and phenomena. They are not abstract for a child because he/she daily meets them in routine, but not as elements, but as material objects. Complete view of various properties of these elements is still lacking in children's consciousness. He/she understands that fire is necessary to cook food or burn down leaves in autumn. However, an image of Fire as life energy inherent in life of any living creature on the planet is still insufficiently generated. Knowledge of general interrelations at the level of four universe elements creates background for complete world view development, for such image of the Universe that is basically characterized by interrelation and inter-conditionality of all phenomena and real objects. Hierarchical order of elements, in accord with the degree of their importance or superiority, goes from the most spiritual downwards to material ones, hence, the

first element, the most spiritual one, is air (or wind), then goes fire, followed by water and, finally, comes ground. Division of reality into the four elements (or four alphas) corresponds to three conditions of the matter (firm, liquid, gaseous) accompanied by intermediary element which introduces transformation of the matter. It corresponds to stability of figure of four and its derivatives. Ground (or firm matter), water (or liquid), air (or gas) and fire (high temperature which causes transformation of the matter) have been understood as "fundamental forms" of material existence in the West philosophy since prio-Socrates times. Developing emotional-appreciating attitude to the process of getting knowledge in a child is connected with interest, pleasure, joy from experience and creation.

Children might reveal the elements of the world both in the logic of scientific knowledge and by intelligible feeling, while getting familiar with works of human art - fairy tales, legends, myths. Such content selection is caused by the fact that together with the elements, humanoid masters of thunders, winds and the sun, the ancient Slavs idolized smaller, weaker, most innocent phenomena of the nature and human character. Artistic image becomes that system-forming starting point around which the complete picture of the spiritualized world is built. Images of the world elements can be various. Thus, in the Chinese mythology four elements are presented by mystical creatures: bird Phoenix connects fire and air; green dragon - air and ground; turtle - ground and water; white tiger - water and fire. According to the theory of conformity, elements are associated with four age periods (childhood, youth, adulthood and older age) and the four corners of the earth (the east, the west, the north, the south). A child realizes the value of the four elements of the universe for a person and his life in terms of learning about the surrounding reality, search for principal causes and interrelations of everything that exists.

Universal-symbolical world outlook in phylogeny was shaped in the Middle Ages when social symbolism was as obligatory and valid, as the symbolism "uniting" the world. Many cultural values, which laid the foundation of our civilization, can be traced back to the period of the Middle Ages. God was believed to be the highest good and perfection, and it means that the world created by him and all its parts have moral coloring. The hierarchy of symbols also meant the hierarchy of values, therefore, each thing on the earth, any creature possesses certain merit, depending on the place it takes up in the hierarchy of the whole. God is the center and the top of this whole - and all his creatures, from highest to the most miserable ones, from angels to small insects and stones, serve him. Medieval philosophy was especially attentive to symbolism of words since the knowledge of universal symbols of the world began with the Bible texts, i.e.

from the words: "from time immemorial there was a Word". The world did not require any explanation: it was perceived directly. This way of spiritual development of reality and its connections in many respects is mystical, which testifies to its continuity with mythopoetic and natural-philosophical tradition. But mysticism and logic were not opposed to one another: logic served the purposes of mystically unveiling the secret of the Universe and the place a person has in it.

Key features of universal-symbolical world view are symbolism, universality, encyclopedic knowledge and the attitude to the world as a book. A symbol in medieval understanding is not mere convention; it is of huge significance and has a great depth of meaning. Not separate acts or objects are symbolic, but the whole visible world is presented by a symbol of the world beyond, therefore, any kind of thing has double or plural sense: alongside with practical application it has symbolical nature. The world is understood as the book written by God's hand, each creature representing the word full of meaning. Things are represented by symbols, and the task of a person – is to open their true value because the way to the knowledge about the world passes through comprehension of symbols, their secret sense. Symbolism of the Middle Ages can be treated as means of intellectual development of reality, becoming complete world view, parts of which are connected by symbolic analogies.

Medieval world image was notable for its integrity, hence, lack of differentiation, non-separability of independent spheres. It is from here that human confidence in the unity of the universe originated. A person turned out to be the integral unity of all those elements which comprised the world, ultimate goal of the universe. A small particle at the same time includes the whole - microcosm was some kind of duplicated macrocosm. Universal nature of medieval knowledge refers to the feeling of unity and completeness of the world. Encyclopedias were supposed to give not just assembled knowledge of the world, but to present the world in its unity. The concept "sum" meant "highest", "principal", "complete". Encyclopedic knowledge of the Middle Ages sprang from strong belief in cognoscibility and understandability of the world, especially for a mind guided by religious belief. It is interesting to note that many children of senior preschool age are proud of their own multi-knowledge, encyclopedic knowledge about the world, strive for learning its various aspects. The given idea proves legitimacy of the drawn parallels between ontogenesis and phylogeny.

As for the world outlook of six-year-old children, we are sure to find out the features of universal-symbolic world view mentioned above in their world image. Children often illogically,

from the point of view of adults, explain the real world, its cause and effect dependences. However, if to distract from adult critical-scientific attitude to children's outlook, one can find out another, children type of logic of the world construction. The given logic is frequently built up not by linear relations of cause and effect type, from the past into the future, but by vertical relations between events of their own lives (concerning significant people). For example, children consider that any trouble could happen to them if they have deceived an adult, etc.

Social symbolism and ritual behavior of medieval people and a child of senior preschool age are generated by specific relations between an individual and the group, position of a person in community of adults and peers. Humane pedagogy is based on the principle of commonly comprehended and, thus, value-symbolical activity. Cultural activity is characterized by such properties, as: symbolism, meaningfulness and sense-making of information which is received by a child during activity, value-connected aspect of mutual relations between people. Medieval and children's world images are closely interwoven in various aspects: time, the right and other abstractions are conceived in particular way, have the same "materiality", tangibility as things, objects. Therefore, general concepts and material objects are considered as the phenomena of the same kind, comparable and homogeneous. From the point of view of both a medieval person and a preschool child, not only people, but also places have rights; time, similarly to bodies, consists of particles, it can be spent as well as money. Words have magic force, therefore, etymology was not less popular in the Middle Ages than encyclopedias and sometimes they even coincided. Studying literacy, children also aspire to comprehend the origin of words, phraseological expressions. To give interpretation to a word means to reveal essence of the phenomenon described by it.

Scientific world outlook, intensively developed in XVI and the following centuries, gives the most reliable, steady result which is imparted by educational system to new generations and provides continuity of cultures. Scientific world view is characterized by concrete nature. It is mainly formed in children at primary school as part of regular training and turns into integrated, rational system of ideas about the world. As for its organization, scientific outlook is opposed to mythopoetic. Mythological anthropocentrism is replaced with impartial scientific objectivity. Complete artistic image is replaced by the system of rational concepts. Outlook integrity, typical for a myth and philosophy, is lost as each of the sciences, studied by children, has its own subject. Integrity initially inherent in the child and organicity of the world around are as a result lost. Rational knowledge assumes considering the earth, the nature and the space as laboratory

objects that exist irrespective of a person. "Complex structure of the Space with its spheres of planets and stars, circulation of elements is replaced with a new scientific picture of the world: homogeneous and infinite, operated by universal mechanistic laws of the Universe … » [Filatov, 1994, p. 6].

However, scientific world outlook gives a child an opportunity to realize the responsibility for the world around, to harmonize relationships with the nature and society, to understand that civilizational achievements can have both positive and negative impact, preserving and destroying living space of the mankind. Systemized, complex view of the world contributes to freer adaptation of a child to the complex, unstable development of the modern world. Education in XXI century, overcoming alienation of the person from the world and the world from a person, returns integrity to an individual, making one free from incoherent ideas about the world, enables a person to become microcosm: one can reproduce completely in oneself and pass through oneself the structure of the whole world (macrocosm).

Childhood as amplification period (A.V. Zaporozhets) allows a child to increase and accumulate knowledge, skills, competences, experience while mastering various activities, ways of learning about the world and its changes. The main kinds of activity, which promote children's outlook evolution, are games, motional activity, communication, creativity and experimental research. Children have a natural curiosity about the world around them. Games, being a leading kind of activity of preschool children, make that space where children learn about the world as integral unity penetrated by interrelations, with personality being included in it. Freely moving in space, a child specifies and expands the judgments and conclusions. External, socially-symbolic activity becomes internal by means of words, signs and symbols of culture comprehended during communication. Creative transformation of knowledge and ideas, their embodiment into activity of a child takes place only when education turns from process of translating available knowledge to children to the process of revealing, creating the information. Making experiments enables a child to make discoveries (certainly, quasi-discoveries), to model existing in the world connections, to find out that there are certain dependences between people, objects, sounds, colors, smells, actions, etc. in the space of life. All these kinds of activity form a complete picture of the world in child's consciousness because they make up a synthesized phenomenon. They include both real and game relations, role positions and real images, things substituting real objects and imagined situations, which a child creates in accord with his/her own ideas about the world around.

Thus, the theory of outlook evolution is a complete vision of the world image development in terms of education. It covers a broad range of scientific problems connected with the proof of personal outlook evolution theory, with setting forth the requirements to pedagogical support of children's world image development, with defining ways and laws of evolutionary process of personal outlook development. Our research has proved the relevance of the presented theory because "modern life demands active, efficient people, capable of constant self-change, learning and making fast decisions". [Kulikovskaya, 2012, Pp. 41-49].

The heart matter of the theory of world outlook evolution in education includes the following *key points*:

1. Evolution of personal world outlook is a subjective, individual process of getting knowledge about properties, values, connections in the world, ways of its cognition and transformation, similar to the process of outlook development in phylogeny.

2. Development of a complete world outlook of a child begins in preschool childhood, in case pedagogical process is arranged in the context of culture. Certain features of a complete world view are predetermined by personal experience, age peculiarities, conditions of upbringing, teaching and development, ways of getting knowledge about the world.

3. World outlook evolution is underpinned by the principle of ontogenesis and phylogeny unity, which means that ontogenesis (individual development of a child) repeats phylogeny (history of human culture) in the curtailed form. The parity between ontogenesis and phylogeny is of quite complex nature: a number of predecessors' stages drops out of ontogenesis, others are dramatically transformed as a result of the adaptation to new conditions. The process of phylogeny and dialectics of its relation to ontogenesis confirm the principles of the unity of the whole (phylogeny) and its parts (individual ontogenesis), of the general and the particular and provide concrete examples of gradual progress from simple to complex, as well as spiral development, with some features of lower stages being reproduced at higher ones.

4. World outlook results in consistently, stage by stage evolving world views that develop during all life: mythopoetic, natural-philosophical, universal-symbolical, scientific ones. Evolving, as a person gets older, world view gets specific features. Having arisen naturally, mythopoetic world image of a child is gradually supplemented, extended, made deeper and is transformed into natural-philosophical, then universal-symbolical, later - scientific world views.

5. The mechanism of world view development can be explained by amplification - enrichment of child's mental development.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 1.Theory, Methodology and history of Social Science

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Truth and Fact

Abstract

In this work the questions of correspondency of such philosophical concepts like truth and fact are issued. There are also discussed some aspects of factualisation: Truth and fact (the ratio, interdependence, structuring); Institutional facts (derived from the institutions created by man); Conceptual structure of fact (the quantum nature of factualisation). In the conclusion there are the main conclusions from the material.

Keywords: fact, noledge, structure, institutional facts

> *True knowledge is not found in pure form, and is not given easily, the receiving of it involves at least the effort of learning.*
>
> Sekatsky A.K.

Truth and fact. Let's see the rational approval K. Popper "...the judgment or opinion is true if and only if it corresponds to the facts." Fact (lat. factum - made - the term with a strong subjective-objective nature, fixing a real event or result of activity (the ontological aspect) and is used for the characterization of a special kind (type) of empirical knowledge. This concept on the one hand, implements the initial empirical generalizations, as the initial basis of theory or hypothesis, but bears the traces of semantic impact theories or hypotheses (logical and epistemological aspect). In the logic and methodology of science, the facts of performing multiple functions in relation to the theory:

- are the basis of its occurrence;

- play the role of audit and confirmation or refutation of the hypothesis (theory).

Scientific theory in its development generates the possibility of new facts. In the last decade there is a tendency to rethinking of ontological and epistemological nature of the fact.

Fact in the context of classical rationality - the element of experiential knowledge, which is formed with the help of complex cognitive operations. The purpose of such activity -to exclude from the original data of the real observation and experiment subjective moments of errors of observations, interference, distortion. For this monitoring data (the so-called Protocol proposals in terms of logical positivism) are compared, verification, rational analysis to identify

sustainable infuriating content. This kind of research activity implies the possibility (for this case) of only one objective truth, of one logic, of one subject being.

In modern humanitarian and especially the historical knowledge of the problem of the record of the fact in the historical and cultural reconstruction is solved in favor of reconsideration of traditional approaches. The facts of history and culture are considered open, revealing their various properties in communication with other historical and contemporary events. In natural science data trends to determinate the comprehension of the natural scientific and philosophical status of the anthropic principle and other approaches, including the time factor, historicity and traditional objects of natural history.

Institutional facts. Realism and the concept of compliance is a significant assumptions in any philosophy. Our true statements usually become true because of the things that exist in the real world, which exist independently from these claims.

It is important to distinguish between "rough" (inanimate) facts, for example, that the Sun is at a distance of 93 million miles from the Earth, and institutional facts: in Russia there is the President; they are called so because their existence are necessary the institutions created by man. The existence of a "rough" facts do not require such institutions, but they need at least the Institute of language [Sekatsky, 1999].

Institutional fact can not exist in isolation, but only in a different kind of systematic relations with other facts, for example, that the public money should be a system of commodity-money relations.

Using the approaches described in [1;5], we investigate the role of constructive rules of the creation of institutional facts. The form of a constructive rules "X can be considered as Y in C"; this expression defines a set of institutional facts, and institutional facilities, where the term Y is denoted to something more than the obvious physical properties of the object referred to by the term Agricultural In addition, the expression "how to read" means property overlay status, joined the function by means of collective intentionality, where the status is attached to function beyond the obvious rough physical functions that can be assigned to physical objects. To say "object, which is developed and used for the seat of the person to assume the chair," does not mean to use constructive rule, because as X term is already sufficient to Y of the term. This object can function as a chair and without human agreement. "Rule" doesn't add anything but name, so it will not be constructive. But when we say that such and such securities can be

considered for money, we express constructive rule, these securities could not function as money without human agreement.

The constructive rules, thus, have the following features: Y the term must assign a new status, which is not the object only through X term; but must be a collective agreement, or, at least, the adoption overlay status on the essence denoted X term function that matches this status.

Let's consider the structure through which the institutional reality works in a real human society. For this purpose we use the example of money. A certain kind of "pieces of paper" became widespread in the United States and other countries. These "pieces of paper" satisfy certain conditions X term. They should have specific material components and must correspond to a set of samples (five dollars, ten dollars, etc.)

It must also be issued by the US Treasury. Something that satisfies these conditions (X term), should be considered as money USA (Y-term). But to say that these "pieces of paper" - Y of the term ("money") - to do more than to give a short title X of the term; it is to give a new status, which has a number of functions, connected to it, for example, a medium of exchange, etc. Due to the constructive rules of these "pieces of paper" are considered "valid for all calculations - public and private". And the imposition of status, denoted by Y the term shall collectively be considered, or the function will not be executed.

From this example there are some characteristic features:

1. Collective intentionality appoints new status to a certain phenomenon, and this status has a corresponding function that can not be done solely incidental to the considered phenomenon of physical properties. This assignment creates a new fact, institutional fact, established in accordance with human agreement.

2. The form is assigned to the new function and status, can look like "X and is considered as Y in C". This formulation gives us a powerful tool for understanding how to create new institutional facts, because the essence of collective intentionality is to impose the status and functions defined term Y, a phenomenon called X-term. "Read as" is crucial in this formula, as we consider the function cannot be performed solely on the basis of the physical properties of X item, requires our consent or acceptance that this is so. Therefore, the purpose of the function Y is limited to those things for which can be done collective agreement or adoption.

3. The process of institutional facts may happen in that case, if the participants do not realize that it happens just that way. For example, using the money we do not have to

think, "This is valuable, because we collectively imposed that this is like that, we do not see it as a value only in terms of physical features". This process may consider consciousness from two sides. First, obviously, for most of the institutions that we simply grow in culture and perceived institutions as a data. We do not need to be aware of them ontology. Secondly, at the very development of the Institute of the participants we do not need to understand the form of collective institutional, by means by which they impose their functions on the object. As people continue to declare X as having the status of a function Y, institutional fact is created and maintained. They also do not need to know that they recognize and can hold all kinds of "incorrect beliefs" about what they do and why they do it. That is why many people think that marriage is given to them by God.

4. When overlay status-functions according to the formula becomes universal, the formula becomes normative status, which becomes a constructive rule. This is seen in cases where the General rule is a subject to abuse, which could not exist without rules, for example, forgery of money (objects look as satisfying the properties of the X term, but they are not) and hyperinflation (production of too much money, so that objects satisfying X term, can no longer perform the function defined by the term Y). The potential for abuse is characteristic of institutional facts.

5. The ratio between the rule and agreement (Convention), at least in this case is clear. The objects that can function as a medium of exchange are not the subjects of the agreement, as a rule. Similarly, in chess, the powers of the king - not a matter of the agreement but the rules. But what on what figure to impose these powers is a matter of agreement. Because in these cases the conditions determined by X term are only casually connected with the defined function Y-term selection X the term more or less arbitrary; and that it will be used as money, or king in chess, is a question of agreement. But often the features required for the applicability X of the term are necessary for the effectiveness Y of the term. For example, certification of the surgeon, the imposition on this person's status should be based on the presence of certain properties of this man (X term). In many cases the x term is chosen precisely because it is seen as having the characteristics necessary to perform the function Y of the defined term. For example, it is assumed that the person who is chosen by the President, has the appropriate skills to perform the function Y. But even in these cases,

something is added to Y-term. Features defined by X the term are not sufficient to guarantee the additional status and function, determined by a Y-term.

6. The relation between the imposition of status (function) and language. Words that are part of the expression Y, for example, the word "money" is constructive for the established fact. Random combination of sounds, a linguistic term, for example, the word "money", is now part of the very fact that we have created.

Kontseptualista structure of fact. The thesis of the human being as being reality in connection with the thesis about the fact, how the attribute of being reality leads to (almost) the inescapable conclusion (hypothesis) of the quantum nature of actuality [Searle, 1995].

The starting point of development of the theory of fact becomes quantization "experience" (experience, not the practice); experience is considered as a substance (fact), considered as a whole in the field of the existence of reality. Practice is a reduced form of the experience, and not Vice versa. Experience analytically split into "objectivity" and "language-semantic expressiveness".

Validation and application received (and any similar) concept assumes, first of all, the specification of "being a reality" for one or other sphere of human activities.

By the way, here we are, not the first and not the last time waiting for hermeneutic circle: the specification of the existence of reality will participate generalized feeling of fact, closely associated with the appropriate sense of being and a sense of reality, correcting them and corrected by them.

Genesis of reality with certain approximation (degree, the nature, the relevance of which may be measured as the promotion of research) can be represented by a particular model of consciousness: the universal properties of human existence in the world, are relatively easy to design and in the sphere of "being", and in "reality", and in the sphere of "culture, and in various points of their intersection. Consciousness is much better studied by philosophy, cultural studies, linguistics, psychology, and now the theory and practice of artificial intelligence, a relatively new ontological structure under the name "Genesis reality".

However, the General concept and specific model of consciousness must be deployed with a focus on this new ontology: the consciousness interests us not by itself, but as a representative of the existence of the reality. This applies to the "Genesis of consciousness" (Sartre and the whole line of existential personalism).

Specification of consciousness and existence of reality), we will list to the most specific and developed ways of human opening of the world: science, art, morality, religion, philosophy.

Modern rational criteria-based approach to the assessment of truth as a philosophical category can be considered in its relationship with the concept of a fact.

Fact in the context of classical rationality is the product (element) of empirical knowledge generated through complex cognitive operations, the purpose of which is the identification of stable invariant content.

A scientific theory in the process of its development constantly generates the possibility of new facts.

Urgent demands of the real world are based on the thorough analysis of institutional facts that are the result of collective intelligence (direction consciousness, will) various institutions created by man.

Substance is the experience analytically split on objectivity and linguistic and semantic expressiveness.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 1.Theory, Methodology and history of Social Science

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Sociology of Professional Groups in Russia: Problems and Perspectives [4]

Abstract

The political changes of the 1990s in Russia and the subsequent trend towards the market has opened up new opportunities for the exchange of research findings of the Western sociology of professions and Russian studies of professional groups within what is termed 'the intelligentsia'. The objects of study in both lines of investigation are practitioners of knowledge-based occupations, which require higher education and prolonged vocational training. However, the methodologies used and the research experience of Russian and Western scholars differ.

Keywords: professional groups, reform, sociology

Introduction

The political changes of the 1990s in Russia and the subsequent trend towards the market has opened up new opportunities for the exchange of research findings of the Western sociology of professions and Russian studies of professional groups within what is termed 'the intelligentsia'. The objects of study in both lines of investigation are practitioners of knowledge-based occupations, which require higher education and prolonged vocational training. However, the methodologies used and the research experience of Russian and Western scholars differ.

Within the Soviet Union, sociologists were mostly preoccupied with the study of work characteristics of the intelligentsia: the creativity of work, its difficulty, and the special socio-cultural mission of intellectuals. Research was focused on practitioners' values and their work motivation. Two important dimensions of intellectuals' social standing have been omitted from sociological attention: first, the scope of professionals' autonomy and their economic position and, second, their position within the power structure. Recently, Russian sociologists have begun to make up the lack of research on practitioners' labour and life conditions, their economic status and professional autonomy – defined in terms of their ability to make decisions without external pressure from those who are not members of the profession [Popova, 2004; Abramov, 2005; Shabanova, 2006; Romanov, Yarskaya-Smirnova 2009].

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Within the classic Anglo-American theories of professions, professionals are studied primarily as corporate actors, who have acquired privileges and a more or less independent social position. The social standing of professionals has been analysed from various theoretical and methodological positions. At an early stage, trait and functionalist approaches were the most popular. They regarded professional groups as different from other occupations, playing an important and positive part in society. The attacks of interactionists on this glossy view of professions paved the way for the development of the more critical structurally based neo-Marxist and neo-Weberian analyses, centred on the relations of production and the market respectively [Saks, 1983]. The ascendancy of the latter – with its focus on monopolies based on exclusionary social closure – has recently been complemented by the work of Foucauldian and other writers [Saks, 1999].

This paper will centre on the study of Russian intelligentsia and professional groups in a comparative perspective with Western professionals. For the sake of brevity, we shall not review Anglo-American and European theoretical material exhaustively – the nature and role of professions in the Western context have already been widely discussed. The analysis of recurring themes can be seen, for example, in Larson (1977), Burrage et al. (1990), Freidson (1994), Macdonald (1995), Saks (1999), Demaziere, Gadea (2009), Svensson, Evetts (2010). The study of Russian professionals, including the intelligentsia, will be examined in more detail. As will be seen, there are a number of distinctions. For instance, with some notable exceptions [Stacey, 1980], the socio-psychological characteristics of the professions have received far less attention than in the Russian tradition. Empirical studies of professionals' social attitudes, their work motivation and their opportunities for self-realisation are limited in the Western, especially Anglo-American, context.

In the paper, we shall follow the Anglo-American interpretation of the terms 'profession' and 'occupation', in order to prevent theoretical confusion. An occupation will be viewed as 'the social role performed by adult members of society that directly and/or indirectly yields social and financial consequences and that constitutes a major force in the life of an adult' [Hall, 1983]. Professions will be seen as 'knowledge-based occupations requiring higher specialized education' [Torstendal, 1990]. Although it needs to be noted that the concept 'profession' in Russian sociology, and in the Russian language, is associated with all crafts and skilled occupations. Both a coal-miner and a doctor would consider their activities as 'professions'. This

term has never had a parallel connotation to that of Britain and the United States, in which a group possessing it can define a boundary between itself and the outside world.

In the first section we provide a historical background of the development of the Russian sociology of occupations. In the second section we describe the process of the establishment of the Russian intelligentsia and centre on its specific features in comparison to Western professions. In the third section, we present a comparative analysis of the methodology and research designs adopted by Russian and Western scholars. The question addressed is whether we can adapt Western theoretical models to the Russian situation and use them as an addition to the Russian studies of the intelligentsia.

Historical Background to the Study of Occupations

The social science literature on occupations and professions in Russia has its own traditions. The development of a Russian sociology of occupations was influenced by both the complexities of the phenomena of occupations, and the ideological constraints of sociology itself. Social scientists were bound to work within Marxist theory, which tended to over-emphasise the technological and economic determinants of social formation and development.

In the Soviet Union in the 1920s, the study of occupations began to develop within the framework of economics. By the term 'occupation', most researchers meant a certain type of work that required special training and became a source of income. They distinguished between occupations according to the branch of industry they belonged to and the functions or skills that were required for practice. An 'occupation' was taken as a characteristic of a worker, his/her work place and the work process. First, 'occupation' referred to the specific skills and knowledge of a worker. Second, it indicated a bundle of functions inherent in the work place. Third, occupation referred to their structure and a specific set of work activities and their particular sequencing. This approach was formulated by Strumilin (1957), one of the founders of Russian school of sociology and economics of work. His scientific interests lay in the search for the essence of the phenomenon of 'occupation' and he re-developed a classification of occupations.

In the 1960s, researchers stressed the need for the further interpretation of the essence of an 'occupation'. They came to the conclusion that 'occupations' could not unreservedly be called

social. Their social characteristics should be considered alongside the specific labour characteristics of workers and their work place.

From the 1960s to the 1980s, social scientists mainly adopted two theoretical approaches. The first was a 'work-oriented' approach that broadly followed the tradition of the 1920s and concentrated on the economic aspects of occupational work. Authors in this tradition used the terms 'work' and 'occupation' interchangeably and gave prominence to the analysis of the types of activities performed in an occupation. They tried to track two main tendencies in the development of a division of labour with a view to eliminating the 'within-class' and 'between class' differences and the movement towards social homogeneity.

Since the late 1980s, writers within the 'work-oriented' paradigm have been criticised as their quest for the essence of 'occupation' has been undertaken within the framework of the Marxist tradition that dominated the study of occupations in the period. They overestimated technical and technological factors in the formation of the professional and class structure, and mostly concentrated on the scientific and technical revolution and on the role of technical advancement as the basis for reaching social homogeneity. An over-emphasis on property relations as an objective basis of class inequality became the main constraint for productive sociological research - particularly within stratification research.

Within the sociology of professions, theoretical Marxism was less influential in the second 'personality-oriented' approach. Interestingly, writers within this tradition found a niche where they could be relatively detached from the Marxist ideological context. The theoretical and empirical work of the authors was rooted mainly in social psychology. Social psychologists tend to be interested in professional group dynamics and within-group relations. Central for sociologists became the study of professionals as individuals in themselves. They considered there was a correspondence between the level of professional competence, reflected in a bunch of skills and abilities, with the demands of the work itself. The most typical objects of the research were the following:

- the professional orientation and professional choice;
- the formation of professional personal traits;
- the possibilities of the effective appliance of workers' moral and physical abilities in the terrain of the division of labour and the prospect of self-realisation;

■   the correlation between individual inner qualities and the demands of a particular profession.

There has been an observable difference between this approach and the psychological one [Klimov, 1988]. The object of the social scientists' research was not the individual, personal capability of the individual to undertake a specific work activity, but rather the demands made by society for a particular level of professional competence, realised through the professional-education system [Podmarkov & Sizemskaya, 1979].

In the late 1980s, 'the stratification approach' started to develop as a third strand when empirical research began to undermine official theories of class. The occupational system began to be viewed as a major component of the social structure. Up until 1992 and the reforms in Russia, the methodological ideas of Marx were central to the study of occupations. These were based on the notion that the modern class structure is not based on 'crafts', but rather the other way round, and that the division of labour creates various occupations within the same class. Thus the occupational structure was relegated to the background and viewed as dependant on class structure, which in turn was defined by existing property relations. Strict ideological frames demanded different approaches from social scientists who wrote on occupational stratification in socialist and capitalist countries [Rutkevich & Philipov, 1970]. These different approaches are shown in tabular form in Tabl . 1.

Table 1: Theoretical Approaches of the Russian Sociology of Occupations

Theoretical approaches	Essence	Years
Work-oriented (rooted in economics)	(1) Study of the structure and particular set of work activities and their alternation. (2) Analyses of the influence of technical and technological factors on the formation of professional and class structure.	1920-1990s

Personality-oriented (rooted in social psychology)	Study of the professionals as individuals in themselves. The main object of the research was the correspondence between the level of professional competence and work demands.	1920-up to the present
Stratification	Study of occupations as a basis for the analysis of social stratification.	Late 1980s-up to the present

The Study of the Russian Intelligentsia
The nature of the intelligentsia: definitions

A number of different notions of the intelligentsia can be identified in the Russian and European social science literature. The Polish sociologist Szczepanski (1961) collected about 60 different definitions and interpretations of the term 'intelligentsia'. Having analysed them, he came to the conclusion that definitions within various theoretical traditions took three forms. The first was a theoretical approach centred on the role of intelligentsia as critical and creative intellectuals who develop and protect the highest ideals of Truth, Good, Beauty and Justice. Thus intellectuals were a specific elite group who played a role in generating cultural capital, that is, societal morals and values [Bourdieu, 1990]. They also acted as social critics. In Europe generally, intellectuals have seen themselves in this way. The second was the approach that centred on the relationships between the intelligentsia and the state. The intelligentsia was generally viewed as in opposition to the state. It criticised the political elite and had a major influence on the rest of society in popularising ideas, challenging conventional views and creating alternative ideologies and myths. The third type of definition considered the intelligentsia as a special social stratum of intellectual workers, requiring higher or secondary education. It was seen to play a decisive role in the development of culture.

In Soviet Russia, definitions of the intelligentsia were mostly of the third type. One of the definitions with a high quotation index was the following: 'The intelligentsia is a special, big, social, multinational group of workers in knowledge-based occupations of the highest qualification requiring special secondary or higher education' [Ianovsky, 1986, p. 19].

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The characteristics of the special cultural mission of the intelligentsia have been built into many definitions used by scholars in the Soviet and post-Soviet period. For example the Big Soviet Encyclopaedia [Big Soviet Encyclopaedia, 1972, p. 311] said: 'The intelligentsia is a social layer of people, engaged in professional intellectual work, mostly difficult and creative, in the development and dissemination of culture'. In the Soviet period, this special cultural mission of the intelligentsia was viewed as based on the principles of the dissemination of Marxist dogmas and state resolutions[5]. In post-Soviet times, Russian social scientists have breathed new life into the study of the cultural mission of the intelligentsia. They have touched upon the problems of the 'hidden' opposition between some representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia and the state [Shlapentokh, 1990; Radaev & Shkaratan, 1992] and the role that the intelligentsia can play in Russia's cultural and economic 'renaissance' [Glazov, 1985].

Mansurov & Semenova (2001) write that the most important characteristic of that special category of occupations called the intelligentsia has been the control of a particular body of knowledge and its application. This approach differentiates between the social characteristics and the cultural functions of the intelligentsia. The authors suggest to exclude special cultural mission from the definition of the intelligentsia. For example, they comment that not all intellectual workers realise this and when they do, it can be singled out as a separate subject of the research. Thus, the definition of the intelligentsia can be limited to the 'knowledge-based professions, requiring higher and special secondary education'.

The State and the Professions: The Establishment of the Soviet-Russian Intelligentsia

In Russia, as in other advanced industrial societies, medicine, law, and science are expert occupations. Students 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, expert occupations have been, and remain, subordinate to the state and have only at the margins been subject to market forces [Mansourov & Saks, 1999]. In a study of professions/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. In Russia, the

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[5] Although the intelligentsia had an influence on a wider set of issues, including societal values, social attitudes and opinions (Mansurov, Barbakova 2007).

intelligentsia was at the extreme pole with extensive state control. Thus, its social structure and stratification system was different from that in many other countries.

Before Perestroika

In the latter quarter of the nineteenth century, these differences were not so marked as self-governing professional associations were widespread in Russia. However, as Field (1957) notes, the corporate identity and the professional solidarity of the traditional professionals, such as doctors, lawyers and college professors, was seen as a dangerous source of opposition to the new Soviet State. In 1917, the new political elite therefore felt the need to deprive traditional professions of their privileged status and the professional associations were officially dissolved. The main strategy adopted to subordinate the intellectual elite was the mass production of professionals. On the one hand, the increased production of professionals was aimed at 'wiping off' professional group identities and the substitution of oppositional professionals with loyal ones. On the other hand, it was an altruistic strategy, aspiring to give equal life chances to the Soviet people and to turn all the population into intellectuals [Perveen, 1987]. However, the speed of production of intellectual workers did not correlate with real economic demands, especially in the industrial sphere [Pipes, 1961].

At the end of 1980s, the social layer of professionals or specialists, as they were termed, included 37 million specialists, of which 16 million had higher educational qualifications [Volkov, 1999]. Since 1926, the number of professionals has increased more than ten-fold. Before the Revolution, only 3 million people were engaged in the sphere of intellectual work. By 1980, about 10 million students were studying in higher education institutions. Each year about 2 million students graduated from higher institutions [Volkov, 1999]. At the time, the Soviet Union produced more professionals such as, doctors, engineers and scientific workers than any other industrial country, although the level of professional remuneration was lower than that in such countries.

One of the most crucial indicators of professional autonomy is the extent to which an occupational group can control who enters the group and who is excluded. It can construct access, imposing restrictions and filters into the professional group. A number of neo-Weberian theorists in the Anglo-American tradition have used the notion of 'social closure' to analyse this key aspect of a collective professionalising strategy [MacDonald, 1995]. A group may create a monopoly by determining who enters the education system and who is licensed to practice. The

professional association, typically licensed by the state determines who is admitted and who is not. Once established, strong professional associations have charters that regulate training and have rules that govern inclusion and exclusion. They also exercise a monopoly over certification, the creation and dissemination of expert knowledge and standards of practice. They control the 'production of producers' [Larson, 1977].

Before the October Revolution in Russia, control was shared between the professional groups of intelligentsia and the state over the content of examinations; the terms, conditions and goals of education and training; and the numbers of 'recruits'. The Soviet Government monopolised control over the entry of professional groups and aimed to achieve a rapid growth of intellectuals. The number of different administrative posts formally requiring higher education grew. The ideological idea of the 'obliteration of boundaries between intellectual and manual work' brought about the situation when it was proclaimed that some blue-collar workers' positions demanded higher and special secondary education [Timasheff, 1940]. A new social layer of 'worker-intellectuals', people with higher and special secondary education who engaged in manual work activities, appeared and the numbers expanded. In the 1980s, the Central Statistics Board suggested a new integrative occupational category termed 'workers of primarily intellectual work in combination with manual' [Mukasyan & Umanets, 1983, p. 85].

In mid-1980s, some social scientists acknowledged that 'intellectuals did not dissolve within the working class and the working class did not turn into intellectuals' [Soviet Intelligentsia and Its Role in Building Communism, 1983]. Some researchers even admitted that there was an overproduction of engineers in the USSR. For example, in the USA, the scope of production was 25 per cent more, while the number of engineers was 3 to 4 times less [Phillipov, 1982]. At the same time, the system of education did not change. There were still 'hidden' advantages for the students from the 'workers and peasantry' and open advantages for those who had experience in workers' occupations. The entry requirements placed on the former workers were quite low. Normally, those from this background could pass all examinations with satisfactory marks.[6]

The rapid, and to some extent artificial growth of the intelligentsia, had an irretrievable impact on its social standing. Higher education and knowledge-based professions have been discredited by the fact that in their number were included some manual occupations. The

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[6] The system of marks in Russia has been the following: 5 (excellent); 4 (good); 3 (satisfactory); 2 (fail).

political elite had managed to abolish professions as corporate entities. The elite social standing of professionals, the development of a specific professional culture and ethics were destroyed. Moreover, traditional professionals, such as doctors and lawyers lost their main differentiating advantage: the possession of a specialised symbolic knowledge. More than 37 million formally possessed higher educational qualifications and cultural capital, but many lacked the broader cultural background and aspirations associated with 'an intelligentsia' [Read, 1990].

Aside from state control, there have been other features of the Soviet intelligentsia that have set it apart [Pipes, 1961]. One factor is the 'feminisation' of specialist occupations. A much higher proportion of professionals is female than in other advanced industrial countries. This became one of the most particular features of the Soviet intellectual layer and was connected in part with state politics – insofar as there was a drive towards equal rights for all. It may also have been that women were considered to be less likely to be oppositional as they typically had other commitments, including those to children and the family. In 1928, women comprised 29% of the intellectual layer; in 1940 36%, and in 1971, 59%. Among scientists in 1987-1988, 40% of were women. In pre-Revolutionary Russia, only 10% of scientific workers were women. In 1986, among women scientific workers, 28% had PhDs [Volkov, 1999].

Another priority for the former Soviet Union was national politics. The 'nationalisation' of the intelligentsia drew non-Russians within the Union into intellectual work. The very low entry prerequisites for some nationalities among the non-Russian population had political advantages. It provided the possibility for the rapid growth of intellectual workers from other Soviet Republics. In 1926, intellectual workers in Central Asia constituted about 0.3% out of workforce (22,600 people). Due to the social policies of the political elite, the numbers of intellectual workers from the Caucasus and Central Asia grew more quickly than in the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Belarus. For example, in the Soviet Union in 1940, scientists made up 0.28% of the population. In the Russian Federation this was 0.28%, as compared to 0.71% in Armenia and Georgia, 0.42% in Latvia, 0.40% in Uzbekistan, 0.39% in Azerbaijan, 0.34% in Lithuania and 0.29% in the Ukraine [Volkov, 1999].

The increased numbers of intellectuals led to a depreciation of their competence and knowledge. In the same way that different titles and honorific rewards lose their value when the number of their possessors grows, there has been an inverse relationship between the social standing of the intelligentsia in terms of prestige and income, and its size. Intellectual labour depreciated in value immediately after the October revolution. Already in the 1920s, the average

income of a 'rank-and-file' intellectual worker had become either equal to, or lower than, a worker's salary. Before the Revolution, it was 4 times higher. In the 1980s, the quality of life of intellectual workers was lower than that of manual workers. The salaries of the majority of teachers, doctors and scientific workers were 3 to 4 times lower than that of manual workers. The pre-Revolutionary social hierarchy was therefore turned upside-down. It has in fact been argued that over the period, the relative socio-economic situation of the intellectual layer worsened by a factor of 10 [Volkov, 1999].

Some writers like Pipes (1961), however, have drawn attention to 'status inconsistencies' among Soviet professionals. Although they had a low income and lacked autonomy, it is nevertheless argued that they were accorded prestige as intellectuals. Intellectual professions were still considered fairly prestigious. Most school graduates aspired to become scientific workers, mostly in physics, medicine or engineering.

Post-Perestroika: The reforms of the 1990s

The political changes of the 1990s and the subsequent economic problems that occurred in Russia have restructured the economy and destabilised existing institutions. Opportunities for private practice have created the conditions for change in the standing of the intelligentsia. Some recent studies have shown that the part of the intelligentsia involved in private practice understand that their position in society is something for which they have to strive [Mansourov, 2001]. Changes in the social attitudes of the intelligentsia employed in the state sector and the growth of their aspirations for increased autonomy could possibly lead to the development of a professional ideology, a collegiate culture and, in the long run, a transformation in their social standing. Thus knowledge-based practitioners as a group may embark on a professional project, and their corporate desire to achieve autonomy could result in their upward social mobility. On the other hand, the state may serve to enhance the status of intellectual workers by increasing their autonomy and decision making powers – representing 'professionalisation from above' [McClelland, 1991]. So far, the state reconstruction of professional occupation status has been unsuccessful. Moreover, there is no observable rise in intellectuals' satisfaction with their current social standing [Mansurov, Yurchenko, 2005]. Differences between the social standing of the Russian intelligentsia and Western professionals are shown in tabular form in Tabl. 2.

Table 2: Comparison of the Social Standing of the Russian Intelligentsia and Anglo-American Professionals

Intelligentsia	Professionals
An open group of mass professions with 'permeable boundaries' and comparatively low entry prerequisites.	A rather closed restricted group of eligibles, regulating market conditions in their favour (in the USA) or protected by the state (in the UK), with strict prerequisites for entry.
Status inconsistency: high prestige, low income and autonomy, as an intellectual group.	Relative status consistency: high prestige, income, with relatively high autonomy.[7]
Equal economic remuneration with manual occupations.	Among the highest of the society in terms of income rung.
The status of the intelligentsia implies broader than just professional functions. It has a special cultural mission, involving the dissemination of culture and knowledge.	A narrow technical function in relation to a specific area of knowledge – albeit in ways defined by professions themselves.
Built within the state: subject to considerable state control.	Shared regulation with the state.
Trade unions protect professionals' rights.	Professional associations are dominant in dealing with professional issues.
A high proportion of women.	A low proportion of women.

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[7] Recently in the USA this has been curbed by insurance associations and health maintenance organisations, through government resource constraints.

Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 1.Theory, Methodology and history of Social Science

The Russian Study of the Intelligentsia and the Anglo-American Study of the Professions

In summary, the main theoretical approach to the professions within the Russian sociology of occupations has been to a large extent social-psychological or personality-oriented. This has become the most popular strand in the study of intellectuals. From the 1960s to the present, social scientists have chosen to study individual professional practitioners and their particular value orientation as the object of the research. This has been at variance with the interests of Western scholars, who have mainly concentrated on the professions as corporate entities or the social standing of the professions. The Anglo-American ethnographical studies of professional actors and profession/client interactions remained outside the mainstream of the sociology of professions.

Soviet research within this theoretical tradition has been rich in drawing a social portrait of the various professional groups that form the intelligentsia. Thus data on such issues as average age, gender, level of education, work motivation, style of life, leisure time activities have been collected [Ianovsky, 1986; Yadov, Zdravomislov, 2003]. Research has tended to be descriptive rather than analytical. Many papers have centred on:

- the inner-growth and self-realisation of intellectual workers;
- creativity and social attitudes;
- the impact of various types of activity, such as science and medical practice on personality.

The connection between the technological advancement of society and the level of qualification of intellectual workers has been analysed in such areas as:

- societal analyses of the influence of technical and technological factors on the formation of the Soviet intellectual;
- the formation of the social homogeneity of Soviet society through the obliteration of the boundaries between the intelligentsia and working class.
- problems in the recruitment of the intelligentsia from workers and the peasantry, as well as the similarities in the work activities of manual and intellectual workers ('worker-intellectuals').

Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 1.Theory, Methodology and history of Social Science

Thus, at the macro-level of analysis social research on the intelligentsia has broadly followed the Marxist theoretical tradition and dealt with the state and profession relations from this perspective. A pivotal issue has been how far the realisation of state interests meets the needs of Soviet society. The late 1980s, though, were marked by a switch from the Marxist view on the society-profession relations towards functionalist theory [Korableva, 1999]. Professional groups were considered to be functionally relevant to the development of the social system. Professional occupations could, in the eyes of functionalist and former Marxist writers, secure a unity between the personality and the state and thus satisfy state and society needs. This ideology in the context of studies of the intelligentsia has had the most impact on the development of the 'stratification approach'. The former Soviet Union was proclaimed a society with a horizontal hierarchy. In contrast, Western scholars from various theoretical approaches have written about the exclusive resources of the professions. These open up for them different opportunities to research the dimensions of power, economic status and prestige, and cultural resources. Such resources were intrinsic aspects of professional practice.

At the same time, Soviet sociologists could speak only about the unequal resources of various work activities, including the difficulty of work, the expected level of responsibility, and the level of creativity required. Meanwhile, differences in the spectrum of workers' social-economic remuneration were not a subject of discussion. If this question was touched upon in the Soviet sociological literature, it was done in a functionalist manner – that is, there was 'better remuneration for the best'. Two important dimensions of the social standing of intellectuals were omitted from the attention of social scientists: the scope of professional autonomy and power, and the economic resources of professional groups.

The hierarchical relations between the state and professional groups were not analysed. The political elite based on state administrative personnel were excluded from the analysis of stratification on the principle that this was the part of the intelligentsia that had the highest qualifications, and carried out the most difficult and responsible work tasks [Ianovsky, 1986]. As Radaev & Shkaratan (1992) comment: 'Even in the best social science research, stratification power relations was practically ignored. Survey polls included people, whose ranks were not higher than plant directors, chairmen of collective farms and provincial administrative personnel of minor importance'.

As far as economic remuneration was concerned, the estimate of the economic situation of professional groups on the basis of official statistics has been almost impossible. The system

of 'social-branch' privileges inherent in state-monopolistic socialism was not a subject for analysis. It was considered politically incorrect to draw public attention to the attendant privileges of the political elite, such as the additional apartments, the departmental sanatoriums, the swimming pools, the kindergarten, and the pioneer camps.

Professionals in most European and North American countries have managed to transform their work into a 'status' profession. Weber argued that status communities are organised for the defence of their social privileges and entitlements. Status groups depend crucially upon the maintenance of a life style, and they seek to reproduce themselves through educational mechanisms, in order to prevent the upward social mobility of outsiders. Post-Soviet research has showed that the Soviet political elite 'fitted' well with the Weberian theory [Shlapentokh, 1990].

On the whole, the study of professional occupations in Russia and in the Anglo-American context differed from various points of view (see in tabular form in Figure 3). These include:

- the scope of the research done (various Western methodological approaches vs. a lack of variety in Russian research);

- the emphasis of the research (individual professionals vs. professional entities);

- interpretations of the functions and role of the professionals (as rather passive workers, realising the state's will vs. active corporate actors, regulating market conditions in their favour).

Table 3: Specificity of Approaches within the Russian Study of the Intelligentsia and of the Anglo-American Study of the Professions

	Intelligentsia	Professions
Definition	A broader term including mass professions, requiring special secondary education.	Includes elite knowledge-based professions.
Theoretical approaches	(1) Marxist; (2) Social psychological; (3) Functionalist theory; (4) Stratification approach.	(1) Trait approach; (2) Functionalist theory; (3) Interactionist approach; (4) Neo-Marxist; (5) Neo-Weberian;

		(6) Post-modernist.
The object of the research (micro-level)	Professional practitioners as individuals.	Professional practitioners as members of a collegiate community.
	The social standing of professional groups (since 1990s).	The social standing of professional groups.
The object of the research (Macro-level)	The realisation of state interests and societal needs.	Contradictions, mutual benefits and interdependence between professions and the state.
	Studies of the occupational structure itself, as the basis of prestige.	Analysis of social stratification on the basis of the occupational structure

Sociology of professional groups: current research

In the Soviet period, we worked in the Department for the Studies of Intelligentsia at the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences [Mansurov, Semenova, 2001; Barbakova, Mansurov, 2007]. Since the reforms, our department was renamed into Department of Sociology of Professions and Professional Groups. During the Soviet period, the applicability of the Western sociology of professions to Soviet intelligentsia was viewed as limited. There has since been growing interest in applying the Western theoretical approaches following the political changes in Russia since the early 1990s which enhanced market conditions.

In our theoretical and empirical work, we have shown that some Anglo-American theories of professions and professionalisation are applicable for research on professionals in Russia, although care has to be taken that differences in the structure of intellectual labour are acknowledged [Yurchenko, 2004; Saks, Yurchenko, 2006; Mansurov, Yurchenko, 2009]. We drew on the Neo-Weberian tradition in order to develop a model for assessing the economic and

power resources of Russian intellectuals in the past and in contemporary Russia and what effect this had on the process of professionalisation. Within this theoretical framework, we constructed definitions of the terms 'profession' and 'professionalisation' applicable for research in the Russian context and suitable for cross-cultural research. This theoretical approach also helped to operationalise concepts of 'power resources', 'economic resources' and 'cultural resources' of professionals.

The Neo-Weberian approach proved to be helpful in conceptualising occupations based on higher specialised education as universally recognisable interest-based groups which aim at gaining control of the market through the establishment of exclusionary closure, or which aim at exercising influence within the state sector in order to achieve upward social mobility and a legally underwritten monopoly. Despite the fact that there have been important historical differences in the development of professional groups and the ways of escalation of their social standing in the Western and Russian context, professionals are similar in that they have exclusive access to scarce cognitive resources which they can sometimes translate into economic and social rewards. There has been state support for professionals in Russia but there has been little room for successful manipulation of the market as the state has controlled access to education. As a consequence, there has been an oversupply of intellectuals, many professionals are women and work on a part-time basis. However, some private professionals have been able to exploit market scarcity and they may benefit from it in the future.

The Neo-Weberian theoretical framework also proved to be useful in terms of looking at both structure, the social position of Russian professionals in the dimensions of power, income and status and at their strategies oriented towards redefinition of this structural position. These strategies were conceptualised as professionalisation strategies. It was argued that a case for greater professionalisation could be demonstrated through an enhancement in the scope of power, and additional economic or cultural resources in the market or within the state sector. This could eventually lead to a drive towards a legally-underwritten professional monopoly. It was suggested that the term 'professionalisation' could be used in a cross-cultural research to describe the corporate actions of the professionals to redefine the social characteristics of the profession within Weber's dimensions of power, culture and wealth.

In accordance with the Neo-Weberian position, the power resources of health practitioners were seen as central to the analysis, as the scope of power resources determines the opportunities of a professional group in different social dimensions such as income, prestige, and

interesting work. On the basis of theoretical literature review, it was suggested that the following resources of power were key ones: (1) the relative autonomy in making professional decisions, (2) the influence on the scope of a professional remuneration; (3) the professional control over group entry: social closure in the market and in the system of education; (4) the professional control over group exit via the sanction mechanism; (5) the existence of a strong professional organisations such as professional associations or trade unions. Other professional resources which were important for analysis were 'economic resources', financial position and 'cultural resources' which determine status and prestige of the profession and which derive from cognitive knowledge-base of the profession.

Conclusion

It can be argued that the professions in the Western countries have created an ideal representation of themselves that brought them the benefits of occupational monopoly. In Soviet society, the state was the creator of symbols and the only monopolist in the terrain of the division of labour. The state was not interested in professionals who could challenge its official policy. The mass production of intellectuals helped the state to shape its conventional occupational structure and to maintain its reproduction. The increased number of professionals also seems to have partly led to the depreciation of their perceived competence and knowledge.

The reforms in Russia have brought about transformations in the common standards of professionals' practice, ethics, discipline and payment. Some representatives of the intelligentsia, mostly engaged in private practice, have acquired the possibility of self-regulation. A research methodology based on Western theories of the professions can help to analyse the new phenomenon of professional autonomy, forgotten since the pre-Soviet period. The professions may be seen as corporate actors in the transformation of their social standing. Until recently, Russian social scientists have not viewed the professions as separate and distinct entities, but have rather seen them as a part of a social system where occupational and professional groups are constantly changing in response to technological advances, as well as economic, ideological and social factors.

At the same time, Russian sociological experience allows us to track the socio-psychological characteristics of professionals – including their social attitudes, work motivation and prestige. An analysis of these factors helps us to gain a better understanding of how the intelligentsia evaluates itself and whether they see their specialist cognitive knowledge as a

source of respectability. Close attention to the social attitudes of intellectuals may explain the change in the opportunity for professionals to exercise influence over those who use their services and the wider society.

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Sociology of Favoritism

Abstract

Favoritism is an inherent side of human nature, his subjectivity and selectivity. The connection of role groups with phenomena of favoritism is also discovered: by person characterizations, by social and strata, by regions of Russia, by temporality Favoritism creates common authorized social field.

Keywords: favoritism, role, leader

Favoritism is an inherent side of human nature, his subjectivity and selectivity. The chosen get favor in connection with higher persons. They have more chances for the realization of their capabilities. Favoritism, undoubtedly, is a phenomenon which counteracts the realization of equality. Closed, powerful clan is the most exact indicator of favoritism. Favoritism degrades social quality of society. It stops the development of science, labor and production. It is necessary to find measure of connections and relations to stop transfer of adherents to favorites.

The subject of social activity is complicated. The distribution of roles in group shows the character of relations in it. Role is a behavior of person in collective, institute, international communities, which is based on social values. The hierarchy of roles manages behavior of subject. The difference of opposite roles: 'leader – favorite', 'leader – outsider', 'favorite – outcast', 'conformist – marginal type'.

Method of research is empirical analysis of social phenomena of favoritism. In panel researches in 2003 and in 2012 N = 1576 (SPSS).

The discovering of role is getting by a method of self identification. On the whole, mass consciousness blames favoritism. But more than half of respondents, especially marginal type, want to be favorite.

The connection of role groups with phenomena of favoritism is also discovered: by person characterizations, by social and strata, by regions of Russia, by temporality.

Gender. Men are more critical to favoritism. On the contrary women take favoritism as an acceptable way to promote in society.

Geographic. The farther from Siberia to Center, the more favoritism grows in official and in civil spheres.

Temporal. In past, favorites, who raised their states, take positive opinion of respondents. Nowadays, favorites, oligarchs, ideologist and young reformers take negative opinion of respondents. Favoritism creates common authorized social field.

Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 1.Theory, Methodology and history of Social Science

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About the Founders of Russian Historical Sociology

Abstract

The author refers to N. Danilevsky's and K. Leontiev's conceptions. Nowadays Russian cultural peculiarity should be preserved. It is vital especially when the West is imposing their own values to the whole world.

Keywords: historical sociology, N. Danilevsky's, K. Leontiev, cultural-historical types, Slavonic civilization, social development, national activity, cultural-historical activity

Many Russian sociologists find the basis of historical sociology, one way or the other, in N. Danilevsky's theory about cultural-historical types. Identifying him as the founder of *civilization* approach which allows to find out the discreteness of historical advancement, they formulate the paradigm of historical sociology. Any periodization of social development, in their opinion, is to be superimposed on the history not of the humankind but on the cultural-historical types. Therewith, despite historical science historical sociology is not only to confirm facts, but to study the logic of the social development that is found in N. Danilevsky's works.

Based on the belief that there are no laws of universal social development he comes to the conclusion that there cannot be a unified conception of the social advancement. Chronologically, defining the earlier existed (from Egyptian to Arabian) cultural-historical types, N. Danilevsky singles out the ones of European and Slavonic. Herewith, each cultural-historical type, having enough 'a live vigor' for an autonomous development, is able to live the three stages: ethnographical (tribal), national, and ending up with civilization - cultural. Then nation's creative activity dries out and civilization gets into the 'desperate apathy', or 'complacent apathy', and dies.

Strongly protesting against the assertions that the West is the pole of progress and the East is a pole of stagnation, N. Danilevsky strenuously objected to that there is no progress beyond the European civilization. 'Progress, he states, is not constituted in the fact that all should go in one direction, but in the fact that the field of human historical activity should be crossed in various directions…' [Danilevsky, 1995, p. 73]. For him progress, first of all, is not collecting material and spiritual values, but extension of nation's activity. Considering in this connection all the spheres of nation's activity, he singles out a religious, cultural, political, social and economic activity. Earlier civilizations differed with one (Greek with cultural, Rome with political) or with

two (European with cultural as well as political) spheres of activity. And only the Slavonic civilization extends its development in the all four activities.

Developing cycling ideas of the historical development the thinker considered it was utterly dangerous to identify young nations' destinies together with the destinies of the obsolescent nations. This, he thought, not only deprives any serious historical perspectives from non-European nations, but threatens them with an inevitable disintegration and death. In that, if European civilization is the only true perspective for the humankind, then its death will inevitably cause death to all, which N. Danilevsky certainly could not agree with.

K. Leontiev considerably worked his conception of cultural-historical types over. In particular, he takes two American cultural-historical types out of the list, suggested by N. Danilevsky, and enters a Byzantine one. Among the existing in the XIX c. cultural-historical types Leontiev especially singles out Western-European, and formed primarily in Russia Slavonic-Eastern. Notwithstanding N. Danilevsky's conception, which forbids passing over the basis of one cultural-historical type to another, he asserts that the bases of Slavonic-Eastern cultural-historical type are borrowed from Byzantine.

Following N. Danilevsky's conception of the cyclic development, he thinks that any social organisms, like living organisms, are born, live and die. They all (if their lives are not broken in an unnatural way) are able to live the three periods: 'primary simplicity', 'flourishing complexity', 'secondary miscible simplification'. Thus, N. Danilevsky's most significant ideas is the one about historical being is the subject to the laws of organic nature which gets a further advancement in the conception of 'triune process'.

Developing his ideas K. Leontiev pays his special attention to the hypothesis of 'secondary miscible simplification', cultural-historical type. No wonder that he prefers to use conception 'civilization', which N. Danilevsky often defines as the last phase of cultural-historical type activity. But together with this, after him Leontiev formulates and gives rather a wide interpretation of civilization, also much identifying it as a cultural-historical type as a whole. According to Leontiev, civilization is a 'complex system of abstract ideas…which is worked out by all national life' [Leontiev, 1912, p. 250].

Thus, according to N. Danilevsky and K. Leontiev, the appeal to abandon national bases for merging into European civilization can be not only completely wrong, but utterly dangerous. In that, it will inevitably lead to the loss of a national self-identification, as a result of this it unavoidably causes an ethnical, national, cultural disintegration. In this connection the thinkers

warn: any attempts of closing Russia to the European civilization, must not lead to the loss of its own originality.

Despite the known refinement of some views, the founders of Russian historical sociology suggest the ideas, the value of which nowadays are not only preserved, but has been increased. In particular, they paid a great attention to presenting and solving national problems, constantly reminding about the threats of cultural denationalization, the West's imposing their own civilized way, their values to the whole world.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 1.Theory, Methodology and history of Social Science

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The impact of the network society on the mechanism of social consolidation

Abstract

Manuel Castells' theory of network society has faced several changes during the last few years. The historically new type of communication appeared at the beginning of the XXIst century that has become a trigger for the uprise of mass social movements all over the world **Shchelina,**with new features and developing mechanisms

Keywords: Network society, mass self-communication, modern Russian society, new social movements, social consolidation

Manuel Castells' theory of network society has been recently updated according to the new events witnessed in various parts of the world during the last 10 years. The author of the theory registers the major signals of the changing processes in the modern society, happening due to the expansion of networks in the age of technological innovations. Great changes have affected the global economy, finance, structure of labor, migration, the velocity, role and individual's perception of time. An unprecedented increase of urbanization in the world happened as well. The society has become multiethnic [Castells, 2010].

The network structure of the society leads to the uprise of a fundamentally new form of communication called mass self-communications [Castells, 2010]. The launched process reduces the elitist role of the official issuer of information i.e. the information flows going vertically, and increases the importance of information published in open spaces on the Internet by individuals i.e. information flows going horizontally from individuals to individuals. New technologies let any individual create its own informational system using the Internet and mobile communication tools. Despite the appearance of mass self-communications in an atmosphere of high social instability, this form of communication turns up to be an effective tool in the matrix of social interaction in the Internet.

The accelerated growth in number of mass self-communications' users is being registered due to the revolutionary changes in the field of communication technologies which made wireless mobile communication devices able to stay connected to the Internet almost continuously.

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Wireless communication becomes the dominant form of communication in the world, being the fastest-spreading communication technology in history. In this regard the role and form of issue of information in mass-media changes. Synergy between mass-communication and all other forms of communication appeared [Alekseeva, 2013].

The result of this process is the emergence of a radically new culture of communication in modern society that leads to the appearance of new social movements.

During the last five years the world has seen the emergence of mass global and regional social movements outside of institutional structures representing open systems with a spontaneous nature [Castells, 2012]. This historically new type of social movement has tangible hierarchy and leaders; information within the movement activity is spread virally and mainly using new electronic communication tools - namely, mass self-communication constituting spaces of communication autonomy beyond the control of governments. A feature of the new type of social movements is their emergence in virtual space. Due to fundamentally new factors such mass movements manifest intensified consolidation processes in the modern society. New practical mechanisms of consolidation amid an increase in the proportion of young people in countries are directly linked with technological developments that influenced the nature of communication in the established modern informational society. The virtual mass self-communication becomes the main practical mechanism for social consolidation in the modern informational society. The consolidation process intensifies due to the crisis of government legitimacy and the loss of public trust in government and indicates the emergence of the new form of a civil society [Klishin, 2013]. The answer to the question whether it is possible to drastically influence management decisions, or even change the political regime using new forms of communication appeared in network societies, giving the lack of real leaders and institutionalized groups articulating their interests, is still to be found.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 1.Theory, Methodology and history of Social Science

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World Views in Modern Russia

Absrract

 Picture of the world in modern Russia are numerous and have different bases. Since Russia is a vast country with a large territory, with different climate, with different spatial and temporal characteristics of different. In the article by means of psychological projective techniques studied this variety

Keywords: values, world view, psychological projective techniques
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A world view shall be understood as an impression of the reality in which Russian citizens live and work. This view is related to Russian people's perception of themselves, their home region, the country as a whole, and the place where they make their living etc. The world views are comprised of life's values and meanings of the people living in the given area. These values typically represent public's opinions and are formed through various formal and informal institutions, mass media, propaganda etc.

As there are about 80 distinct federal regions in Russia, one may speculate that the views of the world are different in different regions. These differences are related to cultural, demographic, climate, ethnic, and religious characteristics of these regions.

In particular, using projective psychological methods (in psychology, those dealing with the subconscious), I undertook a pilot study in Yamalo-Nenetsky autonomous region (Nadym), Tatarstan (Kazan-city), Moscow and Krasnodarsky region (Kuban State University). The study subjects were students of various local universities. They have been studied using the group-version of the Lusher's test and drawing-based tests.

Using the drawing-based tests, I obtained the following results:

1. Disposition "I am a Russian citizen". A general tendency in drawings is people pictured with a tricolor flag. Students from Moscow usually draw such formal attributes as a passport, a star, a bottle of vodka and a water glass signed with "me". Students from Kazan draw a person with a Russian flag or a glass of vodka, draw a face having Asian features and sign it "I am a Tatar". Students from a Krasnodar region draw a red army soldier with a rifle and a pointing finger saying "you", a matreshka, a girl with a traditional headdress (kokoshnik) baring a label "Russia" or a Russian tricolor flag, valenki (traditional winter boots), or an outline of the Russian border with a little dot saying "me".

2. Disposition "My country is Russia". A common theme is drawing landscapes of various regions of Russia. In particular, students from Moscow most commonly draw landscapes

with a birch and a river, as well as the imperial eagle, tricolor flag, bear, a piece of paper reading "hymn" etc. Students from Kazan draw a bottle of vodka signed underneath "unfortunately", landscapes with fields and rivers, a birch tree with pack of birds flying above, Christian churches, outline of Russia's borders reading "RF(Russian Federation)" or "Putin and I" or a dot labeled as Kazan, smoking pastry (pirozhki), tricolor flag, a crown with two arrows pointing toward Putin and Medvedev, imperial two-headed eagle, balalaika, three leaves reading "burocrats, gas, oil" and "devastation" and "people" underneath. Students from Krasnodar region draw landscapes with a forest, clearing and a road, geographical landscape with mountains, rivers, a sea, a still life with a grapevine and a pomegranate, a globe with the Russian border outline, tricolor flag, a bear, balalaika, matreshka, vodka with some snack.

3. Disposition "my university". A general tendency is drawing a formal building with students taking classes. In particular, students from Moscow most often draw a building with a label MPSI, and a book with a "Psy" (psychology students). Students from Kazan draw a house with the attributes of their university (KAI), auditorium, airplanes and a dollar sign, the sun, question mark, bachelor hat, notebook, students hand in hand with a label "together", credit book, and a desk. Students from Krasnodar draw a university building labeled KSU, a desk with books, solid triangle, student book, a room with a window and student desks, a tree with multiple branches, a graduation certificate, a mountain with "me" on the top, a pile of books with an ink holder on a desk.

4. Disposition "my family". Common tendencies are drawings with all family members including cats and dogs. Students from Moscow draw all family members supplemented with names, including dogs, cats, sometimes hourglass, a wall, and a fortress. Students form Kazan draw members of their family, a fireplace and a person, a house, a heart, the Sun, a package of juice "My family", soup on a stove, an egg, a football, a vegetable garden, writing "a stick and a carrot", draw a heart and a "punishing" belt. Students from Krasnodar draw a house with a fence, a heart, a table with people sitting around and a lock in the middle. They draw all family members, a fortress, little hearts, and the Sun.

5. Disposition "my life". General tendencies are drawings picturing the organizations that they have to visit daily, and listing their referent groups. Students from Moscow most commonly draw organizations: the institute (university), home, or a group of people marked as "friends", "love" etc; sometimes they draw a computer, a heart, mountains, a conveyer belt marked "every day the same". Students from Kazan draw a sunrise, a bundle of

balloons and label this as "home-university-home, club and a row". They draw their university, a gym, family and friends, a sun and a steamboat bouncing on the waves, a group of items consisting of a TV set, the Sun, mobile phone, a heart and an automobile, a fireworks, writing "travel", a palm tree and a sea, football gates and a person with a ball and a label "football", a spiral disappearing in the skies, cardiogram, a mountain with a person climbing to its top. They also draw a rain contrasting a perfect weather, a collection of sweets, three-wheeler bicycle, flying balloons, a heart with the infinity sing, a bus, faces expressing happiness and sadness, a line marked "lines", a TV and a radio. Students of the Krasnodar University draw a fist as a symbol of solidarity, the Sun, an arrow-pierced heart next to an encyclopedia, a bundle, a propeller signed with "a test", a sun behind the clouds, paper listing: health, love, family, success, respect, social position, friendship, a cycle family-work-family, a flower labeled "happiness", a road, squared sun.

6. Disposition «My Dream». The overall trends are the figures with the attributes of wealth, such as certain brands of cars, scooters, recreational attributes. For example, students of Moscow often draw a car, genie in a bottle, Daoist symbol of a harmony of the spirit and the body, a palm tree on the beach symbolizing a vacation, a dog, a sea with two gravestones with inscriptions «I am buried here, here is my beloved one», draw a house with inscription «quiet life». Students from Kazan will draw a U.S. dollar with the inscription «freedom», a set of houses, cars, family and money, a plane bearing the inscription «England», guitar, a bill with a dollar sign and a heart, a woman with an inscription on the chest «faith, hope, love», a parachute, a set of «San Trope, bucks and Cayenne Turbo», stairs going up, little man with a crown, a diploma, a sailboat, a heart with wedding rings, star in the sky, the Earth with the words «world peace», a house with a palm-tree and the inscription «Miami», two hearts pierced with an arrow, «Travel Agency», the dimensions of the euro and the dollar. Students from the Krasnodar region draw a scooter with the inscription «Honda cbr 900 rr», Eiffel tower with the inscription «la tour d'Eiffel», a heart with people inside, a stage and a girl with the microphone and the signature of «apartment, work», people with the signature «He» and «Her», the inscription «love and happiness», a sea and palm trees, a prize of 1000000 dollars in addition to a car, a house inscribed «prada», draw a Mecca, a cloud with the words «self-fulfillment, success, happiness», a table with a man sitting behind and a panel «a representative of the country», sign «Health for the entire family, Longevity», a booklet with the inscription «diploma», a to-do list: «to become a director of a company, get married, to buy a house, get a child, let everyone live forever, to buy a BMW X6, get a diploma», draw a plane in the clouds, an unfinished house with the words «to

build a house», a list of «work, daughter, well-being of the family forever», draw a general's star, a globe, draw a heart, the hand reaching for the sky, a forest landscape with trees and animals.

7.   Disposition «Christianity». The overall trends are pictures depicting the cross. Thus, students of Moscow often painted a cross, a church, parish, sometimes the attributes of a knight's shield and a flag. Students of the Yamalo-Nenetsky region define Christianity as a «dawn», «faith in God's help», «generosity, love for others and mutual assistance» as «faith in Jesus», often depicting the sunrise or the sun at the zenith, the cross, and Easter cakes. Students from Kazan painted a cross, a container with the holy water, a cathedral, an angel, write «Alexy II», draw a book with the inscription «Bible», domes, a bell, a man with a cross on his neck, a bunch of grapes. Students of the Krasnodar Territory draw a cross, the Bible, a church, a dome, a candle, write «Jesus», a person with a shaded heart, a cross on an abstract neck, a cross with the inscription «faith in God and myself», in the form of a flower bell, draw pages off the Bible with inscription «For the God loved the world so much», the Bible with the words «covenants, prayer, God», the icon of the Virgin, the cross and the sun.

8.   Disposition «Islam». The overall trends are drawings depicting a crescent and a mosque. Thus, students from Moscow most draw violent religious fanatics with the inscription «terrorist», an explosion of an atomic bombs, fire, burning aircraft, a bomb, a crescent, a mosque and sometimes a question mark or write «I do not know». Students of the Yamal-Nenets District (Nadym) define Islam as a «religion, which has the Koran as the holy book», where «people live under the laws of Shiriat and Hadiths», as «a rigor», «the faith in God», as «something unknown». They often painted vahhabist women, a sunset, a crescent with a star, a praying person in a shape of a jar. Students from Kazan painted a mosque and a crescent, a book with the inscription «Koran», a man wearing a skullcap, or a woman with a her face covered with a yashmak, Chuck-Chuck (traditional sweets) and a Belyash, pork snout, a bordermark with the inscription Mecca and Medina, a man shearing a ram. Students paint a crescent in Krasnodar region, a woman with a veil and a signature «humility to the fate», Mulla broadcasting from a mosque, a pig crossed with a cross, a rug with people praying, a shooting machine gun, the sun and a person with a signature «faith in the pure».

The next step of my study was to test the students with the help of the Lyusher's group test. I identified four areas of human life: social, political, physical and spiritual (or cultural

information) areas and grouped a wide variety of words associated with these areas in four sers. I then suggested students to sort the words by colors.

I obtained the following results: Since it was a pilot study, we can say, that the sample was not representative. However, we can point out the following:

1.   The closer to the center (Moscow) the respondents live, the more important for them are the power symbols as the goals to achieve. In contrast, the farther away from the center they live, the more valuable subjects of reverence they become.

2.   The further North people live, the more valuable for them become such basic human values as health, food, home etc.

3.   In regions located further south, values of the economic domain assume the highest significance such as money, business, freedom, etc.

4.   Religious values of Islam and Christianity are important only in the regions with a high population density of these confessions. Otherwise these values are unclear and of low sociological importance.

Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 1.Theory, Methodology and history of Social Science

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Analysis of the World Crisis' Causes: Strategic of the State Administration

Abstract

The authors of the paper consider the self-organization with individual choice as the own base of the foundation of social-historical existence. The authors analyze the role of such social subjects as elite and ersatz-elite which acting in the economic realm. The State plays a very important role in these processes, because there is a direct correlation between value systems of political leaders as representatives of elite and ersatz-elite elite and ersatz-elite and their economic course. The present crisis does not have only economical but mainly social roots and cultural effects, such as the elite deprivation for example.

Keywords*: social evolution, social rent, self-organization, elite and ersatz-elite, elite deprivation

The present crisis does not have only economical but mainly social roots and cultural effects. Now in sociology we speak about "self-organization". There are several ways of the system of non-linear evolution. 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.

*Such mental qualities as sophisticated cognitive intellect, diverse range of behavior and social causes can perform the function of **preadaptive**[8] elements and play a clear evolutionary role. It is possible to discuss if we introduce the category of "Information". The theory of elites is also regarded within synergy approach in the binary system in particular. "Elite" and*

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[8] ***Preadaptation*** – beginning into evolving system the useful sighs before they should stay really useful to its.

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"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 stratums. 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 interests [*Maslow*, 2003, p.80-96]. Possessing such qualities along with better social adaptation, ersatz-elite become an incomprehensive replica of elite its *social antipode.*

The future is not given. Behavior at the individual level is the key factor in shaping the evolution of the entire human species, especially in the time of globalization and network revolution. And the role of individuals seems to be more important than ever. Values are closely connected to significance points. An individual system of significance points is presented by whole set of behavior and reasoning patterns acquired by person. Controlling significance points through values, this makes person a social being.

If we compare (with some degree of approximation) "social mutations" with biological ones we can see at first that social evolution is a leap in the personality behavior. Then it is consolidated into society standards and political institutions. After that we can speak about the changes of forms in society development, their fixation and realization of new values and social aims. Human society is a self-organizing system. Social world is a symbolic system, a complex of conclusions that can cause   material changes. When two dynamic and inseparably linked systems "Space-Time" and "Personality-Society" converge, a phenomenon of *social parallelism* appears. It is a quality of social substance which can result only from mental processing.

Social parallelism *is a basic nonlinearity of social environment which stimulates the process of self-organization by selecting important or non-important information.* Ordinarily speaking, every person has a definite way of response to social pressure which tends to absolutize the worldview. This way of response becomes *attitude* in social sphere, *ideology* in politics, and *religion (even secular)* in spiritual sphere. Every person joins network social structure with definite environmental qualities.

Any network structure of this kind requires: common system of values and aims; freedom of choice; common authorities (which by analogy with biology can be called "major

environment-making elements"); succession (i.e. ties between people of different age and generations). The main social mission of such a system is to integrate people into a common information field, ideally into the field of urgent decision making. The networks of social parallelism are the basis for self-organization of any society. Authorities form the knots of these networks gathering their followers around (people sharing same ideas, opinions, and views with an authority). A person usually thinks that there should be a solid evidence to confirm their faith. However, true knowledge does not need external proof. An authority insisting on their own evidence as the only true criterion for their followers can be called "a closed authority". An authority not insisting on this is "an open authority".

The networks of social parallelism are self-organizing systems which offer different ways of interrelations with the environment depending on their type. There are *two* major types of social parallelism – *close* and *open*. They differ according to the authority's traits and types of relations between the authority and its followers. In such a manner circulation of information becomes one of the most important criterion of how efficiently the network of social parallelism is using the environment.

The *first* difficult of our approach is to determine the qualities of concrete person as a representative of elite/ersatz-elite. From the position of traditional sociology a representative of elite it is generally a person on the top of social pyramid or a professional sphere. We connect not only professional but mental and morality qualities. The positions by representatives of elite/ersatz-elite on the *horizontal networks* are the centers of social communications. Their main quality in this case is the position of authority for other people (such point of view connecting with definitions of *structural inertia* and *structural holes* [Burt, 1995].

The representatives of elite/ersatz-elite are prevailing by the highest strata as a result of definite social, economic and political processes. Determine the qualities of person issue from results of his/her social activity. It is possible to look at these factors in more detail from the point of view by the Resource Approach (*Sorensen A.B.*) [*Sorensen, 2000,Vol.105, №6, p.1523-1558]*. The approach of social classes doesn't explain many things in the modern social conditions.

The *second* difficult of our approach is to determine the inside qualities because each concrete person is changing (for example apostle Paul who pursued the Christians yesterday and would be one of Founder of Church tomorrow). But it determines human qualities not more difficult than electron's trajectories. It means the exhaustion of all resources of social

environment if the ersatz-elite is concentrate on the top levels of society. If we can observe this phenomenon in the state political and economic life it is possible to make the deductive conclusion about such concentration. Alternatively, if we may observe the ersatz-elite concentration it is possible to make the deductive conclusion about the definite trend. The main generating cause of World Crisis is the concentration of the people with definite mental qualities such as ersatz-elite in the knots of high level of social structure. Now we can't speak about quality of "political elite" without taking into account their *motivation, values, professional qualities* and qualities of their decisions.

The power and economical monopolies are the social factors which are converted into settled rent factors. We use the term *Social Rent* with new scientific explanation. Rent is being viewed as a possession of a certain social capital income on microeconomic level. On macroeconomic level the government part and place is being studied as the owner of economic space, creator of a certain institutional environment and a developer of a circle of rent's subject relations. The production is replaced by the searching and retaining of rent sources. Rent is a significant resource; it is a fact of unearned social product assignment. Rent has a direct influence on demand with the purchasing ability of its owners. Such wise it appears to be the connection between micro and macroeconomic levels. Conspicuous consumption of the owners of extra rent absorbs the growing production efficiency and liquidates its results.

The ability to extract social rent appears on self-organization level. This ability is based on the relationship between domination and penalty, to be institutionalized. In a necessary order there is an ideology of a certain world view allowing establishing and institutionalizing new relations. An environment is being created in which social rentiers are allowed special profit as compared to economic agents acting under different conditions. The competition is performing a recourse economy cut function because it help to minimize production cost, changes to monopoly which outnumbers the circle of rent relation individuals. Those relations can run on a very high level where the receivers of the rent and subjects of economic relations are different countries. Social rent is stealing of others labor, social parasitizing when given such a status by government. Social rent is an off take of social institutes' selection in economic sphere, adopting parasitism for natural limit of environmental and human resources. The attitude to labor is being followed by negligence for production labor.

Firstly at the State level raising the level of education and qualification does not move up the social ladder. *Secondly*, the employee (including intellectuals) starts to sell a materialized in

his knowledge and skills which took to receive them (as his own, and his teachers). Ignoring this fact when it's paying for mental work is one of the ways to get social rent in most hidden form.

Thirdly, the possibility of production transfer to those parts of the world where there is cheap but unskilled, poorly trained labor force terminates the process of reproduction of intellectual resources, because their vehicles are unnecessary to its market. In fact the intelligent system achievements could be exchanged for a converted natural rent in the form of low-skilled labour. Thus, the profit extracts from payment professionals, and becomes part of the income of all other persons who have nothing to do with intelligence, embedded in the cost of production. Social and economic policy has brought the best and brightest minds in consulting, financial and banking services, which were valued far above the work has moved forward the modernization of production and in the past has developed Western countries in industrial giants. The intellectual capital of the nation is no longer a priority in the development of even the most advanced countries.

The main field of the contradictions of capitalism is not the relation of exploitation in the production process but the scope of market relations and management of production (i.e. *T.Veblen*) [*Veblen*, 1984]. Here in the first place is monitoring the processes of distribution and redistribution of the product. In this case, a monopoly position on the market is the principal basis for social rent extraction in the form of surplus income. The process of separating ownership from control is running when not in production, and financial speculation is starting to show major gains. For the sake of profits, the captains of finance deliberately disrupted the production process, resulting in increased unemployment, backwardness of production and its wrong organization. Financial oligarchy edges with the State authorities. Between the types of economic systems and social institutionalization of the rent there is functional interdependence. The increasing role of imperfect competition leads to the transformation of the economic space: it is uneven, and some entities are able to shape their economic power.

Rental economy in the short term may have a competitive advantage compared to performance of resource mobilization in terms of speed, financial accumulation, including using borrowed technology. And then the countries of rental economies operating within the process of globalization as the subjects of business can reproduce the elements of unfair competition and price distortions with immoderate consumption to advertise mega economic level. Global economic relations in trade, in this case are contrary to the normal market mechanisms. As an example of the current situation, where an energy demand and rising prices have not led to invest

profits in energy development, and to invest in financial projects in developed countries to overheat light money now on the international market.

The State can play a positive role. But in this case, there is a direct correlation between value systems of political leaders and economic course. The quality of political institutes of society depends from qualities of *political leader as a representative* of elite or ersatz-elite. Analysis of the activity of the State can be made on the basis of the Division of State ownership of natural resources and State-monopoly on entrepreneur's economic space, which allows retrieving the excess income to individual economic actors. The State may transfer the right to produce goods with the social utility, private entrepreneurs on the basis of profitable, "non-market" conditions to finance public works. State enterprise, being released in the form of direct economic activity allows achieving macroeconomic goals by microeconomic techniques-developing competition, maximizing the potential entrepreneur. Although factory worker's apron has changed in developed countries to suit office worker, alienation has not disappeared, it has become only more sophisticated.

In social protests, born in the most different corners of the contemporary world, they position themselves as workers, who are being enriched by a very small minority. Social rent is one of the functional components of such enrichment. Economic systems where social rent is being institutionalized and its recipients are the ruling class, or destroyed, or to expand, grabbing new resources. Totalitarianism is the most natural form for this type of political economy; Nazism and Communism, particularly religious fascism are the best forms of ideology; imperialism is logically arising forms the economic and political expansion.

The principal cause of modern global crisis is the ***elite deprivation***. We consider that ersatz-elite is the main subject of social rent's relations by the all economical levels. The chief aim of the State Administration for the real political elite is the minimization of such phenomenon.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 1.Theory, Methodology and history of Social Science

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Altruism, Morality and Social Solidarity in Russia in XX Century

Abstract

The authorconsidering the evolution of the above notions in Russian society trace their historical continuity and simultaneously the main phases of their transformation in the run of XX century. The author distinguishes at least four phases of such transformations and came to conclusion that a 'circle is closed' and at the very beginning of XXI century Russian society returns to its starting point of late XIX century. This idea fits to the modern Russian philosopher and historian Alexander Akhiezer's concept who interpreted Russian history as the permanent oscillation between the move 'forth' and 'back'.

Keywords: Altruism, morality and moral myths, networks, social solidarity, all-embracing risk society, Russia

Some theoretical foundations

As P. Sorokin stated 'The immediateand most decisive factors of either solidarity or antagonismof the interacting parties are (a) the character of their law and ethical convictions; (b) the concordance or discordance of the law and moral convictions of each party with those of the others; (c) the degree to which these norms areconsistently and adequately practiced by the overt actions and vehicles of the parties [Sorokin, 1947, p. 121]. Following Sorokin, I disagree with the solidarity concept of E. Durkheim [Sorokin, 1947, p. 143-44].

In the analysis of the issues in question my starting points are as follows: (1) a socium is developing due only its instability and conflicts (or antagonisms); (2) war, peace and truce or frozen conflict are indispensable state of affairs of any part of historical process; (3) risks are indispensable factor of any human activity [Sorokin, 1947; Beck, 1992, 1999; Yanitsky, 2000]; (4) natural or man-made disasters are also unavoidable [Beck, 1992; Perrow, 1984]; (5) nowadays the humanity is in the state of all-encompassing risk [Yanitsky, 2000, 2010]; (6) it means the there are no absolutely safe places on the Planet: the only more or less safe are remained; (7) according to P. Sorokin, I distinguish 'total or encyclopedic antagonisms and solidarities, and special antagonisms and solidarities, i.e. *biosocial*; these special forms are very numerous, more or less narrow, and often combined into clusters of antagonisms and solidarities [Sorokin, 1947, p. 98; see also: Naess, 1984; Yanitsky, 2004]; (8) the surface of the Planet may be presented as the relationships between 'living spaces' and 'resource areas'. In my view, the total sum of the former is shrinking as shagreen leather [Yanitsky, 2013]; (9) finally the morale (in Russia we prefer to speak on ethics) is a focal point and determines the strength and character of the rest two [Berdyaev, 1990; Vekhi, 1990; Kropotkin, 1991; Drobnitsky, 1974]. It should be

noted that Sorokin distinguished between total or encyclopedic antagonisms and solidaritiesand special antagonisms and solidaritiesincluding valuesof life, health, sex, age and race, etc. [Sorokin, 1947, p. 98]. As concerns altruism, I see the responsibility to future generations among its key features [Partridge, 1981].

2. From the Russian history

To begin with, Russia has never been a country of 'rational mind'. The themes of justice, mutual support and social solidarity have always been the central topics of Russian philosophy, literature, poetry and social sciences. This irrational mind has been deeply rooted in the influence of the Orthodox Church. Besides, this type of mentality was the product of the long-term expansion of Russian state towards the East and the South. This habit of mind was the adversarial result of domination of life in accordance with criminal codes over a law. As our great writer Saltykov-Shczedrin noted, a rigidity of Russian laws always compensated by their non-execution or execution in accordance of local traditions or particular will of governors or rank-and-file officers.

The dependence of an altruism, morality and social solidarity on the type of society (civilization). Russia was a peasant country in which dogmata of Orthodox Church had played the role of amalgam of altruism, moral law and social solidarity. The very principle of altruism 'Vivre pour autrui' formulated by O. Comte, has never been perceived as such in Russia. The guiding idea was to help brothers in Christ. In 1876 F. Dostoevskyi wrote: all political consideration retards in front of the idea of altruist help to suffered brothers on Balkans. 'The main essence of all this (i.e. military help – O. Yan.) by the peoples' comprehension is undoubtedly and entirely was the faith of Eastern Christianity, that is Orthodoxy. Our people doesn't know neither Serbs nor Bulgarians; the people helps them by their own pennies and volunteers… It is the essence of Russian people: craving for feat in the name of Christ' [Dostoevskyi, 1895, p. 440].

With the emergence of intelligentsia in Russia in XIX century, especially the transformation of part of it in the political movement called 'The People's Will' (*narodniki*) the phenomenon of nihilism has emerged. 'The nihilism has been an expression of moralism of a great part of Russian intelligentsia…The nihilism was a denial of an existence of absolute values. The symbol of faith of Russian intelligent has been a satisfaction of the needs of "majority". A life as such has no objective, inner meaning; the only one common good the ideologists of

nihilism saw in satisfaction of material (subjective) needs. The root of *narodnichestva* was altruism… Nihilistic moralism, that is, utilitarianism, of Russian intelligentsia of the late XIX century is not only the ethic dogmata or moral mood – it is another form of social metaphysic, it another form of religion' [Frank, 1990, Pp. 151, 155-157, 159].

Nevertheless, in the years of 1890-1907, especially after Russian-Japan War (1904-05) and after first revolution (1905-07) the charity organization mushroomed across the country. It had been typical altruist organizations, in which my grand-father and gran-mother actively took part [Yanitsky, 2012; see also: Stepanskyi, 1980, 1982]. In particular my relatives saved Jews during Jewish massacres in the tsarist Ukraine [Laquer, 1993; see also: Shafarevich, 2004].

As to 'tolstovstvo', that is, establishment of peasant communes designed and populated by Tolstoi adepts, these communes existed rather short time since urban intelligentsia and peasants has been adversaries and didn't trust each other. L. Tolstoiwas an outstanding righter but a weak social constructivist. When WWI has begun, some of residents of Tolstoi communes has become the sister of charity or corps men [Drobnitskyi, 1974; Tolstovstvo, 1983, p. 689]. The morale of mediocrity (Herzen), i.e. of petty bourgeoisie is still prevailed.

Some more considerations concerning Russian history: For centuries, Christian faith and the idea of sacred power of tsar was the basement of unity of Russian state. The unitary state is considered as an ultimate value. Indeed, the multi-national state never capable to generate the all-embracing moral norms. As everywhere there has existed true morale and the morale' myths. But in mass consciousness justice and truth have been always prevailing.

3. Moral and altruism after the Bolshevicks revolution

After this revolution in October 1917 and civil war of 1919-22 the Orthodox Church was banned. Atheism has become the moral imperative. Two types of social order had prevailed: the state as a producer of any laws, moral and social norms. And the law of '*mir*' (peasant community) continued to exist despite any repressions. Enlightenment became the main instrument for the establishment of atheism, communist morality and veritable social solidarity. L. Tolstoi and the idea of 'Khozdeniya v narod' (Going to people) and P. Kropotkin's idea of local self-organization have been transformed into obligatory deal for communist leaders and the most educated workers to organize charity schools for peasants for liquidation of their illiteracy. Nevertheless, the all-embracing risk (as fear, permanent di-stress, encapsulation of private life) society concept has become common denominator for all layers of society. From the

psychological viewpoint, this stressful state of mind has been mostly characteristic to the period of totalitarianism and to the post-war period (a mutual fear of global nuclear war). Evert year communist state spent enormous resources (financial and human) in order to enlighten and educate the national periphery. But as it is becomes clear now, these forty years efforts turned out powerless in front of their Muslim faith and peasant way of life.

The role of politics in shaping the morale and new organization of social life under consideration has prevailed. Three main phases of this politics were the following. **The first**: after the October revolution in 1917 and civil war in 1919-20, the socialist state of workers and peasants was proclaimed as the highest value and the unique producer of morale norms. A man is totally depends on the state and should fulfill all his instructions. Forced (instructive) altruism prevailed. Social solidarity executed by the command from above. **The second** phase: the totalitarianism and post-totalitarian period (1934-1956). All moral norms has been concentrated in Stalin's work 'A concise course of the history of Bolshevick's party' [Stalin,1938]. It contains three main ideas: a plan for all spheres of social life, forced industrialization, the all-embracing 'motivator' is the Communist party which determines a social strategy, tactics and action repertoire for soviet society as a single whole.

In it all civil society organizations considered as the 'driving belts' of the party policy. A moral imperative has been reduced to one slogan: 'We are in the circle of our enemies. We, socialist society, should take over'. Any discussions and social initiatives from below have been banned and considered as revolt. Permanent fear of repression destroyed any solidarity actions. Totalitarianism may be named as forced (militarized) solidarity [Solzhenitsyn, 1990]. 'One and all!' was the lovely slogan in poetry as well as in communist party appeals in any time, peaceful or warship.

The third phase could be labeled as 'socialist post-modernism'. The state is still sacred but actually people must only recognize its leadership; in any other relations they have been free. That is, each individual has constructed his/her moral norms on their own. The moral force of hard labor as a basement of society has been lost. Nobody bother about actual social solidarity. This solidarity has been only on banners and slogans. It was the period of radical individualism and absence of any form of social solidarity except an exchange of goods and services profitable to both sides.

The fourth phase was the democratic upsurge (1987-91). Superficially, it seemed as the highest form of social solidarity and morale unity of Russian people. But now, more than 20

years later, it becomes clear that neither true democrats nor their adversaries were solidary in their aims and goals. The process of the country's moral diversification began. Potentially, it threatens by new step of decay of 'democratic Russia'. The period of wild capitalism has been accompanied by the split in values and goals [Solzhenitsyn, 1994]. **The current, fifth phase** which began in early 2000s was marked by the reverse move towards the domination of the state and restriction of human right and freedoms. But under conditions of the state's policy of attracting migrants from the former Soviet republics of Mid-Asia, which were Muslims, poor and uneducated, the social solidarity has been again slow down. On the contrary, the socio-ethnic conflicts between aboriginals and newcomers steady grew. At each step of the development of the Soviet society a gap between declared plans and projects by communist leaders and a real life of millions was widening. The most risky feature of this discrepancy has been the growing role of everyday life according to criminal codes. The mass repressions and existence of Archipelago Gulag has produced this criminal code and replaced by him the laws system. The life in accordance with criminal code (*zhizn' poponyatiyam*) became a true all-embracing risk. A lot of criminal leaders (*pakhany*) have penetrated in all spheres of social life. But the irony of Russian history has been a continuation of this inner destruction of main social institutions. The introduction of market economy which seemed by new Russian leaders as the main lever of the establishment of 'right' social order only enhanced this tendency of domination of criminal code. The liberally-oriented leaders of new Russia were convinces that introduction of market will resolve all economic and social problems. But as the Noble laureate in economics K. Arrow rightly stated: 'Market is combined with nothing: Nether with democracy, nor with authoritarian order, nor with any form of taming. One should understand that a market, that is economy, is an alternative to any society… From an arena of class struggle the political sphere turned out into a market of political service… If you wish, the market forced out a society as a structure of human relations' [quoted from: Kustarev, 2005, Pp. 15, 16].

That is why the force and rapid introduction of market economy is only enhanced the egoistic morale which had been already existed in the pores of planned economy.

Altruism declarative and veritable

They were neighbors throughout Russian history because all social life has been split into declarative (or symbolic, in accordance with B. Maliniwski) and true or veritable. Following A. Hertzen who predicted that 'mediocrity must and o finally would take over' (Hertzen in turn refer to J.S. Mill who stated that mediocrity (*meshczanstvo*, in Russian) is an autocratic mob of conglomerated mediocrity, which possesses all; the mob without ignorance but without education as well, the eminent Russian writer and critics A. Merezhkowski predicted in the beginning of XX century: 'The coming world ruler of darkness of our century is *meshczanin,* the Coming Cad (boor)' [Merezhkowski, 1991: 14].

'In Russia this Cad has three faces. The first is the present, the face of the autocracy, the mortal grip of positivism, Chinese wall of table of ranks, which separated Russian people from Russian intelligentsia and Russian Church. The second face, the past, is dead positivism of the Orthodox red-tapism which in turn serves to positivism of tsarist autocracy. The third face, a future, is the face of the bottom-up cads, that is, hooliganism, vagabondism, black hundred – is the most frightful among these three. These three origins of spiritual mediocrity have joined against three origins of spiritual nobleness: against earth and its people, against Church with its living soul, and against intelligentsia living spirit of Russia' [Merezhkowski, 1991, p. 43]. Old Russian intelligentsia saw the morale and right as inseparable notions [Kistyakowsky, 1990]. Unfortunately, there are some signs that the modern Russia reproduced some features which had been mentioned above. It is interesting to mention, that even in mid-XIX century Herzen foresaw the transformation of Europe in refuge of mediocrity the basic characteristics of which had been a common sense and positivism – no any breakthrough to another worlds. Of course, he meant the modern adepts of consumer society.

Altruism depends on context

The mediocrity has great impact on forms of altruism because of even the greatest cities has never been strictly urban. The overwhelming majority of Russian cities and towns were actually the centers of agrarian areas. Till mid-XX century the large cities were surrounded by *posades*, i.e. semi-agrarian settlements populated by the workers who at the same time were peasants (especially it related to their unemployed relatives). Up to mid-1960s, Russia was the country urbanized mainly mechanically [Yanitsky, 1984]. That is why the idea of 'Garden-cities' were so popular in Russia [Howard, 1902; Yanitsky, 2007].

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It is quite natural that the altruism in various steps of Russian state and society development was different. The maim idea of fathers of communist doctrine had been: 'Common good for all who works!' But it was a political motto only. In essence, the October revolution of 1917 and 50 years after was the years of all-embracing risk. Any actual individual (particular) altruistic dead became suspected since it was not approved from above. Nevertheless, the altruism still existed both in the Archipelago Gulag and beyond it. It existed in 1920 during the hunger in central Russia, in 1930 during the hunger in Ukraine, etc. In 1920s, the organization *Pomgol*actually saved thousands of starving people. In mid-1930s, the process of dispossession of the *kulaks* meant final of peasant's 'mir' and exile of thousands of peasants' families to the North and Siberia region. In those conditions these people considered as enemies of the Soviet regime and therefore not recommended for mercy. During the war with German fascism, first in Spain, then in the Soviet Union one can see thousands examples of disinterested mutual aid of those who suffered from fascist occupants: peoples (first of all children, teenagers Jews) were hidden in the forests, at secret houses, basements and cellars; the inhabitants on occupied territories gave aid to those who were wounded. The partisan war conducted not only against occupants, but it was disinterested aid to local people. The Great Patriotic war (1941-45) returned to majority of the Soviet people the feeling of altruism. When the war ended, the disinterested aid had been targeted to the restoration of thousands of towns and rural settlements and the rehabilitation of their inhabitants.

Since the victory over fascism has become a starting point for post-war consolidation of Soviet society, the slogan the 'Nobody forgotten!' engendered a wave of deeds targeted for the search of those which have been missed, disengaged or lost their parents and relatives. It has been true altruistic campaign of volunteers, be it prominent righters or lay peoples. This campaign has emerged both from the top and form below. Broadcasting and TV relaying and pathfinders helped each other.In other cases it was a search of missed by means of using letters, archives and excavations on the places of the battles of the past. It is indicative that for the first time in Soviet history not the group or collective but *a personality became a focal point.*Another aim of the activity of these two persons has been the comprehension of moral strength (or moral spirit) of Russian population during thiswar. The leaders of this altruistic movement were the poetess AgniaBarto and righter and public figure Sergey Smirnov. They have millions of followers.

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Having emerged in mid-1960s the Dissident's movement was politically weak but at the same time it was the strongest form of 'total' altruism and solidarity with mass of peasants which still remained not socially free. As in XIX century, they were backed by the morally influential group of provincial righters *(so called derevenshcziki)* who raise their voice for social and political freedoms of millions of peasants.All in all, the 1960-70s, were the years of organic solidarity in a few large cities and mechanical solidarity in remote (provincial) Russia. Kholkozes and sovchozes remained the organizations based mainly on mechanical solidarity.

During the Leonid Brezhnev's era of ruling (1964-1982) the overall situation began to change in the Soviet society. 'Total' (general) altruism had gradually replaced by egoism which had infected all layers of the society. The struggle between altruism for all and enrichment for closed circle of ruling bureaucracy grow every day. The productive labor lost its value (protestant ethics) whereas a various speculative forms of trade rapidly have grown. It meant that the epoch of primary accumulation had begun long before the Soviet society decay and the introduction of market relations.

As concerns to 'general' solidarity (according to Sorokin), it began to shape in somewhat between the 1950 and 1960s years. The actual breakthrough to the world of solidarity and altruism was the World festival of Youth and Students held in Moscow in August 1957. For millions of young Russians it was the true shock when they felt that each of them is an integral part of the global world. The feeling of fellowship and mutual aspiration towards equality, brotherhood and freedom had been the main features of this breakthrough.

 A special solidarity expressed itself in sharp widening of social opportunities (to choose the place of work, education, to travel across the country, spare time spending on his/her own, etc.) [Yanitsky, 2012]. Nevertheless, I call this general type of altruism and solidarity as 'normative' but passive: social opportunity structure has widened enormously but political opportunity structure has remained the same.Nobody intended to lunch a struggle aimed at the changing of existing political order.

Morale, altruism and solidarity in the period of forced market invasion

It is rather complicated topic required special attention. Therefore, Idraw the reader's attention to some key turning pointsof this constructed shift only. In the chaos of late 1980s-early 1990s, there were two major tendencies. The populations' majority has been surviving, whereas the minority (former the CPSU leaders, bureaucrats and their servants) did their best to

accumulate money and property. The interconnection of these two large groups I named the 'negative solidarities' because within them egoism and selfishness have been dominated. These two groups are existed up to now. Besides, 'negative' because it has been the solidarity of risk-producers and risk-consumers, i.e. adversaries.

Secondly, the time of all-encompassing risk has come [Yanitsky, 1998, 2000, 2010]. Therefore, there were no absolute safe places on the Planet: there remained only more or less healthy and safe living areas. It meant that no any solidarity efforts were capable to maintain some 'living areas' in safe state for a long time. Local people were able to cope with local threats (natural or man-made disasters) only.

Thirdly, the increase in frequency of local and global disastershas divided the society in two adversarial parts: those who tried to survive by all means (including at the expense of others), and those who were prepared to become the disinterested rescuers, ie altruists, at any time.In the 'advocacy science' of Russian greens and other social movements I see the revitalization of the idea of 'Going to people' [Yanitsky, 2005].

Fourthly, networks of solidarities of riches were permanently changed. Resource wars, head-hunting, technological innovations, temporary units of states and corporations – all this produced a weak and short-term forms of solidarity. In general, this type of solidarity resembles me the biological model 'beast of prey– sacrifice'. Strong forms of solidarity areonly possible under conditions of local community strong concern (say, a mass protest against the high-way construction the throughout a neighborhood without any public hearings of another attempts to reach consensus between a city administration and the local community). Another case in which strong forms of solidarity are possible is an omnipresent global threat as global warming. But even in such caseone could observe the division into solidarity of lay people affected by disasters and solidarity of riches.

Man-nature relationship as moral indicator

I consider a type of man-nature relationship as the indicator of a prevailing type of altruism, morale and social solidarity. D. Weiner: pastoralist, ecologists and utilitarians. In the second half of XIX century and till October revolt (1917) the prominent Russian naturalists and philosophers were highly concerned with these relationships (V. Dokuchaev, V. Soloviev, I. Boridin, P. P. Semenov-Tyan-Shanskyi). But they voice had not been heard by the leaders of

rapidly emerging Russian capitalism. The scientists and scholars could only introduced into theory and practice the concept of 'reserve', i.e. the necessity to establish natural areas without any interference of human activity. From 1920s onwards, during forced industrialization the utilitarianisms took over those who had been concerned with nature. 'We cannot wait the favor from nature – to take it is our task!' was the motto of utilitarianisms. The World War II nearly totally destroyed the nature of European part of the USSR. 'The great plan of transformation of Nature' was signed by J. Stalin. Its ultimate goal was to protect great agrarian areas by planting giant forest-protection stripes (polos). But after Stalin's death, this plan has not been fully fulfilled. The Nikita Chruchczev era has been marked by voluntarism in environmental and agrarian policy. The total area of basic reserves has been diminished again. Unprofessional mastering of virgin lands turned out by soil erosion and desertification. In sum, the moral of Chruchczev ruling has been his will, only! The 18th year of Leonid Brezhnev rule little differed from the era of his predecessor. An ecological policy still did not existed.

The idea of ecological policy as moral norm of Russian society has emerged in short period of democratic reforms (1987-91). The right of every Russian citizen foe safe and clean environment has been fixed in the new Constitution of Russian Federation. But the moral of re-emerging Russian capitalism has been adversarial: nature is the main resource and the source of accumulation of capital in the hands of minority. The majority of population lived on the margin of survival. The response of the poor has been quite negative: they begin to survive at the expense of nature literally. For them, the nature turned out either in the source of bread winning or waste storage. In this sphere of man-nature relationships the environmental movement backed by few naturalists from old generation remained the only the defenders of nature. But they were weak against the capitalist machine.

Negative solidarities

It is solidarities between risk-producers and risk-consumers. The solidarity between *the producers of risks* may be defined as a community of people who, by force, "privatize", in their own egoistic interests, the national resources and the reproductive structures of society, including its social order. These risk solidarities are of an aggressive nature: their initial financial, social and other capital was created by means of compulsory expropriation of the common riches. Lawlessness, compulsion and violence are the key words here, because such solidarities are

formed in secret, mobilize the resources for their reproduction by force and defend themselves with the aid of compulsion, based once more on violence or the threat of it.

The solidarity of *the victims of risks* is the community of exploited people who tried to protect their health and safety as much as possible. These communities, as a rule, are of an altruistic nature in as much as they care about the health and safety not only of themselves and their relatives and neighbors, but of certain groups and even society as a whole. These are communities of response to the challenges posed by the risk-producers. Such solidarities are created from below, uphold the established social order, act within the law and mobilize people who hold the same views in order to achieve their aims for healthy and deserved life.

This dichotomy, like any other, is a very rough one: actually the range of risk solidarities is very wide. These are, in the first place, groups and associations, the sole occupation of which is the construction and production of risks for the purpose of systematically inflicting material and physical damage on others (thieving, banditry, terrorist groups and "unidentified" armed formations) as well as all varieties of ideological and political groupings which create social tension and wreck destruction.

Then there are communities which derive direct benefit from the production of "peaceful" risks. To these belong all forms of 'forced entrepreneurship' using compulsion: operators in the shadow economy, speculators, bribers [Volkov, 2002; Radayev, 2002] as well as groups which try to adapt to life in the risk-laden environment (shuttle traders, speculators, middlemen etc.). They not only produce risks, but also pretend to the role of creators of a new social order.

Finally, there are the various communities which, in one way or another, respond to the challenges posed by the risk producers. These are the communities of the immediate victims of risks (invalids, refugees, forced migrants, people suffering from the Afghan, Chechen and other syndromes, "deceived investors" and other victims of social cataclysms, natural and man-made disasters. These are followed by, defensive and protective associations which, in essence, are based on the key principle of the risk society: 'I am afraid' [Beck 1992, p. 49]. Then come escapist communities striving, in reality or illusory, to opt out of the risk society (community of drug addicts, sects). There are also solidarities which simple reject the existing social order (citizens voting 'against all'). At the end of the list can be put communities which, one way or another, try to diminish the risks which threaten the health and life of their dear ones and society

as a whole (associations of concerned soldiers' mothers, concerned parents of drug-takers, 'survival schools').

The communities of the victims of risks have a number of features in common, although present in varying degrees. I would put in the first place the *compulsory nature* of these communities – they represent always a response to the risk posed by society or its individual structures. Hence the reactive nature of their reflection, the defensive or protective character of their social action, the absence of creative aims. These people want to 'return what they lost', 'stand up for one's rights' only. Although the participation of these groups, for example, in the anti-globalist movement or the international debates on the greenhouse effect are already an empirical fact, the aims of such solidarities are, all the same, as a rule, limited in time and location. They may be called one-point movements. The specificity and limitation of their aims determine the social composition of the communities in question, for instance, the association of mothers of soldiers serving in 'hot spots', of "deceived investors", refugees or forced migrants. The permanent shortage of resources inclines these communities to using the "tactics of opportunity" [Golofast, 2002], limiting their aims, choosing the lesser evil.

In as much as both the positive and negative risk solidarities pursue limited aims, they are usually fairly indifferent to macro-social changes and little receptive to innovations, if the latter do not represent tactical means which permit the achievement of the proposed aims. The majority of such groups are marked by a 'mobilizing' psychology and a high degree of tolerance of the fact of compulsion. In the end, risk solidarities are a form of adaptation by people to the risk society and in this sense, prolong its existence. As P. Sorokin noted, if a war is long and embraces the whole of society, then, in the end, as a result of 'natural selection', society adopts itself to the war (Sorokin 1994: 357). 'Natural selection' some authors considers as mercy of nature.

Social networks which is needed

Before going to conclusion, I'd like to say some words on the changes of network structure of global civil society (*Waters, 1995)which are needed for the promotion of altruism and solidarity in the global age. The following considerations relate not only to Russia but to the world social community as well.

Under conditions of all-encompassing risk society [Beck, 1992, 1995, 1999; Yanitsky, 2000] the aims, structure, tactics and action repertoire of civic activism should be changed. If the

challenges of modern risk society are omnipresent and diverse, a civic activism should be all-encompassing and multisided as well. To my mind, these networksshould be characterized by: the universalism/localism of knowledge and know-how of their members; by an ex-territoriality, i.e. the capability to act in any point of the globe; by the existence of a specific (universal) language of communication with other social actors; by the ability of the above network members to translate the emergence of natural and technical phenomena including disasters and other accidents into language of sociology andpractical actions.

Since recent global socio-economic and political processes are accompanied by reiterated conflicts and disasters which exert influence upon other countries and continents, these networks of civil altruism and solidarity should be capable to monitor the processes of socio-ecological metabolism [Fisher-Kowalski, 1997; Fisher-Kowalski and Haberl, 2008]. It follows that these networks of civic altruism and solidarity should be isomorph to the processes of socio-ecological metabolism in order to be capable to prevent or mitigate the harm to nature ecosystems and human communities.

Conclusion

In the run of XX century Russia has at least passed four different periods of comprehension of altruism, morality and social solidarity and their relationships between them. The first period has been marked by the domination of the Orthodox Church which determined the meaning the phenomena under consideration. This Church established moral norms and exerts great influence on existed social order. But this amalgam step by step has dissolved by social and ethnic conflicts produced by rapidly developing capitalism which altruism, morality and social solidarity had been based on entirely different basement (profit accumulation, competition and exploitation). In particular, social solidarity has been replaced by 'organic' solidarity in accordance with Durkheim conception. That is, by simple interdependence of hired workers. As a reaction to it, the unit of those who were exploited had been established under the motto 'Proletariat of all countries unites!".

The second period, 1914-24 (WWI, civil war, military communism and finally so called NEP, 'New economic policy'), is rather hard to define in the terms of altruism, morality and social solidarity. Although the Orthodox Church was banned, the faith in the God still remained as a base of these feelings of the majority of population, but in rather restricted and overt forms. At the same time, the Bolshevicks were fully resolved to construct the new morale and solidarity

on the basement of communist ideology,and to construct them by a sheer force. More than that, they intend to construct an entirely new, socialist man totally subjected to communist morale. As a result, a social solidarity has been replaced by forced collectivism and so called socialist competition. And altruism turned into compelled extortion in the name of a 'bright future'.

The next, totalitarian phase is characteristic by compulsory altruism (endless forced State economic development loans, forced donations for military defense, etc.). During totalitarian period a moral represents a set of rules and obligations created by the Communist party rulers which should be strictly followed by every citizen. The country turned out into the 'Archipelago Gulag' [Solzhenitsyn, 1990]. During the WWII the country turned out into united military camp with only one motto: 'All for the front,all for the victory!'

The third phase (after the Stalin's death) looked like to be altruistic, morale and solidarity. But it has only been superficially vision. Forced loans and donations for strengthening the army forces continued, the all-embracing fear of totalitarian times became weakened but not disappear. The morale of poor and homeless has been typically post-war syndrome. Nevertheless, those who survived after the war and the Leningrad blockade became more human; the altruism rebirthed at the level of family and kinship everywhere.

The decay of communist system in 1991, and forced introduced the capitalist mode of human relations totally changed the spiritual regulation structure under consideration. The ruling power-property tandem (state bureaucracy, oligarchs and enforcement structures) and the ordinary people, i.e. the majority of civil society, shaped their own principles of solidarity and moral norms. Today, the clan-corporate section and rank-and-file people have entirely different systems of moral norms and principles of solidarity.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 1.Theory, Methodology and history of Social Science

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Childhood Education in Russia: History and Perspectives[9]

Abstract

The precursors to preschool profession appeared in the late 19th century [Korableva et al, 2010, p.13]. It was a time when preschool education institutions were opened for children from rich families, and their aim was to provide care and learning prior to school. In the Russian Empire, preschool education was not the responsibility of the Ministry of Public Education, and it was therefore left to leading intellectuals. The education of preschool educators has been systematically organised and integrated into colleges and universities. All preschool educators were required to have either specialised secondary or higher education.

Keywords: professionalisation, preschool, education, Russia

The precursors to preschool profession appeared in the late 19th century [Korableva et al, 2010, p.13]. It was a time when preschool education institutions were opened for children from rich families, and their aim was to provide care and learning prior to school. In the Russian Empire, preschool education was not the responsibility of the Ministry of Public Education, and it was therefore left to leading intellectuals. After the Russian Revolution in 1917, the new Soviet state's policies created the basis for the formation and growth of the public education system in the USSR. An important goal of Soviet ideology was equality for women, including their participation in the workplace and public life on an equal basis with men. Creating the public kindergarten system helped them to achieve their goals regarding gender politics. The Soviet system provided a nearly universal preschool service in urban areas, relieving working mothers from daytime childcare needs. The number of public kindergartens and the number of preschool educators grew during the entire Soviet period [Smirnova, 2005].

Professionalisation is a complex process*,* making it very difficult to determine a specific temporal locus for its occurrence. It may be argued that a historical take-off of Russian preschool educators occurred when the occupation was scienticised through research and by introducing systematic education and training. A new Soviet school of scientific child psychology took shape in the 1950s-1980s [Mazalova, Urakova, 2006]. A wide range of problems were studied in research groups under the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, which was founded in 1960 [Taratukhina et al., 2006, p. 4]. The results of this research and advanced experience in the field

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of preschool education were reflected in the Programme of Kindergarten Education (1962). For about 30 years, all Soviet children were educated along the principles of this single, state-endorsed, programme [Smirnova, 2005, p. 48]. All preschool educators were trained in this complex scientifically-based Programme of Kindergarten Education, and it had a deep impact on their professional standing. They obtained jurisdictional control over a body of scientifically-based and empirically tested knowledge about how to educate children.

The education of preschool educators has been systematically organised and integrated into colleges and universities. All preschool educators were required to have either specialised secondary or higher education. They were given a unified approach to pedagogics, didactics, and psychology. Formal credentials for working in this area were introduced. A crucial social base for the professional occupations is the existence of credential-based occupational closures, implying a knowledge monopoly [Brante, 2013]. Soviet preschool educators actually monopolised the function of education and upbringing, sometimes displacing the family [Smirnova, 2005; Taratukhina et al, 2006]. The need to work a full day obliged many parents to use kindergartens. Most kindergartens were open for a full-day stay (12-14 hours) and there were also 24-hour groups. Parents believed that preschool educators could provide their children with better education than they could themselves. They often could not envision themselves as equal partners in their children's education and upbringing, due to their lack of specialised early education.

The early educators' authority was also strengthened by the fact that they were considered a part of the intelligentsia. In Soviet Russia, the concept 'intelligentsia' referred to all workers in knowledge-based occupations who had a specialised secondary or a higher education [Ianovsky, 1986, p. 19]. All workers engaged in intellectual work were supposed to be involved in the development and dissemination of culture [Bolshaya sovetskaya entsiklopediya, 1989, p. 83]. This special cultural mission of the intelligentsia was viewed as being based on the principles of the dissemination of communist dogmas and state resolutions. That said, it is worth noting that the intelligentsia also had some influence over a wider set of issues, including societal values, social attitudes and opinions [Barbakova, Mansurov, 2007]. Preschool educators acted as mediators between the state and the children, playing a leading and guiding role in their upbringing with that came a degree of prestige and authority. The social status of preschool educators was consistent. They had a stable salary, could work one shift, received quality meals at work, and enjoyed an attractive working routine [Kolmakova, Loginova, 1988]. The

professional and social standing of the group changed during the period of political and economic reforms.

Preschool educators during the post-Soviet reforms: Deprofessionalisation of the group

The political changes of the 1990s and the subsequent economic problems that occurred as Russia sought to restructure its economy destabilised existing institutions. Russia experienced a period of rapid and dramatic change [Sakwa, 1997; Clark, 2002; Ashwin and Clark, 2002]. The Russian education system has also undergone a series of sweeping changes since 1991. The time of aggravated economic problems resulted in cuts to state financing and the closure of many preschool educational institutions. The number of preschool educators fell. If in 1995 there were 753,300 preschool educators, in 2001 there were only 605,300 [Korableva et al., 2010, p. 45]. At present the education process in preschool institutions is conducted by 590,000 preschool educators [Ministry of Education and Science Report, 2010: p. 7]. The survival of the system of preschool education became the main goal of policy makers in the 1990s and early 2000s. As a consequence of policy reform, preschool educators experienced an intensification of workload. A considerable proportion of preschool educators often had to work two shifts. Due to the shortage of kindergarten places, groups became overcrowded [Taratukhina et al., 2006, p. 5]. At the same time, preschool educators' salaries were reduced.

This all resulted in a marked decline in preschool educators' social status. It became more difficult to attract people to work in the profession. Even people who had graduated from school, and who lacked specialist qualifications, were recruited to work in public kindergartens [Indikatoryi…, 2007, p. 98]. The less gifted school graduates chose teacher's training colleges and faculties such as Pedagogics and Methods of Preschool Education or Pedagogics and Methods of Primary School Education [Korableva et al., 2010]. Young people realised that people who graduated from teacher's training institutes stood less of a chance of building a successful career than people who graduated from university departments of Economics, Humanities and Natural Sciences. The proportion of students who chose teacher's training institutes and faculties out of the overall number of students in the country gradually declined: 44% of students in 1950, 32% – 1991, 14% – 2004, and just 8% in 2008 [Korableva et al., 2010, p. 45].

As a result of the lack of young specialists, the teacher pool continued to age: 54.4% of Russian preschool educators been in work for over 15 years [Obrazovanie…, 2008, p. 150]. On the one hand, this meant that the profession's core was retained throughout the reforms. Most preschool educators were adults boasting a rich working experience and solid knowledge of children's development. On the other hand, the continuing aging of teaching staff was seen as a negative factor. Many preschool educators were understood as having a low self-perception, being overworked and burned out [Yurchenko, 2013]. Entry requirements to the profession fell. As the heads of preschool education institutions in Sverdlovskaya oblast attested, they paid more attention to the inner personal characteristics of new recruits than to their professional competence [Korableva et al., 2010, p. 46].

It would be justified to apply the 'deprofessionalisation' concept to post-Soviet early education, in the sense that there was a decrease in autonomy and discretion accompanied by an increase in external governance concerning preschool education [Osgood, 2006; Osgood 2010] Early childhood services were presented as failing to meet the needs of the new political and ideological regime that rejected the disciplinary model of education and strived to enhance the humanist tradition. The state legitimated the rationale for enhanced regulation and changes to the early education system. For all its advantages, Soviet preschool education was politicised and highly centralised, as it was the same for all 15 republics of the USSR. It did not provide many opportunities for encouraging children to express initiative and develop independent decision-making skills. There was a gradual transfer from a unitary education system to a multiple and ethnically orientated education system. The early education community was increasingly oriented towards implementing the principles of the personality-oriented approach to relating to children [Smirnova, 2005, p. 58-59].

Changes in the content of preschool education were presented as giving greater freedom to early educators. They were encouraged to think of themselves as enterprising professionals who could choose from among a diverse range of alternative early education programmes. The scale of innovation in preschool teaching methodologies was no smaller than that of school innovation [Taratukhina et al., 2006, p. 8]. Searching for specific forms of education work and selecting them independently became a key demand placed on preschool educators. Preschool education institutions in the country followed more than 39 different programmes, all approved by the Russian Ministry of Education and Science [Taratukhina et al., 2006, p. 8]. However, all

these qualitative changes to the content of preschool education were introduced in a period of unstable social and economic development. Consequently, only principal changes were introduced into day-to-day professional practice, such as depoliticisation and the dismissal of communist rhetoric. Overall, the content of early education remained unchanged until recently [Telegin, 2011].

Preschool educators in the current reforms: Perspectives for professionalisation

The main aim of this section is to present a discussion of selected findings from the recent interview-based research undertook in four large Russian cities, including Moscow, Samara, Syktyvkar, and Ufa in 2012. We interviewed 25 experts: heads of public and private preschool educational institutions and trade unions leaders. We chose the qualitative approach for developing an in-depth understanding of the professionalisation of preschool educators. The selection of qualitative research enabled us to consciously identify informants who are best placed to answer the research questions [Brannen, 1995]. In so far as qualitative methods are employed on non-statistical samples, sampling was conducted on the basis of theoretical criteria. The basic question in 'theoretical sampling' concerns which case, or group, to turn to next in the analysis, and with what theoretical purpose [Strauss and Corbin, 1990]. Sampling continues until the point at which additional data does not appear to provide further insights in developing or verifying the theory. This is known as 'theoretical saturation'. A balance was struck in this research between the point of theoretical saturation and time constraints.

The first experts were found through reference books and through online data. Then a snowballing technique [Maslennikov, 2001] was used: respondents recommended prominent representatives from other preschool education institutions and trade unions. All the interviews were carried out in the workplace of those interviewed. These in-depth interviews lasted about an hour and a half. Interviews were recorded by taking notes and some were audiotaped and transcribed later. The conversations on any one topic were semi-structured: the author only followed the general outlines of the initial interview plan. The interviews allowed preschool educators to identify problems with and share their perspectives on the professionalisation process.

The opinion of the experts, 'key informants', who participated in the interview research was taken as representing the views and attitudes of the rank-and-file preschool educators. We

admit that rank-and-file practitioners may have a different opinion on the best way for their profession to develop. However, with regard to the issues of generalisability [Maxwell, 2002, p. 52], the accounts given by opinion leaders were taken to broadly represent the views of rank-and-file members. We were less concerned with describing the range of variations between the opinions of preschool educators than with describing in detail what quantitative methodology would not have permitted us to describe – the general assumptions, behaviour, and social attitudes of preschool educators. In order to generalise the findings of the interview survey, we plan to undertake a quantitative standardised research that will be extended to rank-and-file preschool educators.

Public preschool educators' professional standing

The current reforms of preschool education have been taking place at social, organisational and financial levels [Ministry of Education and Science Report, 2010]. One of the latest major financial reforms in education was the curtailment of financial support for the preschool education system from the federal budget and the delegation of financial responsibilities to regional and local budgets [*Obrazovanie v Rossiyskoy Federatsii…*, 2013]. At present, kindergartens, unlike schools, are regulated primarily by regional authorities, which manage education matters within the prevailing framework of federal laws. Under law, local authorities can charge parents no more than 20% of costs, with the rest of the expenditure coming from local budgets.

The differences between the amounts of funds available in local budgets across Russia can be significant [Taratukhina, et al. 2006, p. 9]. The delegation of responsibility to the regional and local budgets resulted in increased variation in the preschool education system and in the social inequalities among preschool educators in different regions. The ideological basis for the delegation of these responsibilities to the regional and local budgets was rooted in the concept of liberalising education, which involved decentralising management, providing greater diversity in organisational and legal forms of educational institutions, and introducing the freedom of choice regarding forms and kinds of education. However, that funding changes fuelled inequality in terms of the opportunity to receive good education for children, exacerbating interregional differences and differences between town and country [Taratukhina et al., 2006].

The financial situation of preschool educators in the regions was much worse than in Moscow. The average salary of preschool educators in the Russian regions was around 9,000-

11,000 roubles per month (data from Syktyvkar, Ufa and Samara interviews). As one interviewee commented: "*We have ridiculous salaries. Only tutors can make a decent living. Other preschool educators have to survive. We often work two shifts, and earn on the side in private centers*" (head of public educational institution, Syktyvkar). Moscow-based preschool educators had long enjoyed higher salaries. Their financial standing improved even more as a result of the introduction of per capita funding. The more children Moscow preschool educators had in their groups – the better they were paid. Their salaries had risen from 30,000-40,000 thousand roubles to 50,000-60,000 roubles per month (data from Moscow interviews). This partly solved the financial problem of Moscow preschool educators, although their workload had increased. As one of the interviewees commented: "*Now one preschool educator has to do the work which three preschool educators did...We are not robots, and we won't be able to work under such conditions for long*" (head of public educational institution, Moscow).

The state proclaimed the politics of professionalisation from above for the occupational group that is the subject of this research. The Russian Federation Ministry of Education and Science determined the content of basic and additional education programmes that any preschool institution should provide in order for every child to develop harmoniously [Ministry of Education and Science Report, 2010: 8]. They fostered changes in the content of the job and the formation of an open and collegial management system in preschool education. State officials adopted Federal state requirements for preschool education [Federal'nyie…, 2009]. This document stated that preschool educators needed to retract from a school-type model of education. Instead they were encouraged to create an atmosphere of learning through play, to give children greater freedom of choice and to communicate with children as equals. The Federal requirements were intended to promote initiative and creativity in preschool educators, who were given instructions to create their own education programmes and teaching methodologies.

However, most interviewees argued that the Federal requirements became a straight-jacket for many preschool educators, as traditional lessons and tried and tested educational programmes were outlawed: "*It's a dead end. We are not allowed to give lessons the way we used to give them, and we have no clear instructions what to do instead*" (head of public educational institution, Moscow).The internal and external criteria for assessing the outcomes of preschool educators' activities were blurred. The most difficult task was the demand to change the type of communication during lessons. Preschool educators, particularly those who had been in the job for a prolonged period, had grown accustomed to the school-type learning model, in

which preschool children were seen as pupils rather than partners. Many interviewees noted that overcrowded groups of children (30-35 children in a group) were also seen as an obstacle to the introduction of this new paradigm of preschool education. They felt that their professional competence and professional knowledge were at stake. They were seen not as skilled professionals or experts in children's development but rather as baby-sitters or surrogate parents.

The inability to identify the differences between mothering and teaching creates tensions between early childhood educators and the families that entrust their children into their care [Watts, 2009]. Our interviewees felt that these differences needed to be made more clear and accessible to the general public: "*There's such a negative image of the profession. We do wish there was more respect for our competence, patience and care*" (trade union leader, Moscow). On the one hand, parents expected that, by school-age, their children would be able to read, write and know the basics of mathematics. On the other hand, the essence and the boundaries of the expert knowledge in preschool education became indistinct. Several interviewees said that some parents tended to think that preschool educators did not possess any special professional knowledge, which was not consistent with aspects of parenting.

It was argued that state policymakers' control over this professional work grew, as did that of the parents who made higher demands of preschool education. One interviewee said: "*Parents are becoming increasingly consumerist. They have all the rights, whereas preschool educators have no rights... We are so vulnerable"* (head of state preschool educational institution, Moscow). Moscow preschool educators also mentioned that parents' increased control was reflected in the popularity of a hot-line opened by the Moscow Department of Education. Parents could call a hot-line to lodge a complaint about any particular preschool educator's work openly on the site of the Department of Education.

Early educators looked to their education colleagues for informal support, whereas the role of professional organisations was less pronounced. As an antidote to this situation, peer interactions and informal autonomy served to strengthen early childhood educators' esteem and confidence. An important aspect of this autonomy was the ability to determine working conditions such as work plans and the pace of work. Preschool educators confessed that when there was no control exerted by the administration or other management body, they could introduce changes in the essence of their work, alter their work routine and its tempo. The scope of informal autonomy enjoyed by rank-and-file preschool educators depended on their relations

with those in the relevant administrative bodies. The role played by professional associations was confined to trade-union concerns: they were not strong enough to redefine the social and occupational status of the group.

Peoples' perceptions of the status or prestige of occupations have remained very stable over time and vary little from country to country [Treiman, 1977; Nakao, Treas, 1990; Svensson, 2012]. The profession of preschool educator has never occupied a top position in terms of prestige in Europe. However, it can be counted as a profession in a wider sense in some industrialised countries and in some historical periods. In Sweden, for example, preschool teaching is referred to as a profession [Svensson, Ulfsdotter Eriksson, 2009]. However, it is attributed lower status, on a par with social workers and librarians, as opposed to physicians, lawyers and professors who belong to high status professions [Svensson, 2012, p. 13]. What is important is that, compared to the question of what status occupations *should* have, teachers in Sweden were found to be clearly undervalued.

As our research showed, Russian preschool educators no longer believed that their knowledge was valued, as compared to Soviet preschool educators who felt that their knowledge was an important wellspring of their social respectability. This profession experienced a negative shift in prestige. In the Soviet era, intellectual professions were considered as forming the cultural elite. Most school graduates aspired to become doctors, scientists, engineers or teachers. Intellectual occupations enjoyed greater prestige than manual ones did in Soviet society, just as in the West. Most interviewees were dissatisfied with the prestige of their profession. This corresponds to a recent research which showed that every second preschool educator was concerned about the lack of professional prestige [Korableva et al., 2010, p. 127]. In the city of Yekaterinburg, only 5% of preschool educators stated that their profession was prestigious and only 6% believed that the profession was valued by the wider public.

In the new Law on Education in the Russian Federation, preschool education is proclaimed to be the first education stage [Federal Law 273 'On Education in the Russian Federation', 2013]. This means that preschool education may be growing in importance. This new perspective aims to equalise the initial learning opportunities of all children at primary school entry stage, and increase the overall quality of education. Another recent Ministry of Education and Science initiative is the introduction of the Professional standards for preschool educators in 2014. One of the demands of the Professional standards would be obligatory higher

education for all public preschool educators [Ob utverzhdenii….2013]. Implementing these initiatives may result in the growth of the prestige of preschool education and preschool educators. International research has shown that when early childhood educators hold higher qualifications there is a greater chance of quality programmes and better outcomes for children [Pugh, Duffy, 2009; Sylva et al., 2010].

Private preschool educators' professional standing

Preschool educators in the private sector enjoy higher prestige, income, and relatively high autonomy. They have greater chances for upward social mobility. Private preschool educators are usually people no older than 40 years old with higher teacher's training or psychological education. They often acquire several credentials and regularly take refresher courses. Among them there are many preschool specialists, including speech-therapists, psychologists and defectologists. As some interviewees stated, private preschool educators were more open to reforms, more creative, and more flexible. Their working conditions and pace of work were more satisfactory. They were provided with support personnel and all the necessary equipment: educational toys and study aids. Preschool educators in children's learning centres often had efficiency wage. The more children were enrolled in the group, the better they were paid, although private groups were never overcrowded, with about 6-10 children per group.

At the same time, the private sector has not offered its employees any guarantees. Many children's learning centres did not provide their workers with labour contracts, as they did not want to pay for sick-leave, holiday pay, or maternity leave. Most preschool educators interviewed did not give up their job at a state preschool institution, as this might lead to the loss of their social and welfare benefits. Another reason given was the importance of retaining registration as an employee in a state preschool institution in order to maintain their work record and qualify for a pension. Importantly, the research showed that the Soviet work ethic [Clark, 2002] endured, particularly among elder people. It involved not only a commitment to the profession, but also an attachment to the labour collective as what many workers referred to as their second home. The Soviet sense of the labour collective, shorn of its Communist rhetoric, continued to be a factor. Preschool educators felt empowered and affirmed when they were able to share information with and learn from their colleagues.

Similar to public preschool educators, private early educators often came across the problem of the indistinct nature of their professional expert knowledge. As we discovered, many

children's learning centres did not give their employees much freedom of choice regarding learning programmes and working routine. Many large private children's centres employed unified programmes using a teacher's book that gave an outline of lessons. The role of preschool educators was confined to the reproduction of a particular learning programme. As a result, the authority of private preschool educators in the eyes of parents and heads of children's learning centres was not high enough. Nevertheless, the subjective self-perception of autonomy in private sector remained higher than in public one. As our interviewee related: "*I have more freedom and more chances to fulfil my potential in the private centre*" (private preschool educator, trade union leader, Moscow).

Our interviewees from the private sector felt that they lacked a sense of collective identity and common interests. Working and life conditions in various private children's learning centres varied greatly. The dominant form of professional associations for public preschool educators was the trade-union type organisation primarily concerned with protecting its members in dealings with organised users of professional services. Private preschool educators had no dedicated trade-unions. The only type of professional association they considered possible for themselves was 'the learned society', using Burrage's terminology, which gave primacy to developing the profession's knowledge base and could be seen as a place for sharing ideas and educational achievements [Burrage et al., 1990, p. 208]. Although some interviewees had doubts about the need to create any professional association for private preschool educators, as they saw their colleagues as 'rivals' rather than as partners. The private sector provided an opportunity for professionalisation at an individual level, while the status of occupational group remained unchanged.

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Part 2.

Stratification in Transforming Russia

Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 2. Stratification in Transforming Russia

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Preschool Education in Science Cities: Actual Dynamics[10]

Abstract

The article is about the specification science cities in Russian Federation, leading preschool educators, that work with it. Researching was held in the Dubna, Troitsk, Koroliov, Reutov, Obninsk, Protvino, Chernogolovka with questionnaires, focus groups, interviews with parents and analyzed

Keywords: science cities, scientists, knowledge

Science cities in Russian Federation represent special territories for cultural and intellectual growth of professionals. Remember the concept of creation of "technopolises" by Sheridan Tatsuno, as in the 80s of XX century there were created scientific and technological growth zones nearby ancient Japanese fortresses. In Russia, among such culturally-historical sites can be mentioned Tsarskoje Selo, Petergof, Gatchina, Sergiev Posad, Murom. But Soviet (nowadays Russian) science cities were mainly based on "empty field", as well as satellite towns and only with the time developed its sociocultural infrastructure. T Russian Prime-Minister Medvedev D. A. mentioned that "kindergartens are considered to be indicators of local development". It fully concerns kindergartens of science cities and its service offered to families.

In science cities some leading preschool educators sometimes have such an opinion that "Social request of parents is orientated on intellectual education. Our children live in the times of information technology. The time itself requires another approach to their education – transition from traditional informative-collective training method, targeted on receiving concrete knowledge, skills, experience, to more perspective, at the modern stage - developing education. The main aim of this approach is basing and stimulating cognitive processes (perceiving, attention, thinking, memory, imagination) for basing an active life style and successful orientation of the child in the society. Pedagogues and psychologists state that human intellectual development is halfway completed by the age of 4 and two thirds – by the age of 8. It was shown that intensive development of the intellect at pre-school age increases the productivity of children at school".

Our data (questionnaire, focus groups, interviews with parents, tutors of Dubna, Troitsk, Koroliov, Reutov, Obninsk, Protvino, Chernogolovka) and opinion of representatives of municipal deputies and of trade unions revealed the fact that parents are not interested in early intellectual development of their children (many of them were affected at their turn in the childhood) and now they expect from educators assistance in artistic and physical development of their children.

In the research performed by profession and profession groups sociology department, Institute of Sociology R. A. S. (project leader – B. A. Mansurov), according to the preliminary figures, participate over 2001 tutors from 24 regions of Russian Federation, more than 300 are representatives of science cities and techno polises such as Dubna, Gatchina, Obninsk, Protvino, Reutov, Seversk, Troitsk. Among the list of mostly mentioned problems, which Dubna tutors are concerned with, are not the threaten to lose the job, not a big quantity of "paper work" or overfilled groups in kindergarten, but the so called "problematic children". To the question "Why do conflicts appear between tutors and parents?", the tutors often answer the following:

- parents are very tired, sometimes they can't control their emotions, especially what concerns unmarried mothers;

- parents do not want to follow the rules of kindergarten;

- demonstration of social inequality;

To the question "WHAT IS THE MOST OFTEN SUBJECT OF PARENTS DISCONTENT in your kinder garden" the tutors mention the following "parents disturb the day regime of the kinder garden", "parents try to be involved into the educational process and to dictate their own regulation methods for children behavior in a group", "parents do not make payment for additional educational service on time".

Some opinions of sociologists such as, for instance, "orientation on public/parent budget, commercialization of the sector leads to a new system of relations between preschool educations, state and service user" are debatable. The image, reputation of the institute, classes of professional group, and also their participation in its basing turn to be especially important. In Troitsk, commercial service sector attempted to compete with independent preschool educational establishments only for several years. In Obninsk, Protvino, Chernogolovka parents use additional service of preschool educational establishments and recommend senior children to attend musical schools, sport sections and studios.

Most likely, the only one science city, where for the last years the tendency of educational sector competing is quite well noticeable, is considered to be Dubna.

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From the times of USSR, kindergartens of science city Dubna have been attended by children of various nationalities. All of them feel comfortable despite their appearance and beliefs. The pedagogues develop the traits of tolerance and respect to all confessions in their pupils. This is due to the specific character of science city Dubna where scholars from all over the world live and work starting from basement of Joint Institute for Nuclear Research (JINR), the main establishment of the city.

The object of our social investigation this year is considered to be the family of Ukari Y. – mother of three children.

First time Ukari Y. came to Dubna in 2001 as a chemist engineer. All of her three children were born in Dubna. Her elder daughters are 10 and 8, and her junior son is 6.

Ukari: At the beginning our family had some difficulties with language. I spoke not correctly, wrote with hieroglyphs, that's why I couldn't teach my children to speak Russian. My husband travelled a lot due to his profession. The common language in our family was English. Later children started to attend infant school, then kinder garden, started to communicate with kids of the same age, tutors were so good and attentive and then Russian became their native language. We visit Japan and our grandmother only in summer. After coming back to Russia children can hardly speak the language but after one year they begin to forget Japanese. I speak Japanese with my children in order for them to understand it, although I also try to practice Russian as teacher-parents meeting shall be attended by me and not by our father.

- *Which difference between Japanese and Russian system of education could you mark out? Probably, you could underline some mental aspects.*

Ukari: There are two types of kinder garden in Japan – combined infant school-kinder garden for children aged from 0 up to 6. Children spend time there from the morning till the evening as well as in Russia. They have breakfast at home, as for lunch and dinner they have it in the kinder garden. Also, they sleep there in the afternoon.

Ukari: In my childhood I attended another type of kinder garden – the so called "kindergarten". It is for kids aged from 3-4 years old up to school age. In "kindergarten" children stay till the lunch time, having breakfast at home without afternoon sleeping. Here little pupils have lessons of molding, painting, origami, tutors teach them creativity and play.

Ukari: One thing which caught my eye is that Russian parents and tutors pay much attention to the accurate appearance of children. In Dubna children are always dressed in a very accurate way with ironed clothes on and it looks like completely new.

Japanese mothers simply do not loose time for it, often wash the clothes but not always they iron it. Usually in our kinder gardens children wear uniform and it helps to level social inequality.

In Japan we also have children's matinees but not with such elegant and artsy robes as you can see here. If we speak about a special costumed party we rent kimono or children put on a mask, remaining at the same time in their usual form. Everything is much simpler than in Russia. Besides all this, they feel happy.

We do not need so many medical certificates, it's more than enough to call to kinder garden by phone and inform that your kid has a high temperature. But as soon as temperature has decreased, parents bring him or her back despite running nose.

Ukari: Amazing is the liberality of Russian parents. Kinder gardens require money for repair work of the establishments, children matinees, tea-parties, and presents for tutors and some other needs. We can't say the same about Japan. If the kinder garden requires from parents some money, afterwards the administration of kindergarten has to supply parents with necessary documentation. It clearly reveals what collected money was spent on. Everywhere shall be an order, money like to be counted.

With the time I began to understand why this happens in Russia – perhaps, due to the fact that in Japan kinder gardens are mainly commercial, and in Russia - are state organizations.

- *Do you see advantages of Russian municipal schools and kinder gardens? What Dubna offers you?*

Ukari: Dubna is a little town, close distance, children walk in the yard and communicate with no fear. Here altruism of parents is very developed. You can attend sport and art classes for minimum payment. In Japan additional musical education is a great business. In a little Japan town, for example, musical schools are private ones or belong to such giants as, for instance, the company "Yamaha". As for Dubna, the level of teaching in a state musical school is enough high and payment is low, there are privileges for large families. I am glad that my children study here. My eldest daughter is a laureate and a prize winner of different musical competition. We started to attend reception classes at musical school at the age of 5.

- *Why so early?*

Ukari: In Dubna, families bring their preschool children to various courses additionally. As for our family, first, we started musical school classes with our eldest daughter, looking at other kids. Then we noticed that she enjoyed it and we continued the same way with

our younger children. Child shall not spend all his or her free time at the computer or in front of TV. Me and my husband do not greet entertaining time spending.

-        *You mean, leisure time of a child shall be organized?*

Ukari: I would not say so. Sometimes, it seems to me that my husband is sure in his methods of bringing up and he seems to know definitely what is good or bad for a kid. But it happens that sometimes you can see some cognitive shows on TV, why not to watch it? Or some useful information can be received from computer. Or, probably, at a certain moment it's better to play in the yard with good children than to make something planned beforehand (shrugging shoulders – author's note). I don't say that a kid knows better what is really more or less useful for him. But an adult also not always understands it. This is a question we shall put in front of us - adults.

We express warm thanks to Ukari-san for the talk.

Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 2. Stratification in Transforming Russia

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Social Inequality and Political Regime in Contemporary Russia

Abstract

Social inequality is one of the key problems of the contemporary Russian society. Its solution is in direct dependence on the current political regime. The gap between the rich and the poor is becoming the severest inequality problem for our country. According to observers, Russian authorities make much effort to abstract the citizens from such vital problems as the economic growth approaching zero or rising inflation (economists name the combination of these two factors "stagflation")

Keywords: social inequality, political regime, poor, rich, economics, inflation, democracy, election

Social inequality is one of the key problems of the contemporary Russian society. Its solution is in direct dependence on the current political regime. It will be appropriate here to refer to the results of the sociological surveys conducted by the Center of Complex Sociological Surveys of the Sociology Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Having summarized the results of the surveys the scholars came to conclusion that the contemporary Russia is a classic example of the "risk society". The Russians' attitude to democratic institutes is rather dissonant. On the one hand 63% of the country's citizens believe that one can sacrifice some rights and freedoms for the sake of "order in the country". They are rather the adherents of the "powerful hand" than of the all-is-freely-permitted-except-what-is-specifically-prohibited principle. Those who are under no circumstances ready to renounce political freedoms are twice less in number – 37%. Russian dream leans on not three, but two pillars – legal safety and social justice: there should be one law for everyone and nobody must feel disadvantaged. Citizens believe the order must be restored according to the law. The younger they are, the more often they value political rights and freedoms instead of "powerful hand": 40-45% of young Russians and people with medium income responded this way.

The gap between the rich and the poor is becoming the severest inequality problem for our country. The number of the poor in Russia in the end of 2012 amounted to 8.8% of the population, or 12.5 million people [Bednost'…, 2013, p. 13]. According to Rosstat (Russian Federal State Statistics Service) end 2012 – beginning 2013 saw the average subsistence wage of 6705 rubles per month of which 2412 rubles were intended for food products, 1057 rubles - for all non-food products (including medicines), 2754 rubles - for all services (including housing services and utilities as well as transport) and the rest – for taxes and other obligatory payments and levies [Bednost'…, 2013, p. 12]. Five-six years ago, 43% of Russians considered financial

gap between the two population groups one of the most intolerable problems, in 2013 – as much as 53%. As for its importance, 17% more citizens consider it more vital than the problem of arguments between the Russian majority and non-Russian diasporas. It appears that in the nearest future our compatriots will struggle for equal opportunities for the rich and the poor, equal access to quality medicine and education as well as for possibility to influence the process of making important decisions for all social groups. Such is the supposition of researchers.

According to observers, Russian authorities make much effort to abstract the citizens from such vital problems as the economic growth approaching zero or rising inflation (economists name the combination of these two factors "stagflation"). Here should also belong rising costs of housing services and utilities, fines for various violations, court and police brutality and even the ban on wearing white ribbons outdoors.

Regular elections are designed to demonstrate Russian national unity and underline imaginary accord and unity of the nation. At the same time contemporary Russia has European birth rate and African life expectancy. According to Deloitte survey there are 375000 families with a fortune of millions in the country. Herewith, according to the High School of Economy survey, 60% of the country's population live neither richer, nor poorer than twenty years ago [Krastev, Cholms, 2012, p. 51].

There is also another explanation of the political situation in Russia. According to analysts, there are four Russian societies simultaneously existing in the country which, though speaking one language, have little in common. The first group comprises about 20% of the Russian population. These are mobile, creative and dissatisfied citizens including office clerks, small and medium business-owners, skilled personnel employed in badly paid branches – education and healthcare, as well as academic and scientific communities.

The second group lives in medium-sized industrial cities and is employed in economically non-effective companies. As a result it is practically not ready to economic changes. The so called Russia-2 comprises 25% of the Russian population.

The most numerous one is the third group comprising 38% of Russians. Its members live in small towns, settlements and villages, and the policy of Moscow almost fails to influence them. People belonging to Russia-3 group consider themselves to be indifferent to politics and therefore they possess little potential for protests. At the same time this is the group of citizens who are the support of the current Russian political regime.

Russia 4 are the dwellers of Northern Caucasus and South Siberian national republics, who are accustomed to constant clashes of local clans, power repartition and religious and

national clashes. There are 6% of such citizens, and stability is of little interest for them. Russia-4 widely uses government grants. According to the results of parliamentary and presidential elections voters from these republics mostly cast their votes for the United Russia party and V.V. Putin.

As a result these groups appear to have little in common - they have completely opposite values, expectations and vision of the future.

As soon as it was found out that democracy itself does not guarantee quick rise of living quality and does not save from red-tape, people got much disappointed in the Russian version of democratic institutes. At the same time it should be born in mind that our "chilly" attitude to democracy among the great part of the population is determined by historical traditions. On the contrary, in the USA this attitude is quite different. The relationship to democratic institutes there is emotional, caring, almost religious. Americans take them for the greatest value conquered by the society.

According to many researchers the political regime of contemporary Russia formed in the last fourteen years may be defined as a hybrid one. The modern political science calls such regimes mixed or hybrid indeed. Stephen Levitsky and Lucan Way have introduced into scientific lexis one more term – competitive authoritarianism. Formally such political systems have democratic institutes and market, but they exist just as a picture or as an imitation.

Nevertheless both foreign and Russian scholars more and more often describe the Russian political reality as an authoritarian regime. At the same time it should be remembered that despite the recent surge of interest to the problem of regimes classification in political sociology, sociological community of does not have a common definition of regime. Political events regarded by one group of scholars as a change of political regime are regarded by another group just as superficial changes veiling the deep historical continuity in the development of society.

To put it briefly, it is difficult to adequately estimate the current political regime in Russia. European norms and rules are not followed. Here we mean such rules as the balance of branches of government, independence of courts, basic human rights and freedoms and clear entrepreneurship rules. Here it should be also taken into account than nowadays sociologists do not have a common theory scientifically identifying the moment when one regime ceases to exist and is replaced by another one. According to Stephen Hanson all researchers of political regimes may be divided into two groups. The first group of scholars – Paul Pearson, Caitlin Zelen and James Mahoney – consider institutional changes in the society. However, these scholars pay

special attention to the sources of continuity, not the sources of changes. Therefore they do not give explanations to radical and revolutionary historical periods as for example the collapse of the soviet system. Scholars of the second group basing on the works of Robert Dahl, Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan put emphasis on the explanation of short-term regimes.

According to K. Rogov changes in the Russian political regime are of cyclic nature [Rogov, 2012, p. 25-26]. The undergoing changes are first of all connected with the gradual decrease of support of regime values (order, stability, centralism) and falling esteem of regime quality and its institutions. This expert refers to the survey results by Levada Center. Thus, in late 1990-s – early 2000-s the soviet system was practically unrivalled (40-50% of supporters) and support of the current system was at a very low level. During the 2000-s the support of the current system was rising intensively, while the share of the soviet system supporters decreases (from 45% to 25%), and so did the share of western democracy supporters (from 30% to 15%). These trends changed after the crisis. While the first reaction to the crisis was the renaissance of the soviet system popularity, the economical upsurge period of 2009-2012 was accompanied by the popularity decrease of both the soviet and the current systems and the share growth of those preferring western democracy.

As a result, in the beginning of the 2010-s we have quite a different picture comparing with the mid-2000-s. 30% of respondents preferred soviet system, the same percentage of respondents chose western democracy, 20% chose the current regime and another 20% could not choose the definite answer.

The authorities of course won't accept this esteem. D. Granin noted: "Nowadays means facts. They are stubborn things and it is common to neglect them: All Russian authorities have always redisplayed the past and tempted by the future. Nowadays have always been but a short period to be lived through. It is the source of contempt for the basic, for the human life in particular" [Bykov, Muratov, Petlianova, 2014, p. 10].

In the recent time the actions of the Russian authorities in political space are compared with the "crackdown". The intellectuals regard it as a danger for the whole society. In this context two documents have been published: Manifest of the Russian Pen-Center and the open letter of film director Alexander Sokurov to the President. The film director writes: "My native land is in trenches again, again curses, military actions, angry speeches" [Open letter…, URL: http://maxpark.com/community/4109/content/2512850].

Unfortunately this trend will hardly be reversed for the better in the foreseeable future. According to analysts' forecasts consolidation of the democratic regime in Russia will not

happen earlier than in 2020-s. Moreover it should also be born in mind that Russia is a complicated heavy country, badly governed and developing, with some elements of democracy. There exist dangers of clashes, conflicts, aggression and inner dislike of other, alien world order. Probably one cannot expect that within the lifetime of one generation new forms of legitimate state will be successfully worked out and implemented. Post-soviet Russian experience proves that post-imperial institutional turbulence may last for decades.

Of course self-sentiment of a person as an acting subject has in some way or another been demonstrated for a long time. But from time to time it was taken away by the authority. Unfortunately such periods were very long, bitter and painful. The most difficult of them was the soviet period when not just freedom was taken away, but its bearers were eliminated. As a result now we have almost a beheaded society. Some researchers estimate it even more strictly. They speak about a totally burned out land. It is without any doubts a great tragedy of our nation.

Thus, the established political regime in the contemporary Russia is directly responsible for the solution of such a fateful problem for our society as social inequality.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 2. Stratification in Transforming Russia

Borlikov, German M., Elista

Life's Srategy of Youth People of Kalmykia (on example of Students of Kalmyk State University)

Abstract

In the project, based on one and the same tool, in sociological investigation, conducted in 2005 and in 2010 among students of Kalmyk State University. Cultural level of family is being under investigation, as it is one of the most important factors, which determine education level and beginning of professional career of youth people. The cultural capital of family is characterized by the level of education of parents, type of their occupation and level of finance support they can provide. The social expectations of students and influence of valuable orientations on their life strategy on the way to success and social capital are under of interest in the suggested research.

Keywords: students of KalmSU, parent's status, social expectations, education, value and professional orientations, social and cultural capital

Universities are determined by social and cultural frames, based on that, valuables and behavior utilities are set. The valuables and behavior are promoting formation of several categories of important goals of youth people and human resources. Education as the process of obtaining knowledge and skills (understand as all-life absorbance of human resource) is a non-divided part of a whole life trajectory of individual. During last decades choice of profession of young people coming to the labour-market is less restricted, it happens because of trade economy processes, possibilities to work outside of country, e.g. different forms of horizontal mobility, including globalization of labour-market.

Information basis of the research is data of 2005 and 2010 in Kalmyk State University, using the same techniques (questionnaire) and parameters which respondents were chosen (excerpts). In each research using questionnaire 600 students of 1-5 years were interrogated.

Professional orientation of youth people, reprinted by valuables of trade-market, is striving for professions, which provide with quick financial independence and material well-being, advance in career. This leads to changes is structure of call, which represents in discrete segments, sectors, branches, establishments, professions conditions for realization of demanded by youth people possibilities. In the last 15-20 years youth orientation to the profession strengthened, suggesting the presence of higher education leading out into the sphere of the service component of the economy, is not only an adequate supply in the education market, but demand in the labor market.

According to the surveys the number of young men increased from 45.0% in 2005 to 49.0% in 2010. On the contrary the number of young women fell respectively from 55% to 51%.

On national composition population of Kalmyk people increased from 84% to 90% including other nationalities from 1.5% to 4.0%. Thus the number of Russian people fell from 11.5% in 2005 to 6% in 2010.

The number of students from cities decreased from 40% to 36%, almost in equal proportion are students from villages in the amount of 57%, the number of those who came from other regions slightly increased from 2.5% to 3.7% during the period under consideration.

Cultural capital of the family characterized by parental education practically didn't change significantly in 2010 compared to 2005. There are 16% of fathers and 8% of mothers who have the secondary education, 30% of fathers and 39% of mothers have higher and incomplete higher education. Except for those people who have specialized secondary education, this figure of fathers increased from 36.6% in 2005 to 43% in 2010.

If we consider the economic capital of the family we can see that the number of families with incomes below the average decreased from 21% to 15%. The families, which are characterized by their material well-being as a middle-income make up a large share, as in 2005, namely 69.3%. The number of students who ranked their families to the rich and to families with incomes above the average, is 9% to 6% in 2005.

There are 11.0% of fathers and 6.5% of mothers who work outside the republic. This rate is higher compared to 2005, accordingly the number of such fathers was 6% and also 5% of mothers. The major changes occurred with the parents who work on sectoral employment. The number of parents who work in offices and departments in an equal share increased from 1.3% of fathers and mothers in 2005 to 7.0% of fathers and 8% of mothers in 2010. The amount of fathers who work in construction industry increased from 13% to 16%, in the transport administration and communication sector from 13% to 18%, in agriculture from 24% to 29.5%. Proportion of mothers who work in the field of trade, catering and domestic services grew from 17% to 22%, in health from 12% to 15% during the period under consideration.

The number of fathers who work at the state enterprises significantly reduced from 37.4% to 30%, but the number of fathers who work at private enterprises grew from 15% to 20.3% and in private farms from 5% to 6%.

In this way sectoral employment and type of enterprise organization form where parents work, show that students of Kalmyk State University come from different segments of the population and are internally heterogeneous group. What social groups are represented in the composition of Kalmyk State University's studentship? In this context we define not only the

social structure and life environment of students through status of their parents, but also their social capital.

The largest group consist of parents who are ordinary workers (labour, guardians, non-manual workers, salesman). The fathers of this group work out 23.5% and 22.3% relative to the mothers according to the survey in 2010. These data is lower that the figures for 2005, at the time the data were presented by 27.5% and 24.7%. The mothers make up 27% of specialists with higher education, mainly working in the public sector (teachers, doctors, economists, engineers, lawyers) and 8% of fathers. In 2005 the data was represented by 28.5% and 11%. The number of fathers who are heads, deputy heads, heads of departments, ministries, authorities make up 9% and 8% of mothers. In 2005 these results were almost equally respectively 10.8% and 10.3%. The number of parents who are farmers (7% of fathers and 1.5% of mothers), also owners of a small and medium business and self-employed(5.1% of fathers and 4% of mothers) didn't change. The amount of fathers who are engaged in smallholdings increased from 3.8% to 6.5%. The proportion of housewives didn't change - 12.0%. The number of unemployed fathers reduced from 9.6% to 6.0%. It should also be noted that about a quarter of students (25%) did not have a father, and one in ten (10%) - the mother. Thus, analysis of data shows that there is a high proportion of students (about 60%) as in the previous study (2005), whose parents make short-life group. This fact suggests that the regional university, Kalmyk State University, is a channel of upward mobility for short-life youth in the republic, and its students to some extent reflect the social structure of the region.

Student experiences, his relationship to various aspects of life are reflected in the answer to the question: "With what feelings you look in the future?". On the one hand it indicates the character of social well-being, level of adaptation to the prevailing socio-economic reality, and on the other, it explains the behavior, attitude to the specific conditions of life, education, training. The analysis of the data shows that the answers to this question became indicators focused all the basic trends, contradictions, peculiarity of Kalmyk State University's studentship. In fact, in studies in 2005 and 2010, the difference in levels of social well-being is small, but optimism is higher in the latter study. Most students (67.2%) look to the future "with hope and optimism". A group of optimists is the most numerous. The second group consists of those who see their future "calmly, but without much hope" – 16.6%; "anxiety and uncertainly – 8.6%; "with fear and despair" – 1.5% (in 2005 – almost 3.0%); immaterial – 4.0% (2.5%). This data shows the students optimistic perception of life. What is the reason for such optimism?

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It is obvious that our respondents practically didn't live in Soviet society. Schooling and the first stages of adulthood as socialization processes took place in the post-Soviet period. The whole respondents' meaningful life, the formation of values, life orientation, estimates and priorities occurred in the period of social changes. This is the first generation of young people, whose parents lived in a different reality. This generation takes for granted many aspects and features of social life, while post-Soviet reality has caused confusion, frustration, reprobation and tension for older generations. In other words, today's students are much better adapted to contemporary conditions than the previous generation; it is understandable and normal medium for them. Their adaptation appears in an optimistic mood and in confidence in their future. For young people this world is understandable and predictable; and their main resource is youth. Therefore, as it was pointed out in the previous study (55.6%), most of them 57.2%, answering the question "Who am I" consider themselves as "the masters of their life," thus cultivating in their minds individualistic values and attitudes.

Problems and contradictions, that take place in college and university life, reflect all trends of modern Russian society. What is the inner world of a student of Kalmyk State University? What morals and life settings are formed in this environment? What, according to the students' opinion, is most needed for the young man to be successful in life? For what they should strive and what is the critical condition for the success?

Motivation is a complex nonmaterial formation, which collects life observations of a man, his thoughts about how people live, what values are more important for them today. Motivation, as the driving force of human activity, determines its aspirations and activities of daily life. Respondents were asked, what, in their opinion, is most needed for young people to be successful in life? They could choose no more than three of nine possible answers, and comparison of the results of two studies shows the dynamics of changes of opinions and positions on this issue. Obviously, that success in life is largely determined by life chances due to the presence and amount of cultural and social capital, the resource capabilities of parents, and the most important thing is rating (brand) of the university, on which depend all the future career of the student, his access to the benefits and competitiveness in rank of young specialist. What is the direction and sociocultural significations for students of regional provincial high school, which are determined by value orientations and behavioral patterns of students of Kalmyk State University? Their ratings reflect the reality around students and their orientation in it, they also reveal the degree of students awareness of social values and the impact on their behavior in everyday life.

Most of the interviewed students (66%) adhere to "hard work and honesty" setting as a life strategy. In 2005 56% of students had this point of view. The value of labor is clearly dominated in Kalmyk society as opposed to hedonic values and idleness. Many respondents have quite lot examples from their surroundings when relatives, neighbors, acquaintances through hard work, diligence and responsibility achieved success in life in the difficult conditions of present-day life in Russia. Therefore, for the majority of students are significant values of self-realization, despite the fact that in the regional conditionals with high unemployment, abilities of self-realization in labor are limited. According to of respondents' opinion (40%), natural gift, abilities, and skills with the addition of enterprise and readiness define success in life. According to 37% of students, high-quality education, on the one hand, acquaintanceship and support of influential persons, on the other hand, are essential for success in life. They are very important and effective social resources in constricted space conditions in Russian provinces.

Thus, in general, based on the empirical data we are able to trace the specific integration of students of Kalmyk State University into society, the dynamics of their value orientation, specialities in social behavior of young people at local, regional community, which depend on socio-cultural processes.

The above figures indicate the important values in society, positive and negative trends and stable cultural and historical traditions. Recognition by the majority of students on factors such as hard work, integrity and natural gifts reflect the values of personal diligence, responsibility, talent and abilities.

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Dynamics of Civil, Ethnic and Regional Identity in the Russian Society

Abstract

The article demonstrates 20 years' changes of the civil, ethnic and regional identities by prevalence, actualization, degree of consolidation and content are demonstrated as well as their correlation with cultural orientation, religious feelings, economical activity, social state of the population and interethnic accord. The particularities of the research are marked by the fact that that identities and inter-ethnic relations are studied at the comparative perspective (1993, 1999 and 2011 – 2012) based on representative sociological researches. They are analyzed both on all-Russian scale and on the level of the republics of Russian Federation.

Keywords: interethnic consolidation, interethnic accord, interethnic relations, civil identity, ethnic identity

The article demonstrates 20 years' changes of the civil, ethnic and regional identities by prevalence, actualization, degree of consolidation and content are demonstrated as well as their correlation with cultural orientation, religious feelings, economical activity, social state of the population and interethnic accord. The particularities of the research are marked by the fact that that identities and inter-ethnic relations are studied at the comparative perspective (1993, 1999 and 2011 – 2012) based on representative sociological researches. They are analyzed both on all-Russian scale and on the level of the republics of Russian Federation.

In all countries the formation of actual identity is considered a condition necessary for preservation of the state integrity and upkeep of harmony in the society. Citizens' identities attract the attention of researches reflecting conditions of society, its integrity and value orientations. In poly-ethnic states civil identity combines with an ethnic, local one. Its importance and hierarchy depend, however, on historical, social and political conditions.

Twenty years ago the first sociological researches were carried out reflecting identities of citizens in new Russia. In 1994, 1997 we carried out representational opinion polls in republics where rather severe ethnological conflicts had been taking place, those polls assisted to actualization of ethnic and regional consolidation in the mass conscience [Demokratizaciya…, 1996; Nacional'noe…, 1994].One of the ways to lessen interethnic tension became the formation of a new identity mutual for all citizens of Russia. The results of the research "Civil, regional and ethnic identity and integration problems of Russian society" are shown in this article.

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Problems of the study

Country citizens' identity as well as the ethnic identity is understood both in the meaning "what kind of people we are" and in the meaning "what we are". In that research the identity was examined as identification of oneself with the community, its conception, emotional experience of such conceptions and readiness to act. International practice interprets citizens' identification with their country as civil identity. The civil society in Russia, however, is under formation and we, therefore, were facing the dilemma whether the indicators obtained during the research meant civil identity or the state one. Thus, the first task to be performed during the 2011-2012 research was to reveal the content of civil identification and its changes in 1990s - 2000s, to determine its value orientations, for example, constructive, active purposes or negative, defensive moods and frustrations.

Another task was to define whether civil, national or state identity can be combined with a regional one; not very long ago from the historical point of view some regions of the Russian Federation during crisis closed their borders for the transportation of commodities, declared sovereignty filling it with the content partly contradicting the Constitution of RF. How and on what terms can one overcome such disintegration trends? What ideologems of regional and central elites promote the integration of the country and what of the tend to disintegrate the Russian space? These problems required special investigation based on studying specific practices of the regions.

The next question is whether the actualized ethnic identity can oppose the civil one. In 1990s we defined ethnic identity as competitive to the Russian one. The complex situation in the Northern Caucasus, inter-ethnic problems at the territories in the territories with high inflow of other ethnic immigrants sharpen ethnic feelings until now.

To determine what new conditions, activity of elites, the community and social practices restrain hyper-ethnicity, radical nationalism, prevent disintegration of the country and unite the public was the most important task to have been settled during the project. Another principal moment was to specify changes taking place in the hierarchy of civil, ethnic and regional identities and their importance as well as to define the nature of these identities in different social and cultural communities.

In this research we tried not only to show dynamics and directions of changes but to give some forecast for the future via the hierarchy of identities among the youth and make an attempt to forecast civil and ethno-regional identity in perspective.

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Organization of Research

The interview program comprised questions allowing to estimate general socio-political and economic contexts of life in the regions, people's adherence to former Soviet traditional values and modern attitudes, their relation to public activity, satisfaction with life and labor.

This research gave us an opportunity to compare situations of early 1990s and the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century. Beside that, we have got a lucky chance to compare the results in the republics with all-Russian data obtained as a result of project "20 years of reforms by the eyes of the Russians" performed by the RAS Institute of Sociology[11].

The work has been implemented with the participation of scientists from the republics.

Representative sampling of contacting nationalities for every republic was used at the research in autumn/spring of year 2011/2012. In Republic Bashkortostan the number of respondents amounted to 1030 persons, in Republic Sakha (Yakutia) – 1060 persons, in Republic Tatarstan – 1706 persons.

In this research we employed territorial stratified probable three-stage model of sampling for urban settlements and two-stage for rural ones[12].

We used also the information of the representative all-Russian investigation that was a part of the ESS for years 2006-2008 and 2010. From the kind consent of V.V. Andreyenkov questions concerning Russian ethnic identity and relation to alien immigrants were included. In some topics data produce by Levada-center and other projects were used in which the Department of Ethnic Sociology of IS RAS took part[13]. Methodology of our project presumed that the country identifications well as regional and ethnic identities bear different importance and actuality for people. It depends on the events and situations. Dynamic investigation of events and occurrences connected with ethnicity, state and regional identity gave us a chance to see them latent, potentially possible and in some other variants mobilizing. We managed to trace how they can be met in common life and realized in political projects, institutional forms, discourses, social nets and comprehended by people.

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[11] We express our gratitude to the head of this poll M.K. Gorshkov having included a block of our comparable questions into the questionnaire.

[12] The volume of selective aggregate for every region in the 1990s comprised: in 1994: 1059 persons in Tatarstan, 918 – in Sakha (Yakutia); in 1997: 1121 in Tatarstan, 1082 in Sakha (Yakutia); in 1999: 1000 in Tatarstan, 1050 in Sakha (Yakutia), 1317 in Bashkortostan.

[13] Participants of the project: Arutyunova E.M., Bravin A.D., Valiakhmetov R.M., Gabdrakhmanova G.F., Drobizheva L. M., Kuznetsov I.M., Makarova G.I., Musina R.N., Pereboyeva M.A., Ryzhova S.V., Saghitova L.V., Shchegol'kova E.Yu.; Statistical-analytic data base processing – Vinogradova T.M.; Coordinator of preparation of manuscript for print – Pereboyeva M.A.

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Let us sum up the results of the research.

Russian identity in correlation with the ethnic one has been historically recovering rather quickly. In 2011, 20 years since the reforms 90% of the respondents in Russia defining their identity positioned themselves as Citizens of Russia (Table 1).

Table 1: Dynamics of Russian Identity (answer the question: Of which of the enumerated groups one can say It's us) per cent of respondents

Time and scale of poll	Organizer of the poll[14]	Chosen answer : We are citizens of Russia
Beginning 1992, Moscow	IEA RAS	24.0
2002, Russia	IS RAS	63.0
2006, Russia	RLMS	65.0
2006, Russia	ESS	66.0
2008, Russia	ESS	68.0
2011, Russia	IS RAS	90.0

In Tatarstan more than 83 per cent of Tartars and 84 per cent of ethnic Russians in 2012 positioned themselves as the citizens of Russia, and 57 per cent of Tartars and ethnic Russians underlined the strong connection with them.

In Republic Sakha (Yakutia) 90 per cent of ethnic Russians and Yakuts positioned themselves as the citizens of Russia and 48 – 50 felt a strong connection with them. Among Bashkirs and ethnic Russians in Republic Bashkortostan 92 and 91 per cent correspondingly identified themselves as the citizens of Russia and 62 – 56 percent felt the strong connection with them.

According to the 2002 polls the Russian state identity conceded to the ethnic identity by prevalence and intensiveness.

The IS RAS polls in 2003-2004 showed that only 63 per cent of respondents identified themselves citizens of Russia and from 80 to 90 per cent identified themselves by nationality. By 2011 – 2012 the Russian state identity has become not only widespread but the most significant for the majority. It must be mentioned that all-Russian polls of IS RAS represented mostly Russian population dominated regions. But the feeling of strong connections with the citizens of Russia in whole turned out the most significant (family ties which are usually the strongest were not included) and doubled (Pic. 1).

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[14] Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Science
  Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Science
  European Social Survey.

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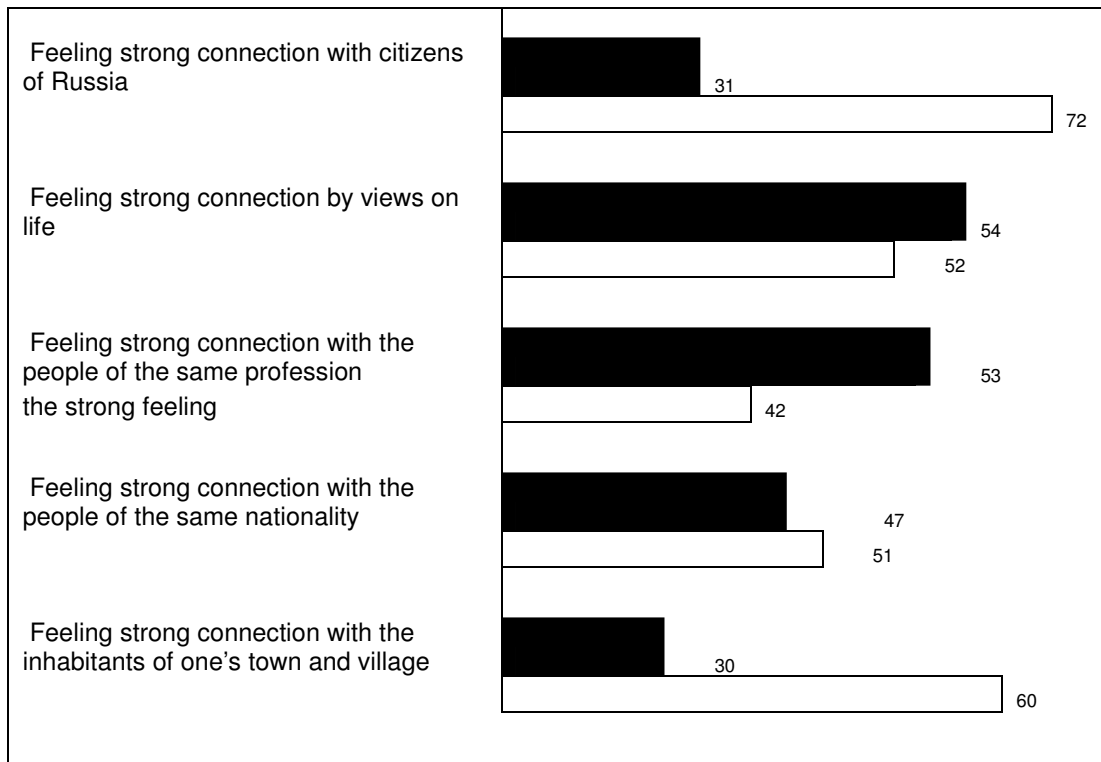
Pic. 1. Changes of importance of Russian civil and ethnic identity (with whom respondents felt the strong feeling of connection (percentage, 2004 and 2011)

In a new Russian identity a pre-Soviet layer of historical memory is present when our country was called Russia not the USSR.

Before the middle of the 2000s first decade a tendency was evident that ethnic identity prevailed not only among so-called title nationalities of Russian republics but among ethnic Russians. The civil identity, first of all, among the ethnic Russians was complemented by ethnic content, of course. Meanwhile, when respondents were asked a clarifying question "Whom do you feel yourself to a greater extent?"25 per cent answered that they felt themselves both equally but a greater part (47per cent) considered themselves "most probably Russian citizens". At that among the ethnic Russians the share of people calling themselves Russian citizens was a bit more than among other nationalities (48 per cent against 39 per cent). Such tendency preserves among the ethnic Russians in the republics.

The title nationalities are dominated by double identity but the ethnic one is stronger,

Soon after the XXII Winter Olympic Games at the meeting with journalists President Putin said: "First the citizen of Russia and only then the representative of some ethnos without belittling of any ethnicity. One does not exclude but supplements the other" [President of Russia. 2014/02/10].

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The consolidating factor of the Russian civil identity is, first of all, the state. This factor contributes to double quantity of opinions than any other factor uniting the Russians, that is, 60 – 75 per cent. Among other consolidating notions 25 – 30 per cent of respondents name the responsibility for the destiny of the country, human ties, historic past, native land, nature, language and culture. Traditions and customs, character and other features were mentioned by approximately 10 per cent of respondents.

It's worth noting that the responsibility for the destiny of the country is not yet the principal consolidating factor but it exists already more often among younger and more educated groups who are the country's future.

Just this fact gives us the right to consider the Russian identification not only the state but the civil identity though, first of all, it is the state identity. We, therefore, come to the conclusion that the most exactly interpreted Russian identity is the state-civil identity.

Character of the society integration

It seems that the figures witness high degree of society integration and speak of far-fetchedness of radical manifestations of the country disintegration. It is really so in part. But the most important are the grounds for integration. It is a very principal matter. The reply for this question tells about the trend and character of our identity.

The 1990s researches allowed to speak of negative identity trends of our citizens. We know about the social disparity and political separation of the Russians. Rather often our people feel ashamed for the present state of the country. The majority declared such feelings (37 per cent experienced this feeling very often and 48 per cent sometimes according to the Russian polls and a bit less in Republics Tatarstan, Bashkortostan and Sakha (Yakutia)). In this situation historical memory and dissatisfaction with modern life prompt to look for compensation longing for the former greatness of the country. Such notions are marked at the level of 30 – 40 of respondents in different regions and the whole of Russia.

There are some other unfavorable symptoms. The ethnic solidarity is based to a great extent on grievances. More than 60 per cent of ethnic Russian respondents agreed with the opinion "People of my nationality failed a lot for the last 15-20 years". People are united by the collapse of the Union, by accusations of pursuing imperial policy. A lot of people grieve for the loss of "the elder brother status", for criticizing the past which has been appreciated as the bright future. And now people say "How good we lived bad".

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Among Tartars, Bashkirs and Sakha (Yakuts) the feeling of loss is lesser than in whole Russia. It is quite understandable because republics in 1990s acquired more sovereignty, i.e. there were gains not losses only. But even here their grievance has not left the people's conscience. They have received additional sustenance owing to the same feelings that other people in European countries lived through where considerable and rapid inflow of alien-cultural population took place.

In those years Russia has become the third country in the world after the USA and Germany for the inflow of immigrants accompanied by considerable changes of ethnic composition. Additionally, the society suffered after-effects of the Chechen crisis. The respondents put in the second place after terrorism the grievance of Russia's involvement in a long-term conflict in the Caucasus.

Russian identity is in many respects defensive. More than a third of respondents agreed to the notion "All means are good for the defense of my people". According to the 1990s polls such notions were two times more rear among the ethnic Russians and among the title nationalities they slightly decreased.

Problems of inter-ethnic relations remain. The level of inner-ethnic consolidation increased among the ethnic Russians in Tatarstan and Bashkortostan judging by the number of those who had responded: "I never forget that I am ethnic Russian". Solidarity level among ethnic Russians is higher in those republics where it is higher among the people of the title nationality. In the republics the notion "At this time one must identify oneself as a part of nationality" was selected by 50 per cent of Bashkirs and Sakha (Yakuts), 66 per cent of Tartars, 24 – 36 per cent of ethnic Russians in Sakha (Yakutia) and Bashkortostan, 56 per cent of ethnic Russians in Tatarstan (Pic. 2) but in the whole Russia where people of Russian ethnicity dominate it amounted to 78 per cent. Among the ethnic Russians in the republics this solidarity choice was even more rare than among the ethnic Russians in other regions and among Tartars, Bashkirs and Sakha (Yakuts). It is not accidental that the readiness for basic types of contacts, i.e. business, neighbor and friendly between the title nationalities and living there ethnic Russians in Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Sakha (Yakutia) coincides up to 1 per cent. What is more important, in comparison with the 1990s among the Tartars and Sakha (Yakuts) in the republics the number of those who suffered from the limitation of rights because of nationality has decreased doubly. In comparison with the 1990s the ethnic solidarity has grown insignificantly in Tatarstan only (9 per cent among the Tartars and 15 per cent among the ethnic Russians) In

Bashkortostan and Sakha (Yakutia) it decreased by 10 – 20 per cent for Bashkirs and Sakh (Yakut) as well as for ethnic Russians.
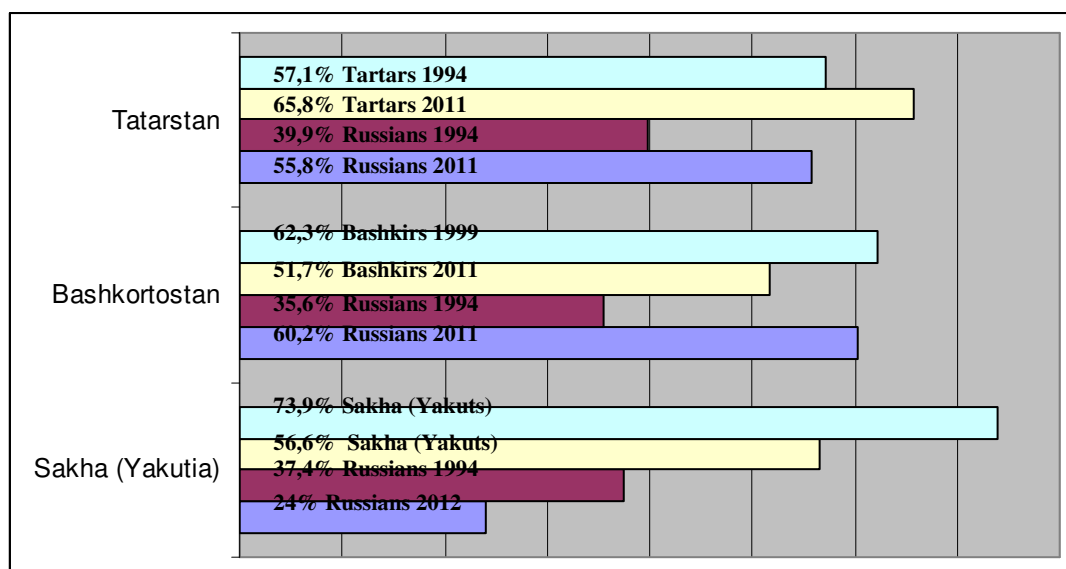
Pic. 2. Dynamics of ethnic solidarity in years 1994, 2011 and 2012

One can definitely state that the ethnic component in contemporary Russian conditions at the sufficient ethnic solidarity in the republics under study and the whole Russia has not oppose to strengthening Russian identity. The establishment of such identity promotes the unity of polyethnic society.

An important result of the research is that the Russian identity has been formed accompanied by the people's feeling of strong connection with it. But this identity maintains the painful experience of changes, negativism of phobias and worries.

Resource of inter-ethnic accord

A half of respondents in Russia agree that clashes take place in their areas due to interethnic enmity. In the republics this number is two times less.

68 percent of population of Russia in whole confessed that they "feel irritation or hostility to the representatives of some ethnicities" meaning mostly migrants from the republics of Northern Caucasus and Central Asia.

The resource of peaceful solidarity component still exists. For 20 years negative directives for various types of contact fluctuated in 1994 within 22 – 43 per cent, in 2011 – 2012 within 29 – 47 per cent. More than a half of people are ready for the everyday contacts on the basis of inter-ethnic accord. 86 per cent of ethnic Russians and the same share of respondents of

other nationalities believe that "violence in interethnic relations is inadmissible" but at the same time 40 per cent think that "the violence is justified if "my people's rights are infringed". It is worth noting that such opinions are spread among the ethnic Russians not less than among other nationalities (43 and 34 per cent correspondingly). This is a new situation having appeared in the 2000s. In the 1990s this opinion was far more frequent among the non-Russians.

The youth in the areas of our research are more sure of their future and estimate reality more positively than older generations. But in every region depending of its ethnic composition specifics of manifestation of ethnicities and directives for interethnic cooperation are evident.[15]

Thus, in Bashkortostan a greater part of youth is aware of their tomorrow but among the people of different ethnic groups the estimates vary, for example, the Bashkir youth are less sure in their own future (57 per cent) and the Tartar one is more sure (74 per cent). Value orientations coincide in general but the Bashkir youth are no able for greater paternalism.

In Sakha (Yakutia) the youth's opinion to lesser degree depends on ethnicity. Both ethnic Russian and Yakut youth in their majority are oriented at common, universal values.

Young and middle-age Yakuts are close in the majority of their opinions, estimates, preference while the ethnic Russian youth differ considerably in some aspects from the middle-age group. The Yakut youth is greater oriented on paternalist values (They rely on the help of family and on the help of state to a greater extent than the ethnic Russian youth – 49 per cent of Sakha and 20 per cent of the ethnic Russians) but they are ready for enterprise and risks not less than the ethnic Russians.

According to all-Russian sampling the civil identity occupies the first place among other group identities of youth but in the republics the most important part belongs to regional and local identities.

Reinforcement of their republic's independence turned out very important for the youth of title nationalities. Up to a half of the Bashkir youth like in other Bashkir generations supports such reinforcement, about one-third of Bashkir youth think that Bashkortostan only should deal with the republican resources. Sakha-Yakut youth is also oriented on a greater economic independence of the republic.

In Russia's republics at present in contradistinction to the 1990s the problem of interethnic relations moved for some part of urban population from the relations between the title nationalities and ethnic Russians to the relations between the consolidated local population and migrants. The most significant motive for hostility to the representatives of other ethnic groups is

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[15] The theme of the youth in this project is explored by E. Arutyunova [Arutyunova, 2013].

connected with limitations of local population as hosts on "their land" and imaginary or real claims of people of other ethnicities on "this land" Thus, the feeling of cultural distance and the apprehension of loss of the secured roles in a symbolic space in contrast with a real or perceptible competitiveness are important for the character of relations in republics as well as in the central regions of the country.

Ethnoconfessional identity

A special topic of research was the confessional component of ethnicity.[16] Growth of ethnic self-consciousness and resurrection of religiousness taking place in the background of state policy changes to freedom of religion led to the ethno-confessional identity becoming popular. Although the religion does not belong to the leading criteria of ethnic identification it possesses a great mobilizing potential capable of putting into shape collective (in certain conditions protest) group moods in the terms of faith and ethnicity. Jointly the faith itself acts as a stabilizing factor that can support consensus in the society and form regulations of interethnic and interconfessional tolerance. In different regions of Russia ethnoconfessional identity has got peculiarities both brought about by historic memory and tradition and dictated by actual ethno-political situation.

In Sakha (Yakutia) during post-Soviet period of development positions of Orthodoxy considerably strengthened among the ethnic Russian population. If in 1994 40.3 per cent of ethnic Russian population identified themselves as "Orthodox believers" in 2012 their number grew up to almost 70 per cent. In Yakutia the general situation is rather specific. According to the 2012 data the majority of ethnic Russians in this region belongs to the Orthodox tradition (69.9 per cent) and the majority of Sakha (Yakuts) keeps to traditional beliefs of Sakha (42.9 per cent). There are adepts of Orthodoxy among the Yakut population (11.4 per cent). Traditional beliefs support everyday ethnocultural spiritual solidarity of Yakuts and serve as a field of intercultural communication.

In Bashkortostan (results of 2011 poll) 85 per cent of the ethnic Russian population claim to be Orthodox believers (4.4 per cent – Muslims), 86 per cent of Tartars consider themselves Islam followers (5.8 per cent – Orthodox, mainly Kryashen Tartars), 92.3 of Bashkirs belong to Islam (1.7 per cent –Orthodox).

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[16] This theme in this project is explored by S. Ryzhova [Ryzhova, 2013].

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The overwhelming majority of Orthodox believers consider the implementation of Christian rites accompanying people's life such as baptism, wedding ceremony and burial service necessary.

Psychological distance between the Orthodox ethnic Russians and Muslims in Bashkortostan is very close and symmetrical: 80 per cent of Orthodox ethnic Russians "trust" or "tend to trust" the Muslims and 79.7 per cent of Muslims "trust" or "tend to trust" the Orthodox believers. High indicators of mutual trust and close psychological distance display that in this republic like in Tatarstan and Sakha (Yakutia) good-neighborly relations between basic contacting ethno-confessional groups are well rooted (Tables 2, 2a)

Table 2: Level of trust between Sakha and ethnic Russians in Sakha (Yakutia) (percentage of respondents)

Level of Trust	Sakha (Yakuts)	Ethnic Russians
Trust fully or tend to trust to the ethnic Russians	65.0	70.0
Trust fully or tend to trust to Sakha (Yakuts)	82.0	56.0

Table 2a: Level of trust between Bashkirs and ethnic Russians in Bashkortostan (percentage of respondents)

Level of Trust	Bashkirs	Ethnic Russians
Trust fully or tend to trust to the ethnic Russians	90.6	94.5
Trust fully or tend to trust to the Bashkirs	90.3	85.9

Process of resurrection of ethnicity and faith in the beginning of 1990s in Tatarstan was particularly dramatic. Tartars and ethnic Russians are the basic ethnic groups in Tatarstan. The ethno-confessional field of the republic has been shaped and is supported as a parity between Islam and Orthodox Christianity. Connections between religiousness and various forms of socio-political identities in the region can be followed but these connections are sometimes ambigious and vague.

The overwhelming majority of Tatarstan's population sticks to universal but not ethno-religious values. Owing to the fact that Tartars pursue Islam of Khanafit type allowing them to cohabitate peacefully with adherents of different faith the Tartar Islam has acquire a great potential of social adaptivity.

Introduction of Orthodox Christianity as administrative and state institution in Tatarstan was closely connected with the forced Christianization but in the history of horizontal, everyday

Orthodox – Islamic mutual relations in Tatarstan there were no conflicts. Polls witness that religion as faith is not a factor of cultural frontier between the ethnic Russians and the Tartars in spite of the presence of negative experience of Christianization in the historical memory. The research proved that believers both Tartars and ethnic Russians are less aggressive.

The principal conclusion states that the strengthening civil Russian identity compatible with the ethnic identity integrates people but it does not eliminate the problems of ethnoconfessional compatibility, dissatisfaction with the distribution of resources, solidarity against disparity, corruption, manifestations of lawlessness. Declarations about "the unity of the Russian nation", tolerance in inter-ethnic cooperation become real if they do not contradict to things people meet in everyday life. Efforts of society and state power are required so that the citizens in everyday practice apprehended Russia as mutual home.

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Part 2. Stratification in Transforming Russia

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New Social Groups within Stratification Systems of Gobal Society

Abstract

Precarisation of labor relations is extensive in modern societies. This phenomenon has given rise to a new social group in the social structure of modern societies. It is a precariat. The precariat is considered to be the new dangerous class of the modern society.

Keywords: post-industrial society, the social structure of society, precariat, precarisation of labor relations, employment, generation X

Social world is a multidimensional space with many social fields. Each individual and group occupy their respective positions, turbulent flows and "force lines" of social space direct the torrent of human activity.

There are many types of stratification in the world. A class division is a division into classes that own or do not own the means of production and is based on the division of labor [Lenin, 1970, p. 15]. Three main criteria (education, income, identity and sub-criteria set) are used to scrutinize processes of stratification in society [Radaev, Shkaratan, 1996]. The social estate sratification includes groups based on the principle of inheritance [Kordonskii, 2008, p. 27].

Under globalization and permanent economic crisis there appear a new and very important criterion for the stratification of modern post-industrial countries: namely the division of economically active population on stable/instable, and secure/insecure sectors. This approach is taken by many adherents in the EU and the USA. A new group of stratification is meant by "The new dangerous class – precariat" [Standing, 2011]. Term "precariat" is derived from the words "precarious" (unstable) and "proletariat" (the working class). Precariat includes groups of individuals who, regardless of the size of their income, education, identity, and other characteristics, are engaged in instable employment. They have no the stable position in the labor market and assured jobs. There are different income groups – from bigger income earners to smaller income earners among informal employees. It should be noted that these groups can not be integrated into any of the existing social systems. Precariat has bilateral relations with any of the stratification system. Internal heterogeneity of this group gives rise to well-founded criticism. However, it is not worth denying this problem. Precariat is viewed as a "class of outcasts", who has "nothing to lose". It is independent of the modern democratic institutions and is capable of a ruthless and bloody rebellion. Many political scientists and politicians believe that the American

movement "Occupy Wallstreet!" is a manifestation of global precariat movement. In Europe, a new social movement «May day» threatens the ruling class. In Japan, new stratum known as "freeters" and "NEETS" includes young people with or without vocational education. They are not able to find a job after graduating from high school, college and odd jobs.

Copeland in his book "Generation X" [Copeland, 2009] describes a similar stratum, called as a "the space poor" traveling across continents and countries in search of new experiences and odd jobs. According to some analysts, this new social group starts "rebellion" against the lifestyle and values of the middle class. In their opinion, this rebellion is like rebellion of hippie in 1970s.

In Russia problems of precariat have been discussed recently. In April 2013 at the XIV International Conference «Modernization of the economy and society" Deputy Prime Minister Olga Golodetz said that "it was not clear" where 38 million working-age Russians "were busy and how busy". This approach causes the Russian scientists to "conduct an audit" of Russian society, if people are involved in any employment. Some experts believe that about 30% of Russians are on a "precarious employment". Their employment relationship is not formalized but it is in shadow or, according to Olga Golodetz, "no legitimized" sector of the labor market [Rossiyskaya…].

Is it true that this new group is so dangerous? What is its essence? What is its origin? These issues need to be studied and well-founded conclusions are to be drawn.

A notion "precariat" is closely related to a concept of "precariousness". This term implies that "labor relations" may be broken by the employer at any time, unsettled, incomplete, constricted forms of legal and social assured employment. This phenomenon embraces a significant portion of employees" [Vikipediya(a) …].

The notion of precariat derives from the concept of "precaritat" which is meant by unpredictable, unreliable and unsafe living conditions causing material and psychological distress. Precaritat is often close to marginalization and anomy in Durkheim's sense of the word [Vikipediya (b)…]..

Discussion around precariat is not only connected with the growth of the protest movement in society, but also with erosion of the "middle class. According to German researcher Professor University of Jena Claus Dörre, «every third employee in Germany is in a state suspended or fluid precariat" [Marmer, 2009]. The reasons for this are rooted in the perception of social inequality. German majority (61%) believe that there is no more middle class and only the higher and lower ones.

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In Russia there are only few discussions about precariousness and precariat as a new stratification group. For example at the Faculty of Philosophy of Higher School of Economics in February and April 2013 seminars were held by research group as titked "Work, knowledge and leisure in postindustrial society» dedicated to discussion of the Guy Standing book "The Precariat – The new dangerous class".

The Russian scientific community discusses some aspects of theses problems. Among them there are the issuses of part-time jobs, hidden unemployment, informal employment, shadow or "gray" economy, etc.

It should be noted that there is not comprehensive approach to the study of a new social groups. Consequently, it is necessary generalization, specification of the research object and its objective study since the protest is on rise in modern society. Precariat can become a moving force of social protest movement in the world and in Russia. Precariat can cause the global system to be instable.

According to Guy Standing, many informal employees who consider themselves "middle class", in fact are not this class because their status is uncertain. Many freelancers are not involved in stable employment. They reveal the "Staged integration" as a state of social many dimensional identity that excludes them from the labor force.

Precariat has a "reduced status", minimal relationship with the state and the employers in terms of stability and security. Precarian workers in minimum identify themselves with the professional community, of which they may be a part. As a consequence, they are not members of trade unions. That is why there is a crisis of the important public organizations.

G. Standing outlines three potentially precarized social groups: youth, women, the elders. According to the British sociologist, in these groups there are migrants also. But in the last case they are meant by precarized labor relations rather than group identity patterns.

Process of precarization of labor activity embraces also such country like Japan. For many years the researches in the country of Rising Sun explore the implications of this phenomenon. In particular, they study issues respecting precarized groups - freeters and NEETs. The term "freeter" appears at the end of 1980s. It is meant by young people who refuse to be engaged stable employment. They hope to find a more prestigious job [Reiko, 2013]. First of all, this problem is regarded only in the context of changes in the attitudes of young people toward work and labor.

In the early 90s the number of young people who can not find a full-time jobs has increased. There are not only those who do not want to work in «old-fashioned" manner but also

those who like to work but are not able to get necessary jobs. They are forced to seek temporary work and call themselves as "freeters". There is more difficult situation for NEETs (acronym - not in education, employment or training). This group includes individuals who have no any education, job and have no skills. The face great obstacles to de integrated into the traditional Japanese employment system. According to Japanese researchers, young people are ready to perform the work formerly accomplished by older women. Any skills are not required to occupy this position. Yong people want to have full-time jobs in large companies. Youth employment is on the focus of the Government of Japan since 2003

The issue of precarization is put with big acumen because there is the big gap between wages of regular employees and wages of irregular workers in Japan. Unfortunately, the irregular employees and the staff employees have unequal chances. Employers give a favor for regular employment. The freeters who are more than 30 years old are not able to find full-time jobs.

Japanese scholars and politicians recognize that the solutions of issues of youth employment need to be implemented at the state level. The point is that the young people when getting old, will fill applications to go to pension. Meanwhile irregular employees are not allowed to make fees to the pension funds. With other words regular employees have pension rights only.

Issues of precariat are out of the academic discourse. But the Russian officials recognize these issues are of crucial importance. Who is the Russian precariat? First of all it is this group which includes individuals excluded from a stable employment. The Russian precariat consists of temporary workers, part-time job workers who have no labor contracts with the employers.

As a consequence of a irregular labor relationship, they are deprived of any social guarantees according to labor law (limited working day, paid annual vacation, medical insurance, fees to the pension fund, social insurance, etc.). In the Western countries there are youth, women, the elders and migrants among the main groups of precariat. In Russia any type of labor human resources can be included in this stratum regardless of age, sex, ethical identity. The Russian precariat is not a lower social group because its income and education are often the same as the middle class income/education. Often the employees, who are out the staff and taken on lease by another companies (outstaffing, outsourcing), can fall into the precarized group. In Russia this phenomenon is not considered to be negative one. And in our country, these phenomena do not appear as negative and semi-legal. In 2011 according to recruitment agencies, from 70 to 100 thousand people are on leasing work in Russia. Dozens of recruitment agencies provide

outstaffing jobs. These workers are deprived of labor rights and social guarantees. It leads to the social anomy and growth of marginalized population.

The part-time jobs groups are as follow: those who are involved in the employer and the employee agreement; those who have part-time jobs for reasons not depending on intentions of the employer or the employer's fault; those who are forced to be the unemployed and people who fail to find a job. According to Russian statistic service, in 2011 255,728 people (0.4% of employment in the economy) had part-time jobs [Federal'naya(a)…] In 2012 29,3% were unemployed due to lack of experience and 5,9% lost jobs when their temporary work on the contract was over [Federal'naya(b)…]. In 2010 687,000 people of the economically inactive population failed to find a job (3.6% of the economically inactive citizens) [Federal'naya (c)…]. According to the Minister of Labour and Social Protection of the Russian Federation M. Topilin, 10-15% of employees have jobs without labor contracts [Ministerstvo truda…] The irregular labor relations, which are widespread in Russia, lead to the development of the informal economy. Here some features are given to afford the portrait of the contemporary Russian precariat.

Firstly, the Russian precariat comes to reality. Secondly, the emergence of the precariat can produce negative consequences. Third, the instable employment provokes emotional, psychological and social disorder that leads to latent social conflicts and rebellion. Fourth, it would be worth pondering who took part of the protest wave on Bolotnaya Square in Moscow. the middle class or the precariat?

Therefore to construct models of social stratification is to take into account additional criteria when studying global society. For last decades fundamental process of changes in workplace spread; knowledge economy appeared. At the same time the transition to high-tech production has slowed down as within the traditional segments of the labor market and within the new ones as well. Under the structural mass unemployment, the social upheavals and the growth of risks there emergences a significant stratum exposed to be threatened by loss of social status and downward mobility. It is the precariat which is defined as «counter resource management stratum». We talk about the uncertainty with which the discriminated communities face. This uncertainty is crystallized in different points of the sphere of wage labor as in the Western societies and the transitional societies as well. Sociological task is to find a appropriate criteria and indicators for the study of this process.

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Private tutors and governesses - foreigners in Russia: professional and legal status [17]

Abstract

Institute of foreign of private tutors, as a form of home education, starting from XVII century, has had a significant impact on the development of the national education system in Russia. Change of requirements to professional competence of the private tutors -foreigners, entailed the creation of a system of control and restriction of activity of teachers-foreigners on the territory of Russia. Private tutors are native patterns of the Western system of values, culture and education, language that is necessary for building the educational and occupational trajectories and for successful career for the children of modern elite of Russia. In the present situation on the market of home education we see The high professional status , on the one hand, and almost absence of legal status of the private tutors, on the other hand.

Keywords: home education, tutor, educator, education, foreigner, legislation, professional status, legal status, professional groups

Education at home, is the real way of the education of children of preschool age. Education at home is actively developing form of educational process and   enjoys a growing demand now Against this background, have been formed professional, psychological, ethical and personal requirements for teachers, which working in a home preschool education. Analysis of the empirical and documentary sources confirms the active formation of the institution of professional tutors, nannies, private tutors. Evaluation of possible ways of strengthening of the the social status, legal status, professional status, economic status of the private tutors and studying mobility of this professional group are important areas of sociological research. Of particular interest is the institute of the foreign private tutors, which occupies an important place in the educational system of Russia for over 300 years/

Known Russian historian V.O. Klyuchevskii characterizes reforms of V.V. Golitsyn in the XVII century pre-Petrine Russia in parts of education and   Intentions to be attract foreign teachers for the upbringing and education of children. He wrote : " Part of his plan consists is spreading education among the upper class. He whold be inspiring the boyars that children should be taught science, inviting   them foreigners, particularly Polish, teachers. "[Kluchevskiy O.V.a, 332]

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Legal standing and professional status of the Institute of private tutors -foreigners have changed dramatically in Russia over the years. Everyone stage in the establishment of the Institute of foreign tutors in Russia has its own peculiarities. However, at each stage of its formation essential for the researcher were the following questions:

- What are the reasons refocusing system of home upbringing and education of   Russian's children from "high society"   from national path to a foreign path?
- What are requirements for foreign tutors have made by society and how a teacher-foreigner is responsible to these requirements?
- What are the consequences from using of foreigners like educators and teachers of the elite groups of the population for the Russian State?
- What are the measures are taken the state to preserve the identity of the educational system and culture against the backdrop of foreign influence in education?
- What are the necessary and sufficient procedures in order to evaluate the quality of educational technology and professionalism of foreign tutors?
- What is the role of tutor-foreigner and of Russian teacher in shaping the educational environment and the education market: competition, cross-cultural exchange?

So, we distinguish the following stages of formation of the Institute of Foreign tutors in Russia.

Until the 50s of the XVIII century.

The home education is formed in Russia. On the one hand, there is a need to create conditions for European's education for children from the Tcar's and noble's families, on the other hand, there is a growing influx of foreigners to Russia from Switzerland, France, Germany, Great Britain in connection with a difficult situation on the labor market in Western Europe. In this period high educational status of tutors - foreigners is formed largely under the influence of psychological settings (the fashion at tutors - foreigners; prestige; a foreigner - tutor gives a good education a priori). Special legal standing in the absence of legislative regulation of activity of foreign Tutors in Russia is practically absent. Relationship between the employer and the foreigner are typical for relationship between nobility and serfs in the Russian Empire: complete submission, dependency, lawlessness. Men are sought in Russia stable and for relatively high wages, as well as good starting conditions for the diplomatic career or administrative career. Women are sought financial independence. One of the Tutor notes that "This work requires the greatest of patience much more than others; degree of subordination here is very high, and

foreigner hard to get used to this. The main difficulty with which the people of noble origin had being encountered in Russia, it is their new status, is lack of freedom, that bringing them closer to the position of servant on the other hand, the pastor or veterinarian could return to their homeland holders of the title Baronin in gratitude for meritorious service" [Tozatto-Rigo, p.31] The home education in Russia was allowed , but with obligatory confirmation of the level knowledge at the special pedagogical commissions . [Imennoy ukaz ot 9 fevralya…; Senatskiy ukaz ot 19 fevralya…] Tutors- foreigners, as a rule, had no a special pedagogical education. They transferred knowledge based own experience of life: education in the family, intellectual and cultural baggage, forms of interpersonal relationships, has readed book, lifestyle, behavior, etc.

Starting with Peter the I st educational strategies of the Russian elite, had closely associated with the involvement of foreign teachers for the home upbringing and education of children. The changes in the system of the home education had evaluated as follows :"Now children are not studying as studied their fathers and grandfathers. They began to learn to live and think as Europeans. Therefore, if on the West the home education was conceived as approximate to the intimate world of the person, that it was perceived in Russia, on the one hand, only as a fashion, and on the other hand, as a needless, superficial and distorting natural features of the Russian people».[Shanskaya, p.143]

Since the 50s of the XVIII century till the beginning the XIX century

In this period the invitation of the foreigner for the education of children in the noble house has become the norm. By Catherine the Great had formulated the principals of educational strategy of continuing education. The implementation of this principals almost laid on the shoulders of foreign governesses and tutors:

-young aristocrats must shine in society, to speak one or two foreign languages, it is clear to express their thoughts orally and in writing, to paint the portraits, understand the artistic and literary novelties, as well as read domestic and foreign press;

-tutors should been make from young people not scientists, but decent men having sufficient general knowledges like intellectual, but also moral;

- the governess must be teach girls to suppress their feelings, make them wise and worthy of veneration women and ets.

Since the beginning of the 50s of the XVIII century, the Russian Empire beginning to take protective measures in order to regulate the activities of foreign tutors and home education

system including. Need of toughening the condition of use of the foreigners as the private tutors or governesses arose due to the lack of control of level of knowledge and professional skills coming for to Russia "teachers", on the one hand,due to poor control of level of knowledge of pupils, on the other hand, and due to understanding of need of creation of own system of the state formation answering to tasks and the purposes of the Russian Empire.

The Decree   "About Preliminary Test Foreigners   for Training of Children   in the Sciences and Wishing to   Work in the Private House, and about Recovery of the Penalty from employers   Who Will Accept to Itself to the House Teacher Who Does not Have corresponding   Certificate" has been adopted. Thus the Foreigner tutor   had to show the certificate about passing of tests at the Moscow university or in Academy of Sciences in Petersburg when applying for a job. [Imennoy ukaz, ob'yavlennyiy iz Senata, ot 5 maya 1757 goda, p. 765] These measures were timely, under certificates of the secretary of the French Embassy of de la Messalyer: "… The flows of the citizens of France of different suits flooded Russia. The most part of them, had   problems with the French police... We were struck and were surprised, having found in many houses of notable persons , the deserters,   bankrupts, libertines and a great number of ladies of the same grade, ... the education of young men from very known   families were entrusted   to   these people… ". [quote on Solodyankina, p.46] However, these measures didn't bring desirable results. Everywhere in the province the decree was violated, despite the penalties, checks. Eventually, the decree   has been   forgotten. Protectionist measures were taken by the power and in connection with the Great French revolution."In 1793 the French who were in the territory Russia, had to take the oath that they undertake not to have   the intercourses with France and with the relatives who have remained there. They had to swear allegiance to the king. Oath had been given approximately 1,500 people of both sexes, including the governesses". [quote on Solodyankina, p.47] At household level – French-speaking tutors from Switzerland, as more reliable, not bearing revolutionary ideas and more educated began to force out the French citizens.

For example, Ekaterina II preferred The Swisses like a tutors and governess, because:

- they are Protestants and have High moral spirit;

- the image of the Swiss has been associated with certain positive qualities, with modesty, with good manners;

- the Swisses possess less distinguished but correct French;

- they don't cause suspicions in the revolutionary moods;

- they, as inhabitants of the small state, don't possess any hostility. [Tozatto-Rigo, p.33]

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In the XVIII century the tutors and governesses from Swiss are became intermediaries between generations, between classes of society, between cultures; the teaching became the first profession for many members of that informal community that called "The republic of scientists" [Bandelye A.,Rzheutsky V., p. 267]

Since the beginning the XIX century till the 30-th years of the XIX century

This   stage (the beginning of the XIX century) is connected with efforts of prominent statesmen on education system improvement in Russia. They Put forward offers to limit and to forbid attraction to activity foreign teachers and tutors in education of children. In particular, in a note addressed to the Sovereign Alexander the 1st "About improvement of the general national education" M. M. Speransky wrote: "From experiences wellknown that we have three sorts of the civil education: 1) the education at home, 2) the education in private schools, 3) the the educationin state schools.

The education at home is ordinary used in houses of rich noblemen , having ways to employ teachers and the tutors.

The education in private schools is destiny for noblemen with average prosperity

The education in state schools mostly intended for people poor...

It is obvious that the first way of the education is not convenient for the State, because for great number of people it is impossible to find enough good teachers. From here all those strangeness and reproaches by which the choice of foreign teachers long since and not without justification at us has been criticized; 2) this way is inconvenient and therefore that it doesn't leave to the Government of means to watch for spirit of education and doesn't educate youth in some uniformity of public rules.

The second way (the education in private schools) to a lesser extent, but also represents inconveniences.

But third way would be more preferable". [Speranskiy]

Efforts of the Ministry of Public Education were connected with creation of certain mechanisms of increase of level of professionalism of foreign tutors, and also restrictions of their uncontrolled activity. The Committee of Ministers has responded to the offer   to checking knowledge of the foreigners coming to Russia. The Committee of Ministers found this measure too constraining both for teachers and for parents. Parents are writing out teachers from abroad , trusting   to them children, prefer   **moral education** to studying of languages and sciences. Therefore **have no need receive special certificates**.

Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 2. Stratification in Transforming Russia

On January 19, 1812 Alexander I has approved opinion of the Minister of national education about need to demand from house teachers of written certificates   their's abilities and knowledges. [Rozhdestvenskiy, p.77] Since 1928 this right has been extended not only on men, but also on women. The Ministry of Public Education took measures for reduction of system of home education as inefficient, harmful and unpromising.

Restrictions in work of foreign tutors were entered. The list of documents for foreigners coming to Russia was approved. The tutors and governesses must to provide documents about financial position, religion, reliability. Passports weren't issued for the unreliable persons.

Since the 30 - th years of the XIX century till the 1917 year

On March 25, 1834 Nikolay I signed the Major Document "About a Prohibition to Accept the Foreigners of Both Sexes without Appropriate Certificates to Houses of Noblemen, Officials and Merchants...". [Zhurnal Ministerstva, № IV.- C. LXXI-LXXIII]] On July 1, 1834 there was accepted "A provision on house mentors and teachers". [Zhurnal Ministerstva, № VIII.- C. HVII] This document finally fixed legal status of home mentors, tutors an governesses, including foreign:

- All the home mentors, teachers, the tutors Which would like engaged in education and training of children, must to get a certificate on checking the level of knowledge in different Sciences after passing tests at the University

- The home mentors and teachers working in families, considered civil servants and are getting cool ranks, in accordance with " The table of ranks"

- The women, wishing to be engaged only moral education of children, also must to get the certificate on a rank of the home teacher.

- The teachers who are engaged in initial training (reading, the letter in Russian or a foreign language, arithmetics) also must receive the certificate of a special sample.

- Only Russian citizens enjoy all the rights guaranteed in the legislative documents.[*Rozhdestvenskiy S.V.*, 1902, Pp.291-296]

Foreign citizens were allowed to pedagogical activity in home education by the same conditions. But they had not enjoyed the rights and the advantages by rank of the home mentor or the teacher. For example, Foreign governess receive a pension only If she adopted Russian citizenship. Besides, they must had been to provide documents about baptism and the positive certificate from the Russian mission abroad. All missions at the Foreign yards were notified on adoption of acts for streamlining of activity of home and foreign tutors in Russia.

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In the Table 1. We are presenting data on the number of certificates, issued for home tutors and governesses foreigners (1836-1855). [*Solodyankina O .Yu.*, 2011, p.462]

Table 1: The number of certificates had been issued for home tutors and governesses foreigners (1836-1855).

Province/yeares	1836	1841	1846	1852	1855	1836-1855
St. Petersburg		28	31	6	11	315
Moscow		11	15	11	98	237
Kharkov		1	0	2	0	10
Kazan		2	0	0	4	21
Kiev		4	0	2	0	21
Derpt		13	20	2	0	223
…………….		…..	….	…	….	……
Total	64	67	74	25	115	1059

Control over activities of home teachers became tougher:

1. everything home teachers (and including foreigners) had been subordinated directors of gymnasiums;

2. supervision of home teachers has been entrusted to honourable trustees of gymnasiums;

3. all obligations of the home teacher had been fixed in writing and had been stored at gymnasiums;

4. home teachers had to notify directors of gymnasiums when they were moving to other provinces or decided to work in other houses

5. in year end the home teachers had to provide a report for the Directors of gymnasiums, and Positive characteristic from the leader of the nobility and from the employers.

Financial Control had become tougher and financial sanctions for violation of the Russia legislation grew. Foreign Tutor could be fined for false act and could be sent from Russia for violation of the law. Penalties could be imposed on the employer who has accepted the tutor without necessary procedure and documents.

Direction of the Russian reforms of modernization XVIII-XIX centuries never had been determined only by socio - economic, political, administrative or military components. The educational component always was present in these reforms. The Changes in education, on the one hand, had had to provide and fix effect from the reforms in all areas of life. On the other hand, the development of public education was working for the future. It was created a basis for future transformations: training, reorganization of mass consciousness and even mentality of the

people. The education system made not smaller impact on people and the public relations, than a condition of economy and management. [Artamonova L., 2013, p.291]

Reform of 1835 had pursued two aims, one of which: *"To attract of children of families of high society of the Russian Empire to Universities, and to put an end to false system of home education of children by foreigne"*. [Rozhdestvenskiy, 1902, p.245]

In the period of "the real vague incidents abroad and the harmful direction of minds", By The Ministry of Public Education it was offered to stop invitation of foreigners for the purpose of training of children. With imperial permission it was offered to all foreign embassies to stop for a while issue of visas to all foreigners and the foreigners, wishing to arrive to Russia for pedagogical activity, except those cases when the foreigner will be called with preliminary permission of the Russian government. [Rozhdestvenskiy, 1902, p.294] n 1843 according to the minister of education Uvarov S. S. the objectives were achieved: "Home education" little by little is absorbed by the public education. In 1857 the restriction on entry of tutors-foreigners was removed, however trustees of educational districts had to demand from the foreigners of the certificates about moral qualities. [Rozhdestvenskiy, 1902, p.379].

The measures taken by the State to improve the quality of national home education has led to notable results:

- the professional level of the teachers, tutors, governesses (including foreign nationals) has increased;

- the State system of training and certification of home teachers and, most importantly, the teachers of women was created in Russia;

- the competitive environment in the market of tutors and governesses was created,

- a Russian governesses, who obtained specialized education began compete with foreigners actively;

- the system of Operation and monitoring of the activities of the home teachers was established;

- The Professional Group of Home Educators had formed. It had acquired the legal and professional status. A governesses and tutors - foreigners had occupied a special place into this group.

The contribution of foreign tutors to pedagogical science and practice of Russia is great. We will give some examples.

- The Swiss tutor Lesgilye A. wrote "The management for tutors and governesses. In the Russian, German and French languages. The necessary reference book for each family,

with addition of the laws relating to the rights and pensions of persons, devoted to education and education of children in Russia». (St. Petersburg. 1870). In this book experience of tutor's work on the basis of long-term practice is generalized.

- The Swiss tutors were authors Russian-French, Russian-German and Russian-English dictionaries, originators of grammars of Russian for foreigners and of grammars of French for educational institutions of Russia, translators of literature from Slavic languages.[*Bandelye A.,Rzheutsky* V., Pp. 270-271].

- Philip Hernandez, ... worked as the tutor, further he was publishing "Journal des sciences et des arts " devoted to education of noble youth of Russia. He was interested in the Russian history, he collected big library and a collection of manuscripts which took away home from Russia. Thanks to it in France there were many books about Russia.[*Rzheutsky* V.S. ,p. 65].

Since the 1917 year till the 90-s of XX century

Home Education was forbidden. "At home", trained only children with disabilities. During the emigration of the nobility and the intelligentsia, most of private tutors and governesses left from The Russia together with the hosts. Some of them - had been assimilated. However a little that is known of their destiny. Some of them worked in schools by teachers of foreign languages.

Thus, the place of foreign governess and tutor, who were engaged in education and initial training of preschool children, had been replaced by kindergartens, crèches and nannies, arrived to the city from rural areas.

The state system of preschool education became the only form of initial education and upbringing of children till 7 years in the USSR.

Since the 90-s of XX century till the present time

Cardinal changes happened in Russia for the last 25 years. The relation of society, the state to home education changed. IIt is necessary to emphasize also that the Law " On Education", in the edition operating since September 1, 2013, actually legitimized family education and home education. [Federal'nyj zakon Rossijskoj Federacii ot 29 dekabrja 2012…]. Tutors and governesses foreigners are in demand now. And demand for them grows every year. Now it strongly exceeds the offer. Their inflow to Russia grows. In modern conditions the need to educate children by native speakers is high in families with high prosperity. Generally This

families are oriented on training children at elite schools of Russia and abroad, on a choice of the educational trajectory connected with possibilities career growth, and not only in Russia. Tutors with English from England, Australia, the United States of America, Australia, etc. are in special demand. We will give opinion of the well known representative of the Russian elite who looked for for his son of the tutor- foreigner: "The person who speaks only one language, doesn't deserve a rank of the person of the XXI century. The person who doesn't speak English, practically not civilized men".[Jarmarka millionerov v Moskve…]

Almost during 400 years the motivation of the invitation of foreigners as tutors in the Russian families practically didn't change, despite creation of the developed system of the state preschool and secondary education, system of preparation of specialized pedagogical shots. Role of the foreigner - the tutor as the native speaker and the conductor of the western culture remained invariable. A recruitment agencies which are engaged in employment of foreigners in the families, are formulating requirements to level of professionalism of tutors and governesses.[Advantages of British nanny…]

- *'Perfect spoken English language! All our candidates speak excellently, primarily British English.*

- *English grammar teaching! From the moment of acceptance for employment the governess will begin to teach basing on the teacher editions corresponding to the age of your child.*

- *Teaching of British style of behavior based on attentive and respectful attitude to the other people, teaching to avoid conflict situations, development of self-esteem and respect to the private life of the other people.*

- *Etiquette teaching. English etiquette is the embodiment of rigor and formality. The concept of "true gentleman and lady" originated in this country. Your governess will adopt the skills necessary to the child in any life situations: food acceptance, walking, meetings and communication with peers and grown-ups.*

- *British humor is sober-minded, full with kind irony and stunning charm. Ability to size up the situation correctly, to joke and communicate advisably with different people – this qualities will be developed by the governess in your child.*

- *Care for child's wardrobe and cooking. You won't need to hire the additional servant for your child. All our candidates are ready to take on these duties.*

- *Sport games and accompaniment of the child to studies. Upon your request we will select the specialist who will be engaged in different types of sport together with your child: horseback riding, golf, swimming, cycling, dancing, singing and even embroidery!*

- *Travel abroad for training and on vacation. Visa-free entry is opened for British citizens almost everywhere, so you can freely travel with nanny.*

- *Please, draw your attention that we give employment only to the candidates passed the professional training. It is Bachelor of Education Degree, Postgraduate Certificate in Education in Great Britain. Many candidates have Montessori Diploma, TOEFL certificate.'*

The legal vacuum which has arisen in connection with events of the beginning of the XX century began to be restored, but on other philosophical and national concept. Stay of foreigners on territories of Russia, and also an order of providing work to them is regulated by the legislation of the Russian Federation [Federalnyiy zakon ot 25 iyulya 2002 g. N 115-FZ…].

The foreigner, who arrived to work to The Russia as a tutor or governess   can have the following legal status:

- having residence permit (no more than 5 years);
- arrived to Russia on the basis of the visa and having permission on temporary accommodation (no more than 3 years);
- arrived to Russia on the basis of the visa and not having of residence permit or permission to temporary residence (before the visa expiration);
- arrived to Russia as highly qualified specialists.

Acquisition of this or that status is accompanied by receiving a number of permissions of Federal Migration Service, confirmation of payment of state fees, notifications of tax authorities and other compulsory procedures. [Pismo Departamenta nalogovoy i tamozhenno-tarifnoy…].

In Russia many recruitment agencies purposefully are engaged in employment of foreigners as tutors and governesses. We address to experience of the recruitment agencys of "British-nanny.ru" , " English nanny", "Bonne International" which offers the following order of legal legalization of the tutors foreigner in Russia.

"As a rule, at the first visit of governess to Russia we make out tourist visa or the business visa … The tourist visa … grants the right of stay in Russia within 30 days. The business visa allows your governess to stay in Russia from 90 to 365 days"…. Anyway, after passing of the period of adaptation and understanding that the employee perfectly is suitable for

the solution of the tasks set by you and training of your child, **we recommend stay registration according to the work permit.** [Kakuju vizu mozhno oformit'…].

"With English Nanny a 100% legal working Russian visa is a reality. The successful candidate will have business visa for the first 3 montes trial and then we will do a working 1 (2) year visa, giving you a teacher status in one of our English schools".[Visa Support….]

In practice, The business visa doesn't provide the right for work. Tutors and governesses – foreigners as a rule don't receive the special working visa, work permit and therefore are staying out of legal field. "Despite their relatively high salaries, they have little job security. One said she had no work permit, while another said that only one employer had given her visa support. One warned that agencies work on commission, so job stability isn't their priority"[The Foreign Governess …]. Often conditionally legal work of the foreigner tutor in a family adjoins to conditionally legal obtaining the income by his employer. Several governesses said they didn't know what their employers' occupations were. "One of the first rules of this work is never ask how they got their money," said Kira Hagen, an American who has worked as governess for five families in Moscow. Hagen said her employers are always paid in cash. "They don't want their income to be traceable." [The Foreign Governess …].

Abroad the legal base is more thoroughly is worked in this regard . The contract has being signed between three subjects of the labor relations: worker, employer and recruitment agency. Respectively, the rights of the worker and the employer are protected by in addition recruitment agency. Under The Russian law the contract have to be signed between two subjects of the labor relations: worker, employer. The Recruitment agency does not bear liabilities neither before the worker, nor the employer.

"The contract of employment of the tutor (governess)" is signed between the employer and the tutor foreigner is registered a duty, the rights, compensation, penalties and other thin moments of relationship.

The employer according to the legislation of Russia needs to get permission to attraction of foreign labor. After completion of procedure of search of the tutor - to sign the employment contract, to register it in appropriate authorities of local government (settlement council, municipality, etc.), to register in tax inspection and quarterly to list taxes and payments to the Budget. *According to experts, the percent of legal contracts with foreign tutors is minimum. It is Disappointing conclusion – legal status of the tutor, in most cases it is possible to characterize as "illegal work".*

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Part 2. Stratification in Transforming Russia

110 announcements of tutors - foreigners who look for work in Russia were analysed. [Njani, guvernantki, guvernery…] To make a conditional portrait of the modern tutor foreigner, we analysed a number of important personal and professional characteristics.

1. The main reasons for which tutors- foreigners look for work in Russia:

- To earn a considerable sum of money during short term (1.82%);
- Desire to study other cultures(10.94%);
- Love in Russia (3.64%);
- Desire to apply all professional skills (38.18 %);
- Desire to learn Russian(5.45%);
- To have separate housing (16.36%);
- Job search abroad (5.45%);
- Job search in Russia (16.36%).

2. The Level of education

83% of tutors have 3 and more Qualifications: Qualification of tutors in English, English language teachers, Qualification in the field of child development (nannies and governesses).

3. Citizenship tutors:

- United Kingdom (62.73%);
- USA (9.09%);
- new Zealand (5.45%);
- Ireland (4.55%);
- Australia (4.55%);
- Germany ,Italy, France, South Africa, Spain (13,64%).

4. Gender:

- Man (22.73%);
- Woman (75.45%);
- Couple (1.8%).

5. Foreign language skills:

47 from 110 tutors speak two and more foreign languages .

To be fair it is impossible to ignore other group of tutors foreigners who appeared on educational space of Russia in the last 25 years. This group consists of the former citizens of the Soviet Union. On materials of "Luxury Personnel" agency of 40% of house tutors - citizens of Ukraine, 30% - citizens of Russia, 20% of the citizen of Moldova, 10% of the citizen of other states. [*V trende nyani…*]. Tutors and nurses, natives of the countries of the former Soviet Union

work as a rule in families with average prosperity. The director of agency of selection of governesses abroad Bonne International Maria Nikolaeva claims: "We have no institute of professional governesses. The Russian governesses (Ukrainian, Moldovan too), unfortunately, they very much indulge children, trying not to lose work. The English governesses are keeping a tight rein on children. Therefore are more expensive – 5-6 thousand dollars for the English governess against 3-4 thousand – for Chinese. And demand for them grows every year. Now it strongly exceeds the offer. Those parents who intend to transfer the business to hands to children, won't save on their education" [*Jarmarka millionerov…*] One can not disagree with the fact that in the relationship between teacher - child in our country a lot of psychic dependence, sensuality, different forms of love. These qualities, according to Marina Nikolaeva, are contrary to the professionalism. Institute of Professional tutors is the presence of the vocational education system, training system, the performance appraisal system and responsibilities and stuff. Unfortunately the Russian-speaking foreigners are not of sufficient quality to be called a professional tutors and governesses. Employers impose requirements for tutors (as for the first and so for second group): to speak foreign language and train children in foreign languages. Foreign language skills become the main criterion of professionalism of the tutor. The analysis given of vacancies of tutors and governesses showed that 48% of respondents consider that the knowledge of a foreign language (generally – English), as well as Russian, – is necessary quality of the future worker.

So, we stopped on the number of questions, the connected with change professional and legal status of foreign tutors and governesses in Russia in 400 years. We can draw a conclusion that expected level of professionalism of the foreign tutor of the first group is high and testifies to his high professional status. However in the legal plan activity of house teachers isn't protected: legal status practically is absent. The Guvernerstvo institute in Russia as a component of cross-cultural interaction of Russia and the West is made out on new professional base now. He historian Klyuchevsky V. notes three waves of arrival of foreign tutors to Russia. Every wave had connected with one of three different types of tutors-foreigners in Russia: The professional hairdresser is thinking Nothing; The freethinker; The conservative and Catholic. The conservative and Catholic. [*Klyuchevsky V. O.b* …] In our opinion, The tutors - foreigners in Russia today it is professionals, democrats. The foreign Tutor's role in the modern social process isn't defined yet, however historic facts testify to an essential role of a foreign guvernerstvo in the formation socially - political moods and vectors of development of system of education.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 2. Stratification in Transforming Russia

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«Significant Other» and School Outcasts

Abstract

In this paper was conducted qualitative research of the selection of "significant others" by school outcasts andordinary schoolchildren

Keywords: school, socialozation, education, sociometrical determiners

Historically formed that in any society for many centuries of human civilization exists the person who is on the "sidelines" of society. Outcast - a term meaning a person has fallen ("squeezed") of their social environment. In the process of socialization on the development of the individual as a person affect many different factors: favorable environment within the family, in which the individual lives, including in a chat with a group of peers, the successes in his creative and academic life, including his outlook that influenced by fictitious and virtual characters. At the same time changing the attitude to teachers, but enhanced mutual conversation groups, primarily in the training group (classroom). Sociometrical research determines the structure of the group and the presence of "significant others" in it. However, not all students are included in the life of teenagers equally: school class hierarchy implies a popular and unpopular individuals. School outcast - a person with the highest number of negative election, not participating in the life of the class, and do not accept their peers.

As research methods was selected sociometrical test followed by analysis and the construction of the sociometric matrix and sociogram and projective technique "I, Significant, Other." Sociometric test circuit allows to build a school class hierarchy: to identify the "stars" of the graduating class and communicate with peers (school outcasts). Projective technique allows to draw conclusions about the role of significant others in an individual's life. Procedure of projective techniques is that the respondent, without prompting from the researcher, draws circles, indicating himself and significant others. And depending on the size and distance of the circle, indicating himself and meaningful person, to draw conclusions about the role of these significant people in the individual's life.

The study surveyed 7 classes - 114 people, of whom 14 were outcasts. It was found that in 6 classes from 7 outcast role goes to boys only in the same class with equal amounts of rogue rejections were a boy and a girl.

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From the answers to the projective technique identified the following categories of "significant other" and other:

Table 1: Category of "significant others" and other students' grades 8-9 (absolute values)

Significant other:	**General category:** relatives (mother, father, grandmother, grandfather, brothers / sisters) - 112 elections; friends (best friends and just friends) - 92 selections; classmates - 8 elections; pets - 2 choices; teachers - one choice. **Hobbies:** music (singers stood separately) - 3 choices (choose only women); fictional characters - one choice.
other:	The world around us - 49 elections; people - 31 choices; strangers - 8 election, familiar people - 2 choices.

As can be seen from Table 1, the role of "significant others" in the first place is given to parents, then friends (data entered by frequency). Only three people have indicated fictional characters, and one - teachers. By "others" include all persons not included in the group of important, up to a generalized representation of "the world."

It should be noted that there is no differences in the choice of "significant other" between ordinary students and school outcasts.

Next table showing the values of arithmetic means for diameters of circles, representing the "I" (d_I), "significant other" (d_s), "other" (d_o) in mm.

Table 2:Diameter of circles

	Other students	School students outcast
Average d_I	31,8	30,07
Average d_s	40,02	31,8
Average d_o	24,4	41,15

Table 2 shows that there is no major differences between students in terms of their own "I" - 31.8 vs. 30.07. Differences appear in the values of average of "significant persons" and "others." It would seem that for a school outcast "significant others" should be more significant than for ordinary students, however, the average values is more for conventional students than

for outcasts. Especially strong differences can be observed in the mean diameter of the circles representing the "other" - the school outcasts drew circles twice more than their classmates - 41.15 vs. 24.4. This phenomenon can be explained by the antagonistic nature of the world - the student feels less significant because opposes the huge entourage.

Particular attention also should be paid to the location of objects on paper. Analysis revealed that more than half of ordinary students drew circles inside each other, putting themselves in the center, indicating that self-centeredness. Particularly worth mentioning is that all the students to draw these circles were not outcasts. There is also another curious trend within outcasts - they drew circles that mean "I" not in the center of the paper, but in his corner, and a circle means "other" centered on the paper.

The important point is the distance between the circles. The average distance among the circles denoting the "I" and "significant others" between outcasts - less, and the distance between "self" and "other" - more than among ordinary students. This fact indicates a strong psychological connection between an outcast and his "significant others", and at the same time on a weaker connection with the outside world.

In conclusion, I would say that the study showed that there is no differences in the choice of "significant other" between outcasts and other students. Nevertheless, the overall trend of attachment to family and friends among the outcasts, and detachment from the outside world stronger than among the ordinary students.

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The Creative Dimension of Civic Participation

Abstract

The article focuses on social creativity as a form and dimension of civic participation. The approaches to defining social creativity are considered, and criteria applied to social creativity are discussed.

Keywords: civic participation, social creativity

It has become a commonplace that civic participation plays a significant role in handling social inequality. Much attention has been paid to measuring the dynamics of civic participation as well as defining and estimating different practices in which civic participation is exercised. We would like to focus on the dimensions of civic participation, in particular, on what we define as the creative dimension of civic participation – social creativity.

The creative dimension of the civic participation gets higher relevance in view of the current trends. Firstly, in the neo-Tocquevillian tradition that sees a developed civil society as living a rich associational life the social dimension of civic participation is represented mainly by the "associational" dimension. It has been noted, though, that the associational dimension is changing nowadays. Gellner states that today a citizen is a "modular" individual who can be a member in a number of associations and societies simultaneously and can leave those when they please. In this context, it is important to differentiate between formal (legally registered) organizations and informal groups. Secondly, civic participation tends to take forms of events, such as social projects contests or forums, which differ structurally from formal public organizations. Thus, it would be methodologically wrong to limit the social dimension of civic participation to associational life, or civic organization membership. This brings us to the necessity to consider social dimensions of civic participation other than associational. We argue that a different social dimension of civic participation is rapidly developing and gaining popularity, namely, social creativity.

There is no single definition of the notion and that leads to a certain confusion about it. There are two main ways to regard the notion. Social creativity can be defined as the creativity performed in social (group, collective) surroundings. This kind of creativity is usually contrasted against individual creativity [Fischer, 2005]. The second definition relates to the creativity that people apply in order to solve some social tasks, for example, social projects (for example, in Irkutsk, Social Projects Fair is held annually, where any citizen can present a project aimed at the solution of city/regional problems or a social innovation). The experts choose efficient projects,

and businesses and other representatives, municipal authorities can decide whether to support the projects. This way to regard social creativity is based on the orientation of social creativity. In this case, social creativity can be defined as conscious constructive actions aimed to change the social reality. The third way to regard social creativity is to see it as a process of a society renewing, adopting, recreating itself in changing circumstances. We define social creativity n the context of modes of interaction in a civil society. In this way, social creativity is the process of bringing constructive changes into social reality and constructing new social links, modes and configurations of interaction and cooperation among the actors involved in the process. Projects or events that are aimed at working out and implementing social projects or social innovation provide a good platform for cooperation among so many actors.

Social creativity is exposed to the same criteria as creativity in general. The most important ones are newness/originality and appropriateness/ efficiency. Also, because creativity is what one can apply in specific conditions, it is tailored to local circumstances and issues, thus making creative civic engagement interconnected with the notion of territorial proximity. The practices of social creativity engage local social development actors –business sector, local authorities, educational institutions, noncommercial organizations, active and interested citizens. It is not always possible to bring together people of different socioeconomic status and different lifestyles, but the events of social creativity can perform the function.

In conclusion, despite multiple definitions, social creativity has definite criteria that have been developing for over 50 years and a number of spheres of social life to be applied in. We argue that the creative dimension of civic participation is of high importance and requires further research.

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Innovative Activity as a Factor of Modernization of the Production

in Industrial Russian Plants

Abstract

Today, among the potential Customers of equipment there is a tendency not to be engaged in long-term projects, they are simply seeking to invest as little money in the purchase of raw materials and equipment, but to get in the nearest future maximum profit from the sale of the final product, not paying much attention to the quality, - that is, so called, lack of social responsibility of business to the end consumer. As a rule, the production of a good quality new product must be accompanied by innovative technology and the modernization of existing equipment. Only qualitatively new equipment allows to improve the existing end product that will satisfy the new needs of the end consumers because the idea of modernization, innovation, production can not exist without the means of expression, so the Customer must invest not only in ideas and projects, but also in the means of production, t .e in the new machines.

In the times of the Soviet Union in the market of industrial equipment mainly dominated the Soviet-made machines while imported equipment was supplied only by the state order and only in case of the impossibility to purchase identical Soviet equipment.

The collapse of the Soviet Union had opened the borders and opportunities to imported equipment's suppliers. In post-Soviet Russia is observed the growth of consumer ambitions, which had provoked the socio-economic changes. There is a transition from deficient consumption to overconsumption, to consumerism ("Consumer Revolution"). Simultaneously, in view of the saturation of the market, the growth of the offer on the same types of the machines from different manufacturers, the increase of the customer's need in high-quality technological equipment, there has been minimized the function of the direct contacts between the manufacturers and the Customers. There is a struggle for the Customer under very high competition between manufacturers, while the Customers have a direct impact on the result of this competition, delaying the moment of making the decision in favor of a certain brand, specifications, price parameters, wanting to get the best conditions for purchasing the equipment. In this case has grown the importance of modeling the behavior of the Customer from the side of the manufacturer (Seller). As the result of correct understanding by the Seller the factors, which influence the acceptance by the Customer the positive decision to purchase the equipment, is the sale of the equipment, and thus the obtaining by the seller the pecuniary benefits, the support of its brand on the market of the industrial equipment in a certain area.

On today's Russian market of the industrial equipment the offer prevails over the demand. The numerous equipment suppliers are ready to offer to the Customers the best conditions for the purchase of the equipment from different producers: American, German, Italian, Spanish, Indian, Russian, Chinese and the others. Most types of the equipment, which are similar in use, have identical features and options. The main differences of competitors' equipment from each other can be considered a quality, the used innovations in the execution of the machine and, of course, brand recognition on a particular market. From these indicators is formed the price for the equipment.

Society of postmodernism, innovative society poses a problem to the Customer to produce a qualitative new product that will satisfy the social-economical needs of the consumers, because the existing goods cannot satisfy them anymore. There is a need in modernization, in innovative activity in the productive process, in changing the existing production technology, in staff development. With the growth of the importance of the above factors the importance of institution of the innovations to the plant at all levels is increasing and there is failure from the part of the Customer to carry a social responsibility to the end consumer as an unwillingness to modernize the existing production.

The reason of such unwillingness is not so much innovations as their absolute character [Zarubina (a), p. 47]. The Customer makes innovative activity trying to learn the experience from his already modernized competitors, integrating technology processing of raw materials into its productive process. But the results of such integration are unsatisfactory since the failure of the existing plant equipment and the staff to carry out these activities. It is necessary to synthesize all elements of production. There is a need to establish research institutions, within the walls will be developed innovative technologies for the specific industrial department of a particular plant. These institutions will permit to generate new levels of social community, will be carried out the re-socialization process of the staff and the purchase of a qualitative new equipment. Therefore, the main reason of the lack of innovative activity at the plant is not so much conservatism in production, which aims to get more profit at the lowest cost, as "a lack of institutional level, in which context could be carried out productive interaction of diverse economic and value systems. The lack of such synthesis is fraught with reaction of rejection, frustrations of modernization, known for failure of the "White Revolution" in Iran" [Zarubina (a), p. 47].

To modernize the modern productive process there is a need to balance the values of stability and development, which is harmonious of the nonviolent update of all levels of the

production, in order to have the possibility of interpenetration of traditional (conservative) and modernist (innovative) cultures.

Modernization process in Russia is characterized by the following peculiarities:

1) there are pronounced the peculiarities of the accelerated, "catching up" modernization;

2) the modernization transformation is performed from "above" at the unwillingness of the "bottom" (i.e. in the minds of customers there are the ideas of innovation, but there is no material basis as equipment and or as qualification of the staff);

3) the modernization on the Russian plants is under the influence of external factors (the increase of the competition between the Russian and imported (Occidental) products);

4) the imperial model of modernization (the selective borrowing of some elements and institutions while maintaining the archaism in other spheres of the production, overexploitation of the population and the high degree of centralization and bureaucratization of the modernization process) [Krasilschikov, 1999, p. 95];

5) an attempt to solve several problems at once in the absence thereof the modernization at all levels of production;

6) the non-linearity of the modernization processes (cyclic changing of the reforms);

7) the miss of the cycles of political-economic and social modernizations (the lack of financing from the state, because there is no interest in the development of this production does not permit to introduce innovations and purchase equipment for the plants to produce goods needed to satisfy the needs of the end costumers);

8) the presence of intellectuals - social stratum generated by modernization, which in view of the socio-psychological characteristics prevent to realize this modernization.

Consumer revolution that occurred in the XX century, has changed the Customer's attitudes, mass-media has allowed the manufacturers easier and less expensive enter the market of the industrial equipment, has become easier to influence the target audience through the price parameter, as well as the Customers have got unlimited access to the information. Thanks to the Internet, they are not limited by the choice of the offered to them machines by the local manufacturers. For price comparisons they do not need any more run about and to spend time, speaking with the sellers. Whatever type of the machine the Customer was not looking for, it is enough to apply to sales manager with a request to send technical and commercial proposal and price by email.

By advertising the equipment, many manufacturers dictate the Customers a certain production technology, which is different from the existing one, promote the changes of the

properties of the end product. As a result there is a model of a one-dimensional thought and behavior with already prescribed and shared by all aims, ideas, norms and values of the production.

In Russia already installed on the factories machines are the holders of the habits, sustainable intellectual and emotional reactions, which connect the Customers with the certain manufacturers of the industrial equipment. The machines manipulate the Customer, they produce immunity to their competitors in his mind. As Jack Trout said: The main thing is to be the first in the Consumer's mind [Trout, 2004, p. 146], thereby encouraging the marketers and bringing out the role of the Customer to a higher level, which covers new spheres of the industrial activity.

A characteristic feature of a modern production is its duality, which is reflected in the negative balance of modern production and conservative thinking. The not approved modern technologies, the achievement of the high standards of consumption for satisfaction of the needs of modern society did not influence the development of the industrial process, but quite the contrary made is worse.

It is impossible to reverse the conservatism in production, because its role is quite large. At the initial stage of the production process, it synthesizes the common values and ideas, thereby enabling to form a unified collective thinking and put the common aims, which are reflected today in the economic motivation of production: the increase of a profit at minimum cost. But it is not a closed system of the activity, there is a place for the development of personal values and aims by various social groups, which later are degenerated into a base for innovation, i.e. to modernize the production process.

Innovative activity involves the acquisition of new equipment, modernization of production and staff training. These three elements are interrelated and must be at the same level of development. In case of disturbance of the work one of them, the factory can suffer losses. That is why many imported equipment manufacturers (e.g. German) conduct trainings on new equipment for the staff, present manual on Russian language, organize business trips for their specialists on the Customer's sites to verify the efficiency of the machine. Also, if necessary, they offer the Customer to improve the existing technology or to develop a new one for maximization of the productivity and the use of available resources and potential of the equipment.

The result of such cooperation of the aforenamed elements is: a decrease of the first cost of the end product, a growth of the quality and quantity of produced product, a growth of the

competitiveness, a defrosting of the capital investment, spent for purchase of the equipment, a receipt of the income from the use of the potential possibilities of the staff.

When the archaic equipment does not correspond to the modern market requirements and/or to the level of the staff's qualification of the used technology, there is a freeze of the capital investments and profit deficiency. There is a requirement in new equipment and/or in modernization of the existing one.

Conclusion: all elements must be balanced and equivalent. As a result of cooperation of these components will be issue of the qualitatively improved and fundamentally new product, which will possess by competitiveness (Fig. 1).

Fig.1:Model of the behavior of the Customer, making a decision to purchase the equipment:
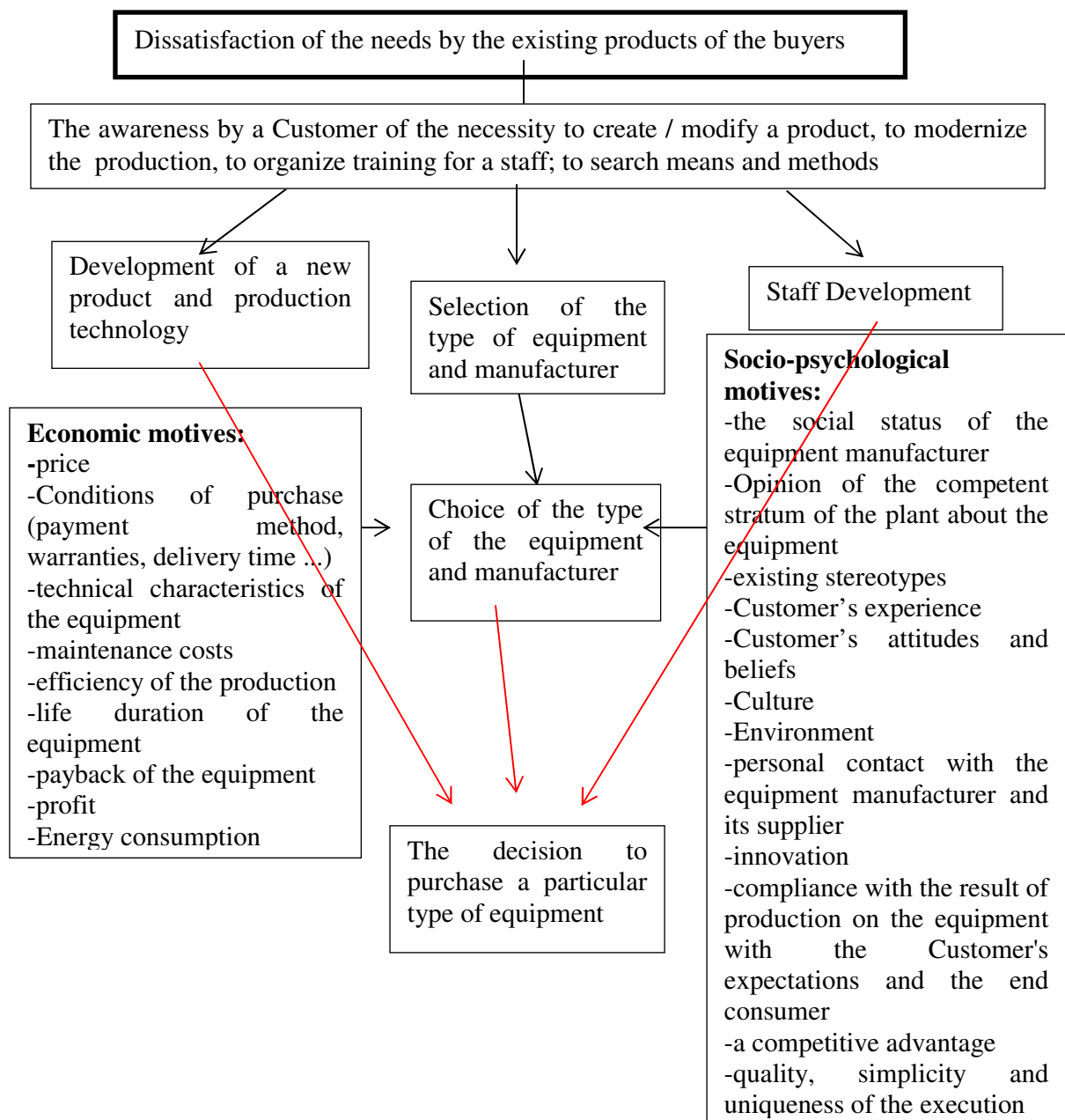
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Today, as a Customer can be the individual entrepreneur, state organization or institution, company. Before choosing a certain type of the equipment, entrepreneur requires from his specialists (engineers, technologists) to carry out the technical analysis of the offered equipment. Adding up all the "pros" and "cons", the entrepreneur makes a decision about a purchase.

Customer activity is aimed at changing established stereotypes of the production, at creating of a new production technology, based on the competitive advantage. Customer activity is treated as organizational innovation for receiving the profits. This is an example of "constructive destruction" - the dismantling of the existing equipment, production technology and the introduction of new one, more efficient and profitable. Upon confirmation of the effectiveness in the form of high profit, innovation becomes as a stable technology and is reproduced by inertia until the Customer will not destroy it by himself for the sake of the new one, more efficient machines and technologies. As a result, the industry in conditions of Customer's freedom is similar to the peculiar circulation [Zarubina (b), 2006, p. 252]. The motive to the innovation is the will to win over the competitors, to receive the profits and to capture the market.

It is assumed that the economic, sociological and psychological factors effect on the customer's decision.

Economic factors are: maximum utility, profits in machine purchase, the Customer's income, cost of the equipment, operating costs, depreciation and cost of the spare parts, costs of the raw material and cost of the end product on the market. If two machines of different manufacturers have the equal utility, the Customer pays attention to the price parameter. Economic factors – it is a sphere of the common sense, of a rational behavior. But this factor cannot act as independent stimuli for making a decision. Indeed, in practice, there are many examples, when the demand increases with the increase of the cost of the machine.

On the market of the industrial equipment the machines appear to the Customer under the sign of the differentiation and choice. Many of them appear under the sign of the credit / installments [Baudrillard, 2001, p. 170]. By selling to the Customer the machine, are sold also the delivery and payment terms. Credit / installments / separation of the cost - it is an economic right of the customer. The refusal in such type of the payment is considered by the Customer as an infringement of his freedom of choice and rights and brings to no acquisition of the equipment. Payment terms are the motivation for buying, and they are equal to the selection.

Customers follow the morality of the outstripping consumption [Baudrillard, 2001, p. 174] regarding the accumulation: there is a race not for accumulation, but for increment of financial capital. A modernization of the existing equipment on site or its replacement by a new one is carried out. As a result, we see a modern system of consumption, where at first the machine is purchased (installment/credit), and then it is bought back by the work, outputting to the market of goods the end product, produced on this equipment. This is a certain kind of complicity in which the Customer involuntarily internalizes and perceives as self-evident the infinite compulsion [Baudrillard, 2001, p. 175], i.e. the need to purchase in order to produce more, higher-quality, more expensive, and be able to continue to work, paying for already purchased machine or saving up for a down payment for the next equipment.

It should be noted that economic motives, reflected in the material well-being and standards of consumption, are not universal values, because they are not a factor of modernization of the social sphere of the society. Unlimited growth of material well-being of the plant will always have a negative impact on the consumer ability of the end consumer, because a consumed product will not satisfy the requirements of the last one. The race for profits and for increase of the productivity will negatively effect to the plant itself, because its products become unclaimed and will bankrupt the company. Major role worth to divert to the spirit of solidarity, which is expressed in the moral-psychological community, in satisfaction of the needs of the end consumer in an qualitative new products, produced by new technologies and on a new qualitative equipment. Although material factors and not denied, but they are in a subordinate position to sociological.

Sociological factors are: the environment in which the Customer is or to which he would like to belong to; the culture; social roles and status. Culture organizes the Customer's activity through the prism of the products of labour, of the system of social norms and of the combination of relationships between people. Customer lives in a labour collective, which corrects his behavior. It is culture which makes the Customer to risk, to chase after success and benefits in production, to move forward. Therefore, the supplier should react to the slightest changes in the development of the culture, offering on the market of the industrial equipment new types of the machines.

Social roles effect to the purchasing capacity of the Customer. He only takes rational decision to purchase and pays money, but with the existing variety of the machines on the market the Customer's decision is reinforced by the opinion of the reference groups, which often can be engineers, technologists of the factory, and also the end consumer.

Engineers-technologists – it is a competent stratum of the factory, which makes the proposals for the acquisition of the equipment to improve efficiency, quantity, quality of the production. Precisely these workers can answer the entrepreneur, what type and quality of the machine is required for their production. But only the entrepreneur makes the final decision of the price.

Engineers-technologists are the employees of the narrow specialization. They are graduated from the certain specialized universities. Usually in these universities there are laboratories with the equipment on which students, future specialists, work out their skills, knowledge, abilities, observe the changes of the properties of the raw materials and form the opinion about the equipment. Unfortunately, this system of the education has a disadvantage: in many universities there is equipment which was purchased during the Soviet Union times, when there were only 1-2 brands, which were dominating on the market of the industrial equipment; whose machines today don't always meet the requirements of the modern production process. Therefore, later, the graduated specialists of these universities are not free and are irrational in choosing the equipment manufacturer. Engineers and technologists cannot always adequately assess the advantages and disadvantages of the equipment from different manufacturers due to lack of knowledge and experience of the work on that equipment. As a rule, they do not risk taking responsibility and propose the entrepreneur not always the most progressive equipment, and thus they artificially limit the list of the selective equipment, focusing only on known to them manufacturers. It is a refusal to take into consideration the new production technologies, in spite of the fact that sometimes appears an urgent need to solve the production problems with improvised means, so-called - modernization by own strength. But this is only a temporary solution of the problem. Patting "the holes" on the old equipment does not improve the technology of the treatment of the raw materials or does not increase the volume of productivity.

To neutralize these gaps in worldview, knowledge of modern specialists, there are organized universally themed conferences and exhibitions of industrial equipment, where it is possible to learn about the proposed on the international market machines from different manufacturers and to make appropriate conclusions. Such exhibitions in Moscow are: "Pharmtech, "ExpoMix", "Chemie", "Upakovka".

New generations of engineers-technologists, who are included in the social and labour relations, try to form their own worldview, values, competencies which were obtained during the work on different types of the equipment within the precincts of the university. But they have to face the integration of the cultural, moral, professional, labour, ideological traditions of the

collective through the recognition of the prevailing social norms as their basic value orientations, which lead to a certain type of the behavior. As a result of the socialization of young specialists there is identification with the prevailing socio-economic norms and values of the collective. But such socialization does not suppose a full identity formation of the representative of the young specialist. Graduating students - recently employed specialists – can only desocialize, leave the "group of students", which for a long time has satisfied their needs, and not resocialize in the chosen group. As a result, their recommendations for the acquisition of the equipment are the product with the prescribed relationships, acquired habits.

Social status, i.e. the brand of the equipment manufacturer, also effects to the purchasing capacity of the customer. More willing is bought a machine of a well-known, already advertised brand, rather than a new one, little-known in the certain circles. The Customer acquires a symbol of the status, purchasing the machine of the famous brand

With the development of the capitalist production, the consumption has got a distinct symbolic character. For the Customer has become important that the acquired by him equipment, except its immediate utilitarian function, satisfies the social (status) needs. The symbolic character can be seen in the form of the demonstrative (or ostentatious) consumption.

Often symbolic characteristics of the machine bring more satisfaction than the material properties. The main thing is to attract Customer's attention by means of stimulating effects which are clear and are easy for remembering.

The psychological factors are: personality type, perception of the outside world, life experience, attitudes and beliefs of the Customer. Supplier's knowledge about the personality type helps to find approach, to establish contact with the Customer. Each Customer is unique, has its own psychological qualities that he shows in the environment (choleric, sanguine, phlegmatic or melancholic).

The Customer's life experience, as a form of motivation, promotes for taking a positive decision in choice of the equipment. For the supplier it is necessary to track the history of the factory, its orientation toward the production, to find out some points of the used technology for finding and presenting the Customer the rational line of the equipment. The life experience develops the attitudes and beliefs of the Customer, and if the supplier managed to interpret correctly this experience, there is a guarantee of the success in concluding the treaties, also in the future. After all, the Customer's beliefs are nothing else than his knowledge, views, his emotions and will.

Quite often you can see the competition between Russian and imported Occidental manufacturers. Many factories prefer to purchase the imported equipment because of a stereotype that Europeans (especially Germans) project and install the machine better, rather than Russians. As a proof: compare cars, which are produced by Mercedes-Benz and Lada' car factories.

European manufacturers use for creating the equipment:

- the high-quality stainless steel (e.g. 1.4301/AISI 304 in pharmaceutical, chemical and food industries);

- tracking trends of the development on the market, the manufacturers elaborate the new strategies for the development of the relationships with the customers;

- to increase of the status of the factory;

- they are focused not on a mass production, but on a mass – individual production; the manufacturers create the machines that correspond to the specific manufacturing requirements of the customers.

It is the Customer, who specifies certain characteristics of the equipment and starts the production of the certain sometimes single type of the machine.

Over the last 30 years became customary a continuous use of the expensive equipment for covering the cost of its purchase [Zlatin, 2008, p. 215], as a consequence of such use is a result of the qualitative treatment of the expensive raw materials, the minimizing of the costs for the purchase of raw materials and the utilization of the industrial waste.

In the course of focused interviews with four Russian Customers of pharmaceutical equipment, were identified factors, which influence their decision to purchase imported equipment and so to modernize the existing production. Before considering the proposals, they determine the economic aspects of the future purchase: price, terms of payment, terms of delivery and payback. Gathering information about the equipment, at first the Customers are more willing to consider the manufacturers of low cost equipment, with minimal delivery times ("already yesterday it should have been stand on the site") and a payback maximum in one year, with minimal costs and operating costs in the future ("what , of course, does not exist"). At the same time, the Customers have noticed that the execution of such equipment and the quality of the final product "leave much to be desired". Therefore, economic factors - it is only the "wishes" of the Customer to the equipment and not the main motive for the purchase.

"There are a lot of manufacturers of equipment, but the Customer is single", so it is very important for the customer to have a personal contact, communication with the supplier of the

equipment. It is important to have a "mutual sympathy", a confidence in communication, otherwise the customer will lose interest not so much to the supplier as to the equipment itself, and will choose the competitive machine. Therefore, it is necessary to build properly the relationships with the Customer, to correspond to his expectations, beliefs and attitudes, offering him not just a machine, but its social qualities: brand, production efficiency, innovation, improving the status of the company and its members, the factor of "leading the present", longevity and full payback of the equipment in several years due to the satisfaction of the needs of the Customer in the product and the subsequent increase of the profits, qualitative competitive advantages, the availability of such equipment on Russian sites and working success of the machine.

During the interview, it was noted that Customers understand the necessity of simultaneous modernization of all elements of production of the same extent. But for such innovation it is necessary to conduct the research studies of the Consumers activity and to develop new technologies that would entail the purchase a new equipment, on which may be exercise the production and staff training. As the result, there will be produced a new product that will satisfy the needs of the end consumer. Even if the Customer will receive positive results of the studies the problem of modernization won't still be solved due to lack of financing from the state and/or due to the denial of the Customer to invest his money in the purchase of expensive, but needed for new technology equipment. Customer is driven by the idea of maximizing the profits at minimum the costs, the unwillingness to buy new expensive equipment, the desire to get positive results of the production on the existing equipment which does not correspond to the new technology. The benefit of such "innovation" is illusory, the final product is not able to satisfy the needs of society. As a result, the Customer risks to incur losses and to put in crisis the enterprise itself.

Making a comparative analysis of Russian and imported (Occidental) equipment, the Customers prefer the imported one. Quality, execution, warranty, longevity of the equipment is confirmed not only by certificates of the conformity, but also by the experience. On many Russian factories is installed imported (Occidental) equipment, some of them are more than 30 years old, and the purchase of the spare parts is the only costs of the Customer. The supplier of such equipment - is already a brand, the guarantor of the prestigious consumption. The life cycle of such company, quality assurance of the machine, production efficiency - these are the qualities according to which the Customers choose the equipment.

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Japanese sociologist T. Sakaiya considers, for example, that in the nearest future prestigious will be not a unrestrained consumption, but the lifestyle, which is accompanied by the striking the consumption of the wisdom (in its most wide sense), and to find the best sale will be production, indicating that its customer is a wise person [Sakaiya, 1999, p. 347].

This consumption can be considered as a symbolic consumption. The essence of this consumption is not the consumption "because of" but "in order to". It's not a waste and not a means of the survival. There is a development of the Russian factory, a new identity is constructed by the other factories, suppliers and end consumers, self-identification. The quality of the production is improving.

Unfortunately, experience shows that today there is a rejection of a long-term projects, many Customers tend to invest equipment as little money in the purchase of raw materials and equipment, but to get in the future the maximum profit from the sale of the final product, not paying much attention to the quality of the product. There is only the desire to minimize costs and increase profits, not caring about the quality of the products. Thus, sometimes, the final consumer pays real money, buying low-quality goods, for example, building mixture with insufficient content one or another component, or a stick of sausage with insufficient content of energy value, etc.

Activity of many modern Customers is characterized moral legitimization of individualism, which destabilizes the social and cultural environment. Today's production, directed to the production of goods with minimal costs and huge profits, suffers not so much from a lack of utilitarian orientations, but from their "unstructured", from the loss of their place in the general system of the culture. The production of high quality new product should not be accompanied by the integration of innovation into the existing process and the modernization of existing equipment and staff training for the working on the new machines. Only qualitative new equipment allows to improve the existing end product that will satisfy the needs of society, because the idea of innovation of the production cannot exist without the means of expression, so the customer must invest money not only in ideas and development, but also in industrial machines.

The desire to get benefit at minimum costs and with a deterioration of the quality of production is considered today as the commitment to conservatism, as the Customer's unwillingness to realize an innovative activity. But the most of Russian factories purchases the Chinese, Korean and Indian equipment, which seduce the Customers by a low price and fast delivery terms of the equipment to the factory. By buying such equipment, the Customers agree

in advance with the low quality of the execution of the equipment, with the possible damage of the expensive raw materials, with a low quality of the end product. Many modern consumers of the equipment take part in race for the immediate profits, understanding that in a year they will suffer losses, but there is always a hope that these losses and problems will solve other people. It is propaganda of the aggressive consumption, but this race is infinite, the consumption - the satisfaction of the need in profit today and now - is illusory. In the context of the current turbulence there will be observed an increase of the requirements from the side of the end consumer to the manufacturer-Customer, who will not be able with low quality but also costs money equipment satisfy the needs of the first one. The suppliers of the decent, rational equipment will be always ready to propose the necessary equipment to the Customer for real money. This money will be paid back in just a few years, but sometimes the Customer does not want to wait. From this we can conclude that the modern Customers will always unconsciously look for the cheap equipment for illusory satisfaction of their needs and for receiving the benefit.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 2. Stratification in Transforming Russia

Salo, Elena P., Moscow

Attempts of Shaping Legal Field to Legitimize Activities of Practitioners of National Medicine and Healers in Reforming Russian Society

Abstract

The article analyzes the process of becoming the legal field in order to legitimize the activities of practitioners of national medicine and healers in Russia.

The main purpose of the study was the detailed analysis of Article 50 of the new adopted Federal Law and Article 47 of the Draft of this Federal Law to determine the rights and opportunities of practitioners of national medicine and healers civilized conduct their activities in the market of alternative health services.

Keywords: analysis of documents, certification, criteria, Federal Law, healing, legal field, legitimation, national medicine, regulation, social inequality

This paper describes such a great problem as creating conditions for legal work of practitioners of national medicine and healers in Russia.

The origins of the practice of national medicine and healing are to be found in the sacraments and rites of the shamans and ancient cults. Methods and techniques associated with the external body, rehabilitation of people, their deliverance from all ailments and diseases are almost in every esoteric teaching [Volkova, 2007, p. 240].

Nowadays, patients use alternative methods of treatment which are becoming popular even in countries with highly developed health care system. At the turn of XX–XXI centuries, national medicine and healing used 57% of Australians, 46% of Germans and 49% of the French population. In 1997, there were recorded 627 million visits to practitioners of national medicine and healers and almost half – 386 million visits – to family doctors among USA residents [Bateneva]. At the same time, the first such statistical study was conducted in the USA in 1993 which showed that one third of Americans use the alternative treatment methods [Kurmayeva].

At the end of the XX century the radical transformations of Russian society have led to structural changes in the health care system. Today this sphere is in crisis due to lack of material security of budget medicine, reducing the quality of medical education and health care and lack of incentives to work in the official medicine. Reform of the health care system has helped to broaden the range of "alternative" medical services. People's interest in the methods of practitioners of national medicine and healers is not dried up. According to the Public Opinion Foundation, about 25% of Russians are turning to practitioners of national medicine and healers [Salo, 2012, p. 3207].

The scientists and practitioners observe the development of scientific parapsychology, bio-energy, etc. with great interest. But not all members of the scientific world and the official medicine clearly recognize the right of practitioners of national medicine and healers to treat people. Till now, basic science isn't in a hurry to explore this social phenomenon seriously, although as the field of scientific knowledge the problem of existing of national medicine and healing in modern society is beginning to be studied within the anthropology of professions [Antropologiya, 2005].

Due to inconsistencies and contradictions in Article 57 of the Federal Law "Fundamentals of Legislation on Health Care of Citizens", the lack of an adequate system of state regulation of national medicine and healing, the practitioners of national medicine and healers could not legally and civilized conduct their activities in the legal field, which led to the discrediting of national medicine and healing in society.

New Federal Law "On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation" entered into force on January 1, 2012; its one of the articles will regulate the activities of practitioners of national medicine and healers.

The conducted study was aimed at the analysis of the process of becoming the legal field in order to legitimize the activities of practitioners of national medicine and healers in Russia over the past 15 years.

The main purpose of the study was the detailed analysis of Article 50 of the new adopted Federal Law and Article 47 of the Draft of this Federal Law to determine the rights and opportunities of practitioners of national medicine and healers civilized conduct their activities in the market of alternative health services.

The study was conducted within the framework of qualitative methodology; there was used such a method as an analysis of documents.

ANALYSIS OF EXISTING LAW AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC NORMS IN SPHERE OF NATIONAL MEDICINE AND HEALING

Legal and Socio-economic Regulation of National Medicine and Healing in Russia

In Russia, the main founding document for the activities of the practitioners of national medicine and healers is the "Fundamentals of Legislation on Health Care of Citizens." Before 2012, Article 57 of this document asserted the right to engage in national medicine (healing) on the basis of a healer diploma. The same article also defined national medicine as: *"...methods of healing, prevention, diagnostics and treatment based on the experiences of many generations of*

people, entrenched in the folk traditions but not registered in accordance with the legislation of the Russian Federation" [Zakon, 1993 i posl. red.; Sbornik, 2007]. However, the "Fundamentals of Legislation..." permitted to carry out medical activities only to persons with medical education, and a diploma of healer is not provided it. Thus, one article of the "Fundamentals of Legislation..." regulated the use in medical practice only techniques authorized for use in the manner prescribed by law; and the other article referred to national medicine practices that are not registered in the manner prescribed by law.

These inconsistencies and contradictions have led to the situation that healing activities have dropped out of sight of medical and legislative oversight bodies. National medicine (healing) as the type of activity was not included in the List of Types of Medical Activities Subject to Licensing, although from 1993 to 1998 it was subject to licensing in accordance with the Order of the Ministry of Health of the RF in the section "Power Information Science" [Zakon, 1993 i posl. red.].

To avoid the uncertainty and contradictions, it should be noted that Article 57 of the Federal Law had a clear definition of national medicine:

"National medicine should be considered as an integral part of traditional medicine having pronounced regional or national character, which carrier is a special group of people with unique abilities of positive impact on the human body to diagnose diseases or correct health by confirmed by special expertise in the manner prescribed by Ministry of Health of the RF. The concepts of "national medicine" and "healing" should be recognized as identical." {Sbornik, 2007].

From a formal point of view, practitioners of national medicine (healers) "were not engaged in treatment", their activities were not licensed and had no clear standards for certification.

Healers did not need a medical degree; they worked like any other taxpayers – businessmen, public organizations and had the proper accounts.

Healers were interested to seriously study their abilities and to obtain a license similar to medical one. For this purpose, it was necessary to examine the therapeutic effect, the treatment effect and standardize the method. They could provide the results of some studies of their therapeutic effects, reports on scientific work, but these documents were not licenses as such.

Before 2012, in practice health authorities in the Russian Federation didn't regulate the activities of national medicine (healing) and didn't give diploma of a healer, although all spheres of human activity should be governed by the laws in our country. It was very difficult to develop

a law for the bio-sensor actions and other methods used by the healers. Nevertheless, a legitimate base for healing activities existed. Unfortunately, not all knew about it. About healing and national medicine were written in the "Law on Health Care of Citizens": permission for healer work is the diploma; healers work must be coordinated by self-regulated public organizations – professional associations in the field of healing [Federaljnyi zakon, 2007].

Thus, the legislative base was existed, the form of work permission was provided and the procedure for obtaining permission was registered. Professional associations could determine the degree of skill and quality of the healer work better than anyone else and decide whether to grant him permission. But somehow the system was not working.

"Professional Medical Association of National Medicine" has decided to conduct its own investigation and find out where legally it is possible to engage in healing activities in the Russian regions. Results were disappointing: the issuance of healers' diplomas is the isolated cases in several regions. In many regions, it was due to lack of mechanisms of the law realization and interpretations in this regard from the Ministry of Health and Social Development, which, in its turn, unsubscribed from the regions that they had full authority to independently adopt regulations governing the healing.

As a result, since the enactment of the law in 1993, almost in any region diploma of a healer has not been issued or issued in violation of the meaning of the law. Under existing legislation only healer diploma gave the right to practice national medicine.

S. Volkov, President of the Interregional Public Organization "Professional Medical Association of National Medicine" considers that *"…there is no necessary "elimination" of unscrupulous and nonprofessional healers. Even those people who can confirm their diagnostic-and-treatment abilities are outlaw."* [Salo, 2013, p. 176].

In such a situation, the healers were not able to make arrangements for training, retraining and development of their communities; and this inevitably affected the level of provision of healing services. They remained isolated and alone couldn't overcome the difficulties. Some of them were forced into healing without permits at their own risk, while others concealed their activities under other forms of business: consulting, massages, etc.

For over ten years, the citizens were not protected from low-quality services of persons providing services in the field of national medicine and from charlatans posing as specialists in this field.

At the same time, some talented practitioners of national medicine with special health-restoring ability were unable to officially confirm their abilities and efficiency of services which prevented the execution of legal practice.

System of Voluntary Certification

In 2006, on the initiative of Roszdravnadzor there has been developed "System of Voluntary Certification" of services in the field of national medicine for the formation of a civilized market of healers services: the security of services and the ability of objective assessment of the quality of such services by consumers [Prikaz, 2006].

Federal Research Center of the traditional methods of diagnosis and treatment of the Ministry of Health and Social Development has developed criteria for the voluntary certification of citizens engaged in healing: voluntary registration as private entrepreneurs; charged studying the base course of medicine with subsequent exams; adding into State Register by the Ministry of Health; other healers activities will be considered illegal.

Problems of certification system:

1. Assessment of the security of services for health and life.

2. Confirmation of the declared parameters of quality (effectiveness) of services.

3. Provide consumers with reliable information about the service and its performer.

4. Drafting of the Uniform Register of specialists, whose services have been tested.

5. Providing tax services.

6. Promoting scientific research.

7. Creation of additional legal field for specialists in the field of national medicine.

8. Avoiding unnecessary administrative actions with respect to certified specialists.

All the mentioned above demonstrate the inadequacy of state regulation system of this sphere of services and lead to the discrediting of national medicine in the eyes of citizens.

CONCEPTUAL FUNDAMENTALS OF LAW REGULATION OF ACTIVITIES OF PRACTITIONERS OF NATIONAL MEDICINE AND HEALERS

Inconsistencies and contradictions in the Law "Fundamentals of Legislation on Health Care of Citizens" have led to the fact that after 1998 there appeared a large number of psychics, magicians and all sorts of charlatans in the market of healing services. The primary objective was to adopt a law that would separate the practitioners of national medicine and healers from charlatans [Pustj "lechat", 2006, 27 yanv.; Pozdnyaev, 2006, 30 yanv.].

In recent years, from 2004 onwards, the mass media has widely discussed the problem of improving the activities of practitioners of national medicine and healers. There were a lot of ideas, suggestions and opinions [Balasheva, 2004, 28 okt.; Moskovskiye deputaty, 2006, 26 yanv.; Ryabinina, 2006, 27 yanv.]. Moscow City Duma tried to develop amendments to the Federal Law "On Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation"; then Duma tried to pass a new law regulating the activities of practitioners of national medicine and healers in Russia [Prikaz, 2006].

In 2010, the question about the activities of practitioners of national medicine and healers in the territory of the Russian Federation arose particularly sharply.

Taking into account the suggestions of the World Health Organization, the heads of the Ministry of Health and Social Development of the RF, the scientific community and representatives of the healing community, the State Duma, Moscow Duma and the Moscow City Government have found a way out of this situation – to use the experience of foreign countries in this sphere of activity. In the USA and some European countries the activities of practitioners of national medicine and healers are regulated by the government and professional associations [Burrage, 1990].

In this regard, there was established a Working Group of the State Duma Committee on Health Care for working on a new project of the Federal Law in May of 2011.

The Federal Law "On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation" was adopted by the State Duma on November 1, 2011. The Federation Council approved a new law on November 9, 2011 and it entered into force on January 1, 2012 [Federaljnyi zakon, 2011].

STUDY RESULTS

Analysis of Documents

There have been studied and analyzed such documents as Article 50 "National Medicine" of the new adopted Federal Law "On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation" [Salo, 2013] and Article 47 "Healing" of the draft of this new Federal Law.

Draft of New Federal Law "On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in Russian Federation"

In the draft of new Federal Law Article 47 was devoted to healing:

Healing is the methods of diagnostics, prevention and treatment of human diseases that cannot be introduced into clinical practice due to the lack of clear rules, a large proportion of their subjectivity in the selection and application, poor reproducibility of the results and difficulty in conducting objective tests of their effectiveness.

Citizens who received a healer diploma issued by the executive authorities of the Russian Federation in the manner determined by the authorized federal body of executive power have the right to engage in healing.

The decision to grant a healer diploma is made on the basis of application and representation of professional medical public association or citizen's application and the joint representation of professional medical public association and medical organization. The diploma of a healer gives the right to engage in the healing in the territory of the Russian Federation whose executive power body issued the diploma.

Individuals who got a healer diploma are involved in healing in the procedure established by the executive authorities of subjects of the Russian Federation.

Conducting mass healing sessions, including the mass media, is prohibited.

Deprivation of the healer diploma is made by the decision of the executive authorities of the subjects of the Russian Federation issued the healer diploma and can be appealed in court.

Healing is not included in the Program of State Guarantees of Free Medical Care to Citizens.

The Federal Law "On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation" was adopted by the State Duma on November 1, 2011 in the 2nd reading. 306 State Duma deputies out of 450 were voted for the new law. The Federation Council approved a new law on November 9, 2011 [Federaljnyi zakon, 2011].

Adopted New Federal Law "On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in Russian Federation"

Article 50 of the new Federal Law, which is now called "National Medicine" and entered into force on January 1, 2012, reads:

National medicine is healing methods which have been established in the national experiences and which are based on the use of knowledge and practical skills in assessment and rehabilitation of health. National medicine does not include the services of the occult and magical character, as well as performance of religious rites.

Citizens who got a permission issued by the executive authority of the subject of the Russian Federation in the sphere of health care have the right to practice national medicine.

The decision to grant permission to practice national medicine is taken on the basis of the application of a citizen and representation of medical professional non-profit organization or a citizen's application and the joint representation of medical professional non-profit organization and medical organization. Permission gives the right to engage in national medicine in the territory of the subject of the Russian Federation whose executive power body issued such permission.

The person getting the permission is engaged in national medicine in the manner prescribed by the executive authority of the subject of the Russian Federation.

Deprivation of the citizen permission to engage in national medicine is made by the decision of the executive authority of the subject of the Russian Federation issued such permission and may be appealed in court.

National medicine is not included in the Program of State Guarantees of Free Medical Care to Citizens.

Illegal practice of national medicine as well as harm to life or health of the citizens during the practice of national medicine entails responsibility under the legislation of the Russian Federation.

Analysis of the provisions of Article 47 "Healing" of the draft of a new Federal Law and Article 50 "National medicine" of adopted new Federal Law "On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation" has shown that now healing and national medicine are parted, i.e. healing is separated from national medicine which corresponds to the essence of these concepts:

"Healing is the process of recovery of the energy-informational structure of a human in accordance with the original set program of its development; the task of healing is to help the body itself to restore the lost harmony in work of all human bodies and their relationships" [Tseleteljstvo].

"National medicine is part of alternative medicine which includes knowledge about the diseases, treatment methods and tools; they are passed among the people from generation to generation" [Narodnaya meditsina].

Article 57 of the "Fundamentals of Legislation on Health Care of Citizens" acting prior to January 1, 2012 identified these concepts, what was wrong.

So, from January 1, 2012 national medicine in Russia has got an independent status and practitioners of the national medicine are now required to obtain permission to carry out their activities in the Department of Health on representation of professional associations to which they belong.

This year healing is legally derived from national medicine. The occult services (such persons constitute 70% among the healers) are legally derived from national medicine and the provision of such services does not require permission for healing; such persons are registered as businessmen in the frames of subgroup 93.05.12.150 of the All-Russian Classification of Products by Kind of Activity "services of astrologers, spiritualists, fortune-tellers, magicians and psychics".

CONCLUSIONS

The key findings of the study are as follows: members of the Working Group of the State Duma Committee on Health Care when developing the document regulating activities of practitioners of national medicine and healers made a serious mistake – created only one article having called it "National medicine" (in the draft of the new Federal Law article was called "Healing"). It testifies that members of the Working Group didn't understand an essence of these concepts having referred such huge massive as healing to category of services of occult-and-magic character.

In our opinion, in order to avoid a social inequality it should be necessary to develop and enter into new Federal Law 2 articles regulating the activities of practitioners of national medicine and healers, having called them "National medicine" and "Healing" with the indication of criteria for implementation of such activities.

In order to have the right to engage in national medicine or healing it would be enough five criteria:

1.	Practitioner of national medicine or healer must be registered as an individual entrepreneur.

2.	Practitioner of national medicine or healer should be a member of professional medical association.

3.	Practitioner of national medicine or healer must have the Permission for practicing national medicine issued by the Department of Health Care of Moscow:

4.	The services of practitioner of national medicine or healer should be safe for life and health of citizens what can certify the professional medical organization.

5. Practitioner of national medicine or healer must keep the following documentation:

(1) a register of applications and services with the necessary introduction of information about client into it (surname, name, age, address of registration by residence or place of residence, date of primary and next visits);

(2) individual records with the introduction of mandatory information into them about the dates of the primary and next visits of the practitioner of national medicine by the client, the diagnosis of a doctor of the health care organization having a license for medical activity, the diagnosis of the practitioner of national medicine, used methods, sessions and procedures, current changes in his health and objective changes in the state of his health as a results of recovery with appropriate healing methods.

So, it is necessary to finalize new Federal Law "On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation" and eliminate all defects leading to social inequality.

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Semenova, Anna V. Moscow

Transformation of the Image of Terrorism in the Russian Media

in Covering Terrorist Acts

Abstract

The article presents an analysis of the image of terrorism constructed by Russian media during a large-scale terrorist attacks coverage in 2002 (terrorist attack in Moscow during the musical "Nord Ost"), 2004   (terrorist attack in the school of Beslan town) and 2011 (terrorist attack in the Moscow airport "Domodedovo") . The analysis is based on secondary data content analyzes of the Russian press, previously held by the author.

Keywords: terrorism, the image of terrorism, social tension, mass media, content- analysis, public opinion

In the scientific literature there is no consensus on the understanding of the essence of terrorism, but there is a variety of scientific positions on what is terrorism and what is the relationship between the concepts of "terrorism " and "extremism ." The law is still present unresolved relations categories of extremism and terrorism. On the one hand, it is stated that terrorism is actually a type of extremist activity [Federal Law, 2002]. On the other hand, there is a point of view that extremism acts as a subordinate concept of terrorism is a phenomenon that justifies terrorism [Sal'nikov, 2007, p. 21].

However, most researchers agree that extremism and terrorism do not exist separately , since terrorism is necessarily require a certain ideological framework that would serve as a pretext to justify legitimizing terrorist actions have sufficiently large part of the people . Terrorism in most cases is a system of action, based on one or another extremist ideology , which theoretically justifies the use of violence , and likewise having involved both emotional and rational ways of reasoning.

The general view of the scientific community converges that currently terrorism should be viewed as a large-scale phenomenon that represents a threat to the vital interests of the individual and the state. Terrorism undermines the system of government, reducing the effectiveness of the management of society, provoked fierce people, chaos and disorder [Damaskin, 2007, p. 167].

Especially dangerous in terms of violations of political stability large-scale terrorist acts that generate emergencies that threaten many members of society. Such situations are characterized by a sharp change in the status of people in a negative direction and strong social tensions. Primarily social tension in these situations is shown on the socio- psychological level and is characterized by the loss of confidence in the authorities , pessimism , the emergence of

mass society atmosphere mental anxiety and high levels of emotional arousal , which in varying degrees of activity fueled media coverage of terrorist attacks and events around it.

No coincidence that one of the main components of terrorism (along with international financial institutions and the actual terrorist organizations) are a means of mass communication , task - the creation of psycho-emotional conditions conducive to terrorist organizations , scoring "their" requirements and ensuring the negotiation process with the authorities , explaining the ideological foundations of education and the existence of terrorist organizations , maintaining an effective image of terrorism [Sandiyev, 2008, p. 32] . Therefore, it is very relevant and important to investigate this question - what image of terrorism in times of large-scale acts of terrorism coverage for a decade designed the Russian press , what are its main features, he has transformed over the years , and if so - how ? The answer to this question is the aim of this study.

To achieve this goal by using the results of a secondary analysis of data from three content - analytic studies conducted earlier. They studied the Russian media coverage of large-scale terrorist acts within the design "case-study" and as a method of data collection and analysis used content- analysis . Primary research as the units of analysis used separate finished printed materials dedicated directly illuminated by the events surrounding the terrorist attack , and everything connected with Chechnya , terrorism , Islam, and ethnic relations . Accordingly, it was not difficult to select from the array of primary data that relates to items which addressed issues such as the ideological, political and economic causes of the emergence and spread of extremism and terrorism , goals and objectives of terrorist organizations , socio- psychological portraits of their leaders and ordinary performers , motives and methods of recruitment to extremist and terrorist organizations , the social base of terrorism , countering possible terrorist activity , the degree of danger of terrorism in a modern Russian society , and the world in general , contact the Russian domestic extremism and terrorism with international , value judgments about different aspects of terrorism as experts and journalists , and ordinary citizens .

As an empirical source used daily popular publication - newspaper "Moskovsky Komsomolets" (hereinafter the "MK") . This edition is a typical representative of the mass media , has a large circulation and quite popular with a mass audience. Sampling of event- coverage as follows: hostage-taking in Moscow during the musical " Nord-Ost " (October - November 2002) , hostage in a school in Beslan (September 2004) , the explosion at the Moscow airport "Domodedovo" (January 2011) .

For the primary analysis were selected in 2002 - 130 materials (from 25 October to 14 November) , in 2004 - 134 material (from 2 to 24 September) , in 2011 - 82 material (from 25

January to 17 February) . Limited time periods associated with the degree of intensity of the appearance of materials related to the attacks - the end of the third week it was on the decline . Fewer materials for 2011 due to the fact that in the first two cases, the attacks were themselves sufficiently long and especially intensively covered itself directly to a holding period of hostages. In "Domodedovo" was , if we may say so , a one-time attack (explosion), and followed by further reaction to this single action .

Construction of any social image, including the image of terrorism is formed by a set of characteristics . This is not only a reference in the specific context of the facts of terrorist organizations, their leaders and ordinary performers , value judgments about it journalists and others . But the disclosure of the ideological basis of terrorism, the use of specific rhetoric , special techniques that affect a certain way as a rational and the emotional component of the public consciousness. All this has a significant impact on the audience in such moments destabilize public order, panic and fear as a reaction to the ontological insecurity of people in front of the terrorist threat that arise during large-scale terrorist attacks. Therefore, the analysis drew attention not only on a purely informative moments (thematic content of materials) , but also on how they are submitted to the author. This evaluation characteristics and semantic accents and emotional content materials.

Thus, as empirical parameters were determined :

1) the number of articles containing information on topics of interest to us , thematic weight of the entire problem material ;

2) evaluation of their complexion (positive, negative , balanced , neutral);

3) the degree of validity (confirmation expert witness or the participant's event);

4) emotional content materials.

We begin with an analysis of the content of the image of terrorism in 2002. Total for secondary analysis of 68 articles were selected. Evaluative attitude towards terrorists were directly involved in securing the hostages, and their actions contained in 19 materials. In two articles experts (psychotherapist and expert on Israeli counter-terrorism) outlined the psychological portrait of a terrorist in general and Chechen militants , in particular. According to experts, it is mentally abnormal people, with distinct personality disorder . During a terrorist attack, they are in a state of extreme stress , so hope for the appropriate action on their part is not necessary. When we deal with such unstable people deprived of any moral principles was, experts say , their actions can not be predicted .

Confirmation of terrorists such unpleasant human qualities was given another six article , but not so deployed and soundly. Assessment contained in a purely emotional definitions - " bastards , thugs, savages , not people ." And most emotionally review sounded not sacrifice terrorists as might be supposed, and their countryman - Chechen athlete , silver medalist : " These are not people , not Chechens - creatures! I would love to spite them dead, if only their heinous actions are not tied to our people . "

At the same time, the images of 9 articles terrorists were served rather in a positive light, and mostly by the people who deal with them (Article 4 - evidence hostages, 2 - negotiators 1 - foreign journalist who conducted the interview with the terrorists) . Thus, negotiators Leonid Roshal and Joseph Kobzon say: " People are very educated among the militants . A very big mistake to regard them as thugs They are not religious fanatics . Repeat all the time that revenge for what happened in the two Chechen campaigns". Journalist Mark Franchetti , "They are determined and clearly. They came here to die, and are ready for this". Determination confirms terrorists and Joseph Kobzon , citing the terrorists themselves : "We are bombers . We want more to die than to live ".

In the stories of hostages images female terrorists, the reasons for their willingness to sacrifice arouse compassion . For example, they tell a conversation with one of the bombers , which last year lost a brother , and six months ago, her husband was killed . Bomber says: "I have nothing more to lose, I have nothing left, so I 'm going to do anything even though I understand that it's wrong ." Another suicide bomber said: "My mother buried my brother - one leg and head - all that was left of him. You are far away, you do not know it. And we are 8 years in this hell. We do not care where to die - here or there ".

Thus, in the minds of the audience the newspaper introduced understandable and causing sympathy motivation. At the same time, emphasis on youth suicide bombers - the oldest of the women was 25 years old. Emphasized that the Chechens are not bandits - they are ready to die for ideas, not for the money. This opinion was made in the two analytical articles written by political experts. The same idea was reiterated in the quoted words of one of the hostages, suicide bombers: "I do not want to die, but I will do this for an idea ." Current leader of the terrorist group M.Baraev was also told that he was not important money or own life - because he is fanatic of ideas.

In addition to assessing the motivation of terrorists in the materials present fairly positive assessment of terrorist behavior while holding them hostage in the building. In four hostages materials showed that terrorists suffered privations along with them : "They are not injected and

did not drink alcohol , they prayed . They ate and drank very little, just as we are ". Hostage cite one of the bombers: "If I suffer, than you better or worse than me, sit down and be patient. I have no complaints to you, I have a complaint to your state ". According to the testimony of hostages, terrorists behaved correctly, treat them well, gave everything asked questions answered quietly, politely, but very reserved . Even shooting the girl and two men from among the hostages witnesses attributed to the fact that the victims are to blame - provoked. Terrorists said: "Keep calm. We are not animals. We will not kill you if you sit quietly and calmly ".

True one of the stories of hostages recorded remark that terrorists behaved strangely , does not adequately exhibited a delayed reaction and distraction, perhaps because of drugs . At the same time the fact of drug use did not observe the witness, and to communicate with terrorists negotiator doctor L. Roshal authoritatively stated that the terrorists obviously do not drink or use drugs.

Thus, we can conclude that the image of specific terrorists who carried out the terrorist act described , was endowed with sufficiently positive characteristics (motivation and behavior) and is intended to cause more understanding and compassion than hatred and rejection. In general, to create such an image the journalists used the following methods :

1) negative characteristics were given by a relatively abstract way (general psychological portrait of terrorists) or just one negative definition to the whole text;

2) positive characteristics were given by people directly interacting with terrorists (hostages , negotiators) . Because of their good attitude towards terrorists is impossible by definition this technique increased the effect of reliability of the evidence ;

3) in particular detail they was told specifically about women terrorists because their youth and gender , so unsuitable for the bloody sacrifice, had to call the audience's attention and sympathy ;

4) through the hostages quoted the terrorists themselves , cited details of their lives , very personal and understandable motives impelled by terrible step . This technique achieves the effect of personification terrorists personal empathy and sympathy from the audience ;

5) underlined the fact that terrorists are willing to sacrifice their lives for an idea that should also be worthy of respect in the eyes of the audience, as in the Russian society has long cultivated ideals of self-sacrifice for the sake of an idea;

6) To emphasize the fact that the hostages personally against terrorists had nothing, but conducted their struggle only against States leading the war in Chechnya. It also makes a

positive in the eyes of the audience the moment the image of terrorists as traditionally (and not only in Russia) part of the population has its own claims against the authorities .

Next thematic aspect, working to build the image of terrorism is an estimate related to the stated purpose of act of terrorism - an end to the war in Chechnya . In the "MK" of such materials were 15. Among them the materials condemning in one form or another military action in Chechnya or directly calling for negotiation and withdrawal of troops from the republic.

First of all, it should be noted series of special reports from Chechnya (3 voluminous articles, covers almost whole page) . Series was under the title "corpse that lives ". The main theme of stories - personal impressions of journalists from the horrific conditions in which ordinary people live in Chechnya, their suffering , devastation caused by the actions of the Russian military contingent . Articles carry a charge of strong emotional impact in terms of condemnation of hostilities in Chechnya and supplied to the need for their cessation (although this is not directly stated , the audience must conclude itself) . Since the description is carried out from a position of " disinterested " third-party witness, there is the effect of trust in the information, its complete accuracy .

Next, consider the 5 articles claiming the status of analytical , although it can be identified more as " argument on the topic ... ". This genre is traditional for the "MK" to this day. They are characterized , first, full unsubstantiated judgments   ("stream of thought "), and secondly in the form of negative emotionality irony . If the reports were designed for the general public , that such materials are addressed rather to the " thinking intellectuals ."

All 5 items have a significant amount - almost half to a full page. Catchy headlines attract attention , mostly in the form of questions (" Where are we? ", "Who would collapse ? ", " Because of what the wars start ? " " Saved or killed ?"). Titles such as if the reader is invited to think and speculate with the author. Thus achieving the effect of identifying the positions of the journalist and the reader. The main idea that somehow pass in these materials , the following (form feed and vocabulary kept close to the text of the articles) .

1) We are to blame for the fact that the Chechens hate us. We kicked them out of civilization. Bombs , looting , torture back into the wild Middle Ages. What is there to be surprised? As if our troops do not have killed their relatives as if not our policy brought them to fanaticism. Ending the war - not very gangster requirement. Chechens Act (referring to the terrorists who have taken hostages) logically deterministic , and therefore logically justified.

2) The authorities are trying to replace the root cause of what is happening (the war in Chechnya) acts of international terrorism, which is attacking us because just by nature is so

constituted . But if you do not face the truth and do not treat the cause of the disease and its consequences, it will never be cured. Consequences and will be shown and continue to shake the country attacks - even more scary and prepared.

3) Conclusion: The main thing - to stop the slaughter in Chechnya. Long been clear to everyone that instead washed to the ground their towns and villages, were to be allowed the Chechens themselves to deal with their problems.

4) It is necessary that our civilians authorities finally said , " That's enough from us this war. We have had enough of Chechnya , Chechens and all these horrors . And enough about empty stamped words that you cover your weakness! "

These arguments have found support in two materials , citing the opinion of experts , politicians. A.Aslahanov Duma deputy Chechnya : "If it is to continue the war in Chechnya , it may be a real riot , a massive popular uprising. Power should start negotiations . " A.Arbatov , Deputy Chairman of the State Duma Committee on Defense : "If not for the war in Chechnya , the attack would not be. International terrorism has nothing to do with it. Or we will solve the problem for a year Chechnya or begin mass terrorism . " I.Rybkin , deputy of the State Duma , “Putin must radically change their misguided policies . In the North Caucasus, we are not dealing with terrorism in its purest form, and separatism . With the separatists must negotiate policy. To suppress separatism among power methods is impossible. No change in the situation in the northern Caucasus, attacks will be repeated again and again ". This idea is also the conclusion of a serious and bulk analytical articles .

The same idea, but in a more simplified form given in the materials quoted saying relatives of the hostages. Here are some of them : "Terrorists are not bullied. They just want their demands heard . They want to condemn the war in Chechnya by Russian people . This war is really time to stop . " Or: " A state that can not protect their children , should step on the throat and his ambitions to change their misguided policies ."

And only two small (1/ 16 of page) materials oppose the terrorists' demands to withdraw its troops from Chechnya. The first describes the technical complexity of the withdrawal of troops, and the second relates to the ironically mocking tone of the conference right-wing parties and human rights activists called " For the end of the war and the establishment of peace in the Chechen Republic."

Thus , we can conclude that most of the articles in this thematic unit in line with the written justification and support of the terrorists' demands to withdraw its troops from Chechnya , bring these requirements to the audience and encourage readers to join them "MK" .

Techniques to influence the audience have more emotional, psychological , although analytical articles and expert materials and present a rational argument . In general, the audience's attention is sharpened on three main arguments in favor of the terrorists' demands satisfaction .

1) The argument in favor of self-preservation - the war in Chechnya can come in any house, it has no boundaries. That the war in Chechnya - the main and the only reason of terrorist threats to the population. Conclusion: removing the cause threat (stopping the war in Chechnya) , we will be saved from the threat.

2) The argument in favor of personal disinterest - interested in the war forces alien to the common people , therefore people have no interest in its continuation , especially now that the war threatens them personally (see above) .

3) The argument in favor of the protection of human values - war is always evil. We sympathize with the sufferings of others , and we want them to stop , ending the war itself , which also poses a threat to us personally and we do not need (see above) .

It should be noted that the emotional background of these materials (mostly anger - perturbed) had to enter into resonance with the emotional background of public consciousness and thereby further increasing their impact . Large volume and catchy headlines (" minefield ", " The epidemic of terror " etc.) also sets them apart from the rest of the information set .

The next thematic section, working on the image of terrorism , it is the materials that go beyond the internal political problems of Russia and on relations with the international and domestic terrorism . In the "MK" was devoted to the subject 9 materials . 4 of them contained the allegation that the attack on Dubrovka (Nord-Ost) political aims other than to stop the war in Chechnya , 5 - refuting these allegations. If we consider that at least four articles of the previous clusters denied bond Chechen terrorists against international terrorism and even terrorism in general (I.Rybkin's statement that it was not terrorists and separatists), it becomes clear which viewpoint outweighs in editorial policy of the "MK " of that period .

The most conspicuous material of the first group - it is a great analytical article entitled " Russia under siege ." The main question of this article - how to evaluate the main component of the Chechen events : just as the struggle for the preservation of Russian empire residues or as " Russian front" open terrorist organizations " Muslim East "? Did the Chechnya only for their freedom , or all of this - part of the onset of radical Islamists , whose goal is to create a " global caliphate" modeled on the Taliban in Afghanistan ? Argues that Arab terrorists need not small Chechnya but Russia , as at that time the weakest link in the antiterrorist coalition. If you hit harder, and you may be able to bring to power in Moscow either allies or capitulation . Attack on

Dubrovka , analysts said , just refer to one of these strikes. On the international track and also a passing reference to a few informational materials .

At the same time, five large materials written in the genre of " arguments on ... " strongly refute the version of preparing a terrorist act international terrorism. And this is done very emotionally, with irony: "The authorities are constantly talking about the terrorism that we have " one enemy ". Apparently hoping that in the end people will believe them and claims will bring some bearded Islamists who yearn to blow the Christian world ".

Thus , we can conclude that the version of the connection with international terrorism Chechen is minor in the editorial policy of "MK " in this period , where the foreground is displayed political problems generated , according to the "MK" , misguided government policies of Putin.

The next thematic section , the basic meaning of which - the demonization of the image of terrorism through the power injection current and future terrorist threats , is also quite large and has 18 pieces dealing with the problem of personal insecurity of citizens in the face of these threats. These materials can be divided into sample groups, differing by the nature of the information and its supply method.

The first group (the most numerous) are purely informative articles small volume with different arguments in favor of the "Nord-Ost " was only part of the broadly conceived attack on Moscow , and experts statements about many terrorists remain at large . Is a statement whether official , that "terrorists have planned a series of bombings in Moscow in crowded places. According to official figures , planned to blow up the 3 car , and two more explosions had to arrange female suicide bombers . "In support provides information on investigative activities , during which they received intelligence on Chechen terrorists planning a series of bombings in Moscow , the crown of which was to become the "Nord-Ost ". In the series of articles reported that Chechens sought plan Kursk station, explosive devices and explosives. FSB Director Nikolai Patrushev said there was a whole terrorist center in Moscow: "So at any time wait repetition tragedies like apartment bombings and hostage-taking " - conclude journalists .

It should be noted analytical materials containing expert opinion (mainly politicians) about the inevitability of a repetition of acts of terrorism , and in a more rigid form . In an article titled "The Path of Shamil " experts "MK" assume leadership of organizing terrorist attacks in Chechnya will bet on young women fighters and bombers . In a series of interviews under the title " Premonition of Civil War " series of disappointing politicians make predictions about the terrorist activities in the near future . A.Arbatov declares: " followed by new attacks , but Israeli

type - that is pure terrorism through intimidation , whose goal is to destroy as many civilians ." A.Aslahanov M.Baraev's words quoted : "We are about a thousand martyrs , and we are not going to stop " and confirms the seriousness of the statement : " These people can not be stopped ."

In general, the articles in this thematic cluster of the following methods have been used to influence the audience in terms of discharge on the basis of social tension demonizing image Chechen terrorism .

1) cites numerous posts of officials about the specific facts and operational evidence Chechen threat.

2) Let's pessimistic forecasts of experts on the individual character and tightening inevitable recurrence of terrorist acts.

3) emphasizes the total exposure of people (absolutely no one and nowhere is safe from terrorist attacks) .

4) dominate the emotional anger , indignant tone of the articles resonate with emotional mood of the audience.

The next thematic section affects the national question - namely, identification happens here with a certain image of the terrorist nation - Chechens. In all such materials 7. Thus, among them are the bulk material (2/3 page) about the Chechen mafia in Moscow with the subtitle " Why Chechen bandits so feel at ease in the capital ? " The article states that Moscow relatives never refused help visitors ' freedom fighters . "

But the most powerful in terms of the identification of terrorism with the Chechens as a nation can be called three articles written in the genre of " reasoning on the subject ... ". They are written emotionally, angrily, in indignant tone with a wicked irony. Most of them thought that the Chechens are for all of us a potential danger as the authorities "not trying to bamboozle people , get them to close their eyes and do not see the enemy in living next to us Chechens ." In one of these articles , entitled " Ugly taste of freedom. Why we are not immune to terrorism? " states that " the main unsolved problem is that while the Chechens are Russian citizens , they have the appropriate rights . Every terrorist and insurgent may at any moment to come to any Russian city. In addition, terrorists receive help from Moscow Chechens . Everyone understands that Moscow Chechens constitute a potential danger . Not to be afraid of Chechens have to do so that they did not live here - just do not let them in Russia . Necessary to restrict the rights and freedoms of the Chechens as a people with whom we are fighting . They are a potential threat to the safety of our children , and it can not be ignored . "

The same thought was continued in two small white papers that terrorists freely penetrate the Russian city just because the Chechens have all the rights of Russian citizens.

Thus , using both facts and unsubstantiated emotional arguments journalists "MK" in 2002 equate the terms " terrorist" and " Chechen" .

The next step - is a secondary analysis of data on the coverage of the "MK" of events surrounding the seizure by terrorists in September 2004 the school in Beslan . Total for secondary analysis of 51 articles were selected .

Thematic cluster for the estimated relative to the terrorists and their actions has 25 articles. In some small informative articles (7) contains specific definitions of terrorists as subhuman scumbag bastards and bandits . And one of them is present contrasting data terrorists (unlike in 2002) so-called "ideological ": " It's either full " scumbags ", or drug addicts, or Chechen bandits , but not " ideological " terrorists ." In a series of articles (3) is given a negative evaluation behavior of terrorists. For example, given the words of one of them about the recent explosion in the Moscow metro station " Riga ": " Everything was gorgeous, even children have suffered ."

In four articles devoted to female suicide bombers are not so easy . For example , the article titled " Kiss bombers " there 's pity towards them , describes how heat shahid said goodbye to her girlfriend before the explosion. Another article describes how terrorists shot two female suicide bombers in a school in Beslan , because they refused to kill the children . Problem of female suicide bombers dedicated to an interview with a psychiatrist on the preparation of suicide bombers . Expert describes suicide bombers as defenseless , single women with psychological bruises (this women are often raped) . Bomber, it becomes as a result of religious and special treatment of neuro-linguistic programming. Women themselves scared of dying , so blast them more often male curators . In general , these materials are pathetic to accidents and suicide bombers oppose their ruthless men - terrorists who commit such terrible abuse by their own compatriots .

A number of materials (6   ) talks about specific terrorists involved in the siege. This is investigative journalism of their personalities , the environment , the previous life. Information in three of them served without emotion , neutral. Three other material written emotionally, angrily condemn the terrorists and demand revenge. Thus, for example , led the attack on Beslan Magas called Inhuman beast dog: " He's crazy . Basayev even thought p , but he acts like a bull at a red rag . Magas is crazy . "

Also in the article talks about four meanness and selfishness of militant leaders . For example, they wanted to kill their relatives and blame this crime on law enforcement and security agencies. Said that the rebels easily sold (as opposed to their selflessness in materials in 2002) , their actions are well paid . About pricing murders written, for example , in the article " Accounting terror." In a large material "Operation Nord-West " Basayev himself through the website says cynically , what cost him the Beslan school siege . In the same article quoted Aslan Maskhadov forms of Chechen terrorism " in the Chechen resistance movement has radically - minded people who believe that in war with Russia ordinary , civilized methods are useless. And these people believe that the explosions underground , trains, planes, seized a school are the only way to force Putin to stop this war . "

Complete the analysis of this section can be psychological portraits of people to design the recent terrorist attacks in Russia , who gave an interview of the head of the Effective Policy Foundation Gleb Pavlovsky . "They are modern humans . They grew up on fairy tales oriental , but the enormous influence of Western mass culture . Many of them like Hollywood thrillers and fantasy . A fantasy - a world where all wishes come true . If in the last century there were many among the terrorists failed poets and artists , but now many engineers dropouts . These are people with higher education and a sick imagination . They have mastered the technology business, but transferred it to murder . A cinematic imagination makes them feel fabulous heroes. They developed a complex of omnipotence , and the little people running around . Engineers terror no special sadism , they just knead the human mass. I think of them almost no fanatical idealists. Idealists are among the performers , but also to the first attack. Then idealism dissolves fanatic turns into a butcher . "

The next block of evaluation purposes terrorist act contains five articles. And the meaning of the three of them - in order to save lives of the hostages had to negotiate with terrorists. They also found themselves the terrorists' demands - is to stop the war in Chechnya , Putin's resignation , the release of arrested members of the Wahhabi underground. In one of the articles states that " In Beslan terrorists had a plan to destroy the people. Objective: To attract maximum attention , to demonstrate their power and impotence of those who long ago promised to end the war in Chechnya. It is said that the goal of terrorists - to blow up the Caucasus. It is not so : gripper has one explanation: the negotiations to achieve a respectable level. " That is " the whole point , the whole essence of the events that the terrorists' demands for summit talks were rejected ."

Thus , these articles is practically calling for the need to negotiate with terrorists. In summary, it can be seen in the following quote : " If terrorists for 10 years impose the same requirements, and they are in the next 10 years will make no changes to its list. So some of us still have to transfer all this horror . Somehow following the hostages , who also probably still will , because our enemies are consistently different . "

Diametrically opposed views on the terrorist attack targets contained in two other articles. Their essence is: " Operation terrorists in Beslan has been started not so much in the name of " brothers " and the withdrawal of troops , many in order to destroy as many as possible and make it as spectacular and can be worse . Why? In order to humiliate all Russian . To further intimidate them . To reignite the Ossetian- Ingush conflict . Ossetians saw how little the Russian authorities to cherish their children. To all Russia saw how bad President Putin and his troops provide security, as they are powerless , as nobody can defend . " In any case, the meaning of all these articles is reduced to intimidate people and demonize the image of terrorism.

Block of material in which there is a demonization of terrorism by way of statements about the inevitability of further terrorist attacks has 7 articles. In fact, their content and methods of feeding the materials coincide with a corresponding block 2002. This application experts and officials about the growing terrorist threat. Thus, an Israeli expert on Terrorism states: "This is just the beginning. Terrorists still only go on the offensive . They are on the rise , the initiative from them. Russia as well as Israel, becoming a country of daily danger. " The analytical prediction also states that "the atrocities do not stop, but only intensify ." As in previous articles unit focuses on low power and countering the terrorist threat power structures : " The impotence in the face of terrorism Putin undoubtedly . Russia threatens new series of terrorist attacks , and it is obvious that the Kremlin is not prepared to confront a terrorist threat. " Several articles is about the female suicide bombers roaming around Moscow with deadly stuffing. Ends this conclusion: " Hardly anyone would argue with the obvious : Moscow for terrorists still tidbit . And we can expect an explosion at any moment . "

Only one article about delivery Muscovites threats by e-mail " Wait terrorist attacks " with reference to reliable sources (relatives in the FSB , MVD , etc.) attempt to debunk this virtual jihad. Experts psychologists explain that this injection of panic , attempt to run the mechanism of mass hysteria . Fear - the main goal of the attacks.

Unfortunately , as shown by results of a survey conducted by sociologists Fund "Public Opinion" , published in "MK" from 16.09.2004 - this goal is largely achieved. To the question "

Will the attacks committed more or less often ? answered " often " - 52 % of respondents " rarely " - 34 % of respondents.

The next block of semantic connection of domestic terrorism with international contains 7 items . Unlike materials in 2002 in all these articles (except for one , which says that we are lying , suggesting that we are " the whole civilized world - a victim of international terrorism ," what is happening - is the result of the criminal policy of the Kremlin) argues that terrorism - it the problem of the international community . All "our" attacks - only links in the whole chain of international terrorist attacks. Experts say the direct link "our" terrorists with the Arab extremists.

The content of these articles partly overlaps with the content and the previous conceptual blocks (assessment purposes terrorist attacks and demonization of terrorism). Thus, political scientist Alexander Rahr of the German states in an interview : "The purpose of the attacks - to sow panic , to divide society and achieve a complete destabilization of the Caucasus ... Terror has not yet reached its peak , and we will become witnesses of global horror ." But then he says that " this is achieved Islamic structures using Chechen separatism in order to " jihad " against Western civilization ." In the interview goes on to say that " Islamic militants grandiose plans - to create in the Caucasus and Central Asian Islamic caliphate . From 1996 to 1999 they managed to create in Chechnya something like the Taliban regime , and now they are trying to extend the conflict on the territory of the North Caucasus .

Those ideas are developed in an interview with the Israeli expert , where he talks about what is Islamic fundamentalism and how it relates to terrorism in Russia. "Islamic fundamentalists say they want to punish Russia for what she is doing in Chechnya and break the morale of the Russian infidels. But in fact, the basis of all is the desire to impose Islamic fundamentalism force Islam to all mankind. Extremists really do not care about the Chechens , the fate of the Caucasus. Their goal - to achieve power in the world. They use a local political conflict local Muslims as pawns in a world war being waged . Now they use the Chechens. Chechnya their base, but they try to extend its structure on the whole territory of the Russian Federation. They try to create an atmosphere of fear to impose Russian course. Now followed by another 2-3 terrorist attack , then a lull, then resume. Such organizations when they go on the offensive in any particular point are lots . "

In this interview, the first to take a clear dividing line between the Chechens as a nation and Islamic terrorism " in Chechnya is a civil war between the warlords , who are embedded in this world front , and those who do not want to use them as pawns in the struggle is not for

Chechen interests. " For example, one of the rebel leaders M. Basayev determined precisely as a pawn of the global Islamic Front .

A new twist (compared with "MK" in 2002) in looking at the ideological foundation and technique and the prevalence of Islamic extremism is offered in bulk analytical article " Web of jihad." In particular in detail and convincingly explains the funding scheme of extremist Islamic organizations. "The most common form of accumulation of " terrorist " funds - public organizations and foundations . They collect money for aid to Chechen refugees and send them " soldiers of Allah." Funds are called , respectively, and the "help" and "support" and "culture," and even "the guardianship of orphans ." The " guardians of orphans " in Russia feel very confident. There is hardly a region in Central Russia , are not covered by one or another of the Middle East Fund. "

Technology Distribution : "Islamic extremism Middle Eastern origin develops more Russian territories. Participation of Arab "brothers" in the construction we have mosques and madrassas became a regular practice . On the basis of "their" mosque created "own" community of believers - Jamaat . Recruiters draw visitors to Wahhabism young girls prepare them suicide bombers . Their main goal - use as a Muslim suicide bombers in Russia. Is building an extensive network of radical Islamists in the Volga region . This area, which gives control over the entire country . "

The ideological basis of " a group of terrorists who seized the school in Beslan , united religion , not Chechen separatism . Combines "brothers" in Russia and abroad primarily religious- extremist ideology "

Prevalence of " sphere of influence of Islamic states is constantly expanding. After 20 years, the world will be 500 million Arabs. They needed new land , and new natural resources . The situation in the first place is dangerous for Russia . Geography jihad covers a good half of the globe. In the "war against infidels" take almost all immigrants from the former Soviet Union (the republics of Central Asia , Georgia , Azerbaijan). Chechen diaspora around the world helps the transfer of funds to Chechnya . "

Attitude towards Islamists "wrong" : " Infidels (us) they (the Arabs) for the people do not consider . They have interest in our oil resources , territory, military technologies . Chechnya - it's just a point of force application . So do not expect that our spiritual control of Muslims , Islamic leaders in the country may cause terrorists to abandon attacks. Yes, they condemn the attacks. But this ritual condemnation in their eyes does not mean anything . Because according to the Islamic doctrine of the same wrong to cheat - not a crime. "

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Thus, in the eyes of the audience of a Chechen terrorist image expands to a Muslim terrorist (without nationality), but is a single article on the entire flow of information . So the next semantic unit (7 articles) still contains the problem of national identity is the image of terrorism. In a series of articles (4) position of journalists is that criminals have no nationality. " This is a gang International . No people are not to blame , that among us grow bastards. A terrorist has no nationality. " At the same time in three articles terrorism is linked up with the Chechen people , and in the negative sense .

For example, the very volume of material called " Bloody Boys" , characterized by strong emotional background (anger , resentment) talks about the chaos that sheltered them in Russian village of Chechen refugees (gang of teenagers with the connivance on the part of adults). The article gives a very hard-hitting portrait of the so-called Chechen refugees from the words themselves villagers : "No plaguing these refugees not. They were given shelter , feed them , clothe , and then they returned to fight in Chechnya . " Further information is given in the article that , as it turned out , to settle migrant holding centers are not alone affected . They are long transshipment points to Chechen rebels , holidaymakers and recuperate after the fighting . Sponsor these " sanatorium " dear Chechens from Moscow.

Even in one of the articles tells that markets Grozny popular among the local population video , which shows how the Russian soldiers cut off the head, knocked our helicopters and shoot military convoys , law enforcement officers executed . Therefore seems logical conclusion, which is given in an article written in the genre of " argument on the topic ...": In vain to play with the Chechens in democracy - these toys for us paying mercilessly. Troops should not withdraw , and put a chain along the borders of Chechnya . Let Chechnya is part of Russia the locked . And while they do not bring the heads of those who send terrorists to kill children - do not open , do not feed , do not give money . "

Secondary analysis of data on the coverage of the explosion in "Domodedovo" in 2011 was selected by 41 material . In the semantic evaluation unit terrorists and their actions contained 15 articles . He is as large as in 2002 and 2004 , but in the content of the block appeared quite a lot of new elements . First of all , this high degree of professionalism recognition developers attacks. In bulk material "They rebelled again from the toilet ," written in the genre of " thinking on the subject ... " the author characterizes modern terrorists : "People on the other side ended the same institutions that our officers . Should not think that there are professionals stupider us. That is why we are losing time. Modern terrorists - that educated people are teachers , students , engineers - the intelligentsia . Vain to think that this illiterate , drugged , unhappy people . These

are educated people who know how to manage the "Boeing" . They are willing to sacrifice . We need to understand that against us on that side are superman , smart and very motivated people . This professional specialization . They have a great experience. They lead this war more than a dozen years. "

Also new moment came in ethnicity terrorists. Thus, a number of articles (6) is devoted to " Russian Wahhabi " V. Razdobudko and his wife M.Horosheva . One of them is called " How to become Russian Wahhabis ". They conducted an investigation of his and her life. All Razdobudko characterize as a quiet , uncommunicative man from a good family . Says that he was a Christian , but converted to Islam a few years ago . And in Islam it drew Pyatigorsk imam (also Russian) Anton Stepanenko (Muslim name Abdullah) . Tells about how he came to Islam Stepanenko , unsightly episodes of his life associated with the brutal attitude towards the mentally ill teenager and extort money from his parents. Do Stepanenko was found during a search Wahhabi extremist literature , manual mine explosives . At the same time during the trial, it was supported by the Council of Muftis of Russia , as well as Caucasian muftis. Two members of his community were involved in the attack on Nalchik in 2005. And now the other facing them to Islam in Russian Razdobudko suicide bombers threatened to remove the child , if she refuses to fulfill a deadly mission. As usual quiet and decent woman who suddenly converted to Islam describe relatives Razdobudko wife , became a suicide bomber .

The theme of female suicide bombers , as well as in previous years , took part of this unit (3). Basically this is story about the life and problems of these women , evidence of their relatives and friends . And basically all claim that it was a decent , good woman, but with a difficult life . All stories arouse compassion . Based on the results of the investigation on the personalities of several bombers((questioning friends and family) , journalists have tried to compile a psychological portrait of the suicide bombers . All of them were instigators in the team, an excellent student , well educated - " the impression that the ranks of the Caucasus Emirate fighters selected by the same psychological qualities as any intelligence agency of the world ."

The same pattern (investigative journalism life path) written a few articles mention the men (3). Journalists communicate with family and friends. All these articles arouse compassion as essentially decent ordinary people from respectable families , after serious trials of life trying to find solace in religion and become suicide bombers . And in each of these villages there are certain people that attract youth. So , it was told about one old man who taught the village

children to Islam and then his disciples replenish the terrorist underground . The old man himself for six months living in the Arab world , and himself and his sons built up real houses - palaces .

In an article commenting on the statement of Doku Umarov , entitled " Declaration of the Rights of the subhuman " his speech on the Internet is characterized as a " declaration of human rights , but with a bright shade of Wahhabi . They do not want to kill , but Islam allows them to kill for Islam , for the faith . Russia 's chief terrorist is very unfortunate that the result of the struggle has to suffer and die innocent people , but the choice of the servants of Allah, no. "

In the article " Children's Jihad " tells about the new " weapon" terrorist underground - teenage suicide bombers , about how they are recruited and brought up in the " Wahhabi " spirit in the villages of Ingushetia. This work is well paid.

In the semantic block assessment purposes terrorist act contains three articles . According to the statement , " one terrorist country" Doku Umarov on the Internet, "the purpose of terrorist attacks not only in the liberation of the Caucasus from Russia of its presence , but also a signal to the whole world . This message not only for Russia but also for America and Israel , as these countries comes from the main threat to the Muslim world. Politicians did not react to the fact that in Afghanistan, Iraq , Palestine, kill Muslims , so in order to restore fairness to the hundreds of Muslim "brothers" will sacrifice ourselves . "

In another version of the article puts forward the fact that the attack was timed to the International Economic Forum in Davos to show the fragility of the situation in Russia and the lack of security for potential investors.

But the most interesting analysis was given in an analytical article , written by an expert , Candidate of Political Sciences A.Yashlavskim . In it, he offers four important task this attack .

1) Call the discontent of the people power.

2) Provoke power on tough measures to more people in the North Caucasus blazed hatred of everything Russian .

3) provoke in the hearts of people of other faiths and hatred of foreigners .

4) " Blood message" addressed Caucasian youth - especially unsettled part , devoid of clear guidelines in life . The message is a true martyr in the name of faith is self-sacrifice , to counter the " infidels" who instilled corruption and depravity .

Compared to 2004, and especially since 2002, the virtually nullified semantic unit to demonize terrorism. There are only two articles that say about the inevitability of these attacks and insecurity in front of them citizens.

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In the meaning block about the connection of domestic and international terrorism three articles . Their basic idea is that domestic terrorism is part of an international , as it has from him strong financial , organizational and ideological support. Thus, the German journalist writes in "MK" that " radical Islamists create a movement for which the definition of" international terrorist network "sounds weak. In fact, they organized the military front , stretching across the entire world . This front humiliated and insulted Islamists against the well-fed , and globalized consumer West , to which Russia joins struggling . This war can be called " a hundred years ", and can be a "war of civilizations". And in this war , Russia entered as part of civilization , which includes the West, despite all the differences in political systems . "

Other articles are facts from official sources about the organization and training of suicide terrorist attack in the mountainous border areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan . It was there under the guidance of experienced instructors are trained suicide bombers to carry out attacks worldwide. It was there found refuge many warlords and fighters from extremist groups in the Arab world , Central Asia and Chechnya.

The main difference between constructing the image of terrorism in 2011 from 2002 and 2004 - is a very powerful sense not focus on national and religious identity on terrorism (which, incidentally , works on the previous block , given the global spread of Islam as a common ideological basis in its extreme manifestations). This semantic block contains 18 articles . Most of them said that terrorism has no nationality, only a religious basis . Fixed the changing nature of terrorism - now it is not a territorial and religious character.

The burden of the majority of articles (7) - can not divide people into terrorists and non-terrorists on a national basis . You can not focus on " caucasian " nationality. This only reinforces the notion of mass consciousness that all the " Caucasians" - our enemies . In one of the articles , for example , the writer Leonid Mlechin writes ; " Political Anthropology incredibly dangerous because it divides people into good and bad people of ethnic groups and splits a single country. Ethnic research lead us away from the real search for ways to combat terrorism. Suicide bombers - a product of radical Islamism . And Islam just does not recognize the division into ethnic groups . Islamists are willing to accept in its ranks all those who would be willing to fight together . Militants Slavs already " famous " loud attacks . "

Then he offers his vision of socio- religious roots of terrorism : " For Muslims, Islam - very modern ideology , which the future belongs. Considering the current political and inefficient economic system , people are looking for alternative solutions in religion. The fighting in the Caucasus Islamic youth made aware of their affiliation to the Muslim world . And

a new generation of proposed radical Islam . Religious coloring gives irreconcilable conflict , the fanatical nature . Before militants were planning suicide missions . But a new generation of terrorists initially refused to think about survival. They stubbornly repeated : " None of us are afraid to die . Our principles and purpose of our lives is more important . '"

About how recruited a new generation of Islamic radicalism in universities of Pyatigorsk why more educated young people are turning to Islam , including radical , told in a long article in the genre of investigative journalism . It understands religious and national identity of the region, describes the technique of indoctrination and indoctrinate young people. And doing it emissaries from the Middle East . Islamic radicals actually deny nationality. They need to unite under his authority Sharia entire Caucasus .

There are specially trained people who have a gift suggestion. They are able to impose on a person any, even the crazy idea . Recruiters are doing a powerful ideological work . For that and get decent money. Suicide bombers are more thorough treatment using psychotropic drugs, often drug . Fall to radicals as people from affluent families , and unsettled youth, who are constantly told that the terms of injustice reigns , live near the rich , and you can live all your life in poverty , if not to join us .

According to the expert , the radicals get those requiring extreme, who have not found their place in life or wants easy money .

Other articles raised questions of economic reasons rooting radical Islamism in the Caucasus , as well as the emergence of a hostile attitude towards people as potential terrorists not only on the basis of nationality , but mostly religious , recognizable by external attributes , such as the hijab .

So, it's time to compare both the content and its external supply when designing the image of terrorism in "MK" in 2002, 2004 and 2011. Speaking about the principles and techniques of the material , we can say that they remained mostly the same . This "talking" headers , and a large number of materials with high emotional background (declined slightly in favor of the neutral factual submission in 2011) . For greater reliability in most materials offered eyewitness accounts of events and participants , are widely involved experts . To the same effect is used genre of investigative journalism based on facts and evidence. At the same time there is a specific genre (which fell in 2011) , as " reasoning on the subject ... " , where unsubstantiated arguments , rather emotionally decorated , inviting the audience to connect the newspaper. This technique achieves the effect of ownership of the reader to the conclusions offered by the authors of such articles.

Speaking about the semantic content of the constructed at different times journalists "MK" image of terrorism in general, we can fix the significant overlap (albeit with some differences) constructs proposed in 2002 and 2004 and a significant fundamental transformation of the image in 2011 .

2002 . Journalists invited Image terrorists are mostly negative (though negative definitions it contains), but calling empathy and understanding related to the motivation of terrorists (ending the war in Chechnya , the suffering of the Chechen people). Emphasizes the ideological and selflessness of ordinary performers. Understandable and causing the sympathy of the audience seems to aim the terrorist attack - ending the war in Chechnya. Terrorism itself is defined as an internal reason for having the desire to Chechen separatism, in most materials denied its connection with international terrorism. Therefore, the identification of terrorism is a question on a national basis - belonging to the Chechen people . At the same time, another hallmark of this image is its maximum demonization , approval inevitability and growing danger of future terrorist threats absolute ontological insecurity in front of their face ordinary people. The image of a terrorist (from an expert) - is unbalanced people with obvious mental disorder , are in a state of extreme stress , so are inadequate.

2004 . Unlike in 2002 sharply negative image of the terrorists (thugs , drug addicts, but not ideological terrorists , self-serving) , it causes no sympathy . The war in Chechnya as a whole remains the main purpose of the claimed , but there are other versions , for example, to humiliate and intimidate the Russian , the people against the government. Domestic terrorism itself is already beginning to be considered as part of the international chain of terrorist attacks , there is the theme of Islamic fundamentalism - Islamic structures used Chechen separatism in the war against "Western civilization" . Planned transition from the image of a Chechen terrorist to the image of radical Islamist terrorist . Nevertheless , the identification of terrorism still prevails on a national basis (identified with the Chechens , and in the most negative light) . Continued (though not as intense as in 2002) the demonization of terrorism. The image of a terrorist (from an expert) - people with higher education and a sick imagination . Mastered the technology business, but transferred them to murder . They developed complex omnipotence and contempt for others. Among them, almost no fanatical idealists. Idealists are among the performers , but after the first terrorist attack idealism dissolved and transformed into a fanatic butcher.

2011 . There is a significant transformation of the image of terrorism associated with the absolute recognition of journalists "MK" as its ideological foundations of religion - radical Islam. Image Chechen suicide completely transformed into the image of radical Islamist terrorist .

Identification of terrorism does not follow the national and solely based on religious grounds . The purpose of a terrorist attack - " bloody message" Islamic Front of Western civilization , which aims to become part of Russia, as well as Caucasian youth (especially unsettled , devoid of clear guidelines in life) . Sudden influx of terrorism in the younger generation - requiring extreme, did not find a place in life , wanting to correct the injustice of the world , based on the progressive ideology of Islam. Religious basis due to the international nature of terrorism , since Islam has no national trait. Nature of terrorism on the basis of radical Islam - implacable , fanatical , suicidal (base - suicide bombers) . At the same time demonizing image terrorism journalists practically absent. There is no definite negative against terrorists - they are defined as ordinary people , because of troubles in life to seek solace in religion, but have fallen under the influence of radical Islamists. The image of a terrorist (from an expert) - are educated people, professionals , ready to sacrifice prepared , smart and very motivated .

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Mentality as a socio-cultural characteristic of society: the concept structure and the statement of research tasks

Abstract

The article is prepared on the results of research project "Historian perspective of the mentality formation and the structure of Russian mentality" which has begun in 2014. It presents the expert community's ideas about the Russian mentality, its main features and the conditions which shaped it.

Keywords: ideas about Russia, mental attitudes, mental field, Russian mentality

J. Le Goff, one of the recognized authorities in the mentality research field, notices that the adjective *mentalis* (mental) sprung from Latin word *mens* and firstly was applied in medieval scholasticism. Initially the mental was connected with a spirit, mind, memory – the same ambiguous definitions as a newly formed word. Only three hundred years later the noun *mentality* had appeared in Britain. In sociology the conception of "mentality" was brought in the society of Emile Durkheim. E. Y. Tarshis in his «Human mentality: Approaches to conception and statement definition in research» notices that E. Durkheim used this idea in the search of human solidarity. M. Blok and L. Febvre had introduced the mentality concept in historical science, put in the idea of "world vision" in it.

The main mentality features relevant for us:

Firstly, "*Mentality is not the same with expressed ideas and visible course of action. Mentality is standing behind it, mentality is something non-verbalised…*" (F. Gauss).

Secondly, "*Mentality is… a peculiar memory of nation about the past, psychological behavior determinant of the millions of people, bound up to its historically formed 'code' in any circumstances, not excepting disastrous*" (according to the materials of the round table "Mentality of Russians").

Thirdly, "*Mentality is an aggregate of individuals' or social groups' willingness, attitudes and predispositions to act, think, feel a certain way*" (V. P. Vizgin).

The mental field is that "spirit of culture" which often amazes the foreigners attempting to gain an understanding in it. Mentality is an aggregate of notions, feelings, peoples' attitudes which determine their common worldview. Mentality is a perspective of mentality field of culture on a humans psyche [Kornilov, 2011].

The mentality represents the historically conditioned phenomenon. ***The social transformation and cultural evolution lead to the mentality changes***. But this change is a long

process. In contrast to short-term, inconstant social mood, oscillation of public opinion and emotional upsurge which could embrace the large masses of people, *the mentality is steady and conservative*. It remains at the same form during the whole historical epochs. Its transformation occurs only as a result of significant cultural changes.

Mentality is included in the structure of individual psyche in a process of his or her introduction to the culture. Everyone as a child adopts the mentality of his or her nation – by learning national language, listening the fairy tales and cradle songs, adapting to conditions of life. Personal mentality developing from the early childhood includes general attitudes of national culture as well as their variations connected with cultured surroundings features in which the individual lives. During the life the individual mentality can be modified, but it happens only if he or she falls under the influence of mental field of some new cultural form and usually is connected with deep psychological shifts.

Mental attitudes usually seem to a human as a something self-evident and he or she just proceed from them in his or her thinking and behavior don't aware why he or she is thinking of behaving this way but not other.

Thus the human mentality can be considered at the different **levels**:

- *at the level of socio-cultural worlds* or culture types as the mentality of the prehistory, antique, West-European, East.

- *at the national cultures level* – as Russian, Chinese or American mentality, etc.

- *at the level of subculture*, which natives are different social groups (classes, estates, professional, age, territorial, ethnic, religious and other communities), as a noble, criminal, histrionic, Christian or orthodox mentality.

The mentality is developed from the mental complexes – separate images, which are formed by the "categorical mesh" overlapping on the specific activities and remains in the memory. Mental complexes are "the thoughts clots", particular concentration of the mental field which increases the heterogeneity and instability to it.

The strongest mental complexes are appeared in a human speech. *Mental complexes are the thoughts, principals, images, which a man gets during the life and which are essential to assess and compare with others*. Mental complexes are the pointers which guide a mind in the life and help people to find their position in it.

At present time the new mentalities (political, economical) are arising in Russia; fragments of someone else belongings and extraneous mentalities (the propaganda of American

way of life, advertising, etc.). Meanwhile nobody decides to talk about the cultural changes in Russia though the new "layers" undoubtedly exert influence on it.

The study of this theme is conducting by the grant of Russian Foundation for Basis Research № 14-06-00314 "Historian perspective of the mentality formation and the structure of Russian mentality", 2014-2016, under the direction of V. A. Shilova.

The project goals are:

- to define the respondents groups with the similar identity;

- to deduce the correlation between the identity of Russians and their ideas about Russia;

- to explore and systematize the mental features typical for Russians;

- to deduce the correlation between the awareness level and images of Russians about Russia;

- to compare the mental images about Russia in the groups with different nationality;

- to compare the perception differences of mentality features of Russian in different sex-age groups, groups with various education level and various nationalities;

- to compare the perception differences of mentality features of Russians living on the territory of Russia and Russians-migrants living in different countries;

- to choose the typical mental portraits of Russians;

- to traverse the antagonisms between the assets of life in Russia by ordinary Russians and the media declared assessments and the political elite.

On the first stage (12, June – 15, August 2012) there were conducted 104 expert interview with open-structured questionnaire, which opened the problem of Russian mentality shaping. The theme was difficult to experts, firstly, because there are no exact scientific definitions of such concepts as "mentality" and "mental"; secondly, in literature we found notions about Russian (as ethnic phenomenon) mentality, but we were interested in the mentality of the Russian state population. Our study had the exploratory nature.

We addressed to specialist who, in our opinion, are competent, previously defining the spheres of their activity and the selection criteria. Our task was to interrogate specialist in different spheres as many as possible. The difficulty laid in the theme complication; many of those who were interested us denied the participation in the survey, arguing that they don't feel themselves competent in the area of the mentality study. Among the specialist there were 17% of

the doctors of science, 37% of the candidates of science, 45% of the specialists with the higher education and 1% – with specialized secondary education; 50% were men and 50% women.

Surely, the majority of respondents were the representatives of humanitarian spheres because the research subject is concerned the scientific reflection, but we tried to engage also the representatives of different sciences such as biology, chemistry, physics, mathematic, etc., as well as practical men in the sphere of entrepreneurship, journalism, administration, marketing, show-business and others.

The analysis of experts' responses allowed us to separate out the main features of Russian mentality, which we conventionally divided on the four layers.

The first layer of mentality (basic) we connected to geography, territory, climate and Russian nature:

- large territory;
- disadvantageous climate;
- unique geographical location;
- rich natural resources.

As expert rightly noted, Russia is "*a fount of the natural resources and minerals*".

There was noted that Russia is excel in "*the territorial size (the length from North to South and from West to East), mainly the harsh climatic conditions (permafrost on the 50% of the area), passivity of population*".

The second mentality layer is forming under the influence of the first one, "basic", and is a direct consequence of it.

The territory, climate, nature and geography entail:

- cultural heterogeneity ("mix of cultures"), ethno-cultural diversity;
- multi-ethnic;
- many confessional basis;
- low population density;
- complexity of agriculture (because of the climatic conditions).

An expert noted: "*a very large area overlays the peculiarities on all the spheres – the public administration, economic and social processes, ecological problems. On the one hand, there are the rich natural resources, which make many opportunities, on the other hand, they create many problems because of the chosen raw materials strategy*".

In many experts answers the contrasts of Russian reality were noted. Thus, in one expert opinion, Russia "*is distinguished by its expanse, natural resources and at the same time by its poverty and abandonment*".

Russian feature is in "*the existent of its own civilizational grounds, the development of economy on the model of 'the large territorial features', the wealth, which is not saved properly*".

The third layer of distinctive features is expedient to connect with the separate spheres of Russian life: historical, cultural, political, economical.

Many experts marked out Russian features connected with its history:

- rich, particular history;
- miserable history;
- imperial history;
- history of the thousand-year slavery.

Many experts noticed that Russia has a "*bloody history*", "*The nation is young, the most suffered in XX century. The country of a tragic fate*".

In our opinion the interesting assertions of experts are the following: "*The tragic history, the collapse of history, the absence of the existing past and present assessment. The national idea absence and, probably, the perspectives absence for the greater part of population*".

"*Russian distinctive feature is in the history of population and power relationships which are based on principle 'the landlord and the peasants' or the power is criticized and discredited*".

Theme of the special destination arises: "*Russia is a spiritual inheritrix of Byzantium that's why Russia is a third Roma, the future is behind Russia*".

The Russian distinguishing features connected with socio-political system, in the view of experts, most likely have a negative character:

- high closeness of elites;
- corruption;
- inability to ensure a decent life for citizens*;*
- political, cultural and economical instability;
- power centralization*;*
- irregularity of center and periphery development.

The power "*don't knows what does it make and what does it wants – neither from itself nor from others*".

Important expert judgments:

"Russia is a state which is based on centralized external power. The population doesn't take part in the public management, doesn't have the responsibility for its life, is distanced from the power, and it's allows them to esteem the power in a case of its success and to defame in a case of the failure".

"Russia is differed from other countries and, first of all, by the state structure: the population opinion and wishes isn't took in into account by power, the lies and theft are everywhere".

"Russia is a state of the catching-up development. At the same time it has the great minds and talents of the world scale. The problem is in the power structure and the bulk of parasitic elements in it".

Russian distinctive features connected with its' culture:

- rich cultural heritage;

- diversity of traditions;

- orthodoxy as a spiritual component;

- Orientation on the West.

The experts notes:

"The magpie of authority actions in Russia: we try to take from the West all the 'shining', but not essential…"

"It's distinguished by the rationality of plans and the irrationality of their implementation".

*"Russian as a multinational country was formed not so much by the migration flows as the natural peaceful coexistence of many nations and nationalities. In this connection **the tolerance to other people and the circumspection to other nations exist simultaneously**".*

Fourth, the main multifarious layer, in the experts' opinion, is connected to the character of its population.

Forcibly marked **negative features** of Russians consist in "*intolerance to others and something new in principle*". "*In Russia long harness, and then go quickly. It's our main trouble – sluggishness and hastle*". The experts noted the feature of Russians is "*in a constant self-reflectiveness, which is often morbid and unproductive in a rational point of view*". In expert' opinion, in Russia "*the category of honor is excelled. The main peculiarity is in an absent of honor at absolute majority of population*". "*The huge territory and as a consequence of*

uncontrol and ***irresponsibility***". *"Population' relation to rules and norms is like 'if nobody notice the violation then it is good'"*.

Many experts noticed the Russian disorder, in other words, "*our main outstanding feature is that in Russia more often than in other countries, many important things are made relying on Russian 'perhaps'"*. Besides, "*the population is distinguished by its' lazy character and belief in miracle and the all-powerful and noble of 'father-tsar'"*.

These experts marked such features as the absence of orderliness, mismanagement, laziness.

Russia differ from other countries by the increased good-nature and trustfulness to neighbors; abruptness, total division of society, disposition to self-destruction.

In whole, the list of Russian mentality features allowed by our experts should be interpreted as extremely critical. The features dominated in it draw the negative image of Russian mentality medium. But on the other hand, the overall picture is contradicted because on every negative characteristic the positive one is discovered.

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New Ethics of Russian Ecologists: lessons of Chernobyl

Abstract

The authors aimed to analyse the issues of ethics of Russian ecologists. The typical socio-ecological problems in mass consciousness and expert consciousness on the territory of contemporary Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine and the main reasons of their appearance in terms of socio-ecological consequences of Chernobyl nuclear disaster are also highlighted.

Keywords: Russian ecologists; ethics; ecological morality; mass consciousness; socio-ecological interests

New professional ethics is becoming important in the conditions of unequal societies, especially during the socio-ecological crisis. The present study is examined the phenomenon of ethics and morality of ecologists - quite new social-professional group in contemporary Russia and other Post-Soviet countries which are societies of anomy.

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). Furthermore it acts as of the leading way and method in connection of the personal freedom with public necessity. In the field of ecological problems morality is above all the human perception of socially necessary type of behavior regarding nature and its realization in free individual action depended on its belief and public opinion.

Obviously, ecological morality is a historical phenomenon; it evolves and exists as developing and interchanging moral systems which consist of:

1. Moral norms and estimations – views about what is good and what is not, 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.

But for all that real normative – regulative influence of ecological morality upon people expands in extremely complex "boiling universe" of social orders, interests, etc. The use of

moral phenomena is because of social-ecological (ecological) problems inevitable, because any process of human and natural interaction, any stage of economic progress, etc. faces value conflict with both sides of it for a single individual and the whole society comparing damage to nature and increase in satisfaction of human needs and social wants. This conflict resolution takes place not only in rational thinking, but also in spiritual life, where the specific role of ecological morality serves as behavior regulator under the circumstances of choice, dictating the personality the preference between "one may" and "one may not".

Results of empirical researching projects, conducted during the past 25 years by specialists of All-Russian Centre of Public Opinion Study, Russian Academy of Science and Russian Ecological Federal Informational Agency including the authors of the paper confirm the presence of objective links between ecological situations and: health of the population; by its labor activity; leisure time; by migrations; by political stability etc., and, eventually, between an ecological situation and national security. In 2014 these problem reminds us about 28 anniversary of Chernobyl catastrophe, which consequences still require serious financial recourses and threaten with health of some groups of population as well as bring up the issues of safe ways of energy development.

The authors aimed to analyse the typical socio-ecological problems in mass consciousness and expert consciousness on the territory of contemporary Russia, Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova and the main reasons of their appearance in terms of socio-ecological consequences of Chernobyl nuclear disaster. These tragedies - Chernobyl, Russia 1986 and Fukushima, Japan 2011 have shown that everything people do is not enough to prevent the damage to environment and societies if the country is not nuclear free. The findings of the expert survey present the definite level of socio-ecological tension in the region of explosion even now.

The data of the project is the result of comparative sociological research, conducted in Post-Soviet area since 2006 till 2013. Observation, content-analysis of mass-media devoted to ecological problems and expert survey were used during the research. The conception of reflection of ecological environment to social behavior and orientations of different social-demographic groups of population was adapted and developed as well as conception of socio-ecological monitoring and conceptual scheme of origin and development of social-ecological (tension) conflict in Post-Soviet dimension. The conceptualization of reflection of socio-ecological interests in mass behavior of different social communities in transformation was approved. Such important issue as a problem of availability of information on environmental activities is also presented.

The authors suppose that it is characterized by:

• establishment of united federal unified information system on nature use and environment protection;

• introduction of up to date information technologies and systems into the process of the decision making in the areas of nature use and environment protection;

• provision of state guarantees of public participation in solving of environmental problems, development of effective social partnership;

• organization and implementation of the environmental education of population.

While economics sounds during the globalization process, the ecological morality often keeps silent. Modern ecological ethics and morality are degraded, mostly its regulating influence is evident in emergency situations only. Furthermore, the prominent social orders and levels (including social-professional group of ecologists) have their own specific "ecological moralities".

The findings of the expert survey present the social attitudes and system of values of these professionals and the views of the lay public about their social role. The competency of ecologists is higher comparing with others professional groups of this field, they have a sufficient influence to other professionals. The main social features of the group are: adequate axiological and emotional relation to society and nature, the availability of specific knowledge, capacities to creative action and thinking, which help them to analyze the real socio-ecological problems and to make the balanced optimal decisions in the sphere of nature protection. The instuialization of the ecologists is influenced by its special characteristics: the special role of ecological ethics in activity of the professional and the importance of professional activity in conditions of local ecological crisis which leads to development of professional self-identity and appearing of professional pathos.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 2. Stratification in Transforming Russia

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The Civic Consciousness of the Russian People

Abstract

The development of civic consciousness is necessary to improve the civic culture, civic institutions, to identify major issues facing state and local government. Also, civic consciousness helps to clarify the causes inhibition of reforms in the political, economic and social spheres, helps to create a relationship between NGOs and the government. People with high civic consciousness taking a direct part in the government, are able to defend their rights and legitimate interests.

Keywords: sociology, self-consciousness, civic consciousness, self – identity, sociological reflection,ideology, moral stereotypes

The civic consciousness means the maturity of people, nation, and ethnos to understand its place in the world, making important decisions during the chosen campaign, determining reforms' measures.

The civic consciousness of Russians has a dynamic structure, which used to react to sum of the changes inside the country and in its foreign status.

However last years the actualization the problem of the civic consciousness and united Russian society has happened. After it an ideology becomes not only a high-principled base of the separated social groups, but also it becomes the most important attribute as an all society being. This would help to unite in the fight for self-preservation and independent socio-economics and political development.

More and more scientists research crisis deep roots economic Russian reforms in a worldwide, cultural and social people's disunity, loss of the civic consciousness, patriotism and pride of the homeland. New liberals punished their people with freedom. They punished people, who rejected former lifestyle values, traditional ideological stereotypes, who proclaimed freedom of political and ideological views and freedom of conscience.

The society which for seventy years has been living in the frames of one formal ideology and specific picture of the world felt confused when it faced with plenty and luxuriance of new ideas, it was not able to make serious and critical estimation. The social consciousness has been freed from all former values and moral stereotypes. It starts chaotically absorb like a sponge all those rules, principles and way of life, which come from abroad. The ideology basis of political, social, religion programs of new domestic and foreign mass media in fact did not have high spiritual principles. Today nobody rejects that healthy, spiritually united society, which knows its targets and aims is the most important power, is the capital that has a real economic estimate.

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Unless Russian rebuild their nation with a spiritual core and great will of historical being, Russia as a country will lose the main gist of its being and crumble before our eyes, becoming the subject of redistribution [Krivosheina, 2002, p. 52].

Historians think that the civic consciousness formed in the Great Patriotic War time. The individual emancipation had appeared because of the war major events, that is why lots of patriotic and youth association were organized [Ivanova, 2001, p. 56].

We can also see it in the article by A.G. Zdravomislov "About the National Russian Consciousness" [Zdravomislov, 2001, p. 50] and according the RIISNP researches (March, 2000) it is known that most of all Russians do not like Chechens. The reason for this dislike is the military situation in Chechnya. Hundreds of Russian soldiers became victims because of the second part of the war. Officially this war is called an operation against the terrorism. In the Russian consciousness Chechens as a nation are guilty in the victims of Russian soldiers; also this opinion had appeared thanks to mass media information.

We could observe huge emotions of the civic consciousness in the international competitions, where Russian fans feel that they are not only representatives of one city, all of them are the one country. The football fans teams, which used to be enemies to each other when they have a competition game at the regional level, unite when Russian football team has an international game. The civic consciousness can also protest against some reforms, for instance, when millions of citizens faced with the monetization of principles. Crowds of thousands of people went to streets with protest posters and prints, blocked roads lines of big cities, exclaimed against. The monetization of principles did less socially protected groups of people huge damage. This is a real grief for Russia and its government that decade of pensioners went to streets in winter time and protested.

Then people faced with another government "present" – increasing public utilities payments and housing management reforms. More serious than those events were meetings in winter 2005 had been happened because of replacement real privileges with cash payment.

The authority never consults with people, but its ideology in mass media is shown as if we have a democracy, freedom of choice, freedom of world. It could explain a few of people go to the presidential election. In a lot of regions were less than 60% of electorates. People think they do not have to vote if everything is already settled and their choice would not play significant role in Russia's fate.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 2. Stratification in Transforming Russia

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Modernization of Values and its Implications

Abstract

Socio-cultural types often differ according to the condition of socialization also corresponding to the generational differences. More modernized type of culture is adapted to more modernized type of social environment. New generation has an opportunity to enjoy a more modernized culture than the old one. In this work, we attempted to evaluate the cultural changes between generations and polar socio-cultural types quantitatively. This longitudinal study was mostly based on a survey response data among university students in the city of Perm (Russian Urals) since 1991 till 2014. All samples covered more than 500 students. We can compare values of modernization between last Soviet generation and first Post-Soviet generation. The study also discovers some implications of these value changes.

The intent of this paper is to draw attention to some correlations indicating that the some aspects of sociocultural differentiation in contemporary Russian society are reactions to the process of its modernization. These aspects are reflections of the contradictions in the society resulting from the clash of sociocultural features that are normally associated with different stages of historical process of social modernization. Social modernization means a transition from traditional society to modern one (Human progress). Technological changes are at the core of the process of this transition.

This work is based on the understanding of culture following the lines laid out in the works of L. White, P. Bohannan, A. Montague etc, and defined, loosely, as a system of non-biological regulators of human behavior (such as values, norms, attitudes, etc.).

Just a few generations ago, the majority of Russian population was rural, lived in the countryside environment and was engaged in natural-subsistence economy. Their culture corresponded to the low-level technological environment. The process of modernization has changed the environment in just a few dozen years, leaving the some cultural adaptors far behind. Some people experience conflict with impacts and challenges of modernization such as new women status, political democracy, market economy etc. We can see cultural differentiation on culture modernization continuation. Two poles of the continuation axes can be found. One of them is pole of modern culture acceptation, another one is pole of modern culture rejection. The both poles are Weber's ideal types. The Likert scale was used for culture modernization measurement in our survey [Vasserman, 2004, p. 225-239]. The scale was validated by R.Indelhart's 4-items index.

Socio-cultural types often differ according to the condition of socialization also corresponding to the generational differences. More modernized type of culture is adapted to more modernized type of social environment. New generation has an opportunity to enjoy a more modernized culture than the old one. In this work, we attempted to evaluate the cultural changes between generations and polar socio-cultural types quantitatively. This longitudinal study was mostly based on a survey response data among university students in the city of Perm (Russian Urals) since 1991 until 2014. All samples covered more than 500 students.

The Likert's scale was used for the elucidation of the culture respondent's modernization level. There were five groups of statements to determine the attitudes towards phenomena normally associated with modern and traditional societies: 1) a group of statements about family relations 2) was related to the sphere of economics 3) measured attitudes toward social equality 4) engaged with political matters and 5) was related to measuring level of openness (tolerance for other cultures, innovations, etc.). The culture modernization score of respondent was normalized by formula:

The score of respondent / 60 – 1

60 is number of statements of. Likert's scale.

After that, zero means minimum level of culture modernization (culture of pure traditional society) and five means maximum level of culture modernization (culture of pure modern society). Data were pulled from generation of students that was born in 1971-1975 in the first survey (1991-1992) and data were pulled from generation of students that was born in 1986-1990 in the last surveys (2005-2014).

An average normalized score of culture modernization level was applied for comparison the generations. The average normalized score of culture modernization level of the first survey equals 2.78 and the average normalized score of culture modernization level of the last survey equals 3.00. The difference of the culture modernization level scores between generations has statistical significance. Older generation were born in the early seventieth had lower level of culture modernization (we can call it "last Soviet generation"). Younger generation were born in the late eighties had higher level of culture modernization (we can call it "first Post-Soviet generation"). We use the Lexis diagram for visualization the cohort's differentiation of culture modernization level (see figure 1).

Fig. 1The cohort's differentiation of culture modernization level
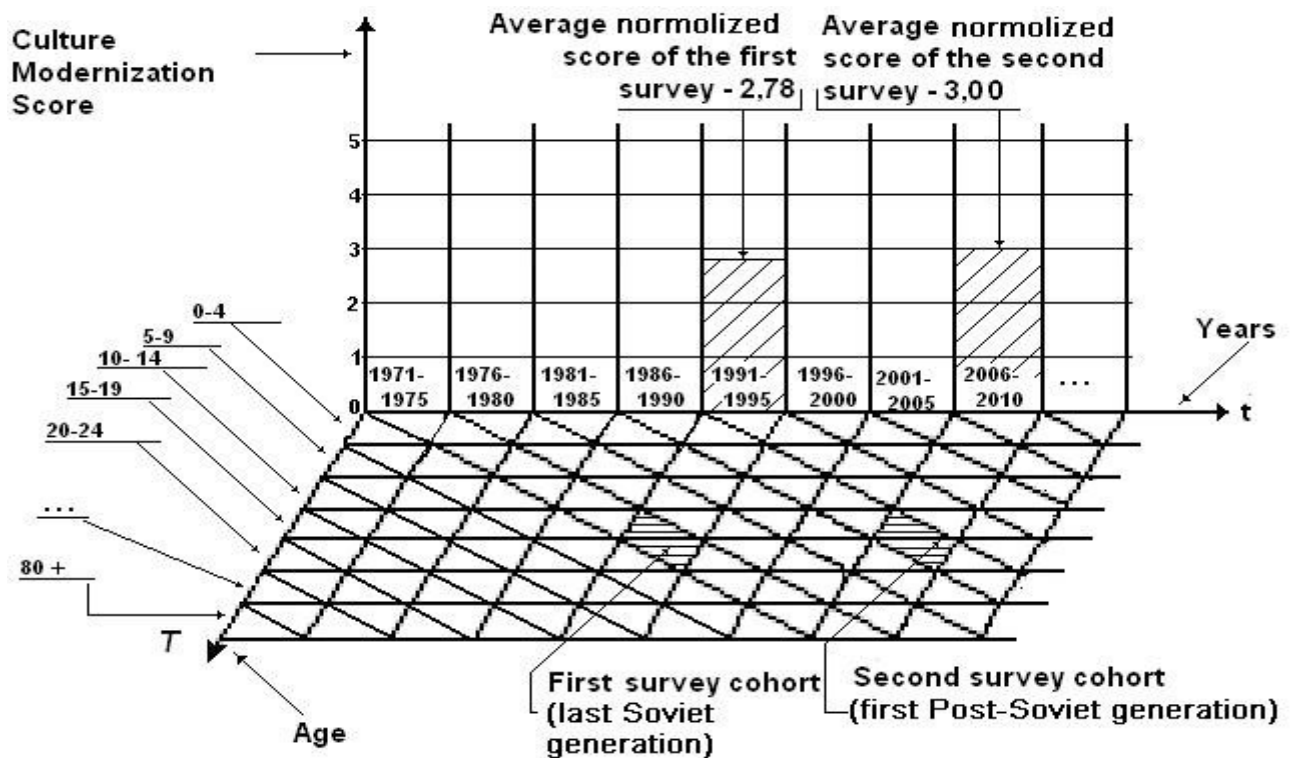
We can compare values of modernization between last Soviet generation and first Post-Soviet generation. The study also discovers the implications of these value changes.

Another survey was in 2004 in Perm and more than 500 employees were tested with short variant of our scale (the number of statements was 16). We compare two generations in this survey. Older generation was born before 1953. Younger generation was born after 1971. The average standardized score of the older generation culture modernization level equals 2.85. This indicator for younger generation equals 2.99. The difference of the indicator between generations has statistical significance. The result of these surveys show us the stunted growth of culture modernization score also.

Two polar groups emerge from the study results: the first and tenth decile groups (see fig. 2). The first decile group had minimal culture modernization score and tenth decile group had maximal culture modernization score in the sample.

Fig.2.

Culture modernization level of personality

First decile group

Tenth decile group

Culture modernization level of personality
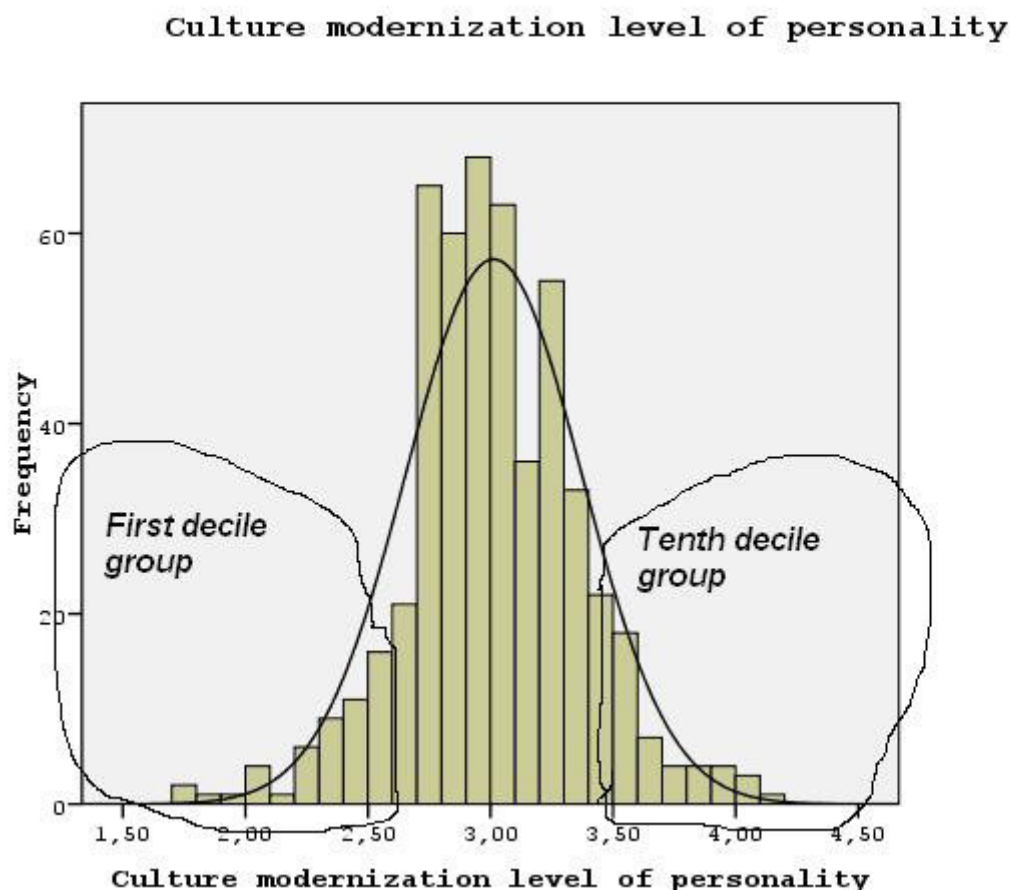
Moreover, we used R.Inglehart's Four-item index when we tried to check the main hypothesis of modernization of values and its implications. "This index is based on the respondent's first and second choices in the four-item Materialist/Postmaterialist values battery. If both Materialist items are given high priority, the score is "1"; if both Postmaterialist items are given high priority, the score is "3"; if one Materialist item and one Postmaterialist item are given high priority, the score is "2". If the respondent makes only one or no choices, the result is missing data" [Ingelhart, 1997, p. 389] (see fig. 3).

Fig.3

R.Ingelhart's Four-item index
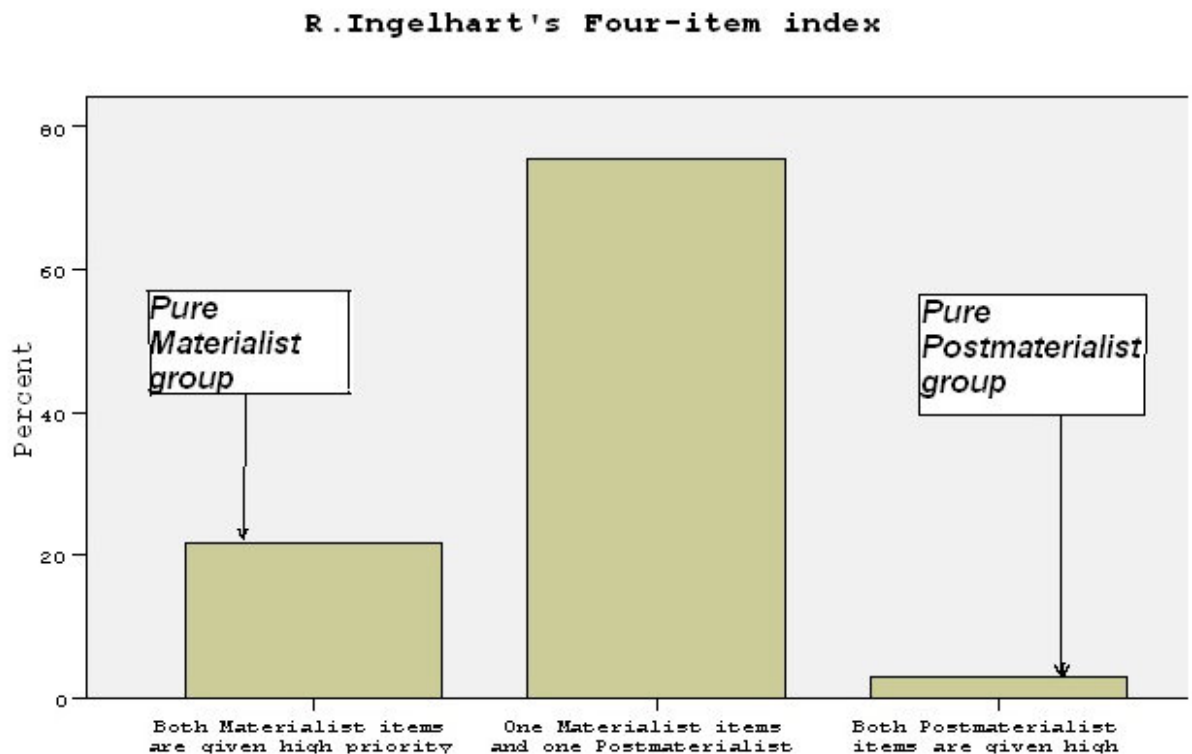
First and third Ingelhart's groups are polar one (only pure Materialist values or pure Postmaterialist values were chosen in these groups). An expansion of the postmaterialist values (as well as increasing of culture modernization level) is a result of Human progress.

Two independent techniques shows us an unequal level of values modernization.

The differences of the culture modernization score between first and tenth decile groups and the differences of R.Inglehart's Four-item index between pure Materialist and pure Postmaterialist groups were accompanied by the differences in real practices of respondents from those groups. For example, they have different sympathy for political parties. When we researched respondent's sympathy for political parties, we used a political subscale (one of the five subscales of the Culture modernization scale). The first and the tenth decile groups were chosen by the same method that was describe above.

We asked our respondents: "Which political party do you take a liking to?" We selected main parties, which had members of Russian parliament in that time. The differences of sympathy for political parties between respondents of the first and the tenth decile groups (as well as between respondents of pure Materialist and pure Postmaterialist values) we can indicate (see table 1, survey 2005).

Table 1: The compare of sympathy for political parties differences between respondents of the first and the tenth decile groups and first and third R.Ingelhart's groups (%)

	Polar groups of political subscale of culture modernization scale		Polar R.Ingelhart's groups	
	The first decile group	The tenth decile group	Pure Materialist group	Pure Postmaterialist group
The Union of right forces (Souz pravykh sil)…	5,6	35,7	9,9	38,7
Russian United Democratic Party "Yabloko"	7,4	12,5	8,6	12,9
The United Russia (Putin)	24,1	10,7	16,0	11,3
Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (Jirinovski)	14,8	10,7	19,8	8,1
Communist Party of Russian Federation	13,0	0,0	8,6	1,6

The data of table 1 show us the increase of culture modernization score (as well as transition to Postmaterialist values) correlate with more liberal sympathy of respondents. Two independent techniques that were used in our research show us correlation between cultural modernization level, modernization values of respondents and their political attitudes. Therefore, the research has shown us one of the implications of values modernization.

The culture modernization scale (see Fig.2) was used as a factor of real electoral practices in our work when we asked our respondents about their voting in 1991, at the first Russian President election (first research, survey 1991, see table 2) and in 2012 at the last Russian President election (survey 2012, see table 3).

Table 2: The differences of the voting at the first Russian President election (1991) between respondents of the first and the tenth decile groups (%)

	The first decile group	The tenth decile group
Abstention	14,3	16,7
Voted not for Eltsin	46,9	27,1
Voted for Eltsin	38,8	56,3
Total	100	100

The table № 2 shows us that people belong to polar political culture modernization groups voted in the different way. Boris Eltsin was a leading contender only in the tenth decile group.

Table 3:The differences of the voting at the last Russian President election (2012) betweenrespondents of the first and the tenth decile groups in two last surveys (%)

	Survey 2012		Survey 2014	
	The first decile group	The tenth decile group	The first decile group	The tenth decile group
Abstention	25,5	21,7	52.8	52.4
Voted for others candidate	25,5	13,0	20,3	11,1
Voted for V.Putin	25,5	15,2	20.8	9.5
Voted for M.Prohorov	23,4	50,0	5.7	27.0
Total	100	100	100	100

The table № 3 shows us that people belong to polar political culture modernization groups again (21 years after) voted in the different way. V.Putin was a leading contender only in the first decile group and in the tenth decile group, a leading contender was M.Prohorov (survey in 2012 and survey in 2014).

The data of survey 2014 was cross-tabulated by another way (see table 4). In this case, instead of polar decile groups only (20% of sample) we used four quartile groups (all 100% of sample) data. Nevertheless, the tendencies of both tables are the same.

Table 4: The differences of the voting at the last Russian President election (2012) between respondents of the all quartile groups in the survey 2014 (%)

	1 quartile group	2 - 3 quartile groups	4 quartile group
Abstention	58.1	65.0	56.1
Voted for others candidate	15,8	13,3	10,6
Voted for V.Putin	20.7	14.1	13.4
Voted for M.Prohorov	5.6	13.0	19.8
Total	100	100	100

Sociocultural modernization, modernization of values can be a factor of these differences of real electoral practices in the both cases. The increase of culture modernization score correlate with more liberal choice of respondents. The research has shown us another implication of values' modernization.

The third implication of culture modernization, modernization of values that the work has shown us is a different Perm Cultural Project estimation. This project cultivated contemporary art in Perm for city development. Perm Cultural Project has been existing since 2007 and embraced street art, concerts, exhibition, theatres, festivals, museums of contemporary art etc. People of Perm have different estimations of Perm Cultural Project. How differentiation of culture modernization level do influence on Perm Cultural Project estimations? The table 5 shows us the student's estimations of the Perm Cultural Project events.

Table 5: The differences of the estimations of the Perm Cultural Project events between respondents of the all quartile groups in the survey of 2014 (%)

	1 quartile group	2 - 3 quartile groups	4 quartile group
There are good changes in Perm cultural life	69,4	84.8	87.1
There are no changes or there are bad changes in Perm cultural life	30,6	15,2	12,9
Total	100	100	100

Sociocultural modernization, modernization of values can be a factor of these differences of the estimations of the Perm Cultural Project events among respondents of the all quartile groups. The increase of culture modernization score correlate with increasing of positive respondent's estimations of the Perm Cultural Project events.

In conclusion, we can establish a fact. Our work show an existence of some value modernization implications. There is a correlation between cultural modernization level, modernization of values and attitudes and practices of respondents in the different spheres of life. The cultural modernization level shows a slow rising tendency from generation to generation, so we can expect some changes of people's attitudes and practices in the future.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 2. Stratification in Transforming Russia

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What Does Russia's Word-of-the-Year Tell about?

Abstract

The Russian society is dissociated and aggressive. Russian people lack the civil agreement culture. They adhere to the principle "those who are not with us are against us". Due to this, they face a hazy future since their stagnated ideology clashes with the world modern trends.

Keywords: word of the year, agreement culture, social confrontation, politically passive majority, liberal-minded active minority, political struggle

Each epoch creates its own language and the language of each epoch reflects the state of the society. Thus, we think the society may be represented by the contest Word of the Year, which is the list of top lookups, prompted the most increased interest, especially those behind the front-page stories. In Russia the contest is conducted by a well-known scholar Mikhail Epshtein in analogy with the alike competitions of Merriam-Webster Inc., Oxford Dictionaries and so on.

Topping the Russian list of 2013 [Slovo…, 2013] is *pekhting* (the term referring to scandals that public officials have undeclared property and business overseas, after Deputy of the State Duma V. Pekhtin). Number two is *Bolotny process* (the trials for the alleged massive riot during peaceful protest on Bolotnaya Square in Moscow 6 May 2012 against the rigged elections). Then goes *DisserNet* (Internet bloggers who fight fake dissertations). Number four is occupied by *EuroMaidan* (protests for a political and constitutional reform in Ukrain) and number five belongs to *fekalonostsy* (*faeces bearers,* a news presenter's slip of the tongue instead of *fakelonostsy – [Olympic] flame bearers*). The other entries are: *raspiliada* (anagram: raspil *(slang) embezzlement of state funds* + olimpiada *olympiad*); *mizuling* (the term referring to lobbying anti-gay laws, after the author of Russia's anti-gay law E. Mizulina); *Oboronservice* (a Ministry of Defense organization notorious for scandals of corruption among high military officials), *Tolokonnikova's letters* (ex-Pussy Riot N. Tolokonnikova convicted for a two-year imprisonment wrote about Russian prisons).

Russia's Word of the Year for 2012[18] presented the following: *Bolotnaya* (short for Bolotnaya Square case of the alleged massive riot in Moscow 6 May 2012); *occupy* (mass movement against social and economic inequality), *riligarchy* (anagram: religion + oligarchy), *punk prayer* (*punk-performance by Pussy Riot at The Cathedral of Christ the Savior against*

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[18] Avaliable at http://www.svoboda.org/content/article/24811014.html (Data obrascheniya 28.12.2012) [(accessed: 28.12.2012)] (In Russian).

President V. Putin], **merry-go-round** (practice of hiring people to go around polls and to vote for certain candidates)*,* **blasphemers** *[about Pussy Riot],* **meeting***,* **crooked justice**.

We think that the above shortlists confirm what sociologists have been alerting for about twenty years: the Russian society is dissociated and aggressive. The contemporary Russian people have inherited Soviet traits, the most prominent of which is the lack of civil agreement culture with the principle "those who are not with us are against us" and they are quick on their feet to rush into fight. Deputy of The State Duma Irina Rodnina, notorious for the banana collage of Barack Obama, admits: "Here within we have our own war between groups, parties, society"[19]. It refers both to the political elite as well as to the commonest people. The strong antagonism lies between the politically passive majority who support state paternalism (the elite who benefit from redistributing national wealth, workers for state-owned enterprises, and retired old-aged people) – all receive information from state-owned mass media, on the one hand, and the active minority of liberal-minded people who are adherent to democratic values and want to live like in the West without corruption, where human dignity and supremacy of law are enjoyed, and who learn the news primarily from the Internet, on the other.

Russia has been advancing neither technologically nor sociologically at least on the national level. The passive majority is not capable of generating up-to-date progress. The active minority is not allowed to. In this dull confrontation Russians seem to senselessly waste their time and efforts. The social intolerance accumulates a destructive energy. A famous Russian movie director A. Sokurov addressed an open letter to President V. Putin where he wrote: "And again the efforts are spent not on creating but on the struggle – and again against the inner enemies. And the political struggle enters Orthodox Church..." He gets worried and desperate. "I see what is happening in my fatherland: overall irritation, exasperation, discrimination... This is our background, which is becoming the backbone, contents of our life" [Tumaki…, 2014].

Rebuilding the Soviet past by the contemporary national policy of intolerance and isolationism, Russian people face a hazy future since their stagnated ideology clashes with the modern trends of those forwarding nations whose winners of the verbal contests show different results. For instance, in 2013 Merriam-Webster placed **science** on the top, which is followed by **cognitive**, **rapport**, **communication**, **niche**, **paradox**, **visceral**, **integrity** [Word…, 2013]; in 2012 the shortlist was: **socialism/capitalism**, **touché**, **bigot**, **marriage**, **democracy**, **professionalism**, **globalization**, **malarkey**, **schadenfreude**, **meme** [6].

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Work values in a modern linguistic space

Abstract

The article deals with the analysis of work values in the English, German, Russian and Chechen linguistic space on the material of idioms, reveals the cognitive, semantic similarities and differences, national and cultural specificity.

Keywords: work values, social context, language situation

The linguistic space is some kind of information source. In the language units knowledge is fixed, the position of ideas, concepts of public consciousness and culture is reflected.

Values represent a universal concept, significant in different cultures. On the one hand they seem identical as there is a standard classification dividing them as a whole into material and spiritual. On the other hand certain values can vary in these or those countries, depending on their political and economic system.

Work values are directly connected with work relations, motivation. In the most general sense work values are defined by motivation to work, orientation on the final result. Historical and social factors also have the mediated impact on the specificity of work values.

The aim of this research was to study work values in the English, German, Russian and Chechen linguistic space on the material of idioms.

Research methods. The comparative, semantic, cognitive, corpus analysis of idioms, poll of the Chechen language speakers was carried out.

In the modern world functioning of languages is subject to various factors of influence, both extra linguistic, and linguistic. With transformation of a social status of different countries and regions changes the semantics of many expressions. There are also changes of purely linguistic character, connected with the internal organization of language expressions, their structure and semantic properties. The poll of the Chechen language speakers gave an idea of functioning of the idioms about work in the Chechen language.

Results of research show that work values take an important place in the system of values of different cultures. In the basis of work values are the material values focused on income, profit, spiritual and psychological - self-realization in work, pleasure from work, understanding and feeling of the meaning of life, spiritual growth through work, creativity, social and career - education, status in society. In the inner form of idioms the cultural values describing work traditions, customs, and historical events forming work cultures of different

countries were also reflected. So, in the English and German languages the value of official regulated work was accentuated, in German the value of an official duty was also specified. In the Russian contexts very similar social experience is fixed. According to the poll of the Chechen language speakers at the present stage important are the values of income and success that can be connected with a post-war situation of revival, construction of work culture.

In the inner form of some idioms the work customs developed in culture, traditions are revealed. For example, the English expression *a busman's holiday* (colloquial) – "festive or free day which has been carried out at usual work, the holiday similar to workdays" [drivers of buses had to teach beginners on holidays]. The expression etymology also goes back to the drivers who in the 19th century rode in the vehicles as passengers to be convinced that the replacement driver was treating their horses well. The interrelation of God and work is reflected in the inner form of a number of idioms *work all the hours God sends, um Gotteslohn arbeiten, dem lieben Gott den Tag stehlen, Бог в помощь* (lit. God for help), *Делан карахь бу болх* (lit. work in hands of God).

The end of official work is described as cancellation of action. In the English idioms an additional component of meaning is the stoppage of work for a strike. The following idioms reflect the value of own initiative, knowledge of the rights and ability to fight for them.

The English idiom *down tools* – "to stop work or to go on a strike". The frames to PUT TOOLS and to STOP WORK include the slot "to finish work".

She can't readily down tools during the resuscitation of a patient to be on time at a meeting in the school [Teaching…, 1986, Pp. 31-150].

Walk off the job (American) – "to stop working to go on a strike". The meaning of the idiom is expressed explicitly. It is used, so far as concerns employees of the enterprises, the companies, officially working people stopping work.

Nearly 30,000 East German steel, metal and electrical workers *walked off the job* in the region's first big strike since unification [*The Economist…*, 1993].

Call it a day (colloquial) – 1) to consider the working day finished, to consider work finished, 2) to be content with reached, not to aspire to the bigger; to finish on it; to put an end. The image assumes introduction of the characteristic of day as an interval of time for which the subject makes a number of actions and day is considered fulfilled. The additional meanings in contexts: 1) to achieve, win, gain success, 2) to retire, 3) to consider the working day ended. The contexts are from the sphere of economy, sports, medicine, etc.

But surgeons were forced *to call it a day* because they couldn't find the right tools for the job (*[Northern Echo]*. u.p., n.d., Social material).

The German idiom *etw. an den Nagel hängen* (lit. to hang up something on a nail) means "to put aside, to stop some work; to give up an occupation". The frame To HANG UP ON the NAIL and the frame to STOP WORK include the slot "to finish work". The meaning of the idiom in contexts is "to leave the occupation, profession, work (workplace), career, study, sports".

Letzten Sommer hat Fred Kurer nach 30 Jahren den Lehrerberuf *an den Nagel gehängt.* Jetzt schreibt er Texte und Lieder, übersetzt Bücher und betätigt sich als Herausgeber [St. Galler Tagblatt, 26.01.1999]. Last summer Fred Kurer after 30 years gave up the teaching profession. Now he writes texts and songs, translates books and works as the editor-in-chief.

The German idiom *[die] letzte Hand an etw. [an]legen* (lit. to put the last hand to something) – "to carry out the last, finishing works on something". When someone puts the finishing touch, the last time puts a hand to something, he finishes business.

Die grau-grüne Außenfassade wird grundgereinigt und bei Bedarf repariert. *Letzte Hand legen* die Fachleute beim Brandschutz an, sodass das Haus über die modernste Anlage in ganz Rheinland-Pfalz verfügen wird [Mannheimer Morgen, 11.02.2006]. The gray-green external facade will be carefully cleaned and if necessary repaired. Experts will *carry out the latest works* on fire-prevention protection so that the house had the most up-to-date equipment in all Reynland-Pfalts.

The Chechen idiom *гӀуллакх гена тата* (lit. business far to push away) means "to postpone business (not to finish)". The frame To PUSH AWAY, MOVE AWAY FROM YOURSELF highlights the idea "not to finish something".

ГӀуллакх гена тата, кийча бара тхан белхалой Our workers were ready *to postpone work*. 42,7% often heard, 22,4% - often use

Retirement from an official job

Be off smb's (or the) payroll (lit. not to be in the pay-sheet) – "to be dismissed, to remain without work". Frames NOT to be IN the SHEET and to be DISMISSED are connected by idea "not to be registered, not to be recorded".

Analysts also worry that only 4,000 people were taken *off the payroll* in the quarter, bringing the total at the company down to 98,100 — they had been expecting that more would leave the company (Computergram international. u.p. n.d.).

The German *den / seinen Stuhl vor die Tür stellen / setzen* (lit. to put a chair before a door) – "to declare going away from work, to leave". The chair is associated with the position, an occupied post, to put away the chair – to resign, leave. The contexts are from the scope of

sports, policy, economy, and dismissal is described not only as an independent step, the decision, but also as an action from the employer, in this case *jmdm. den Stuhl vor die Tür setzen* – "to dismiss someone".

Das Möbelhaus hat den 50 Beschäftigten *den Stuhl vor die Tür gestellt* [Frankfurter Rundschau, 12.01.1999]. The furniture store *dismissed* 50 workers.

The Russian expressions *гнать поганой метлой (кого-л.); гнать палкой (кого-л.)* mean 'dismiss'. Turning out with a broom expresses discontent. The inner form motivates the meaning, both as a broom sweeps something out, so the person is fired. Variations of a verbal component *разметать / выметать/ выгонять поганой метлой (lit. sweep/sweep out/turn out with bad broom). [Boris Nemtcov...,1999]*

Директора и собственника надо *гнать поганой метлой*, если они не платят зарплату и налоги The director and the owner should be *driven* if they don't pay a salary and taxes.

To work much, hard, with enthusiasm

The English idiom *break stones* – "to perform hard work, to earn a living by hard work" describes the heavy process demanding much physical strength, patience. In the German idiom *Berge versetzen (или bewegen)* (lit. to move mountains (to shift) – "to move mountains (to perform a big and hard work)" and the Russian *свернуть / своротить горы* allegorically the situation of performance of a big, hard work" is transferred.

The German idiom in contexts is met in the meaning "overcome difficulties, perform a hard work": the belief, desire, will, inspiration overcome everything.

Dass die Finanzierung durch die Trägerschaft auf drei Jahre zugesichert ist, zeigt, dass auch eine Wirtschaftsförderungsstelle nicht über Nacht *Berge versetzen* kann. Mit ersten Teilresultaten darf aber sicherlich in einem Jahr gerechnet werden, und nach den drei Probejahren müssen dann konkrete Ergebnisse vorliegen [St. Galler Tagblatt, 24.03.1999]. That financing through sponsorship is guaranteed for three years, shows, that even establishment on assistance to economic policy in a night can't *pull up the tree*. The first partial results can be taken into consideration nevertheless, most likely, in a year, and after a three-year trial period concrete results have to be presented.

The Russian idiom means "reach something, make something grandiose".

Найдись специалист, способный соединить в себе и российскую, и американскую национальную особенность политического консультирования — он поистине мог бы *свернуть горы* [Особенности американского национального характера (2003) //

«Рекламный мир», 2003.03.31]. Be the expert, capable to unite both Russian, and the American national feature of political consultation ― he really could *pull up trees*.

To earn

The image component of the English idiom *pile up the rocks* (American sl.) describes a situation of achievement of the purpose, fortune. In the German idiom *einen hübschen Taler verdienen* (colloquial) (lit. to earn a beautiful thaler) *the beautiful thaler* is comprehended as a thaler for a large sum of money, to earn a beautiful thaler – "to earn much". In the Russian idiom *зашибать деньгу* (lit. make a lot of money) the meaning "to earn much" is concluded in connotation of the verb *зашибать* – to do something by big steps, rates. The meaning of the Chechen idiom *ахча даккха* (lit. to earn money) is "to get money". In English it is said about addition, in German about earning, the adjective *beautiful* expresses the meaning "to earn much". In Russian the increase in a large number is emphasized, in Chechen – search and getting.

In the analyzed contexts the Chechen idiom *ахча даккха* has the meanings: 1) hard to earn, 2) to work, to earn (at work), 3) to earn your bread.

Ахча даккха атта дац, хьанал даккха гуттаре а. It is not easy to *earn money*, and honest, always.

Ахча даккха болх бан беза, и бан хьекъал хила деза. *To earn money* it is necessary to work and to work, mind is necessary.

In many contexts complication of earning if there is no education is emphasized. One of the most often used idioms in the poll (88,6% heard and 65,3% use) that is connected with relevance in modern society.

In the German idiom *ein hartes / schweres Brot sein* (lit. stale/heavy bread) in the inner form the actual meaning "hard-earned bread" is reflected. In the Russian expression *горький хлеб* (lit. bitter bread) the situation "hard earned" is metaphorically described, it is difficult to eat bitter bread, from here the rethought meaning. In the Chechen idiom in the basis of the image *хьацарна п1елг а хьокхуш – хала (къахьоьгуш) даккха* (lit. wipe off the sweat – to get working hard) the component sweat as a symbol of physical work is projected on knowledge "to earn by efforts, physical work". 43% - often heard, 24,3% - often use.

In the analyzed contexts the German idiom *ein hartes Brot* means "hard earned bread, in different professions, kinds of activity". For example, teacher, fisher, trainer. Work in agriculture, sports, in the ministry, business, policy, etc. *Ein schweres Brot* – "hard work".

Es *ist ein hartes Brot,* Auszubildende in einer Zeitungsredaktion zu sein. Am besten, man verblüfft die erfahrenen Kollegen jeden Morgen mit einer eigenen Idee (Hannoversche

Allgemeine, 19.08.2008). To be the pupil in a newspaper editorial office is *not an easy work*. In the best case every morning you puzzle skilled colleagues with an idea.

Befragungen sind ein *schweres Brot*. Mancher sagt seinen Namen nicht so gern, wenn er seine Meinung öffentlich kundtut (Braunschweiger Zeitung, 10.02.2007). Poll is not an easy work. Many tell their names unwillingly when publicly express the opinion.

The Chechen idiom *хьацарна п1елг а хьокхуш къахьега, болх бан* has the meanings: 1) hard to earn, 2) to work hard. In the majority of contexts it concerns money.

Хьацарна п1елг а хьокхуш, даьккхина ахча дохка хала хуьлу. It is difficult to spend hardly earned money

Вай наной *хьацарна п1елг хьокхуш* вай кхаба г1ерташ ду. Our mothers try to support us working hard.

Conclusion. Thus, studying the contexts of idioms is necessary for detection of peculiarities of their semantics, influence of social factors and the condition of a language situation in society.

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Part 3.

Social Reality and Social Research

Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 3. Social Reality and Social Research

Aksenova, Elena S. Moscow

Concept of a Healthy Lifestyle in Junior Age Groups of Children

Abstract

The goal of thesociographic method is to bring to light differences and similarities between groups with the help of visual image, to get visual image of the problem being studied. In our research, the drawings are seen as answers to open questions, 'How do you understand healthy lifestyle? What does healthy lifestyle mean to you?'

Keywords: healthy lifestyle, children, sociographic method, method of unfinished sentences

In 2013, a thesis research was conducted which was devoted to the study of a healthy lifestyle in junior age groups of children. In this article, general conclusions are discussed which were made during the research.

A characteristic aspect of study of junior age group is the choice of method. Using 'mild' methods facilitates getting high-quality and more copious information. For our research, two methods were chosen: the sociographic method and the method of unfinished sentences.

The goal of thesociographic method is to bring to light differences and similarities between groups with the help of visual image, to get visual image of the problem being studied. In our research, the drawings are seen as answers to open questions, 'How do you understand healthy lifestyle? What does healthy lifestyle mean to you?' The questions are a sort of stimulating message. For more precise understanding of the drawings, the children were asked to 'decipher' their drawings by describing their main ideas.

Pupils of the 4th year of a secondary school and a gymnasium took part in the research. In total, 110 children were interviewed. Among them, 50 were from a gymnasium (22 girls, 28 boys) and 60 were from a secondary school (27 girls and 33 boys).

We developed a system of indicators for drawing analysis. 7 indicators were accentuated:

1) healthy eating

2) being in fresh air

3) healthy and unhealthy lifestyle

4) sport:

- sport games;

- individual training sessions;

- training sessions in fresh air;

5) constituents of a healthy lifestyle

6) hygiene

7) unconventional image of a healthy lifestyle

During the drawing analysis, it was discovered that healthy lifestyle for pupils of a secondary school is associated with sports and healthy eating. Gender ratio is as follows: the majority of boys' works is related to the 'sports' category – 19 drawings. Two significant categories can be distinguished in girls' works: 'sports' – 12 drawings, and 'healthy eating' – 6 drawings.

We are going to take a closer look at the pupils' works according to the above mentioned categories.

9 drawings fell within the 'healthy eating' category. Among them, 6 drawings are made by girls and 3 of them by boys. In the drawings, the children depicted fruit and vegetables arranged in a composition or just distributed on the sheets of paper. Basically, these are such fruit as bananas, apples, grapes, oranges, pears, lemons, pineapples and watermelons. Among the vegetables, there were: tomatoes, cucumbers, carrots. Also, there is greenery, salad, and celery in the drawings. In only one drawing, a girl depicted porridge as a constituent of healthy eating. In another drawing, vitamins C, A and E were drawn next to an apple and a carrot, which we can interpret as receiving vitamins from vegetables and fruit. On the basis of these drawings we can conclude that, by the end of primary school the children have formed the image of healthy eating as consisting mainly of fruit and vegetables. This image is misrepresented and doesn't reflect actual healthy eating for a child.

The majority of works – 31 – are related to the 'sport' category. All drawings are diverse, that's why we have distinguished additional indicators within this category:

- sport activities;
- individual training sessions, set exercises;
- doing physical exercises in fresh air.

Among the boys, there were much more drawings on the topic of sports (19), than among the girls (12).

11 drawings fall within the first group of additional indicators. Football is the most popular sport activity with boys (6 out of 7 drawings). In the drawings, there are all the necessary attributes of the game: a ball, goals, players. Also, such sport games are drawn as tennis (2 drawings), volleyball (1 drawing), basketball (1 drawing), 1 drawing shows all the games together. These games were generally depicted by girls (4 out of 5).

The next subcategory 'individual training sessions, set exercises' includes 11 works. Among them, 6 works are made by boys and 5 – by girls. The drawings are divided into trainings in the gym with stall bars, rings, dumbbells, barbells, a rope, and a gym beam. Boys' and girls' drawings in this case differ only by the image of an exerciser: in the boys' drawings this is a boy, in the girls' drawings this is a girl. In other works, doing indoor gymnastics and daily physical exercises, doing set exercises: lifting legs, upper-body, squats, push-ups, dumbbell lifting.

5 works (2 of the boys, 3 of the girls) a related to the 'doing physical exercises in fresh air' subcategory. The plot of the drawings is that a person does sport in fresh air. This can be a run in the forest in a team or individually, warming up near a pool or a lake in the forest, doing gymnastics in the forest with a hoola hoop, a gymnastic band, and a dumbbell.

The image of a healthy lifestyle among the gymnasium pupils is divided into 3 categories: 'healthy and unhealthy lifestyle' – 16 drawings, 'sport' – 14 drawings, and 'constituents of a healthy lifestyle' – 12 drawings. In these categories, the majority of works is represented. The works of the boys prevail in the categories 'healthy and unhealthy lifestyle' and 'sport', particularly in the latter one (11 vs. 3).

We will start a more detailed study of the presented categories with the '*healthy and unhealthy lifestyle*' category. Among all of the works, 9 belong to the boys and 7 – to the girls. In this category, two tendencies can be distinguished in the drawings. For their systematization, we are introducing additional indicators:

- say no to bad habits

- appropriate and inappropriate things in a healthy lifestyle.

6 drawings relate to the first subgroup of additional indicators, equally represented among boys and girls. The images show bad habits crossed by a red line. By these, prohibition to smoke, consume fast-food from McDonald's, beer are meant, also one cannot listen to music in headphones for a long period of time, and one boy mentions prohibition to murder a person. Among the works, we can especially mention a drawing which shows prohibition for a person to throw garbage on the ground and to break trees; we tend to relate this to the features of ecological behavior. We cannot see drawings on such topics among the ones of the secondary school pupils.

The drawings relating to the additional indicator 'appropriate and inappropriate things in a healthy lifestyle' are based on providing a contrastive image of a healthy lifestyle through comparison of features of a healthy and an unhealthy lifestyle. 6 works are made by boys and 4 – by girls. One of the drawings is represented in form of a poster. In the center, there is a yellow

circle with the 'Healthy Lifestyle' title, from where yellow and red beams radiate. Yellow beams lead to icons depicting what is permitted and useful within leading a healthy lifestyle: consuming vegetables and fruit, doing physical exercises, and the red ones – to what is unwelcome: smoking, drinking alcohol and eating crisps. A boy's drawing is especially interesting where he depicted his own image of people leading and not leading a healthy lifestyle; he signed them as 'good' and 'bad'. The first person is a gentleman in a suit with a hat on his head and a barbell near his feet. The leading an unhealthy lifestyle man has tattoos, a cigarette in his mouth, appears in a dirty shirt and trousers. Around him, there are bottles, hamburgers and a pistol and a submachine gun. Between them, there is a sign which prohibits smoking.

To the same group relates a work, in the center of which stands a girl thinking that one cannot smoke, drink alcoholic drinks, one should do sports, walk, care for one's health, and external beauty which involves using make up, a blow dryer, a curling iron. One more drawing from this subcategory drew our attention. A girl depicted two lifestyles. In her opinion, the idea of a healthy lifestyle is that one should smile, eat porridge with fruit and go swimming. Such lifestyle she considers to be her own. The second half of the sheet shows French fries and a hamburger from McDonald's, and also a girl waving from the window. These images characterize unhealthy lifestyle which has the idea that, as the author of the drawing explains, 'one shouldn't eat junk food, stay in and play electronic games'.

This topic is the leading one among the pupils of the gymnasium, whereby we can conclude that the children imagine precisely enough what should be done and what shouldn't within a healthy lifestyle.

14 drawings relate to the 'sports' subcategory. The absolute majority belongs to the boys (11 out of 14). The analysis is carried out, as with the works of the pupils of the secondary school, according to additional indicators:

- sport games;
- individual trainings, set exercises;
- doing physical exercises in fresh air.

Sport games are poorly represented by the pupils of the gymnasium in comparison with their peers from the school: only 2 drawings – football and hockey. In the drawings, the ball park/ the ice is marked, two players from each side and gates are drawn. Hockey players are pictured more distinctly, there are all the necessary attributes of the outfit: helmets, clubs, skates.

The majority of works depicts individual training sessions. Among the girls (3 works), these are: ballet, rhythmic-sportive gymnastics, tennis and skipping a rope. The drawings are distinct;

the female gymnasts have accented pointed toes, brilliant flexibility, and gymnastic ropes in hands.

In the works of the boys (7 drawings), a runner and a swimmer are drawn, and also a scooter, a bicycle and rollerblades, meaning amusing walks in fresh air, i.e. recreational and amusing element of a healthy lifestyle. Besides, we can see musclemen with well-developed muscles lifting barbells. One of them is in a gym (there is a treadmill and weight benches in the drawings).

To the group of indicators 'doing physical exercises in fresh air' are related 2 works made by boys. There is a run around a park and cycling.

In the studied subcategory, drawings of individual training prevail.

We related 12 drawings to the *'constituents of a healthy lifestyle'* subcategory. The peculiarity of this subcategory is that the works, fallen within it, show many constituents of a healthy lifestyle in one drawing, compositionally or chaotically. Works of boys (5 drawings) and of girls (7 drawings) differ significantly according to the style and the content. The boys drew their daily routine, their healthy lifestyle which involves drinking juice instead of milk, hamburgers instead of fruit, and also attending a sports school instead of a gym. The following two drawings especially differ. In one of them, there is a muscleman in sunglasses and with a tape recorder in his hands. There is an emblem of Superman on his T-shirt. He is surrounded by a snooker table, a tennis table, a TV and a barbell. There is a skipping rope hanging on the hook. There are also signs prohibiting drinking and smoking. Despite of this, the drawing doesn't make an impression of a healthy lifestyle. The author named his drawing as 'A healthy and rich lifestyle'. These works show that some pupils of the gymnasium, being aware of negative effects of smoking and drinking, don't really know what a healthy lifestyle means.

The works of the girls in the 'constituents of a healthy lifestyle' subcategory differ. They are more colorful and comply with conventional understanding of a healthy lifestyle. Mainly, there are elements of a healthy eating in the form of fruit and vegetables, kefir and porridge, there are also physical activities (swimming, running, football) and morning exercise. Two drawings show up among them. In one of them, we can see a girl, 'surrounded' by thoughts in the forms of icons about how useful it is to lead a healthy lifestyle. Such a lifestyle for her consists of a healthy eating, milk, pleasant communication with people, maintenance of personal hygiene and good housekeeping, physical training – running, good looks and well-cared-for hair. The second drawing mentioned by us is divided into 4 parts, in each of them there is an element of a healthy

lifestyle depicted. This is a girl playing with a dog, reading a book on the sofa, swimming and caring for her eyesight.

Thus, first, differences between images of leading a healthy lifestyle were brought to light among pupils of a secondary school and a gymnasium. These are quantitative predominance of various categories. Therefore, the majority of secondary school pupils' works (40 out of 60) are devoted to sports and healthy eating, while the main part of gymnasium pupils' works is related to the categories 'healthy and unhealthy lifestyle', 'sport' and 'constituents of a healthy lifestyle'.

Second, according to the gathered information, we can conclude that, by a healthy eating, children of both institutions understand consuming fruit and vegetables, with the first prevailing, which tells about partially misrepresented image of a healthy eating which doesn't include hotplates, cultured milk foods, etc.

Further, we will turn to the information gathered by using verbal projective technique – **the***method of unfinished sentences*. The goal of the survey is to construct an image of a person leading a healthy lifestyle.

Children were offered to finish 7 sentences. They are divided into four conceptual blocks. Sentences of the main block refer to the study of the image structure of a person leading a healthy lifestyle. These 4 sentences are: 'From other people, a person leading a healthy lifestyle differs by…', 'The most important thing for a person leading a healthy lifestyle is…', 'A person leading a healthy lifestyle always…', and 'A person leading a healthy lifestyle never…' The next block reveals emotional attitude to the image. It consists of one sentence, 'Among people leading a healthy lifestyle I feel…' The gist of the image opposite to the one being studied can be understood with the third block, which is 'The opposite of a person leading a healthy lifestyle is…' The essence of the last block is to define the shaped general image of a healthy lifestyle, expressed in the sentence 'For me, a healthy lifestyle is…'

According to the conceptual blocks, there was a merger of elementary explanations of a similar import into groups – elements. The elements sharing common concept are grouped into components – generalizations on a higher level of abstraction.

In this article, we are going to discuss the construct of a person leading a healthy lifestyle and the one of a person not leading a healthy lifestyle.

The construct 'a person leading a healthy lifestyle' includes components: 'Personality Traits', 'Physical Condition', 'Activities Aimed At Health Improvement' and 2 free elements 'Expressive Symbols' and "Intellectual Activity'.

'Personality Traits' integrate such elements as 'Qualities', 'Emotional Condition', 'Traits of Character' and 'Behavioral Peculiarities'.

Among the features of a protagonist of a healthy lifestyle are those such as 'kind', 'hedonistic', 'hard-working', 'polite', 'kind-hearted and without seeking to profit', 'not explosive', etc. Emotional condition of such person is optimistic, lifted. They are 'cheerful', 'merry, generous', 'friendly', 'delighted'. This is an active, sprightly, smiley personality full of positive energy and dancing in the rain. According to the respondents, 'this person is able to make themselves and other creatures around joyful', 'he or she seems to send forth light'. The character of a person leading a healthy lifestyle is notable for will-power, high productivity, perseverance, patience. They always 'fulfill their duties', 'don't give up', don't hang down their head, 'when in trouble, they will feel sad for a while and continue living their life', 'will help people in trouble', 'will never be satisfied with what has already been achieved'. The behavioral peculiarities are that a person leading a healthy lifestyle 'isn't naughty and doesn't scold', 'doesn't hurt people around them', 'does good things', 'will not avoid communication with other people', 'will not hit for nothing and will not offend', 'is never at other people', 'will never let themselves do whatever they can be punished for or to hurt others', 'will not maim a human or an animal', 'don't harm themselves or others', and will never give up sport.

Personality traits of a person leading a healthy lifestyle are notable for rectitude, optimism, communicativeness, determination and responsibility.

Physical condition of a person leading a healthy lifestyle is considered through their physical characteristics (the 'Physical characteristics' element) and well-being seen through health condition (the 'Well-being' element). By physical characteristics, we understand strength, stamina, speed and artfulness - these very features were related to this element.

The main idea of a healthy lifestyle is health care and improvement, that is why into the 'Well-being' element were included features concerning health, immune system, functioning of visceral organs. This way, children described health condition of a person leading a healthy lifestyle. They are 'healthy', 'get ill more seldom', or 'are never ill', 'don't get traumas', 'with strong immune system'. They have 'good health and well-being'. They are 'psychologically healthy as well'. 'Such a person always has a lot of energy'. A person caring for their health

'doesn't have problems with lungs and heart', 'doesn't have serious illnesses'. As a result of the efforts, the respondents noted that 'they are likely to live longer'.

To keep and maintain good health, it is necessary to take particular daily measures which are reflected in the component 'Activities Aimed At Health Improvement'. It includes 'Physical Activity/ Sport', 'Hygiene', 'Being In Fresh Air', 'Bad Habits' and 'Daily Routine Features'.

Physical activity/ sport is an essential part of a healthy lifestyle. According to the gathered information, we can shape a person going in for sports in the following way. This person 'keeps figure', 'loves sport', that is why 'will never neglect physical exercise'. They 'do morning exercise' as it 'helps to improve muscles'. They 'like morning runs', 'always run, go to the gym and swim a lot', lift weights, 'are strong in sport games'. They aim to do various kinds of sports, not to spend time in front of a computer. Being physically loaded helps to keep good health.

The next not less important part of a healthy lifestyle is hygiene. In daily life, it represents rules and norms of behavior of a person in everyday life and at an educational institution. It touches all spheres of a person's life, however, in our research, we touch only issues of personal hygiene. It is necessary for a person leading a healthy lifestyle to maintain body hygiene: 'brush teeth', wash face, 'wash body', 'always wash hands', 'care for themselves', 'look after themselves' and 'fortify themselves against colds', 'take a cold shower' or pour cold water on themselves. Clothes hygiene shows as 'wearing new clothes', as it was noted by a respondent.

A significant condition of a healthy lifestyle is healthy eating, defined as 'sensible, well-balanced nutrition, providing nutrient materials and biologically active substances in accordance with physiological demands, maintaining functional state of body at a high level' [Hygienic evaluation of dietary structure of pupils (educates): methodological recommendations: approved 02/25/2008, 2008, p. 12]. According to this, a person taking care for his health 'eats more fruit and vegetables than sweets', 'will not eat much sweet food', tries to 'eat in small portions to let their stomach process everything', 'eat less fatty meat'. They 'don't drink sweet water', 'don't drink Fanta, Pepsi, Coca-Cola', 'don't eat chemical stuff', 'don't eat at McDonald's, KFC and other fast food restaurants', 'never goes to McDonald's, never eats blindly', 'eats only healthy food'. Such person 'shouldn't eat a lot not to become fat', only 'healthy eating helps to keep fit'.

Being in fresh air positively affects health: lungs fill with air, blood circulation improves, muscles train. According to the pupils who took part in the survey, a person leading a healthy lifestyle 'will not stay in as their opposites do', but will 'walk a lot' and 'breathe in fresh air'.

The basis of daily routine is keeping up with the order of and switching between particular types of activity: labor, rest, sleep, and having meals. Performing them increases working

capacity, protects body from exhaustion, improves health. According to the received data, a person leading a healthy lifestyle will 'keep up with the daily routine', 'should control themselves', 'shouldn't go to bed late', 'shouldn't sit in front of a computer for a long time', 'should keep up with sleep schedule', 'shouldn't sleep little, watch TV all day long, or play other technical devices'. Such person considers to be right 'to get up early, not to stay in but, for example, go for a run'. They 'match discipline'. Thus, 'this person gets up early, eats well, does various kinds of sport in the mornings, afternoons and evenings'.

To the activities aimed at health improvement also relates absence of bad habits. Thus, a person taking care for their health, 'minds his/ her habits'. Such person 'gives all bad habits up', 'doesn't drink alcohol, doesn't smoke', 'mustn't take drugs'.

We discussed types of activities performed by people caring for their health. However, this activity leaves its mark on the person's appearance. Appearance can be characterized as follows. The person 'is more sportive', 'fit and beautiful'; 'footstep and correct posture' can be noted, 'looks healthier and stronger', 'is slim', 'cannot be full'. This person is 'often taller, fitter, without a pale face and dark circles under eyes', 'with red lips, light face, healthy skin'. 'This person always smiles', 'is very neat', 'tidy', 'clean'.

Intellectual activity is considered as a single constituent. A person leading a healthy lifestyle should look after his/ her intellectual development as well. Children, in their responds, noted that such person should 'know a lot', have 'a well-developed brain', have knowledge. Such person is smarter. 'Such person always works a lot', 'is never late for work, school, that's why he/ she does well'.

Therefore, the shaped image of a person leading a healthy lifestyle represents a harmoniously developed personality with pleasant, attractive appearance, looking after his/ her health and intellectual development.

The third block was aimed at revelation of an antipode of a person leading a healthy lifestyle. Let's study the structure of such person in detail. It consists of the components 'Personality Traits', 'Physical Condition', 'Daily Routine Features' and 2 free elements 'Lifestyle' and 'Expressive Symbols'.

'Personality Traits' include 'Characteristics' and 'Behavioral Peculiarities'. A person not leading a healthy lifestyle is 'greedy', 'envious', 'apathetic', 'evil', 'rude', 'lazy' and 'scatterbrained'. Such person behaves inappropriately towards other people. 'They always scold'. This person is 'an evil bully who does nothing but fight'. 'A person who doesn't have

obligations'. 'This is a lazy person who likes everyone to do or buy everything for him/ her and he/ she does nothing in return'.

Physical condition was studied by us through the elements 'Physical Characteristics' and 'Well-being'. A person who doesn't take care for his/ her health was allotted weak physical characteristics. Such person is 'weak', 'sickly', 'drowsy'. They have (the 'Well-being' element) 'poor health', they 'are always sick', 'don't get enough sleep'. Such person has 'poor immune system', 'often feels tired, weak, and drowsy'.

We included elements 'Physical Activity/ Sport', 'Nutrition', 'Hygiene', 'Bad Habits' into the component 'Daily Routine Features'.

In everyday life of a person not leading a healthy lifestyle, we cannot find anything positive. According to the received data, the following routine can be shaped. There is no physical activity or sport. 'This person doesn't do morning exercise', 'doesn't do sports', 'refuses physical exercise', 'doesn't go to the gym', but 'stays in and watches TV all the time'.

This person 'doesn't eat healthy food', 'eats a lot', 'eats junk food', 'eats sweets', arranges 'going out to fast food restaurants' where 'eats hamburgers'.

He/ she doesn't keep up with the rules of personal hygiene ('doesn't look after himself/ herself') and of home hygiene ('their apartment is dirty').

Besides, a person not leading a healthy lifestyle 'drinks and smokes' and also takes drugs ('people taking drugs').

In general, as the children noted, a person not leading a healthy lifestyle 'is a person who doesn't keep up with a healthy lifestyle', leads 'an unhealthy lifestyle', 'sleeps little' and 'wants more junk things'. These answers were included in the free element 'Lifestyle'.

As it was mentioned before, lifestyle has expressive symbols. Appearance of a person not leading a healthy lifestyle was described by the pupils as 'ugly', 'not sportive', 'drowsy', 'full', 'sickly', 'untidy'. Such kind of person 'can be unpleasant for others'.

Having analyzed the received data, we can note that a person leading a healthy lifestyle represents an ideal image of a person positive in all sides, while the image of a person not leading a healthy lifestyle is full of negative features of an unpleasant, unattractive person. In this case, healthy lifestyle is a criterion of respectability, openness, activity. Healthy lifestyle of a shaped ideal image of a person leading a healthy lifestyle is formed according to the first course proposed by Lisitsyn Y. P. which is creating, developing, improving, and activation of healthy conditions, factors, circumstances, aimed at shaping of health potential but not overcoming risk factors.

The formulated images are ideal constructs which cannot be found in their pure form in the children's minds. In fact, this image is characterized by the degree of intensity of this or that element, which is defined by subjective importance of the element of the image for a particular child, under exposure of life circumstances, success of socialization, internalized world of significant others.

Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 3. Social Reality and Social Research

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Russian Students Opinion about the Value of Life: an Attempt to Measure

Abstract

The paper describes a survey of Russian undergraduate students conducted in order to study the attitude of students towards "the value of life." A smaller group of older respondents participated in the survey for comparison. An attempt was made to develop a logically complete set of scales to measure the value of life. The survey determines the dependence of the frequency of accidents admitted by the respondents on the number of accident victims. The paper also describes the reaction of respondents of different ages to shocking questions.

Keywords: value of life, survey, undergraduate students, riskology, model situation, reaction of respondents

"The value of life" is a fundamental and frequently discussed cultural concept. However, attempts to evaluate it and to express in numbers are rare. Such attempts are often made in the insurance industry [Viscusi, 2003, p.5], [The value…, 2013, p.1], where the situation itself is a confrontation of "life" and a sum of money. The "value of life" concept is paradoxical – on the one hand, it is often stated that human life is invaluable, on the other hand, in many societies human life has actually a very low value. However in real situations, a person making a decision often compares life with time or labor expenditures, which can finally be expressed in terms of money.

The evaluation of human life has both theoretical and practical meanings.

It has practical meaning for:

- Economists: for substantiation of one or another political or business decisions requiring expenses or promising profits that have to be compared with potential benefits or possible losses in the form of lives;

- Engineers, state officials and investors: for substantiation of various engineering solutions that require costs or promise incomes, which should be compared to the potential benefits or possible losses in the form of lives;

- Physicians, as we actually measure the profits of using a paid medicine or paid services for risk reduction; in modern medicine these problems are legitimate, as indicated by the use of the terms "pharmacoeconomics" and "health related quality of life";

- Psychodiagnosis: for example, to determine professional aptitude – a soldier and a policeman must evaluate the value of life differently;

- Municipal services: legally established amounts of payments to victims of traffic accidents greatly influence the organizations' concern with traffic safety, and thus, the saving of lives;

- Insurers: for accounting for people psychology in the insurance compensation assignment.

The definition of the value of life has theoretical meaning in psychology and sociology. Both assessments themselves and the ratio of assessments for men and women, children and adults, "friends" and "strangers" are parameters associated with history and culture. It can be assumed that the correlation of assessments should change with the development of civilization – with the progress of society assessments don't grow at the same time, but the initial ratio has to be restored after the period of their increasing. Furthermore, the degree of the value of life is important in forecasting the clash of civilizations – with other conditions being equal the society where life is valued lower will be in advantageous position. Both historical experience and modern age give strong evidence of that.

The importance for psychology also arises from the language: characteristic "for N the human life has no value" is quite significant and important in many cases. For example, it would be interesting to know how it relates to all the other characteristics of a person. In particular, it is known that this characteristic is under selective psychological influence, especially in childhood and early adolescence. This was also demonstrated by historical experience and modern life.

Our attempt to estimate the value of life was performed with the help of undergraduate students majoring in high technology. The choice of object was based on the assumption that these respondents will have a minimum rate of refusals to answer. This assumption was justified – an attempt to extend the research to people aged 40-50 years old showed that the proportion of refusal to answer certain questions had increased greatly. As a result, there were about 220 people (students of the 3rd and 5th years) who participated in the survey; for comparison about 30 people of the age of 40-50 years old participated as well. It should be noted that the proportion of non-responses and their dependence on age are themselves important characteristics of society: in this case, they show the degree of stereotyped and mythologized thinking.

Historically two groups of methods to determine the value of human life were used: [Viscusi, 2003, p.5].

The first group of methods is to find out directly what human opinions are:

- Survey on fair insurance compensations,

- Survey on fair charges for salvation,

- Survey on fair charges for risk reduction (means of protection, safer equipment, healthy residence area, public health service).

The second group of methods is ascertainment of opinions transformed by society:

- Analysis of court decisions,

- Analysis of salary increases in hazardous jobs,

- Analysis of the solutions on the salvage operations activities,

- Analysis of the decisions on risk reduction activities.

These methods are simpler and cheaper, but the results can be falsified by politics and views on the degree of danger and the effectiveness of the action.

As for insurance, its existence is an argument for the possibility of expressing the value of life in terms of money. But the existence of insurance business is a result of difference in "profitability" for the insurer and the insurant. For insurer profitability is objective; it is formed by insurance contributions, probability of the insured accident and insurance payouts. For the insurant profitability is subjective; it depends on insurant's subjective estimation of insurance contributions, the probability of the insured accident, and the degree of protectability. In this case the value of life belongs to only one of six factors: security estimation according to particular situation. Therefore, the questionnaire should not appeal to the insurance situation.

Let's turn to operationalization and try to create a logically consistent and complete scheme. First of all - what could be used as the scale? It is possible to characterize life and life values through each other, choosing one of them as a numerical measurement unit. For example, it could be the lifetime. It means that it is possible to ask how many months of life we are ready to give away for the love of a particular "object of our feelings" or for the year of life of the best friend. People actually make these comparisons intuitively spending their time – in other words life – on taking care of people, on maintaining their health, and supporting their life. Another way is to express the value of life in terms of money. Comparison with the monetary scale is more convenient for practical applications, but the results in this case should be linked to the cost of live in the usual economic sense, for example, through the average income.

In order to characterize the value of life we need parameters. Life is a process of changes happening to an object, in this case – to a human being. What parameters apply to life from this point of view? These are parameters of the object (human being) and parameters of the process, which are:

- Object involved in the process – its parameters;

- Time in relation to the current moment: the process was in the past and /or will be in the future;

- Reason of the process termination: if it is stopped;

- Reason of the process beginning: if it has to start;

- Speed of the process developing;

- Depth: the degree of object's parameters modification in this process;

- Coverage: the share of parameters changing in the process;

- Stage of the process.

If we consider life as a whole without dividing this process into parts, then only the first four parameters out of the eight mentioned above are necessary. This means that the value of life can depend on:

- Whose life is that, what parameters of the person are;

- What is the reason of the life termination: natural or not, is there anybody's fault, and whose fault it is;

- What is the reason of the life beginning - natural, surrogacy, etc.;

- Whether this is past or future life, i.e. deferred payment of accomplished processes (retiree's life) or advance payment of the processes estimated in the future (life of a baby).

How can this subjective value be measured? In a laboratory experiment it is possible to record the physiological response to deprivation or receiving, or brain activity; another way is to be guided by the object consent to replacement, payment, compensation, etc. "Projective" methods are possible as well - the assessment of text or video characters actions. In our case we limited the research by a traditional methodology: questionnaire.

The assessment is given by a person, so it is subjective, therefore the set of parameters should include parameters of the subject making the assessment and parameters of the situation. In some cases the value of life is really different for different people and depends on the situation. And in particular questions about the value of life of people that are not strangers to the respondent should be most difficult to answer. Therefore the respondent should be put into a position of an expert discussing normal reactions of other people.

To summarize our reasoning, the parameters affecting the assessment of life are the following:

- Whose life is that, what individual parameters of "life owner" are (gender, age, occupation, health, etc.);

- What are the person's family parameters (kindred relationship with the subject);

- What social characteristics and relationship with the society the person has (occupation, native inhabitant or visitor);

- What is the situation of life termination (degree of voluntariness, guilt, carelessness, probability of the accident);

- What is the situation of life beginning (spontaneous, natural, planned, or artificial);

- Whether the past and /or future life is evaluated in the assessment (this is associated with age).

The dependence of assessments on all the above parameters was diagnosed by our questionnaire.

We decided to ask respondents about the value of life expressed in money or in years. At the same time, if we are referring to the position of the society, we have to use the evaluation in terms of money, and if we are referring to an individual's position in a subjective situation of evaluation of the life of a person who is not a stranger to the respondent, we have to evaluate it in the respondent's own life years, as money evaluation in this case face a very high psychological barrier. In the case of monetary valuation it should be somehow linked to the general life standard of the society, which is why it is necessary to specify in the questionnaire that we are referring to a society with an average real monthly income of about $1000, which is close to the actual situation in Russia. It is possible that during the survey in Moscow respondents intuitively based their opinions on the average income of Moscow, which is twice as high.

The analysis of the answers to our questionnaire showed that the reasons motivating a person to choose a particular answer can be grouped around three loci - egalitarian ("the value of all lives is the same"), economical or, saying wider, utilitarian ("the value of life is the benefits given to the society or to people around") and moral/ethical ("women and children must get to lifeboats first"). These results gave rise to the idea to build an "index of the value of life". Building such an index makes sense for compact comparison of different groups of respondents. The questions of our questionnaire can also be interpreted in the coordinates of this index.

Some of the questions of our questionnaire apply to the area referred to as "the riskology". The task of this area is to develop recommendations on how engineers, designers, builders and economists should react to the risk of an accident depending on the possible

consequences (for example, the number of victims), the probability of an accident and other characteristics (for example, a particular situation - air disaster or shipwreck, train crash or fire, etc.). It means that some collective public feeling, social psychology should be converted into numeric form with normative, legal meaning - namely, into an F(N)-curve that shows the dependence of allowable frequency of accidents on the number of victims [Steve Lewis, 2007, 4]. The uncertainty of the current situation in riskology reflects not just a range of opinions on this issue in the society, but simply a lack of consensus on the possibility of such assessment. A noticeable part of citizens support the thesis that "life is invaluable", however in response to a call to save someone everyone pays in a quite specific amount; and many people including those saying that " life is invaluable " contribute nothing.

Riskology has obtained data on the impact of the situation characteristics on the human reaction; it investigated what characteristics of the situation determine the reaction. But, from the normative point of view, that is, by leading to numeral recommendations, we have the following:

- Different countries use different data formats, for example, sometimes regulations are set as yearly probability (that is, the frequency), and sometimes – as lifelong probability;

- Usually "negligible" and "unacceptable" frequencies of accidents are specified, which differ by an order of magnitude;

- Often the danger is considered as having different levels for installing staff and for ordinary residents; sometimes (in Russia) allowable probabilities that differ by an order of magnitude are set for plants already in operation and new ones, or for various industries or types of risk; often danger levels are not set at all.

- Negligible annual probabilities of deaths per person generally lie in the range of 10^{-7} (the Netherlands) to 10^{-6} (general Russian recommendation, but for firemen they are lower);

- For multiple deaths, the probabilities (both negligible and unacceptable) are reduced, sometimes quadratically, with the number of victims increasing. It means that with the increase of the number of victims by an order of magnitude the probability is reduced by two orders (the Netherlands, Russia), and sometimes by one order of magnitude (United Kingdom, Hong Kong);

- - Specific formulas for negligible probability in the Netherlands (10^{-5}/N2) and in Russia (10^{-3}/N2) are such that the level crosscut for N=1 is beginning at N=10 (the Netherlands) and at N=30 (Russia), that is, "the social effect" of reducing the tolerance probability due to the feeling of mass casualties does not appear at once [Steve Lewis, 2007, 4];

- According to our survey data, for this sample the dependence of allowable frequency (probability) of the accident on the number of victims is weaker, and greatly depends on how the question is formulated. As N increases by an order of magnitude, allowable probability falls down in 2.3-5.5 times, i.e. F decreases proportionally to $N^{0.4}$-$N^{0.7}$; it means that Russians are relatively weakly scared of the number of victims.

Let us proceed to the description of the main results of our survey.

The first group of questions dealt with the following model situation: "Suppose that a group of people got on an ice-floe in the sea, and their death is inevitable if certain actions are not taken. And if such actions are taken – for example, a helicopter with a rescue team is called and sent to search for them – their rescue can be quite real." The questions were about the possible dependence of efforts to save on parameters of a rescued people: their gender, age, health state, on their status as local residents or newcomers, on the level of their guiltiness if the situation is due to it, on the fact if their getting into the dangerous situation is due to risky profession (that is, if such person, for example, is a military man, or a rescuer, etc.), on social importance of their profession.

That is, generally speaking, we asked respondents: who needs to be rescued in the first place, who should "get first into the lifeboat?"

All respondent groups (students of the 3rd and 5th years and older age group) on the same level stick to the opinion: about the preference of a child (50%) and a person who got into the dangerous situation being on duty (20%). Then opinions differ: students of the 3rd and 5th year are less egalitarian, that is more utilitarian and ethical than older respondents: 20% are ready to give preference to a doctor, as well as to a person who is not guilty for the situation. Students of the 5th year are even more ethical: they are ready to give preference to a woman (20%) and local resident (20%). The situation with disabled people is interesting: 25% students believe that rescue efforts should depend on whether the person is disabled or not, but half of them give preferences to a disabled person and half – to a healthy one.

The last question in this group was formulated as follows: "in the most common situation (the future victim is a male, middle-aged, healthy, not guilty for the situation, a local resident, his getting into the situation is not related to his occupation and the occupation as such is not particularly valuable, in a country where GNP and average salary is $ 1000 or 30 thousand rubles per month, as in Russia) what rescue expenses seem to be normal?". The median answers were 8, 15 and 30 thousand dollars for the 3rd year, 5th year and older group, respectively. As the

questionnaire offered to base answers on the average salary of one thousand dollars per month, these values are equal to the average salary for 8, 15 and 30 months respectively.

The second group of questions dealt with rescue expenses for one person and for a group, as well as with the expenses to prevent dangerous situations related to various numbers of casualties , that is, it dealt with the F(N) functional dependence. When asked if the expenses of rescuing a group of 10 and 100 people should be in proportion with the number of people, 50% of students answered "yes", and the average answer of the remaining 50% was 4 and 25 times accordingly (0.6-0.7 F(N) connection index). Older respondents believe that the expenses have to be proportional..

The median value of students opinions on the costs of reducing the likelihood of an accident is: when there is one potential victim - 7 thousand dollars, when there is 100 victims - 5 times higher, at 10 000 victims - still 5 times more. This corresponds to F(N) dependence index 0.35. Older respondents refused to answer this question.

Further, this problem was formulated in two different ways. Respondents were asked to estimate the necessary service time of a facility, an accident on which will result in 1,100 and 10 000 casualties, and the probability of a catastrophe at such facility. The recommended service time was estimated by students as 10, 60 and 250 years, and tolerance accident probability – as 0.003, 0.0001 and 0.000003 respectively (median values). These values correspond to the 0.35-0.65 index in F(N) dependence. We can see that the index is essentially dependent on how the question is formulated, and eventually varies between 0.35 and 0.7 - which is considerably different from the standards adopted in many countries. Older respondents again refused to answer this question.

The third group of questions dealt with the compensations to relatives of people killed in an accident. In all groups of respondents (students of the 3rd and 5th years and older age group) 90% believe that the compensation should depend on whether the victim was the breadwinner or a dependent, and that it must be greater if the victim is the breadwinner; and 50 % believe that that the compensation must depend on the level of the victim's personal fault (utility). Furthermore, the opinions differ: 3rd and 5th year students are less utilitarian and more ethical than older respondents. For example, 20% of students believe that the compensation received by the wife of a victim should be greater than that of the husband, even if the spouses' incomes were equal. Furthermore, 30% believe that a child who is not dependent should receive greater compensation for the death of a parent than in the opposite situation. At the same time, 65 % of students and 30% of the older group believe that the compensation should be greater if the victim

is the only child or parent, and 35% of students and 20% of the older group believe that in case of death of a child payment should be greater if parents cannot have other children. Only 5% to 10% of students believe that the compensation should depend on the sex of a victim or recipient of compensation; among the older group nobody thinks so.

The final question in this group asked to indicate the limits of compensation. The median value of 3rd year students' answers was 30 thousand USD and of 5th year students and older people's answers – 60 thousand USD, which does not contradict [The value…, 2013, 1].

The fourth group of questions proposed the situation of buying life and death. The first two questions offered to assess "what should be the fair compensation to a woman for surrogacy (in an ideal situation of the absence of medical problems, harm to her health, etc.)" and "fair compensation for a man for his role in the creation of life".

Median values of the responses of students were 20 thousand and 2 thousand dollars, respectively, 70% of the older respondents refused to answer this question.

The next three questions offered to evaluate the "fair payment for euthanasia, assistance in the voluntary withdrawal from life in case of terminal illness (in the countries where this is allowed, and excluding technical expenses), "fair pay for homicide (if it is legal, for example, if it is a death sentence)" and "fair payment for a murder (i.e. charge to the killer, excluding technical expenses and with the absence of risk of crime disclosure)". That is, an attempt was made to separate the value of life itself (the first question), the value of life combined with neglecting of public ethics (the second question) and the value of life combined with neglecting of ethics and violation of law (the third question).

Median values of the responses for students were 1.5, 3 and 15 thousand dollars, respectively, older respondents refused to answer.

As we can see, exactly in the third case, where the price of law violation was added to the prices of life and ethics violation, the estimation became much higher. So, breaking the law is estimated relatively high, compared to the actual cost of life and social ethics.

The fifth and final group of questions dealt with the exchange of life for the life of another person. This group consisted of five questions and the preamble: "Consider a situation where life is compared not to money, but to another person's life. Assume that we can pay another person's life with the years of our own life, and since we do not know how many years we will live (and therefore the concept of "die sooner" looks incorrectly), the mechanism of payment will be as follows: by deciding "to pay that number of years", we become that number

of years older in the documents and biologically, but without changing psychologically and without acquiring new experiences and knowledge". After that we offered five questions.

The median answer of the students asked how many years one could give for one's friend's life was 6 years. When asked how many years of life a parent could give for the life of his/her child, the 3rd year students suggested 20 years as their median answer, 5th year students and older people suggested 10 years. When asked a symmetrical question about how many years of life a child could give for the life of his/her parents, 3rd year students suggested 17 years as their median answer, 5th year students suggested 5 years, and older people – 4 years.

When asked how many years of life a young man could give for the love of his beloved girl, 3rd year students suggested 13 years as their median answer, 5th year students suggested 3 years, and older people - 2 years. When asked a symmetrical question about how many years of life a girl could give for the love of her beloved young man, the median answer was slightly lesser – 12 years, 2.5 years, and 2 years, respectively.

We can see an unexpectedly strong change of opinions between the 3rd and the 5th year students. During the discussion of the survey results this effect was explained by the respondents by the fact that at the 3rd-4th year they start working (which is confirmed by other researches), and this "makes them much more broad-minded". The answering rate for this group of questions showed that not only the older respondents refused to answer some questions , but the students too – the share of those who answered amounted in average to 75% among 3rd year students, to 50% among 5th year students, and to 40% among older people.

As this survey showed that even students refused to answer to some questions, after the results were processed and discussed with the respondents (the possibility of such discussions is an important advantage of working with students), they were asked three questions. Were they "bothered" by the questions. Did the results seem interesting to them, and if this survey was worth conduction. The students' answers were as follows:

- The questionnaire stressed me greatly - 10%, moderately - 33%, slightly - 18%.
- Results themselves seemed very interesting to me - 14%, moderately interesting - 36%, not very interesting - 8%.
- This study is worth conducting - 40%, it is not worth conducting - 6%, no answer - 15%.

The proportions of respondents who chose three negative answers - questionnaire greatly stressed, the results are not interesting, the study is not worth conducting - seem acceptable, but noticeable - 10%, 8% and 6%, respectively. It means that for older respondents some questions of similar questionnaires (in Russia) should be formulated in a different way.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 3. Social Reality and Social Research

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Cross-Cultural Interaction as a Positional differential game

Abstract

The article presents the results of mathematical modelling of cross-cultural interaction by the differential game. The important property of social processes that distinguishes them, for example, from the biological ones is discussed – the changes of culture parameters in cross-cultural interaction may be a mechanism to manage this process, allowing a culture to survive under the adverse conditions.

Keywords: mathematical modelling, cross-cultural interaction, differential games

The article presents the results of mathematical modelling of cross-cultural interaction by the differential game. The important property of social processes that distinguishes them, for example, from the biological ones is discussed – the changes of culture parameters in cross-cultural interaction may be a mechanism to manage this process, allowing a culture to survive under the adverse conditions.

In [Brodsky, 2011, 2013] the interaction of two cultures was modelled by Lotka-Volterra competition equations [Volterra, 1931]:

$$\frac{dN}{dt} = \alpha N (1 - \frac{N}{N^*} - m\frac{M}{M^*}),$$

$$\frac{dM}{dt} = \beta M (1 - \frac{M}{M^*} - n\frac{N}{N^*}).$$

(1)

Of course this is a very strong simplification of the situation, when from all the variety of the culture characteristics, we leave for the consideration only Malthusian coefficients α and β, environment capacities N^* and M^*, and finally, the coefficients of intolerance n and m, which show how many times the competition with the other culture is more, or conversely less, than the competition within the culture itself. The simplifications made it possible to fully analyse the behaviour of the system (1), with different combinations of parameters of competing cultures. Ibid [Brodsky, 2011, 2013] have shown that the behaviour of the system depends primarily on the coefficients of intolerance - or rather, on the combination of ranges in which they found themselves. It was proposed to distinguish the following ranges:

$(-\infty, 0)$	$[0,1)$	1	$(1, \infty)$
super tolerance	tolerance	attitude without prejudices and preferences	intolerance

Note that for the social systems in contrast to, for example, from biological ones, it is natural to consider the principle of rational expectations, first formulated by the American economist John Fraser Muth [Muth, 1961]. As applied to our problem of cultures interaction, this principle states that both cultures will try to improve their situation by all available means (including the use of the research results of this model).

The ability of social systems to change their behaviour on short times in response to the situation, turns the dynamic system (1) in case of a biological subject area, in a positional differential game (2), where the system (1) gives the differential constraints of the game. Considered in the model cultures parameters α, N^*, n and β, M^*, m respectively can be considered as controls of the sides (sides are ready to change their culture to adapt to the situation, to win or at least to survive in the conditions of competition). The limiting population numbers at the infinite time can be the target functionals of the sides.

The question arises, if we consider the main characteristics of the cultures α, N^*, n and β, M^*, m respectively as controls, from what values these controls should depend on? The problem is here that in the subject area, not all characteristics of one side can be directly observed by the other side. For example, the side N can directly observe the values of N and M - the numbers of the parties that are easy to measure, and $m\dfrac{M}{M^*}$ – the force of the competitive pressure from M on N. As for the characteristics of β, M^*, and especially m – for their measurement even in the static case (1) – the depth knowledge of another culture from the inside is required, so it becomes much more harder to measure them if they became controls and change on short times. Similarly, we believe that the side M is able to observe the values N, M and $n\dfrac{N}{N^*}$. Therefore, we obtain the following differential constraints of our game:

$$\frac{dN}{dt} = \alpha(N,M,m\frac{M}{M^*})N\left(1 - \frac{N}{N^*(N,M,m\frac{M}{M^*})} - m(N,M,n\frac{N}{N^*})\frac{M}{M^*(N,M,n\frac{N}{N^*})}\right),$$

$$\frac{dM}{dt} = \beta(N,M,n\frac{N}{N^*})M\left(1 - \frac{M}{M^*(N,M,n\frac{N}{N^*})} - n(N,M,m\frac{M}{M^*})\frac{N}{N^*(N,M,m\frac{M}{M^*})}\right).$$

(2)

It turns out that the stable states of such a differential game can be very different from the stable states of the original dynamical system (1).

The differential game (2) was analyzed in [Brodsky, 2013] for the most complex and interesting case of mutual intolerance, i.e. $1 < n, m < \infty$. The equilibrium strategy was found allowing survive to the culture, even if the opponent behave optimally, in accordance with the principle of rational expectations.

Further, for definiteness we look at the situation through the eyes of N. For it is important to maintain inequality

$$n\frac{N}{N^*} > 1.$$

(3)

It can be interpreted as the ability of the side N in the second of equations (1), to master all the available system resources alone, without the help of a competitor.

The side N is required to maintain its number constant ($\alpha = 0$), unless the inequality

$$m\frac{M}{M^*} < 1 - \frac{1}{n}.$$

(4)

All the values in (3) and (4) can be observed by the side N.

Inequalities (3) and (4) requirements define the following rules for the behaviour in the case of mutual intolerance:

1. Check whether the inequality (4) is valid. For example, if $m\frac{M}{M^*} > 1$, inequality (4), of course, cannot be true.

2. By the choice of $N^*(N, M, m\frac{M}{M^*})$ and $n(N, M, m\frac{M}{M^*})$, to achieve the inequality (3). At the same time, if (4) is valid, the implementation (3) should be pursued at the expense of N^*, fixing n so, as to satisfy (4). Thus N^* should be chosen so, that in addition to (3), the inequality $1 - \frac{N}{N^*} - m\frac{M}{M^*} > 0$ would be valid. This is possible when $1 - m\frac{M}{M^*} > \frac{N}{N^*} > \frac{1}{n} > 0$, due to execution of the inequalities (3) and (4).

3. If the inequality (4) is impossible, it is necessary to achieve the inequality (3) and put $\alpha = 0$, until the inequality (4) begins to be valid.

If the opponent also follows a rational strategy, the inequality (4) will never be valid, but both of the cultures will remain at the current point (N, M) of the phase plane.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 3. Social Reality and Social Research

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Accumulation of Educational Resources and Professional Trajectories of Young Workers

Abstract

Starting and accumulated educational resources in the course of labour activity of young workers, their upgrading and occupational stability and labour careers are exposed on the base of the sociological inquiry of young workers at enterprises of hi-tech and processing industries in big cities of 13 regions of the Russian Federation.

Keywords*:* young workers, education and training, accumulation of educational resources, upgrading, professional trajectories

Modern needs of industry and society, expansion of hi-tech segments in many spheres of present-day activities imply the presence of new qualifications and skills of modern workers, and first of all of their young replenishment - young workers. It calls for special attention to young workers, analysis of young workers` integration into industries, their professional knowledge, training and skills. Today young workers represent a small part of young people. 14% of young people under thirty [Trud…, 2013, p.27] are employed in processing industries. Training of skilled industrial workers within the framework of primary vocational education is provided for slightly more than one tenth part of the age cohort [Obrazovanie…,2012] . At the same time, sociological research of young workers` professional education, accumulation of professional know-how and skills by young workers during their vocational activities, and developing professional trajectories is very urgent.

In 2010 at the Institute of sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences the study of young workers in big cities of 13 regions of the Russian Federation - in the European part and in Siberia has been carried out. A proportional survey of 1000 young workers at enterprises of hi-tech and processing industries has been conducted in big cities. The results of the survey are equally presented in three age groups («under 20 », «20-24», «25-29 », 65,0 % make up men and 35,0 % - women.

The survey has revealed that modern young workers employed at the industrial enterprises in big cities, represents a specific social group. The majority of this social group belong to low - or medium strata of society from the point of view of ther educational, professional status and a financial position of parental families.

The role of direct social reproduction is great in this group: most of young workers succeed to the working trades of their parents. More than half of young working personnel is formed by natives of villages, small towns and average size cities.

Starting and accumulated educational resources

The youth begin their working careers at various levels of general educational and vocational training. The country's existing system of school education offers a two-stage choice of further vocational training - after 9-year junior high and 11-year senior high school. According to the survey data the first group draws up 51,2 % and the second - 46,6 %. (more 2,2 % fall on those who have left school without finishing 9-year junior high school). Differences of schooling prove to be the important factor becoming apparent during a long period of time, evidently or latently in the process of emerging and professional trajectories of young workers.

The first group consists of those individuals who leave the day-shift school at the first possible vocation choice (after leaving junior high school) for the sake of early vocational training and a faster integration into labour activity. Before beginning their working careers the majority of school leavers receive primary vocational training: more often - at vocational schools providing general compulsory secondary education (VS-GCSE, 28,1 % of all surveyed), more rarely - at specialized secondary colleges (SSC), - 10,0 % of the whole age contingent) and even more rarely - at professional training courses and vocational schools (VS), not providing secondary education (6,0 %). After finishing junior high school a small part of young people (9,1 %) go to work at a factory at once and are trained right on-the-spot. The second group of young people who after leaving senior high school starts its working life in a different way. Just after school most young people go to work at factories and are trained on-site (16,1 % of all those asked). Less youth of this group receive vocational training at specialized secondary colleges (SSC) (13,0 % of the whole contingent) and almost as much as that percentage are trained at vocational schools (VS) (12,3 %). After 11-year senior high school only a very small part of young men (3,3 %) attend professional training courses and just very few young people turn out on- the- job-training-sites after graduating from universities (1,5 %).

During their labour activity young workers had to apply intensively for various forms of instruction, vocational training, self-education, etc. The questionnaire inquires «Have you ever been trained anywhere else after you started work?» 71,6 % of those asked answered in the affirmative. Thus slightly more active in this respect there are those young workers who arrived from villages, towns and average size cities, rather than natives of big cities (75,4 % and 67,1 %), more often employed in hi-tech, rather than processing industries and works (73,3 % and 69,9 %). Besides 72,5 % falls on young working men in comparison with 69,8 % for young working women,

Young people improved and improve now occasionally their formal education (on- the

job- training-sites in the form of evening and correspondence courses) : 2,5 % studied or study vocational schools (VS), 4,5 % - at specialized secondary colleges (SSC) and 14,9 % - at universities). Much more often the accumulation of educational resources arises from formal and informal training. Most applications are filed for such forms of education which directly lead to various channels of vocational training: 41,0 % of youth was trained (or is being trained now) on the job under the direction of instructors or senior colleagues, more 17,2 % - in the system of advanced training and/or occupational retraining and 9,8 % is trained at instruction courses now. Other forms of learning (self-education, amateur courses, study and hobby groups, clubs, library visits, museums, theatres, training by means of the Internet) includes 15,1 % of youth.

Persons with short labour experience («under 6 months» and «6-12 months ») more often than on the average apply to study at primary vocational schools (PVS), and the quota of applications for higher and secondary vocational education accumulate along with increase of labour experience and becomes apparent most strongly in the age group of «20-24 ». This demand for higher education also remains in the age group of «25-29 ». Demand for various channels of vocational training (on-the-job-training-sites under the direction of instructors and senior colleagues, in the system of advanced training, and/or occupational retraining, at instruction courses) increases with enlargement of labour experience and is accumulated by the majority of young people: this indicator makes up 58,8 % for young people with labour experience «under 6 months» and rises to 75,7 % with labour experience of «6-10».

The data cited above relating to the accumulated use of education and training during labour experience (on the basis of retrospective data from respondents) should be supplemented with the data on how respondents continue their education and training at the moment of the survey. Altogether at the moment of the survey 28,7 % of young workers receives this or that form of education. Most of them study at universities (13,4 %). Totally formal on-the-job training (that is education at primary vocational schools, specialized secondary colleges and universities) is received by 17,3 % of young workers. Lower percentage of those young workers who get professional training - 9,6 % (7,1 % is trained on the job, 1,4 % of young workers improves their professional skills or retrains and 1,1 % gets trained at instruction courses). Still lower percentage (7,4 %) are those young workers who are now engaged in various forms of self-education, amateur performance, data search and information consumption.

The best equipment and more advanced available technologies stimulate human capital accumulation and simultaneously attract young people to education and professional training. Young workers employed in hi-tech works (32,3 %) study more often now rather than those ones

engaged in processing industries (25,2 %). Thus percentage of those young men who study at universities (16,0 %) and specialized secondary colleges (SSC- 3,8 %), is higher at hi-tech works (above average indicators) rather than at processing industries, and also young workers who are being trained vocationally at instruction courses and within the framework of improving professional skills. Among young workers employed in processing industries there are slightly more learners on-the-job-training-basis and a bit more those learners who address themselves to amateur self-instruction and consumption of information.

Upgrading young workers` qualification and skill categories

Such asset as know-how is being continuously accumulated in the course of labour activity. Thus the whole set of human capital accumulated in such a way manifests itself first of all in upgrading young workers` qualification and skill categories.

Among all the surveyed young workers 66,5 % has upgraded their qualification and skill categories during their labour career. Thus the technological level of industries where young workers are employed does not affect the upgrading indicator (the quota under study of hi-tech and processing industries is practically identical - 66,7 % and 65,6 %).

As a result practically all the surveyed young workers of the present-day speciality are engaged in skilled labour (the quota of young workers who do not have a skill category is negligibly small - 1,8 %). More than half of young workers (57,8 %) has 3rd skill category and 29,8 % more has 4th skill category. Thus the overwhelming majority - 87,6 % - are employed on the most skilled collective labour production sites. And 10,6 % of young workers has very high skill categories - 5th and 6th.

At the same time year by year upgrading qualification and skill categories grow mainly approximately up to 5 years of labour career. Then only a very small part of young workers continues to upgrade their qualification and skill categories. Apparently it is first of all connected with technological restrictions: possibilities of improving professional skills provided by the industrial environment, have some limits which are generally exhausted during the mentioned term. So among the surveyed young workers who did not upgrade their qualification and skill categories 28,1 % has referred to the job which does not require any upgrading, 8,8 % has made reference to the absence of adequate conditions for raising the level of a skill category and 9,8 % has explained that possibilities of professional growth are limited by an industrial enterprise.

Similar exhaustion of resources of professional advancement becomes an additional stimulus in some cases (intensifying the mental set of young workers having senior secondary

education to upgrade it) to study at specialized secondary colleges (SSC) and universities. Such an incentive stimulates to upgrade professional skills and working status more drastically.

The integrated indicator of educational resources accumulated by young workers may be an empiric one «the training average number» - the total number of training years and months, including school service, primary vocational instruction, specialized secondary and higher education, and also any courses of vocational training, upgrading skill categories and retraining. The training average number of the minimum values (11,9 years and 12,1 years) of beginners (having the working experience «under 6 months» and «6-12 months») increases as much as possible (up to 12,6) along with the labour experience of 3-5 years and decreases a little further (to 12,4) with the labour experience of 6-10 years and (to 12,1) of a subgroup with the length of service «more than 10 years»). Young workers with the labour experience of 3-5 years make up an age subgroup of «20-24» (more often than others apply for training at specialized secondary colleges and study at universities). Afterwards they change their jobs to positions corresponding to a new level of professional training. Therefore in subgroups with longer labour experience (and in a more senior age subgroup) there are persons with less long terms of education and training.

Skill categories are conferred on workers proportionally to their professional habits and skills acquired and developed during a course of education, vocational training and retraining. Therefore it is no wonder that the increase of the training average number correlates with the level of proficiency growth: it grows from 11,1 years with persons who do not have any skill category, to 12,1 years with persons having 3rd skill category and successively up to 12,9 years with persons having 6th skill category. As we see the greatest accumulation of training - about one year - requires transition from a condition «without qualification» to the level with the given (3rd) skill category. Then qualification goes up along with less long terms of training increase.

Investments of the individual into human capital are stimulated by intentions and natural expectations to obtain a raised payoff for more productive work. Accumulation of human capital (the various forms of professional training during the length of service together with the educational capital which has been accumulated prior to the beginning of labour activity and also know-how experience obtained) has direct influence on an acquired professional skill level and a wage rate. As calculations show wage rates of young workers are directly proportional to the training average number (tab. 1). In this case the wage rate acts as a resultant of investments by young workers into education, additional professional training, qualification upgrading. Thus it is an important integrated indicator of rise in labour productivity following quantity indicators of

accumulated human capital.

Table 1: Training average number of persons with different wage rates and labour experience

	Persons having wages, rbl.:				
	2000-4999	5000-9999	10000-14999	15000-19999	20000 and more
Training average number	11,2	11,9	12,3	12,6	13,2

Occupational stability and labour careers

Analysis of young workers` trajectories characterised by more or less stability relating to the choice of profession (74,2 % of the surveyed young workers intend to remain workers at a later date, 25,8 % - has no intention) reveals significant contradiction of making up labour personnel. Those young persons who become workers having enough schooling (11 years) or specialized secondary education and thereby accumulate human capital most intensively and achieve high level of proficiency quite often seek to leave the ranks of working force. One third forms a stream of "transit" workers who strive for formal education with the view of leaving worker' s occupation. At the same time most young workers (two thirds) - having the same educational resources, the same accumulation of human capital and high skill categories - remain at work. As opposed to workers mentioned above those young men who become workers having less schooling (9 years), vocational school education or training course instruction and who have less educational level and professional skills are notable for greater stability and stronger probability of consolidating their working positions for a long time.

It stands to reason that the presence of "transit" young workers reflects real freedom to choose an occupation and young people seek to profit by it even in difficult conditions of combining work on the job with study. This fact displays ascending vertical mobility and reflects a certain social openness of society. However, it is necessary to notice that vertical mobility here is provided with considerable volume of social resources of the given subgroup of youth (generally by origin from successful, problem-free, quite financially secure families where parents frequently possess high enough educational levels etc.). Thereupon business concerns for providing itself with more educated, gifted in professional advancement and innovations young personnel should consider the necessity of creating for them competitive payment and more favorable working conditions which could compete with an alternative choice of employment of specialists and create possibilities for the youth of this category to remain workers.

The most constant labour personnel (at the same time to less degree upgrading their qualification, are in the majority satisfied with their work and thinking well of their wage rates) appear to be those young workers who come to work on-the-job possessing small cultural capital - after leaving the 9th form. All this testifies to limitation of possibilities of ascending social mobility for this contingent which is basically made up of children whose parents do not have a high educational level and also of children from needy and incomplete families. It tasks before business and society as a whole to develop a corresponding strategy of working with a such contingent. Its purpose is not only to create stable labour personnel of proper qualification, but to a greater degree to satisfy people`s needs and support their aspirations.

Discovered tendencies of exerting influence of accumulated human capital upon working youth have allowed to sort out the most typical educational and professional trajectories, conventionally called "horizontal", "progressing",vertical".

"The horizontal", most populous trajectory (a little more than half questioned), noted by a low level of school education (leaving junior high school), primary vocational school training (PVT) and on the job training, leads to achieve the most mass and low skill categories. Young men and women of this trajectory represent labour force of low and average qualification which does not cultivate intensive professional advancement and study at industrial enterprises, and at the same time is job-centered. This is the way to build up the most stable labour personnel. Though representatives of such trajectory are quite satisfied with their work and rather low wages. Probably in this case professional stability appears to be to a certain extent compelled. Such professional stability conceals a small set of alternative possibilities which are given by the lowered accumulated resource of human capital.

This trajectory reveals that primary vocational training before work on-the-job carries out, to a certain degree, not so much the function of professionalization as that of socialisation. Vocational training keeps teenagers at educational institutions to a more mature age (instead of 14 years they come to work at 16-17), trains them to standards of industrial labour, gives senior secondary education (which corresponds more to modern industrial and technological requirements than junior high school) and ipso facto prepares better the young man for training on-the-job.

"The progressing" trajectory is smaller in size, than the previous one hardly more a quarter of those questioned, is characterised by a great volume of school capital and more intensive accumulation of educational and professional resources. Among representatives of this trajectory there are more those who finished specialized secondary colleges (SSC), were trained

on-the-job, and also upgrade their professional skills and retrain. At times this trajectory leads to rather high skill categories. At the same time further increase of representatives of this trajectory appears limited by technological possibilities of production sites. Consequently the given trajectory partially forms "stable" workers, and partially those "transit" ones who implement their professional advancement combining their jobs and studies at specialized secondary colleges (SSC) and universities.

"The vertical" trajectory is traced by a smaller part of young workers (about one sixth of data array). These young people are notable for senior secondary education acquired, as a rule, at day-shift school or at specialized secondary colleges (SSC) and intensive improvement of professional skills. It forms a sector of the most qualified labour (along with stable representatives of "progressing" trajectory). Great volume of general educational resource stimulates these young workers` s educational ambitions of combining their job and study at universities (or specialized secondary colleges). This process is generally accompanied by a worker giving up his profession but in some cases a worker may advance to a position of technician or engineer at an industrial enterprise. It does not mean that a worker may completely leave his industrial job. Thus similar transitivity appears to be a way of effective utilisation of young workers` s potential. Availability of professional training given by both evening and correspondence specialized secondary colleges (SSC) and universities provides preparation of specialists who took motivated decision to work in industry on the basis of private experience.

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International Work Migrants of the Baikal Region: Aspects of Adaptation

Abstract

The adaptive behaviour of immigrants was studied depending on the countries of an exit, residing time in an accepting society, sphere and a kind of activity. In article positive and negative forms of the adaptation of migrants are reflected, the basic social and economic forms of adaptation of migrants are revealed. Group integration the majority of migrants occurs to an ethnic sign and the scenario of isolation from an external environment.

Keywords: adaptation, immigrants, region, causes, channels, migration patterns, integration, effects of labor migration

External work migrations are a part of economic and play a significant role   redistribution of a manpower, interpenetration and mutual enrichment of different cultures. Through migration overcome the differences in level and lifestyle of global community, the cooperation between the countries is developed.   As a result of change of a parity of physical and social spaces possibility to move on the world «without borders» have amplified inter-countries migratory streams which basically have work character.

In transboundary regions of Russia, including Baikal region (BR), including territory of the Republic of Buryatia, Irkutsk area and the Zabaikalsk krai, the given processes proceed intensively enough.

The modern world economic crisis has essentially lowered the international mobility of the population, however many countries and regions need for a foreign work power and the relation to it in hosting societies is ambiguous, inconsistent. On the one hand, work of foreign workers more effective, is economic for the state and commercial structures, with another - use of work of foreign citizens conducts to growth of social discontent in accepting society. As migratory processes between the countries, territories are logical it is necessary to search optimum ways of cooperation of the accepting and sending countries.

In the Baikal Institute of nature management SB RAS under the guidance of the author at support of the International scientific fund «Scientific potential» and the Russian humanitarian scientific fund in 2007-2008 inspections of level of adaptation of the international migrants in a context of disputed measurement, and also migratory installations and marriage intentions of inhabitants of the Baikal region with foreign citizens were carried out. At theme studying different methods of gathering of the information were used: questionnaires of the population

and migrants, the content-analysis of mass media, expert interrogations of specialists, interview to heads of foreign national-cultural societies, etc. Inspections were spent in the cities of Angarsk, Irkutsk, Ulan-Ude, Gusinoozersk, Kyakhta, Chita, Zabaikalsk, and also in the settlements Bokhan, Taksimo, at the station Naushki.

On the basis of the above-named sources of the information are revealed:

- The countries-donors of work immigrants. In the region foreign workers from the different countries are presented. The basic supplier of work migrants is China (more than 60 %), and also Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan;

- The motives influencing on inflow of migrants in the Baikal region. «Possibility to earn» is the main reason of arrival of work migrants on studied territory. On necessity of attraction of foreign workers influence requirement in a work with a low payment in region, unwillingness of local residents to work in spheres with low incomes, on heavy works, etc. In motives of arrival in BR important value is given also to a legal estimation of migratory processes. So, respondents considered the Russian legislation imperfect leaving possibility for illegal activity of foreign migrants, and also affinity of borders for the international exchange of the population admits. Contrary to the combined opinion on the importance of ethnic diasporas in attraction of the fellow countrymen in accepting society, only 37,0 % of the interrogated experts have specified in its active role;

- The basic channels of employment and fastening of work immigrants. Foreign citizens in region are employed by mainly legal intermediary firms, and also the compatriots living in region, that is the come into social contacts and communications or social networks play an essential role in the course of migration. Approximately 2/3 migrants get a job by means of legal channels;

- Illegal channels of penetration of migrants. The main ways of illegal migration are visa-free entrance from the CIS countries, not departure to home after the termination of the guest/tourist visa, end of work, study and treatment, and also entrance under counterfeit documents, passing the customs control;

- Distribution of external work migrants on employment spheres. The foreign work power basically is occupied on building, timber cuttings, and also in spheres of service, retail and wholesale trade. In the region, as well as in the country as a whole, «ethnic niches of employment» (i.e. sections of work market where the share of workers-migrants is great) are noted. In building and repair sphere citizens of China, Uzbekistan prefer to found a job; in sphere of trade in the consumer goods - the Peoples Republic of China,

Kyrgyzstan, in the grocery wholesale markets - Transcaucasia. Citizens from Ukraine and Belarus work basically in industry. Considerable number of immigrants from China are occupied in the industries processing wood, agriculture, from Armenia and Azerbaijan - in car-care centre, cafe - restaurant business. Thus, in region there is a process of "ethnic concentration» FWP;

- An educational level and qualifications of work immigrants. The most part of work migrants carry work with low qualification, the heavy works demanding intensity, considerable physical expenses. Work immigrants are in the bulk disciplined executors of various kinds of works and presence of high professional skills are noted only at the separate migrants coming as a part of working brigades: engineers, technicians, electricians. High enough skill level is noted at immigrants of builders among whom there are workers with the average vocational education;

- A problem of presence of immigrants in region. In studied territory the one fourth population does not think, that it is an acute problem, however there are separate aspects of a problem of presence of the foreign citizens, connected with their behaviour, first of all. Migrants from the CIS, unlike citizens of the far abroad, are more opened and are accessible to contacts to Russians and are accordingly more perceived by local society;

- Degree of migrants integration in local community. Work immigrants of the far abroad are actually isolated from an accepting society while foreign citizens from the CIS countries are partially integrated into region society. However, the basic circle of their dialogue, as well as migrants of the far abroad, compatriots make. Only small groups of the work immigrants who are looking like on a residence, and also permissions to time residing in region, successfully enough adapt in an accepting society.

Arrangements aimed at improving security in migration processes. For this purpose it is necessary to improve legislative base of migration, to exclude the corruption facts at realization by public authorities of the migratory legislation of the Russian Federation; to develop programs on use of work of foreign citizens taking into account interests of region, to allocate workplaces in conformity of their requirement for region; to eliminate barriers in legal employment of foreign citizens; to provide realization of legitimate rights of migrants, to provide social guarantees, to create corresponding conditions for their work and a life; to take measures in relation to employers who maintain migrants and do not observe their right; to integrate migrants by means of studying of Russian, history and culture of an accepting society; To develop

cooperation with diasporas of migrants, but at the same time, to carry out the control over activity of the national cultural centers and societies, etc.

In society it is not observed open opposition with visitors, however as the indicator shown anti-migrant protest of the population can serve growth of a various sort of phobias, opinions on a possible preponderance of the country and region by foreign visitors, etc.

On the studied territory, as in the country a whole, there are impressive volumes of illegal work immigration, and its further preservation bears certain danger, breaks sustainable forms of ability to live of an accepting society. In order to avoid illegal inflows of a foreign work power an effective regulation of migratory processes is necessary.

Work practice of foreign workers are often carried out in the systems closed "from the outside", accordingly they actually do not test influence of an accepting society. For them adaptation under the isolation scenario is characteristic, there is a separation from an external environment, while adaptation of the foreign citizens who are engaged in commercial or other activity, occurs on the modification model directed on mastering of new forms of interaction. The given model is more open and effective, causes assimilation with local population. However it is less convenient for an accepting society and conducts to infringement of its safe existence. The system of measures concerning this group of immigrants as they are less supervised also their behaviour not always gradually amplifies corresponds to expectations of a society of the resident. Recently there is "expression" of ethnic migrants from not legal activity.

In the course of reception of external work migrants it is important to consider national priorities of Russia, features of development of the country and region, and also the international experience of state regulation of attraction IWP. In the circumstances it is necessary to create corresponding conditions for adaptation of work immigrants in new conditions of environment, not infringing interests of local residents.

Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 3. Social Reality and Social Research

Denisova, Liudmila E., Moscow

Priority Fields for Cooperation between Social Science and the Russian Orthodox Church

Abstract

Scientific development of the problem of the theoretical foundation of the phenomenon of social ministry in Christianity, historical investigation of the sources, kinds and forms of this ministry becomes today a special topicality. Innovational reconsideration and transformation of the unique models of social ministry of the Russian Orthodox Church can be treated as one of the prospective trends in the theory and practice of modern social science.

Keywords: society, social science, social technologies, social ministry of the Russian Orthodox Church

To characterize the central problem for present day there is the destruction of traditional, cultural, spiritual and moral foundations of human society.

Father John Krestyankin, archimandrite of the Pskov Caves Monastery, passed to his rest in 2006, noted that today, when the flow of the in the past unknown temptations whipped Russia; when lechery, violence, avarice, alcoholism, addiction became explicit and already customary defects; and people are simultaneously seize on both, religious zeal and blasphemy; a question about Goodness, about charity it grows into the question of paramount importance, into the principal question of life. *"Since it is possible only by Goodness and by Charity … only … to oppose the terrible evil spirits, which dominate people and the world"* [Krestyankin, archimandrite, 2006].

For modern Russia it is necessary to talk about consolidation of all subjects of society capable together with the government to soften manifestation of a crisis and to overcome its consequence. There are in our country few public institutes to change, both some individuals, and a society. The Russian Orthodox Church is just like this public institute capable by Christian revival of people to help them spiritually and moral [*Kirill, Patriarh Moskovskij i Vseja Rusi*, 2009].

In this context the study of sources, forms and technologies of the charitable activities of the Russian Orthodox Church, the phenomenon of its diaconal ministry, is the richest material for the critical comprehension and the creative use of historical experience accumulated by it, in the first place, in the realization of noble and creative social mission.

On the other hand, it should be emphasized that the relevance of the studied problem is confirmed by the fact that the Russian Orthodox Church makes today all possible to develop full and effective the legal, economic and organizational components to characterize it as a viable

social institution, that represents together with the State and society interdependent and, at the same time, complementary system ensuring optimal interaction in all areas of social life of Russia [Denisova, 2010].

It is the author's opinion that priority fields for cooperation between social science and the Russian Orthodox Church are further research development in the field of innovative social activities of diaconical organizations and institutions, first of all, the improvement of the institutional model of diaconal ministry, including the parish diakonia and its social and educational sphere. It means:

- development of social service of priests;
- development and improvement of community and parish social work;
- organization of socio-pedagogical work in community;
- development of Church social work with families, with children and young people, with alone and elderly;
- strengthening of a role of laymen, etc.

The efficiency of the cooperation between social science and the Russian Orthodox Church appears to be objective, first of all, because the services of modern Christian diakonia feel need for competent specialists of social work, parish and community social pedagogic and religious pedagogic. Many diaconical organizations and institutions could get these specialists through their cooperation with universities and research centers.

Besides, social services of the Russian Orthodox Church can become accredited centers of field education for students, training in social work, social and religious pedagogic, organizational management, etc. And subsequently they can become pilot and experimental platforms for approbation and implementation of innovative technologies of Church social work taking part in integration of research activities and innovative social work practice.

Among the most important prospective research tasks can be pointed out application of new fields of social science, as well as development, approbation and implementation of adequate technologies for social activities and social innovations related to needs of our society, for example:

− religious pedagogic, missionary and catechist activities;

− social theology and diaconic;

− social work in NGO's and charitable organizations;

− psychosocial counselling as a problem field of community social work;

– social patronage as a problem field of Church social work;

– social planning;

– parish social networks and social management of diaconical organizations and institutions;

– management of Church social work: developing volunteer and civil initiatives;

– innovative development of the social state at all levels, etc.

Conclusion: The modern situation in Russia is characterized by intensive search of the Russian Orthodox Church for its place in our society. The mission of the Church can be considered today through a prism of its cooperation with social science, a spiritual and civil maturity to assist and support people and to take an active part in strengthening of social stability in Russia, public tranquility and unity in a society.

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Drozdova, Julia A., Volgograd

Investment attraction of a region as part of building the image of a region – evidence from the Volgograd region

Abstract

The paper discusses the outcomes of a sociological study carried out by the author within the framework of grant project RGNF 13-13-34009 "Image of a region as a communication strategy for the authorities and mass media" (July-September 2013, N = 1000) whose objective was to evaluate the investment attractiveness of the Volgograd region. Various factors were identified that determine the promotion of the region's image as well as implementation of the strategy of investment policy in regions.

Keywords: the investment attractiveness, image of the region, regional development strategy

Investment attractiveness of a region is an evaluative economic category determined by a number of factors that affect the investors' preference in a great way. The following parameters are of the greatest importance in evaluating the investment potential of a region: the resource-based factor (presence of natural resources), the industrial factor (as an aggregate outcome of economic activity of the population), the consumer factor (the total purchasing power of the region's population); the infrastructure factor (the economic and geographic position of the region and its infrastructure), the intellectual factor (educational level of the population, quality of manpower), the institutional factor (extent of development of leading economy institutions); the innovation factor (extent of implementing the latest achievements in science and technology in the region) [Kotler, 2001, p. 33].

The sociological study carried out by the author within the framework of grant project RGNF 13-13-34009 "Image of a region as a communication strategy for the authorities and mass media" (July-September 2013, N = 1000) revealed the degree of attractiveness of the Volgograd region from the point of view of various target audiences. Thus, according to assessments of respondents – investors and representatives of big business – the region appears as moderately attractive (31.3% of respondents); this assessment was predominant among businessmen (35.3 % respondents) as well. The informants commented on this assessment in the following way: "we now see a policy of supporting small and medium enterprises being enacted; however, it is difficult to hit the particular range of businesses that are given support".

The image of a region in the inner and outer medium built during communication between the authorities, business, mass media, and population, is an extremely important

component of the investment attractiveness of a region. The policies implemented by regional and municipal authorities, the extent of public confidence in these social institutions, the forms and quality of interaction between the agents of a region's communication space – all these factors exert enormous influence on the decision making process when the region is considered as a field for investment activity.

The Volgograd region holds medium attraction for the major target audiences that build the region's image and its components; this fact follows from responses of external and internal experts (semi-structured interview, April-November 2013; external experts – Moscow (N=19), St Petersburg (N=11), internal experts (N=20).

Thus, in the opinion of external expert N30 from St Petersburg, "For its people nowadays the Volgograd region is rather unattractive as there is no positive development. The existing potential of the people of Volgograd may improve if municipal and regional authorities make efforts in this direction". Expert N15 from Moscow holds that "it is very difficult to find a job… experience is required everywhere, and it is impossible find an attractive job matching your training and specialty right after graduation."

Internal experts N33 (the Volgograd region) told about poor attractiveness of the region for highly qualified specialists: "If you want to use your skills, there should be demand for them, there should be places to use them. There are no such places here; there is nothing here; we used to have lots of industry, now it is all closed down. Where are all those manufacturing enterprises? Who can pay for their work? Well educated people ask for relevant wages and lifestyle, and here no one can offer them anything like this."

Thus, for the moment we can only state that the region shows poor attractiveness for the major target audiences of the regional space, which puts a burden on the building of an image of the region, indicates negative tendencies in the process and implies a great effort on the part of the authorities if they want to change the situation in the Volgograd region.

The image of a region is built in the conscience of the public as a result of direct contacts with the political, economic, social and cultural environments. The perception of a region and its evaluation are based on the degree to which the population is satisfied with the region as their place of residence; this incorporates the attained quality of life, the advantages that the Volgograd region has over other Russian regions. These factors constitute an important resource of investment attractiveness of the region and of its positive image [Khalikov, 2011].

The image of a region is influenced by various factors that can be objective ones like natural and climatic conditions, natural resources, economic and geographic situation, the

region's historical past, the geopolitical situation, the development of economy, the development of transport infrastructure, conditions for agriculture, investment climate, the presence of blue-chip universities; and subjective factors like the policies implemented by the regional and municipal authorities [Galumov, 2003, p. 14].

The "advantageous geographic position" of the Volgograd region was estimated by the respondents as an important advantage (39.4% of respondents) as the region lies at the intersection of trade routes, waterways and traffic roads of the country, in close proximity to central regions that enjoy investment attractiveness (the Rostov region, the Krasnodar territory).

Other advantages of the region are the presence of prestigious training institutions. In the opinion of many external informants, the Volgograd State Medical University, the Volgograd State University, the Volgograd State Agrarian University are quite well known in the country.

The respondents also remarked upon the presence of recreation areas as an advantage; however, according to the expert opinion, this natural and climatic resource needs to be developed which can be a problem: "recreation sites pose a great advantage. First of all, it is the Volga-Akhtuba bottom-land, but the area needs to be given outdoor amenities with regulation of access", "there are recreation zones... they need development", "some places are really beautiful, but no one gives them proper care. For good recreation, there has to be proper infrastructure, but it's just wild nature"; "The region has no distinctive feature. There is no tourist zone that would incorporate a memorial component."

Our respondents and informants pointed out an absolute advantage of the Volgograd region: the favorable conditions for agriculture. Many experts said that the region lies in the area of high-risk agriculture; at the same time, they remarked that the region offers great opportunities for the development of live stock breeding, gardening, and vegetable farming, and that the region's economy makes no use of these resources: "From the point of view of global economics, there are certain advantages here, but they are difficult to implement. Like a ruble invested in the Krasnodar territory and a ruble invested in the Volgograd region produce different returns... we could do lots of things. Koreans adapt wonderfully and they work wonders on our land. We should exploit to the maximum what we have"; "when we speak of grain crops, one thinks of Kuban immediately. And what about Volgograd? Even watermelons are no longer to be seen."

The data by the Russian Federal State Statistics Service [Rosstat…] and our study revealed depressive tendencies in the development of the Volgograd region, and a poor interest on the part of investors in long-term regional investment projects.

Nowadays there is a need to study the factors of political influence, the mechanisms of information support in the building of a positive image of investment attractiveness of the Volgograd region. The subjective factors of the region's image – the activity of regional and municipal authorities – earned a distinctly negative evaluation. The extent to which federal and municipal authorities perceive and recognize the importance of implementing a strategy of the region's sustainable development, determines the success of efforts in building a positive image of the region, its good reputation, the financial, economic, political and sociocultural components of regional development [Zolina, 2011, p. 54]. A good reputation among neighbouring regions provides for effective economic and cultural ties with them.

The data about ineffective management in the Volgograd region spread by federal and regional mass media impede the formation of a positive image of the region at the federal level, which results in the fact that the region meets with difficulties when it tries to win federal funding for regional programs.

According to the respondents' opinion, the most promising areas are the agriculture (57.4% of respondents), construction (33.8% of survey participants), and tourism (25.1% of respondents). Thus, in the expert opinion, "Production of high quality grain of hard shell wheat variety can be arranged in the Volgograd region. Our region may be attractive from the point of view of manufacturing automobile parts rather than finished cars"; "In terms of vegetables, it is feasible to make the Volgograd region the breadbasket of the nation"; "tourism is certainly the answer. Agriculture as well. Education is not altogether bad, and it needs support"; "tourism and engineering industry, chemical industry is a possibility"; "large farm enterprises in the Ilovlya and Frolovo districts where they grow onions... there are certain prospects"; "we need to develop the construction industry as half of the buildings are ramshackle, lots and lots new buildings can be constructed. Industry can be developed, surely. The tractor plant and the motor plant should be developed".

Business structures are potential investors; their willingness and opportunities to work in the region have an enormous impact on the social and economic development of the region and its economic strength. According to the surveyed population, attracting investments can be helped along by such factors as "an active cooperation between the authorities and business" – 49.3%; "fair practices of regional and municipal civil servants" – 38.6%; "business safety" – 34.3%; "the presence of workable regional strategy that meets the needs of the region" – 33.9% ; "offering social benefits, tax remissions" – 33.0%; "awareness of the population and their participation in the projects of regional development" – 26.8%.

From our point of view, the task of developing the strategy of building the image of the Volgograd region is associated with the following components: the status of the Volgograd region as a business territory, an industrial, agricultural, constructional and tourist centre; a place for living with favourable natural and climatic conditions providing good quality of life, security and recreation; finally, developing the region as a depository of historical memory and national values.

In present day conditions regions are gaining more and more independence in the matter of social and economic issues, establishing business relations with foreign partners, in improving the quality of life; the total of all these factors determines the image of a region and an actual implementation of a strategy of investment policies.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 3. Social Reality and Social Research

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Russian Society of Sociologists Regional Offices Experience of All-Russia Public Opinion Research

Abstract

Russia is a large and quite diverse country. Organizing and conducting sociological survey covering simultaneously the whole territory and various social and cultural (local) subspaces is not a trivial task, which not every research center is capable of solving. Almost a decade of joint research allows sharing the accumulated experience, analyzing the performed work and making plans for the future. The results of the conducted research always enter the public domain, they are brought up for discussion and they are presented in the publications

Keywords: public opinion research, RSS, research projects

Russia is a large and quite diverse country. Organizing and conducting sociological survey covering simultaneously the whole territory and various social and cultural (local) subspaces is not a trivial task, which not every research center is capable of solving. As a rule professional associations of sociologists undertake such tasks. They have extensive networks of their organizations and representatives in all regions of the country. One of these associations uniting Russian sociologists is Russian society of sociologists (RSS). At present RSS includes 71 regional offices with a total number of individual members exceeding 4000 people.

Almost a decade of joint research allows sharing the accumulated experience, analyzing the performed work and making plans for the future. The results of the conducted research always enter the public domain, they are brought up for discussion (sometimes providing the kick-off material for a public discussion) and they are presented in the publications. It should be noted that starting from the very first project of such kind the initiatives of RSS members meet sincere and, most importantly, effective support of RSS authorities and its President V.A. Mansurov.

Annual Sociological Readings in RSSU provided the important starting point for organizing and holding RSS federal and international research. The Annual Readings have been held for many years under the supervision and with active participation of V.I Zhukova, G.I. Osadchaya, D.K. Tanatova, T.N. Yudina, O.A. Urzhy, who found opportunities and gathered the leading sociologists of Russia and the "near-abroad" states in RSSU pensionaries for 2-3 days (at the time of the students' winter holidays). RSS regional offices leaders have also been invited to

the Sociological Readings. During the XII Sociological Readings "Social life in Russia: theories and practice" (2005) an idea was born to conduct sociological surveys among students on a voluntary basis. As it was the year of the 60th Anniversary of the Victory in the Great Patriotic War it was proposed that Yu. R. Vishnevsky (Yekaterinburg), N.V. Dulina (Volgograd) and E.N. Ikingreen (Nizhnevartovsk) conduct research dedicated to this very date. The same team developed a program and research tools for the research named "Student's attitude towards the Great Patriotic War". After agreeing it with other participants of the project, the pilot project started. The research "Russian students about the Great Patriotic War" was conducted on the eve of the 60th Anniversary of the Victory in the Great Patriotic War (March, 2005) by the RSS regional offices. Over 2,000 students were interviewed during the survey. In advance it is worth mentioning that the second stage of this project was conducted five years later – in March/April 2010 (with the tools and the research target same as in 2005). Over 3,500 students from 36 higher education institutions of 15 Russian cities took part in that stage. Comparison of the results of the two stages enabled to reveal an interesting dynamics, but this is the material for discussions on a completely different topic.

Over 4,000 students from 17 Russian regions were interviewed in the second project "Civic culture of Russian students". On the basis of the research results an international conference "Students Civic Culture" was held in Yekaterinburg (Yekaterinburg, 2007, October) [Vishnevsky, Shapko, 2005, Pp. 3-10] and a multi-author monograph was published [Vishnevsky, Shapko, 2005, Pp. 8-13].

The next project is a large-scale international sociological research with a common title "Sociocultural portrait of modern student in SCO states". State Educational Institution of Higher Professional Training "USTU-UPI named after the First President of Russia B.N. Yeltsin" (youth outreach research-guidance center), Russian society of sociologists, Youth Policy and International Cooperation Department of Ministry for Sport, Tourism and Youth Policy of the Russian Federation and Sverdlovsk Region Youth Policy Department were the organizers of the sociological research. The interview was conducted among the higher education institutions' students of Russia, Kazakhstan, Kirgizia and Uzbekistan. Totally 3,575 third year students of 27 higher education institutions from 13 cities and 4 SCO countries were interviewed. This was the third research of the students conducted on the voluntary basis by RSS regional offices under the supervision of Yu.R. Vishnevsky [Vishnevsky, Shapko, 2005, Pp. 8-13]. Third-year students were respondents in all the above-mentioned surveys. The scale and large territory of the

research provided an opportunity to compare the data obtained not only in different cities and higher education institutions but also in different areas of the post-Soviet territory.

The list of the examples of joint projects implementation could be continued but we would like to focus on the last (but not the least) of the projects conducted by the members of RSS – "Winter Olympic Games XIV and Paralympic Winter Games XI in the viewpoint of Russian people, Sochi – 2014" (project director and tools designer – E.N. Ikingreen, RSS Vice-President, associated professor of Nizhnevartovsk State University, co-director N.V. Dulina, professor of Volgograd State Technical University). We believe that this research is quite relevant in terms of forming an objective assessment of the Olympics Games "consequences" "at the local level" by the country's population and developing adequate views on this social phenomenon in the country's contemporary history. There have been a lot of heated discussions concerning the subject of "relevance-irrelevance" of the Olympic Games for the country in the existing social and economic conditions, and the only way to learn the public opinion on this matter was to ask direct questions and receive the answers, which was performed within the framework of the given research.

Technical parameters of the conducted research were the following. The *territory* of the research is quite large, it includes 35 cities of the country: from Belgorod in the West to the Srednekolymsk (Sakha-Yakutia) in the North East, from Khanty-Mansiysk up North to Vladikavkaz and Ulan-Ude down South. In addition, if the list of the cities of the selection is presented in the alphabetical order virtually every letter from "A" (Astrakhan) to "Ya" (Yaroslavl) will have to be used. *Research timeline*: March – April, 2014. *The target of the research*: the population of the country. *Selection scope*. Totally approximately 2,500 people were interviewed. Women exceeded men (1.5 times) in the selection (40.0 % – men, 60.0 % – women). Basically, following the apparently established tradition, students from 45 education institutions (higher education and technical colleges) answered the questions in the questionnaire. The percentage of students in total amount is approximately 90.0 %. It could be said that the research revealed students' attitude to the Winter Olympic Games 2014. But to be fair no principal differences among students' assessments and non-students' assessments were detected. The scope of the data was processed using Vortex software system. The program builder D. Shkurin (Yekaterinburg) took part in the research as a supervisor of one of the regional fields and a consultant in Vortex program operation at data input and questionnaire processing. The creative team that organized and conducted this research at the local level

included over 50 people. It was a benchmark survey, the objective of selection representation was not set, the obtained data could cover only the examined aggregate, or it can be used as reference.

The data obtained in the course of the research enabled to evaluate the attitude of the country's population to holding the Olympic Games in Russia, to form an idea of what Russian people feel about this event. The designers and organizers of the conducted research believe that it is highly relevant from the viewpoint of developing an objective idea of Russian people's real evaluation of the Olympic Games and all its events and also of social and economic consequences "at the local level" and in the country in general. Rare "interests coincidence" might be called a distinctive feature of this research: in the attempt to meet their scientific interests the designers and organizers of the research faced respondents' genuine interest (first of all, students') and their will to express their opinion on the declared issue – "Sochi – 2014". Apparently, the survey time frame coincided with the time of maximum interest to this event: passions and emotions concerning the event were still heated, all was "in the air" and "the word itself seeks to be pronounced" …

Ten-year experience of joint projects implementation allows claiming that uniting joint efforts of social science researchers when conducting survey at the federal level has a number of significant advantages.

It should be noted that the main goal of conducting such surveys, performed on the territory of the whole country is to record, "measure" the fact evading (changing) "nature". The surveys conducted by RSS are, as a rule, research by the initiative (they do not have an ordering customer). This fact has both positive and negative sides to it. It is positive in the sense that no time is lost on agreeing the research program with the customer in all its necessary points (justification of the data gathering method, tools, selection, selection scope calculation, the field control and etc.). It is negative as it is necessary to look for means for expanding the tools, data input and so on independently, but the obtained result, including the satisfaction of the scientific interest, as a rule compensates and justifies the material costs. The second important point is that the evaluations and opinions of the public in different regions of the country can differ from "the average" across the country. In the course of such surveys an opportunity arises to find out differences that become apparent in the regions. When the project results are ready each participant of the project receives access to the common database and the database per particular region which allows conducting the analysis of the particular region against the wider geographical area. The third point is that the surveys are conducted with one and the same target

following one and the same method which gives an opportunity to compare the results obtained in different areas. The result of this work is publishing activity of the researchers in the regions, as the results of the obtained data analysis usually are brought to public discussion non only in the mass media at the local level but also at the scientific conferences.

Besides, and this is quite important, the results of such research performed by the creative team members are used for preparing the lectures and seminars (practical classes), laboratory research on sociological subjects within the framework of the education process in higher education institutions of the country. It greatly reduces the time from the actual information gathering and its processing to its delivery to the "consumer". Students receive the information on relevant issues of the country's life in on-line mode (or as it was said in the not-so-distant past "in the morning – in the newspaper, in the evening – in the couplet").

Summing up all that has been said above the conclusion can be made that only due to uniting (and unification of) sociologists' efforts, living and working in different parts of the country and united by RSS has it become possible to conduct research of that scale. Life as is well known is more complicated than we can imagine. Great many diverse and various opinions and ideas give us a chance to better understand the world we live in. Examining only one's own region each sociologist gets some "bit" of the truth, and when these bits are put together, they can clarify a lot and provide an opportunity to take a different look at the modern Russia world view.

We assume that independent research should be continued, as only comparative analysis of the data of the research conducted per unified technique and public discussions of its results gives us a chance to understand and solve the problems that define the future not only of some individual communities (cities, villages, regions), but fates of the humans interwoven into invisible but no less significant social net – from the small motherland level to the scale of the planet.

After many years one can say that the experience of the joint work has proved efficient; in some aspects it exceeded the expectations of the designers and organizers. RSS members wish to spread this experience on other works and surveys including monitoring, as significant experience has been accumulated in the sphere of conducting such research (see e.g. [Tokarev, Dulina, 2011, p. 253]).

The future plans include preparations for conducting the third stage of the large-scale project "Russian students about the Great Patriotic War" dedicated to the 70th Anniversary of the Soviet people's Victory in the Great Patriotic War. The concept of the research involves

supplementing the tools (apart from the usual set of questions there will be an extra set for the cities, as it is planned to involve interviewing citizens from the three categories of cities). The first category are hero-cities, that were on the firing line, at the territory where the fights took place, which are marked with a soldier's feat of arms. The second category is the cities where citizens provided victory in the rear by means of their every-day labor feat. And the third category are the young cities that appeared on the map of the country after "the forties marked with powder and with fate", the citizens of which have more indirect and abstract idea of the Great Patriotic War… Comparison of the data per the three categories of the cities, as we assume, would provide an opportunity to evaluate the impact of the "territory", its social and cultural space, common cultural heritage on the historical memory, on the one hand, and on the development of patriotic feelings and their manifestation among the young generation, on the other hand.

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Discarded Society: The Sociological Experience of Study Waste Pickers in Russia

Abstract

Waste pickers as the social phenomenon is a historical formation with intricate story, but now acquires the status of risk social group worldwide. This topic is fairly new for Russian sociology, therefore one of the main purposes of this paper is to analyze the current situation state landfills and residential settlements, and also representation the life of waste pickers. The first part describes a brief history of waste picking, the second part presents the analyzed empirical material consists of the domestic landfills observations. This work aims to show the usefulness and the danger of this social niche.

Keywords: waste pickers, scavengers, landfills, observation, history, outcasts, social inequality

The problem of waste described in detail by the ecologists, technologists, economists. Environmentalists present this problem as a global threat, point on the amount of garbage that humanity produces, incapable to cope with the scale of world production and its own consumption, as well as the substance of that decaying, poisons for human health. Catastrophic situation recorded in the low-life states, where technology of garbage disposal is not adapted enough to the production technology and there are a high percentage of poverty in these regions.

The state of affairs characteristically for Africa, some countries in Asia, Latin America, for some areas in the U.S. and Russia. Often the situation is compounded by weak municipality and the government, the lack finances for recycling, and as a result we have a rising quantities of landfills. In these countries, embarked on the path of modernization technologies do not develop (or inadequately develop), so, there are used manual labour or homeless beggars, of finding their own food waste and trying to earn picking up the recycled materials. Uncountable mass of waste, toxicity, illegal location, environmental non-compliance norms forming polygons passivity state and municipal authorities leads to the fact that business waste becomes strong private sector market development of the shadow structure. The one of the main roles there playing by the waste pickers which present a poorest population. Often they forced to work without special equipment and processing facilities materials, thereby undermining their health and environmental condition. Although technological and ecological aspect of the issue of landfills popular at the mass media's resources, well researched and continually evolving in most

countries of the world (and is an important economic industry), but the human factor , the occupation and way of scavenger, which legally and illegally earning on waste, understood scantily.

The author did not meet such studies in Russia, and it was decided to investigate life settlements in the dumps, landfills structure of the organization, social interaction, and landfill as a rejected social space. There is observational evidence from Khimki, Domodedovo,Tula, Yaroslavl, Chemodanovskogo (Penza) sites, and foreign research data and reports[20].

The history of waste pickers in the world and Russia

Phenomenon settlements in landfills, and the interactions of marginal waste can be traced throughout human history. Disposal of sewage, garbage collection and waste in the space itself should bottom or social outcast, slaves, laborers, not adopted workers, prisoners, homeless, lunatics. There, where thrown again becomes a thing, there is a new cultural entity. "Discarded society" - the result of the mechanism of social selection by which society separates "clean" from dirty, foreign, disgusting. The commonality of garbage collectors we can called a risk niche with environmental and social constraints reproducing their risk practices at the present stage handling hazardous secondary raw materials and, to a greater extent, experiencing consequences of the authorities over measures to remove unwanted waste. The specific distinction of waste pickers from other unskilled worker's is their historical marginality

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[20] Of foreign authors dealing with the problems of waste, can be called the French sociologist and psychologist Gerard Bertolini, in the Freudian tradition conceptualize people's attitudes to waste in his "Rubbish - it's the others." Another important work (not a sociological topic), the story of waste of Catherine de Silguy [Sil'gy, 2011], the relevance of the work of Irish sociologist Anne Davis [Davies, 2008]. She presented institutional network approach to the study of geography utilization management waste in the various regions of the world. Other studies belong to the United States. In Chicago, 1990-2000 David Pellow [Pellow, 2006] conducted researching, in which was found that the power structure tours emit environmentally unsafe areas for unwanted life of ethnic minorities. Similar conclusions was obtained from the study of Dan McGovern, telling about the discrimination California Native Indians by Americans. Related to the theme of Catherine de Silguy in the United States issued the following works: Elizabeth Royte discusses the using of debris in everyday life, the same topic was developed in the works of Heather Rogers [Rogers, 1970], Susan Strasser [Strasser. 1999]

identity formation of 'professional' skills, high degree of rejection in society, self-organization of cultural traits in this niche. In the XIII century, they were called "loquetiere" – rag-and-bone-man, later - "pattier", "Drillier" - borer, "the one who bites into the trash heap", and closer to our times their name was "chiffonnier" - «picker" [Bertolini, 2007, p. 67]. In ancient civilizations (Egyptian, Greek and Roman Empire) waste disposal was organized very carefully, export sewage engaged slaves dwellings were located in places where they congestion. In India, this work was entrusted to the untouchables caste of Sudras, now head of this caste bhangicandala, churha. In Japan there was a group of "despicable professions" (burakumin caste). In Greece, for example, there was a law that prescribes to people take out the trash outside the city limits, and defined the distance to the landfill must be at least one kilometer. Cities in the ancient world were fairly clean for the reason that there were slaves, groups of them sweeping the streets, cleaned sewers of Rome, where the underground pipes flocked all the impurities of the city. Typically, slaves lived near fetid places. With the fall of the Roman Empire hygiene situation in Europe has deteriorated significantly.

In most European cities, from the earliest times to the late Middle Ages the garbage and slops were thrown out of the window or accumulated in cesspools and rivers (from drinking water) and humus led to the spread of multiple epidemics (plague, scabies, typhoid, dysentery, etc.). But the medicine of the time long relied on the smell as the cause of epidemics, (without considering drink water) from the poisoned wells and lack of personal hygiene. The latter there was supported by the belief that the body wash promotes diseases, the same spread religious treatises, that preached lack of hygiene as martyrdom.

According to Catherine de Silguy, Louis XII only in 1506 created housekeeping urban dirt, which regulated activities tax imposed for garbage disposal. It marked the beginning of a new system of garbage disposal: in any family there was a special basket with garbage, which gave the cabby every morning with the ringing of a bell.

At the end of the XVIII century mass consciousness was attacked by the new "hygienic" theory. It represents not only a rethinking of dirt and debris hazard (was found that they are deadly), but was influenced by social reformers who have studied the life and working life, usually associated with junk activities.

Compostable material presented the interest only for farmers who fertilized the soil. Scavengers consumed "fresh" waste, but their main goal was broken things. Still, waste picking was the prerogative of marginalized groups. They was aimed at survival by finding valuable

nutrients and waste from more affluent citizens. In the first millennium in Europe, they remain autonomous social formation, and their tacit function, supported the need to survive - is being the "Cleaners" of the territory. Thanks passivity municipal authorities and citizens waste pickers have no competitors but themselves .

When such laws are included in the daily life, we can observe the social division - "dirty, poor, stick-in-the-mud" and "clean and decent." Moreover, was appeared new discoveries in medicine that determined the true source of numerous epidemics - it wasteland food wastes discharged to drinking water but not the smell of sewage, as previously thought by the scientists. Now cleaning sewage organization acquires vital necessity, but shift the responsibility of power freedom to waste pickers completely is not possible.

From the structure of man-trash-city government was made the transition to a more complicated system: man-trash-picker, municipal authority or a private company operating under contract. So, there is a classic rag-picker - a very special kind of occupation, existing until now as one of the manifestations of poverty, but then represented as a hierarchical structure of alliance of 'waste' occupations.

Catherine de Silguy stresses that the height of the era of rag-pickers (XIX century), the number of directly employed in this trade, reached up to 100 000 and 500 000 live directly or indirectly from the income from it – rag pickers, recycling vendors. In Paris and many other major European cities waste pickers activity completely conditioned by its position hierarchy. Below all - the garbage collector without the marked zones, moving from place to place. Above were "walkers." Walker had the appropriate tools for its activities - shopping cart, a flashlight and a crutch, i.e. stick for mixing waste with a pointed end. We can see this stick by the rag-pickers of today. Even higher were " traffickers " - owners of places where dumpedall found , as well as those who were attached to any area or building , i.e. the person had the right to sort out a waste enterprise. These seats are sold by traffickers , if they can not engaged in this work . They can be inherited (dynasties " rag-pickers " - traffickers).

At the top of the pyramid were the master - the rag-picker , or owners of warehouses recycled that could hire workers. However, this is what is formed onsoil underground. Knowledge of the rag-picker - about what to do with waste, how survive through them quite unique and is hidden from the narrow person. All pickers used to live in filthy quarters. In Paris it Catacombs Tomb-Issoire, removable cell (cell with a dirt floor that is easy to disassemble and required to pay for that), vacant lots, which are located next to the city walls, where pickers built themselves houses with available materials. Such settlements are formed in England.

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Part 3. Social Reality and Social Research

In 1828, in France was appeared a new ordinance, which obliged to acquire scavengers lantern, broom, as well as to collect garbage at night, scavenger had to get copper plates where stated his name and nickname. These plaques sold and resold between waste pickers and handed down, This law was repealed in 1873. Rag-pickers constantly slighted, forcing them to resettle farther and farther from the cities broads. Their lifestyle looks "vile and criminal," they tended to collective forms of alcoholism that are naturally repulsive to "pure" citizens.

And yet, these oppositions from was in an explicit dependence from each other because without " burghers " no waste , and garbage need someone to clean up . In the early twentieth century in many European cities was appeared recycling factories, and waste disposal (thanks to the development of industry) becoming an important governmental and the business sector market. Under pressure from the authorities, street ragpickers gradually stopped and they had to be incorporated into the changed structure.

In the early twentieth century was appeared the picker by cart, rammed garbage, and "sweeper " as payment gifted opportunity to delve into the trash. Industrialization and business privatized waste pushes rag-pickers and automated garbage collection entirely cuts off access to it. They have come together repeatedly in corporate movement seeking rights from time to time intervene in the garbage disposal . The scavengers of lower link compete with Ragmans providing their services along with the services of "pure" skilled workers. Forming of collective interests happens In their struggle for collective vocation expressed as a social value, these interests is the power over waste, and the trash, waste as resource for surviving becoming the value. This social group ceases to be a thing-in-itself , openly expressing their intentions. However, the government at these times, and nowaday do not appreciate the powerful potential that contained a disorganized community of rag-pickers.

The garbage taken into account as a profitable value, it again in the "fashion" and a scavenger is a tool for obtaining it. Grow faster than the rate of mass production, based on a more complex materials, the more there is trash which is not decomposed and reworked. Earlier municipal waste could be used for compost, but now there was a set chemicals and construction debris, increasing the number of landfills. Thus, rag-pickers in Europe "extinct" and gradually a new generation of "scavengers" – immigrants who are poor, who are willing any work. It happens that the state is not the only governmental center for controlling garbage collection. In Italy known phenomenon of   garbage mafia   where ruled "garbage kings." In the middle

Twentieth century with the growth of mass production began their activities as private business of waste removal, but the lack of control of the police and local authorities, it has become a disaster for the city, as ample opportunities nearby landfills been consumed, and consequently the trash formed on the street. It was only in the 90s of the twentieth century began a process of elimination Mafia. Already by 2000, most of these countries are at the fore front various locations for recycling rubbish that can not be said about third world countries [Sil'gy, c. 159]. Former colonial countries, many Asian countries after the collapse of the Soviet Union are in a poor economic state, however , the amount of garbage weight thanks to imported goods is gaining momentum. Packing cases, boxes , cellophane packages and all that accompanies the goods, live longer than itself, making most of the generated dumps. This problem occurs more from about the mid-twentieth century , and the rate of waste generation grow .

In response to the progressive development of the packaging industry many countries make up the program - Alliance Zero Waste (zero waste and zero losses), unifying the intention of full recycling of products .But this technology is expensive, taking into account that the necessity for separate waste collection acquires an additional cost, but most countries are not ready to accept such expenses . But this does not mean that Third World countries are buried in landfills without attempts to use the new technology. Such attempts are there, but more often they are due private sector market, which has its own rules , do not caring about the ecological state of the environment and the population. Moreover , recognized that recycling and sorting are profitable (and often one of the possibilities to survive), in some countries the waste picking industry developing, and grading as their own waste and waste from other states. As never, in exchange network resources (garbage) scavengers occupy here central place. In India , according to Anne Davis, 40% of waste is recycled through to waste pickers – is it excellent index in terms of productivity and no less terrifying, if you take the number of poor people involved in this environment. The highest efficiency of quality of recycling possible only if the application programs will be applied on the nation wides cale. Second, equally important factor is that the waste conversion technology involves culture and modernization waste management, as well as a high degree of awareness population about the rules of its utilization, which should inform the program municipal authorities. In Second, the waste conversion technology involves culture and modernization waste management, as well as a high degree of awareness population about the rules of its utilization, which should inform the program municipal authorities.

How experience of the European countries shows it demands decades and more years. Next problem - already mentioned interstate governmental waste transportation. The Basel Convention, which was signed by 170 countries of 258 to date regulates disposal and transportation of hazardous waste. However, we know many cases where more environmentally held state send them to poorer countries that do not have special equipment, making his own hazardous work. Macro context of the problem - social and economic relations appearing on the foundations of the dominance garbage over the world masses, can not affect on waste pickers formation that form not only the settlements, but and entire neighborhoods (Cairo district scavengers), villages (China), waste pickers' associations intended to protect the rights of scavengers contribute to the development of new technologies and to work for the protection of labor. However, these organizations are not yet able to waste pickers from its traditional activities. Interaction is needed a specific power structures. Often they present the shadow market or informal workers in landfills or make the collection and processing of personally available .

Garbage masses begin to interfere with daily life. Third World countries are strengthened firmly on the secondary market raw material processing and garbage collection. But as cheap labor force. Today the situation in Russia concerning state waste is almost identical to the ones in the poorest regions of the world. In Russia, the environmental culture differed by the cleanliness. Pagan period was characterized by frugality to the environment, and there were specific rituals started to cleanse body and dwelling. A typical hierarchy persisted: waste exported by servants or beggars, a bit of waste was composted and other bits was burned. In the Middle Ages, as well as in Europe, cities were not clean, although personal hygiene is respected throughout all Russian history. Garbage business engaged peasants from towns and villages: excrement from cesspools boats exported in the sea, and when the Gulf was freezing, sewage, garbage and snow exported at night from the fields as fertilizer [23]. Since the time of Peter the situation in Russia repeats European stage - to the twentieth century, the industry is owned by private waste disposal companies and municipal authorities. The Soviet system works quite efficiently with waste - there were plans to develop a recycling and programs of ecomodernization. To date, the removal of solid household waste in the Russian Federation is the prerogative of the municipal government. Previous system of collecting , recording and processing of waste has been destroyed, the new has not yet formed . "If the question of the treatment of industrial waste more or less solved by using the form 2TP " Toxicwaste ", in relation to household waste issue has not

been resolved. On federal accounting hard waste is not conducted at all , the official data Ministry Russia, Rosstroy Sanepidnadzor contradictory "[Boravskaja, 2009, c. 4].

In the literature there are different sectoral assessment of SHW in Russia - from 30 to 70 million tons per year. The collapse of the USSR promotes for a spreading of Polygons and waste pickers' settlements. The existence of illegal landfills extremely profitable - the waste can be disposed of much cheaper than legal, besides taking them out of sight of regulators. Rubbish belongs to no one and that is the basis for all activities of recycling. Projects by implement separate garbage collection appear repeatedly but, the experience of recent years shows that the culture of handling waste not perceived properly. Requires supranational law that regulates strictly the transportation activities and recycling measures to ensure occupational safety of waste pickers. The Culture of rag-pickers is the underground culture, it is saved only in self-established practices, and disappears with new processes affecting its activities. Description of their life can be reconstructed thanks to the artistic novels few historical and legal documents , but now happens a new " flourishing " of this culture. Foundation is constructed mainly due to toxic waste and their excesses. In our view, it requires a attention of social researchers perhaps in most cases, even their personal involvement in the protection of their rights and activities . Such attempts have been made researchers and activists within the concept of the environmental justice [Pellow, 2002] .This field has great opportunities to apply a variety of theories, but in this case,   given the global nature of what is happening, and requires a skillful combination of micro-macro approaches for adequate interpretation. Basically , all what existed in the Middle century: the way life of waste pickers, the seeming, some tools stay on this way nowadays, of course, excepting complicated technique . But with the extension of waste mass, appeared new forms of living forms and activities .

Of particular interest is the Egyptian city of scavengers (Manshiyar - Nasir) as social formation. In the city there is an entire guild Christians - Copts involved in the collection and processing debris. They are called zabbalinami (Arabic زبـــالين, Zabbaleen) They came from the Suez Canal Zone immediately after the Six Day War in 1967 , settled about local attractions include Cathedral St. Mary and St. Simeon shoemaker in Cairo. In the city is not held sewerage and electricity, not even water. Their numbers employs about 40,000 people [Sil'gy, 2011]. It is a city dump, whose daily life entirely subservient for garbage masses. Cooking and sorting debris occurs on the same streets. As for Brazil, then we will focus on the largest landfill Rio de Janeiro – Jardim Gramacho. About it we can watch a documentary film "Wasteland" that was made in 2010. It employs about two and a

half thousand people who live near a settlement located on the same island - dump. They are called catadores - "those who pick up the garbage ." Scavengers collect paper, plastic , metal, etc. - that refiners and wholesalers pay. Rubbish sell right here. They Collect about 200 tons of recycled garbage, produced by the city with population about 400,000 people. 70 percent of the debris from the Rio and 100 percent from the local area (there due to poor areas) .

Brazilian Association catadores is open to unite, with certain rights and internal organization. In this group, psychological and mutual solidarity are the main values. There are standards of behavior in the organization, defend the rights of the organization. Family is one of the main values for which these people earn money. If a person gets here, it certainly fall, but not the exclusion from society.

The material from the waste is consisted forming a living space of ragpickers. One of many examples that can show us – the city Guanchzhu in China. Hazardous waste is imported from richer countries (like the United States that have not signed the Basel Convention). In this case, specialization scavengers - electronics, perhaps one of the most harmful debris. Requires high-tech equipment and strict adherence to environmental safety rules, which are clearly lacking in Guanchzhu, and in India, Ghana. Homes in several settlements turned into a kind of waste treatment plants. Their work process consists in that the collected waste, such as wire recycling by burning the feedstock in place in order to obtain valuable metals that it becomes dangerous to human health and the environment. In the homes people create the workspace - for each material separate container (saucer) to sort materials, special tongs, hammers. Rubbish (extremely hazardous waste) is perceived here as something ordinary, and actions that are made on them - ordinary work, nothing more.

Children exactly the same workers as adults. In the midst of garbage they play, learn, collect waste, communicate with other people. Recycling of electrical waste is also common in Ghana. Here we do not see any towns or villages, people live directly on the landfill Agbogbloshi. They using only trucks for picking up a garbage. Livestock grazing right at the dump , the home (rather - "relaxation room ") may be located there.

On the Guatemala illegal workers use a magnet to searchs crap metal. People go to the waste water from the landfill and move with the flow of waste, trying to catch something that can be recycled. How far people can stop neglecting safety it can not predict, but a large number of images from the literature and analyzed all the collected resources clearly show that the majority of the most important rules of hygiene violate by the waste pickers. On Cambodia waste recycling occurs not only during the day, but and night. In an effort to make more money,

people wear special helmets with a lantern and go to the dump. As we can see, people do not try to safe children from harmful health practices, rather the contrary.

They can come here for those that like to take a dose, and in order to spend enough a long time as a kind of a hotel, the "club". In Bangladesh in Chittagon, which is the largest center for recycling ships, working men of all ages, and while they are engaged in legal work, but it is still more harmful and dangerous health than the usual rubbish. They deal with complex materials and toxic residues fuel, but a lot do with bare hands . The landfill of ships looks very picturesque, old technique takes a huge space , and can not immediately understand that this is also a dump, although highly specialized. First, the abandoned ships on the background of the vast sea draw fantastic scenery, but as soon as the workers, dressed in dirty clothes , everything is transformed. A wide range of work conducted with various tools to separate parts of the ship.

The representation waste pickers' mode of life

The Landfill space of municipal solid waste is a corrupted clutter of objects and materials species, often mixed with sand or earth , and its "body" is separated from the rest of the living space and working environment. The doubtful monumentality of this mountain, and at the same time, its fragile softness, consisting of entirely of plastic and cellophane, at first glance, but in reality is not so simple. generalized map of landfill may include: entry and main road for garbage trucks, several different roads, leading into the landfill, where trash is distributed and produced "islands" fresh waste for people who sorting and collecting the trash. Solid waste does not imply the presence of chemicals and building materials, as they require different storage conditions. If landfill has a well-organized practice sorting together with trained staff, the fresh garbage is rapidly distributed on new piles - plastic bags, paper, glass. These areas may be part of a tacit property, for example homeless in the city of Tula , that sorted the cardboards, made this part of the landfill "Their" , and immigrants evaded this area. Contrary to the rules the landfill fenced or enclosed only by the entrance, opening the way for everyone on the side where it expands due to stale debris. Very often in the Russian cemetery adjacent to the dump and domestic trash mixing with cemetery's garbage - thrown out wreaths, crosses, plastic and real flowers. It two separate "excluded" space equal to the waste due to its proximity to the cemetery came the smell of rotting garbage and the wind blows debris. Another neighbourhoods of landfill sand human settlements are villages, housing estates, industrial zones. Design and structure of the landfill - an important part of recycling industry, and contains a number of environmental, technical, ecological regulations.

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Landfill must be fully fenced, located in the range of any human settlements, it is isolated from the bottom soil with a special material, warning poisoning environmental, the decomposition of garbage and occupancy that regulated by trained technicians specially. In Europe, which tends to the largest percentage of the processing and removal of secondary raw materials from waste landfill is the most recent and unwelcome refuge of debris.

Residential areas of homeless and migrants are rarely settled in the center of dumps, they are located either on the outskirts or in forest areas, because the risk of fall or injury due to escaping from the rotting waste gases. People live here with flocks of dogs and birds. Thanks roads passing through it, dump reminds settlement or city . Move around the landfill is best in long rubber boots, out in front of a long stick, probing the soil. Relief dumps diverse, but among them there are two types - those who grow in breadth, and those that growing in high. The structure of the latter most dangerous because the greater likelihood happened due to garbage landslides. Such arrangement of polygons selected by convenience, but not always environmental regulations. There are many similar trends in the organization of life in landfills in Russia and in the world, but there are some differences. While some countries - Brazil, India, China garbage collection employs thousands and even a few thousands people at large in Ligon or recycling areas, forming associations and combining them, in Russia there is no bright collective form organization of settlements. Given the scale of the territory there formed many polygons , and they of disparate groups - the Roma , the homeless, migrants seeking to divide the work and often feuding to each other.

Closure of small spaces and passivity of municipal authorities, also anomie is not conducive of workers community do not develop polygons as an economic unit, not to mention about its successful institutionalization. Overall global trend shows that the living space, and the number of employed population in this area recycling goes beyond polygons add up in districts and towns. If the state of some countries will not take measures to restrict their activities, we should expect further expansion the territories of poligons. But as a rule, a network of relationships, regulating transtation of waste and waste-processing activities is often illegal, semi-formal character, based on the search for profit of waste, disregarding the prescribed rules of waste recycling. The area of polygons may include other objects: incinerator item sorting, administrative headquarters. Usually they are located in one of the main entrances with security, that usually aggressive with others, the Russian media showed occurrences where operators was beated by them. Obviously , the entrance to the dump is closed not because

people can fall through the garbage, or hurt yourself , but because wasteland are often don't comply with environmental requirements. The mode range of work in most cases non-stop , removal garbage depending on the workload and size of the city. Thus, in a continuous pace there waste pickers working interruption on a smoke break, resting on the discarded sofas, chairs. Immediately they dine. We have no information about their work at night, but according to international experience, this practice distributed in all regions of the world there observed waste picking.

Polygons vary in the grade of ordering. The better the landfill handles garbage, the more requirements presented for a operational staff, equipment, for a standart of registration. There are wastelands where entered a formal contract and polygons with the hourly pay.

We had the opportunity to talk with one of the coordinators of the landfill (the person responsible for the distribution of waste) as well as with an accountant. Each role that was represented different from the other, but at the same time, they are complementary. Discourse of everyday life one group contains a part of the everyday discourse of the other, but separating "us" and "them." Group identity builts on the principles of "their" and "other", the entire work and household activities are conducted within the framework of its group. Homeless dehumanizes migrants: "these", "they." There are specialization by a kind of waste, one community collecting the waste paper, another collecting plastic or glass containers. Widely prevalent topic of alcoholism, which are subject to the homeless . If the Search of waste makes them take certain obligations and bear mode restrictions, alcohol, on the other hand , the factor of destroy in their activities. Alcohol often acts as a goal and a waste as means. If there is a need hold employee administration introduced penalties for booze. Mode of life of the underclass in representation of other role-playing elements varies, but in general their with condescending and sympathetic workers polygon always regret positive about the homeless (which is not to say the Migrants), drawing they are quite good-natured people with ill-fated destiny. Contact with landfill is due to the tragedy of life, inability to overcome a weakness for alcohol, or bad family situations . Often they live in the past, competing in who they were in the best times. Those who work in the organization for decades, mentioned that most large settlements arose in the 1990s. Landfill is the most stable earning opportunities, and serves as a new ground for resocialization.

They have a "master." It seems that the landfill does not destroy and support their life as much as possible with its environmental restrictions. Survive at the site, it may be easier than in the metropolis. Landfill extends halo repressed space within a mile, and due to its location

(proximity forests) or more, and therefore can afford to create their own home from scrap materials. Homemade stove, about which tell the respondents - one of the decisive factors of survival during the cold season . Organization of everyday life from waste - a special kind of practice that requires mastery , where the living room reflects the needs of individual. Currently at the site is not seen marked gender division of labor specifications, the same can be said and about life . With all important life events (birth, death) they handle themselves , they do not matter institutionalize procedures - registration of such events in the registry office , medical examination and so on. We did not have to see the children , except provided by respondents girl who , according to them, 12 years old. Thus, methods and practices of their upbringing in this pro-space is unknown. The role of a homeless expressed by the other participants in this way: "it was originally something wrong, that it lacks something, why he can not functioned normally. " The subject of pride of the waste picker is catch for a workday. 'there are other ways of using the scape of wasteland ', respondents told about breeding fishing worms for sale, collecting some items. landfill space as an excluded items are not the only possible place for waste pickers and homeless living. Mass of waste produced and distributed in the usual cities, forming areas recycling. An example of this can serve as scavengers in Cairo city, Guangzhou city in China, specializing in electronic waste.

In conclusion, these cases can shows that Russian situations with waste pickers' way of life have a some conceptual differences from world's trend in organization of waste recycling, modes of represents how waste distributed and using by them, settings towards trash. It's necessary to using conceptual apparatus of a different sciences for study this problem more deeply and start making practical steps to improve the situation on the governmental level.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 3. Social Reality and Social Research

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Sociology of Deviance and Social Control (Deviantology) in Russia:

Short Review

Abstract

The criminology, sociology, genetics, cybernetics were forbidden by a Stalin regime. The first articles on sociology of deviance were published in Russia only in 1971. Contemporary sociology of deviance and social control (deviantology) is well developing branch of the Russian sociology. Reduction different negative deviance and development positive deviance is an important problem of the Russian society.

Keywords: deviance, deviantology, social control, Russia

The criminology, sociology, genetics, cybernetics were forbidden by a Stalin regime. These sciences started reviving only in the period of N. Khrushchev's "thaw". Possibility of the free not ideologized scientific researches appeared only during Gorbachev's "Rebuilding".

The first articles on sociology of deviance (Y. Gilinskiy, G. Zdravomyslov) were published in Russia only in 1971. The early empirical sociological studies of different deviance types were conducted from the 1970th years. It was researches of alcoholism (A. Gabiani, Y. Gilinskiy, B. Levin, A. Nemtsov, G. Zaigraev), prostitution (V. Afanasjev, A. Gabiani, Y. Gilinskiy, E. Pobegailo), suicides (A. Ambrumova, Y. Gilinskiy, L. Smolinskiy), drug abuse (A. Gabiani, L. Keselman, M. Matskevich), crime (V. Kudrjavtsev, A. Sacharov, A. Yakovlev, G. Zabrjansky and others).

First textbook "Sociology of Deviant Behaviour" [Gilinskiy, Afanasjev, 1993] was published in St. Petersburg in 1993, and first spacious monograph "Deviantology: Sociology of crime, narcotism, prostitution, suicide and other deviance" in 2004 [Gilinskiy, 2004]. Now there is its third edition (2013).

Contemporary sociology of deviance and social control is well developing branch of the Russian sociology. There are most known centers of a deviantology in St. Petersburg, Moscow: Kazan, Tyumen and Krasnodar. The St. Petersburg's Center of a Deviantology has a site (http://deviantology.spb.ru), which well-known and visited colleagues from Russia, Ukraine, the Czech Republic, Poland. Deviantology is closely connected with criminology, as sociology of crime. The course "Sociology of Deviance and Social Control" is taught at some universities of Russia.

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Russian scientists (V. Afanasjev, Y. Gilinskiy, M. Rusakova and others) took part in work of Research Committee No. 29 (Deviance and Social Control) of International Sociological Association (ISA) on Congresses ISA in Bielefeld (1994), Brisbane (2002), Gothenburg (2010) and on the Sociological Congresses of Russia. Besides, conferences on sociology of deviance are regularly held in St. Petersburg, Moscow and Krasnodar, and also in Tyumen, Kazan and Nizhny Novgorod. There are some of works in English and other languages [Gilinskiy, 1992]; [Gilinskiy, 1997]; [Gilinskiy, Zobnev, 1998]; [Gilinskiy, Zazulin, 2001]; [Tsytsarev, Gilinskiy, 2008]; [Gilinskiy, 2009]; [Gilinskiy, 2011]; etc.

Today successfully works Department of sociology of deviant behavior (the head – M. Pozdnyakova) at Sociology Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow) and Department of sociology of deviance and social control of Sociological Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences (St. Petersburg). Professor Yu. Komlev very successfully works, does empirical researches and publishes numerous books in Kazan. Professor T. Hagurov works actively in Krasnodar. Psychology of deviant behavior (Ju. Kleiberg, E. Zmanovskaja) developed parallel of sociology of deviance.

The topic of deviance is actually particularly for Russia, where level of violence, alcoholism, suicide, corruption is very high. For example, the rate of homicide (per 100 thousand population) was in Russia in 2003 – 23.1 (in Germany – 1.0, in USA – 5.7, in Japan – 0.6), in 2011 – 10.2 (in Germany – 0.8, in USA – 4.7, in Japan – 0.3). The rate of suicide (per 100 thousand population) was in Russia in 2009 – 26.5 (in Baltic countries – 22.0, in EU – 9.0 [Värnik, Sisask, Värnik, 2010, Pp.14, 16]). The rate of suicide in others countries is smaller. Russia wins first place in the world on consumption of alcohol: over 16-18 l absolute alcohol (100%) per person per annum. France takes the second place in the world (about 14 l), but in France drink more wine, in Russia - vodka. The family violence, consumption of drugs is much extended. There is total corruption and an amalgamation of criminal groups, legal and semi-legal businesses and law enforcement bodies, including police, and administration of Russian regions. Corruption Perceptions Index of Transparency International was for Russia in 2010 - 2.1 (with the maximum corruption reported in Somali, index - 1.1, and it minimum in Denmark, Singapore, New Zealand, index – 9.3). Russia together with Ukraine and Nigeria compose a "three" of countries where the maximum risk of enslavement exists (human trafficking).

Repressive traditions of imperial and Soviet Russia proceed in the modern policy of social control over deviance. The modern criminal legislation and practice of its application are cruel,

including mass tortures. Reduction different negative deviance and development positive deviance is an important problem of the Russian society.

Theoretical works of the Center of a deviantology (St. Petersburg) were the basis, a source of monographers about deviance and social control in Russia in XIX-XX centuries (2000), deviance of teen-agers (2001), globalization and deviance (2006), constructing deviance (2011), deviance in consumer society (2012), creativity as deviance (2014) and others. Cyberdeviance is new topic of our research.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 3. Social Reality and Social Research

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Russian-Speaking Diaspora in Turkey and Indonesia:

a Comparative Analysis

Abstract

The high level of migration leads to significant changes in the ethnic, religious, cultural picture of the world, to changes in human psychology and its way of life. We observe the new migration situation in contemporary Russia. After the collapse of the Soviet Union Russians go to live in other countries. The large migrant flow from Russia is channeled to Muslim countries. At the same time the Russian Federation has become one of the leading immigration receiving countries based on absolute number of immigrants.

Key words: Diaspora, Russian-Speaking Diaspora, comparative analysis, Muslim country, immigrant, host culture, lifestyle, social problem

Introduction

The current stage of social development, which is characterized by objective global trends, marked by significant changes in the economic, political, social, cultural and other spheres of contemporary society .Globalization, on the one hand, has opened unprecedented opportunities to expand communication and cultural space to enrich mankind with new knowledge and technologies,. On the other hand, it has created many serious problems of a destructive nature. The point is that people and nations begin to live in a new space. They lost their old conception of forms and borders, and the term "identity" changes its meaning. The high level of migration leads to significant changes in the ethnic, religious, cultural picture of the world, to change in human psychology and its way of life. After the collapse of the Soviet Union Russians go to live in other countries. More and more Russians aspire to live permanently in other countries, choosing popular destinations such as Turkey, Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, Indonesia (Bali). They are predominantly Muslim countries. Thus, in Turkey there are more than 94% of Muslims, in Egypt - more than 90%, in the United Arab Emirates is about 70%, and Indonesia is the largest Muslim country by population in the world. In different countries, the vital activity of the Russian Diaspora is different. In some countries it is formed, for example, in Egypt and in Indonesia, in others - its impact on the immigrants is weakened, for example, in Turkey.

Theoretical backgrounds

Before you give a description of the Russian-speaking Diaspora (transnational Diaspora) in the Muslim world, we consider the concept of "Diaspora". In the social sciences and humanities there is no clear opinion about what does the notion " Diaspora "mean. It is difficult

to identify its characteristics. Each researcher examines the Diaspora from the point of view of the object of his science and a specific approach in the study. Every scientific approach highlights its characteristics and criteria, studies different aspects of the phenomenon, the reasons for the formation and factors of influence on social processes, focusing on the more weighty and important characteristics of the Diaspora. . However, it should be noted that interdisciplinary research is not contrary to the other, and complement each other. Diaspora - is any ethnic or confessional (endogamous) minority living in an alien environment, the combined total self-consciousness, which is expressed in a sense of group solidarity [Tishkov, 2000, c.224]. To my mind, such definition, according to some researchers, greatly expands the concept of Diaspora. The main emphasis is on addressing the essential features of the standard model or communities, which are regarded as a historical Diaspora, especially - Jewish.

Referring to the original interpretation the term. For the Greeks «diaspeirein» (scatter, scatter) originally had the value of the natural process of o dispersion of seeds.. The verb «diaspeiro» has been found in the earliest Greek texts (Herodotus and Sophocles) is "scatter", "smash" (army) and "lavish" (money). It is known that later to describe the destruction of cities and how people are driven out, the term is used by Tacitus. Around 250 BC in Septuatinte, the Greek translation of the Bible, the term "Diaspora" used to refer to people of dispersion, it was in the sense of "dispersal of the Jews to the Gentiles", as well as a synonym for punishment, slave status and severe painful life, then this word was mentioned by Plutarch, Philo of Alexandria and the latest from Christian authors. Later after the translation Septuatinty term began to be used mainly in relation to the major Jewish communities, which were well known in the state in Egypt and the Seleucids. The destruction of the Temple by the Romans and the Jews lost their homeland gradually filled with the word "Diaspora" tragic and painful meaning. Over time, the idea of Diaspora has acquired stable features of suffering that accompanies many types (not just Jewish) exile. Therefore, the phenomenon actually Jewish dispersion by the term "galut" in the sense of "forced relocation as a punishment for sins."

Thus, the term "Diaspora" in its original form described the expulsion of the Jews from their historical homeland and their dispersion across many countries, and the consequent depression, discouragement. However, later it became known as often many ethnic groups living in a foreign cultural environment are called as a Diaspora. The term, therefore, has lost its original tragic content [Militarev, 1999, C.67].

The American historian W. Safran identifies six basic characteristics of classical Diaspora: dispersion of a single center; the collective memory of the country of origin and its

mythology; the feeling of foreignness of the host country; the desire for repatriation assistance homeland; identification with the country of origin, and based on this sense of group cohesion [Safran, 1991, p.87]. Safran focuses on the attitude of the Diaspora to the country of origin, paying particular attention to the links on the line, "the outcome of the country - the host country - the Diaspora. The concept of classical Diaspora W. Safrana caused a number of discussions in the scientific community and has been criticized by them. Dzh. Clifford pointed out that a large part of the Jewish historical experience did not match the myth of the return of the Jews and the desire to support the country of origin. The emergence of the Jewish state did not result in a significant part of the Jewish desire to repatriate. The myth of return is one of the means to enhance the cohesion and the preservation of self-consciousness, when religion is no longer able to perform this function, as well as due to the weaker and Diaspora communities fears of disintegration Having a sense of group solidarity is also questionable, especially when it comes to the political, economic and other interests [Clifford J., 1994, P. 312].

Another concept of classical Diaspora has been developed by A.Ashkenazii and it is based on six main characteristics and strategies of the Jewish Diaspora:

1)   mobility (the ability to change the host through the relocation from one state to another and move from one community to another;

2)   the availability of communications networks for the operation of the Diaspora , maintaining contact , the transfer of resources between communities , applying political and economic influence in the host country;

3)   intuitive communicative code with its own symbols , which provides communication between the members of Diaspora and the transmission of cultural information , tradition, preservation of ethnic identity;

4)   political conformism, limiting the subject of interaction with the host country authorities only problems and interests of the community , the possibility of smooth solutions ;

5)   low demographic representation, which does not allow the Diaspora to dissolve and take root and become ethno-territorial group in the host society ;

6)   the existence of an integrating myth , which is expressed in a strong attraction to the country of origin or the desire to go vernuts [Попков, 2003, cc.18-19]. To my mind, this concept is more applicable to the various ethnic communities, as it features more fleshed out, but not all diasporas support the ideology of the repatriation of the Diaspora, especially the new ones generated by a voluntary migration, and many of the Diaspora, which are considered classics (such as Chinese) do not correspond to this criterion

One of the leading theorists of transnationalism R. Cohen identifies several criteria of Diaspora:

1)	scattering of the group. According to the opinion R. Cohen, Diaspora forms in several host countries, and the criterion of scattering allows the researcher to distinguish between the Diaspora from the border of culture;

2)	the existence of a collective memory and myth about the homeland;

3)	mandatory qualification ago, that is, the time period of the existence of ethnic minorities in the new environment , which allows us to evaluate whether the group has evolved in the Diaspora or not. Diaspora is an indicator of the maturity time-tested strong ethnic identity of the group [Cohen, 2008, p.206].

In accordance with the ethnological approach, the Diaspora is seen as a part of an ethnic community (nation, people or ethnic groups), dispersed living outside the main area of settlement of their ethnic group.

As part of the migration approach presented by the concept of A. Brah, the Diaspora is considered in the economic, political and cultural dimensions of contemporary forms of migration. In the content of the concept of Diaspora A. Brah emphasis on moving, relocation. Diaspora, in his opinion, is a "place of a long-term or permanent residence of ethnic minority groups, which are saved in the event that some of its members or families move elsewhere" [Brah, 2001, p. 265].

One of the key places in the concept of A. Brah is the problem of the definition of "home" - the place the outcome of the Diaspora. However, not all diasporas support the idea of returning "home".

Professor at Cornell University (USA), J. Esman defines the contemporary Diaspora as an ethnic minority, which arose as a result of migration of preserving ties with the country of origin [Esman, 1986, p.333]. We do not quite agree with the migration approach, since it focuses only on the migration process, and, in our opinion, the Diaspora can't be deals with any movement of people.

Supporters of the sociological approach believe that the presence of social institutions is the most important condition for the existence of the Diaspora. J. and T. Toshchenko, Chaptykovoy. identify different features and qualities of resettlement groups, focuses on the fact that not every ethnic group, living not in their historical homeland is the Diaspora, and not everyone is able to organize themselves and the Diaspora to create a functioning national-

cultural association the authors identify four main features of the Diaspora, the absence of which implies the absence of the phenomenon of Diaspora:

1) the residence of an ethnic community outside their historic homeland;
2) the possession of ethno-cultural characteristics and ethnic identity inherent ethnicity,
3) the availability of socio-cultural and political institutions necessary for the operation.
4) social protection of specific people [Toshenko, Chaptikov, 1996, c.31].

We believe that the Diaspora - is a stable social and ethnic group, characterized by living outside their historic homeland, while preserving ethnic identity and the availability of social institutions for the development and functioning of the community. We have identified the criteria according to which, in our opinion, any stable set of people of the same ethnic group can be called the Diaspora: Belonging to a minority of the population. Low demographic representation does not allow the Diaspora to dissolve and take root and become ethno-territorial group in the host society:

• Corporate , that is , a sense of belonging to one group in which individuals have common views and beliefs.

• diasporic consciousness , that is, the ethnic consciousness. This awareness of socio-cultural community with the country of origin, that is, self-identification to a particular ethnic group , to the historical tradition of spiritual , material and linguistic culture of the country of origin, as well as a desire to preserve this ethnic identity .

• The aspiration to resist assimilation, through the organization of local governments and the conclusion of mono-ethnic marriages. The formation of institutions and organizations, which are aimed to preserve and develop ethnic identity and to support effective socialization of people.

In addition, it is necessary to note the important, in our opinion, the moments

• The Diaspora - a dynamic social phenomenon. For the purpose of self-preservation, in response to internal and external influences, the Diaspora has to be constantly changing.

• Diaspora formed under certain historical conditions, influenced by a number of political, socio -economic, socio -cultural factors that are unique to a specific ethnic group. Thus, the historical reasons for the formation of a Diaspora have a significant impact on its characteristics. On this basis, each Diaspora, which has a history of their formation may have different characteristics. But we understand that, the above characteristics should not be regarded as absolute.

The research objectives:

- To clarify the criteria of immigrants integration to diaspora or host culture

-To evaluate the perceived importance of each criterion among immigrants

- To explore the problems and way living of Russian immigrants in Muslims countries

Methodology

This study is based upon both qualitative research, used in order to clarify central issues of immigrants in Muslims countries and the role of Diaspora and to construct the research instrument, and quantitative research used in order to estimate the integration of immigrants to Diaspora or to the host culture

Procedure

1. Qualitative research – expert interviews

An exploratory study with experts in matters of absorption (50 90-minute interviews). We defined as experts people who played leading roles in the Diaspora. Respondents were briefed about their activity with the immigrants.

2. Quantitative research

The quantitative stage was conducted by questionnaire survey. The questionnaire used in the study was formulated as a result of the expert interviews described above.

The goal of the survey was to assess the importance integration immigrants to diaspora or to the host culture, to estimates immigrant's problems, way of life . The survey questionnaire included 48 item.). Representative sample consists of 500 immigrants in each country.

Findings

Research shows that the composition of respondents living in Indonesia is dominated by male migrants (53%), and 45.5% - belong to the female. survey data show that 98% of respondents living in Turkey - is a woman. We are sure that among the older generation of Russian-speaking migrants men live there. These figures confirm the words of the head of the society of culture and education in Turkey R. Rezaeva. She says that " the majority of women is due to the fact that the new Russian immigrants arriving in Turkey in the last 15 years were married to Turks". We explain the reasons for these results, according to which the emigrants left their native country. The predominance of men in Bali is connected with the "surfing." Gender sameness in Turkey is due to the relocation of motivation Russian immigrants. 39% of respondents living in Turkey, stated "marriage", while 71% of respondents were married with representatives of the Turkish culture. This factor indicates that the representatives of the Russian-speaking diaspora in Turkey (the younger generation) tends to like to assimilation and the acquisition of a new cultural identity. However, it says that the Diaspora starts to lose one of its important characteristics - stability of the ethnic group that can be supported by the

conclusion of mono-ethnic marriages, which is a condition in which the Diaspora is stored in its ideal form. But it should also take into consideration that the Diaspora is a dynamic social phenomenon, while we should speak about the processes of transformation of the Diaspora itself, which, keeping yourself to constantly change in response to internal and external influences. The vast majority of surveyed members of the Russian Diaspora, both in Turkey and Indonesia are relatively young age. This is indicated by the following parameters: age, the majority of respondents is 26-30 years. This answer is marked by 70.9% of respondents in Indonesia and 79.6% of the respondents in Turkey. Age of 8.2% of respondents in Turkey is between 21-25 years. 12.2% of respondents are aged 31-40 years. In Indonesia, 6% of respondents are aged 21-25 years, 19% 9 - aged 31-40, 3.3% - the age of 41-50 years

Where are the immigrants from? The majority of Russian immigrants (86%) arrived in the Muslim countries from Russia.13.2% of the respondents came to Indonesia from the USSR, and 16.5% indicated that they had come to Turkey from countries such as Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan. All the interviewed representatives of the Russian Diaspora in Turkey says that they have a higher education (see chart number 1) and got it in the country where they came from. 87% of respondents. has a college degree, 5.3% have incomplete higher education, 2.6% - vocational and 5.3% - secondary education (respectively).
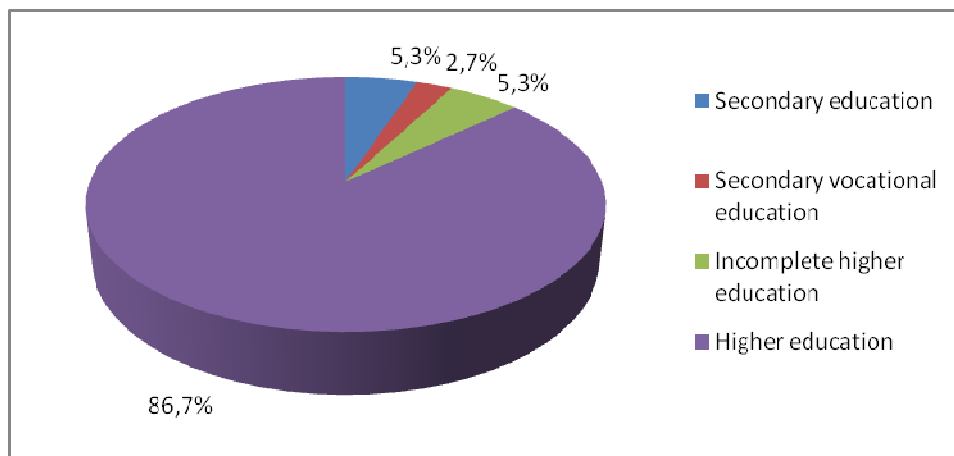
Fig. 1: The level of education of Russian-speaking immigrants (% of respondents in each group)

Chart number 1 shows that, overall, the level of education of the Russian-speaking Diaspora is high, which, in our opinion, helps immigrants easier to adapt to new living conditions and find a job. Our research shows that Russian-speaking immigrants - is mainly the working population. 48% of the interviewed representatives of the Russian Diaspora in Indonesia have full-time employment and 75% of respondents living in Turkey, 28% of respondents in

Indonesia and 4% - in Turkey are part-time. An equal percentage of respondents (21%) indicated the status of "not working and not studying".

It can be stated that the results of the study indicate a high level of immigrant's employment. Russian-speaking immigrants have quite a diverse field of employment (see table number 1).

Table 1:Career Russian immigrants (% of respondents in each group)

The employment of Russian immigrants	Indonezia	Turkey
Tuorism	27,7	22,4
Trade	-	15,3
own business	16,2	6
It-technology	12	2,4
managment	6	10,2
surfing	26,1	-
yoga	4	-
fashion business	8	5,5
education	-	3,2
household	-	35

Analysis of the results of the study shows that a large percentage of the respondents in the two countries is engaged in tourism. In Indonesia a large percentage of respondents immigrants is engaged in the field of sports (surfing-26, 1%, yoga 4%) and business (16.2%). In addition 12% of respondents are engaged in programming, 8%- in modeling business. In Turkey, besides tourism, 15.3% of immigrants employed in trade, 10.2% - in the field of management, 3.2% - in education, 5.5% of the emigrants are engaged in the modeling business, 6% own their own business, 2 4% - a programmer. The vast majority of respondents are housewives. In our opinion, it is typical for Turkey because in Turkey traditionally a woman has only a household and family. After analyzing the survey data in the employment of Russian-speaking immigrants, we can say that, since the majority of Russian immigrants- is a working population, in addition, owning your own business, the level of material prosperity immigrants is above average.

In addition, the figures tell us about it, they confirm the satisfaction of material situation of emigrants (see Diagram 1).

The ratio of the status of the material conditions of Russian-speaking immigrants and their satisfaction with the representatives of the Russian-speaking Diaspora (in% to the total number of respondents in each group).
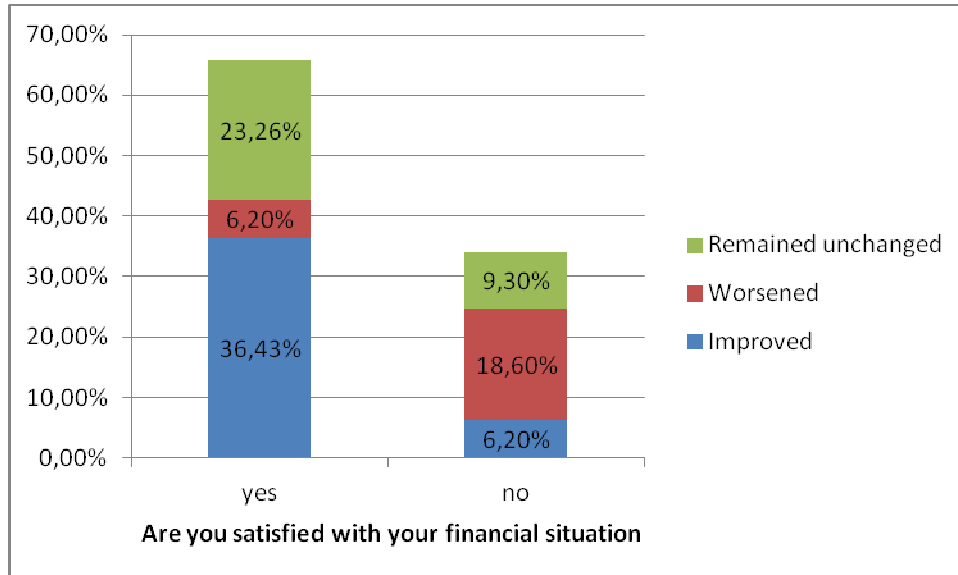
Diagram 1: Indonesia
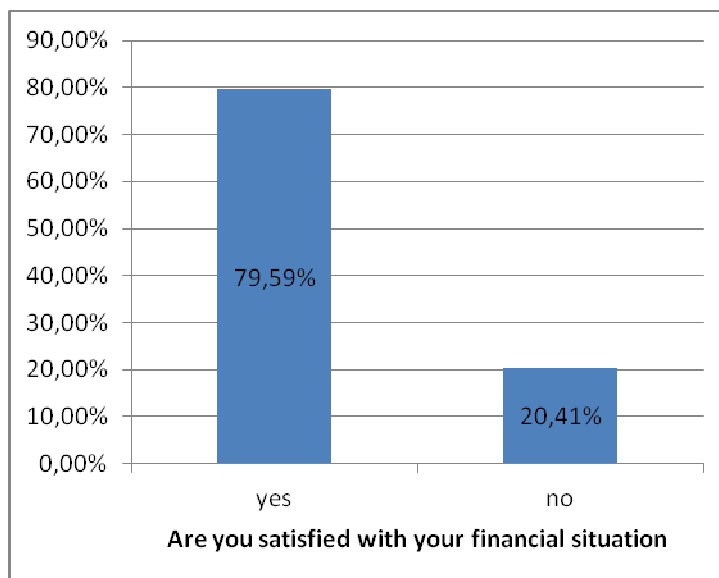
Diagram 2: Turkey

From the diagram number 1, we see that 79.6% of the surveyed migrants in Turkey and 66% in Indonesia are satisfied with their financial situation. 34% of respondents living in Indonesia, and 20.4% living in Turkey, are not satisfied with their financial situation. In addition, 42.6% of respondents in Indonesia pointed to an improvement in their financial situation, 24.8% said that it had deteriorated, and 33% of respondents believe that their financial situation has remained unchanged. These figures are proportional to the employment of immigrants. in

Turkey, all of the respondents reported an improvement in the material conditions. There are some reasons of it. First of all, the financial situation of immigrants (female) could improve in relation to the marriage and the transition to supporting the family, and secondly - the majority of immigrants (89.8%) had left Russia during the crisis and after graduation when a stable financial position was too early to assess.

Analysis of the survey data shows that the majority of immigrants are satisfied with their social status. 85.4% of respondents in Indonesia and 93.9% of the respondents in Turkey agree with this opinion. In this case, 55.1% of respondents in Turkey and 15.9% of respondents in Indonesia believe that their status has risen. 7.3% of respondents in Indonesia and 4.1% of respondents in Turkey are not satisfied with their social status and 11.9% of respondents in Indonesia and 4.1% of respondents in Turkey believe that their status has gone down. However, a large number of respondents believe that their social status remained unchanged (72.2% for Indonesia and 40.8% for Turkey). Thus, we have characterized the representatives of the Russian-speaking community on the socio-demographic characteristics. The findings of our study indicate that, in general, representatives of the Russian-speaking community in the Muslim world - is Uneven aged group of immigrants (with a predominance of the younger generation), different gender aspect (except Turkey), with high levels of education and financial security, a diverse field employment and satisfaction with their social status.

Analysis of the period of residence emigrants in Muslim countries, notes that the majority of respondents, that is, 89.8%, live in Turkey for more than 5 years, whereas in Indonesia, only 6% of the respondents live more than 5 years.

This difference in the duration of their staying may be explained by the fact that the waves of Russian immigrants headed to Turkey much earlier than in Indonesia, as Turkey geographically closer, and, more precisely, directly adjacent to Russia, and, consequently, to emigrate to this country much easier. Advances in the field of economy, politics and culture of Turkey have allowed the country's mediocre secondary in the early 90's to become a strong state with the weight on the international stage. This caused a wave of labor migrants from Russia, pouring into Turkey after the fall of the "Iron Curtain" in search of material prosperity. It was already the third wave of emigration of Russian-speaking population in Turkey. In addition, there were earlier waves of migration to Turkey (the eighteenth century, during the civil war in the twentieth century). Thus, the analysis period of residence of Russian-speaking immigrants in Turkey, suggests that the Russian-speaking Diaspora in this country was formed in the beginning of the XVIII century, and in the Diaspora, the Russian-speaking immigrants maintain their

cultural identity. In Indonesia, the Russian-speaking Diaspora began to form ten years ago. This is primarily due to the fact that this has become a tourist destination (general) available to Russia, when in the island there was room service and air service. In addition, one of the most influential causes contributing to the intensive development of this direction, and, in particular, the formation of Russian-speaking Diaspora here is so popular today in all countries of the world, "surfing." Thus, today, Indonesia - is rapidly developing a new direction, every year attracts a large number of immigrants. This is confirmed by the data in-depth interview: "10 years ago in Bali there was not developed infrastructure. It was a wild exotic island where there were no hotels, no restaurants, no luxury villas, not supermarkets "(Eugene businessman, 44 years).

Therefore, we can conclude that if the Russian-speaking Diaspora in Indonesia is still relatively young and is in the process of formation, in respect of Turkey, we can't say so because, as noted above, the first wave of emigration to Turkey surged in the early eighteenth century. The complexity of the study was that Russian-speaking immigrants are scattered in all the cities of Turkey, and to find representatives of the Russian Diaspora was not as easy as expected. Therefore, respondents who reported more than 10 years we lived, was a very small amount.

For our study is of great importance identification of problems encountered by immigrants when moving to another country. Sinc a large percentage of respondents reported having problems.

The study found that the most significant problem, which contributed more than half of the respondents, was "the emergence of feelings of loneliness." 53.6% of respondents living in Indonesia, and 56% of respondents living in Turkey pointed at it. And this, in our opinion, is quite naturally, since getting into a new culture, a person is faced with unusual conditions for her or him and looks for support from friends or acquaintances. At this stage Diaspora plays an important role in adaptation. And for emigrants living in Turkey, it is a problem, in our view, less significant, since spouses may provide similar support for immigrants in Turkey. In second place on the significance is the problem of the relationship with the local people. . 50% of respondents living in Turkey and 16% of respondents choosing their place of residence. Bali, say that when they moved to another country they felt the hostility of local residents. This is due to the fact that the attitude to Russian immigrants in the tourist countries such as Turkey, Egypt, the United Arab Emirates is the negative. The negative attitude to Russian in Turkey is due to the rapid development of tourism, affordable for the masses of the population (which has a direct

impact on the negative behavior of Russian tourists in the resorts), and is due to the attitude toward Russian woman. This is also confirmed by in-depth interview: "Russian tourists often behave very uncivilized, which manifests itself in the boundless use of" free spirits ", rudeness, foul language. Russian girls sometimes very frankly dress "(Irene, 29 years old, a manager at the hotel, Antalya). For Indonesia, it is difficult to say about the negative attitude of the local population to the Russians, as the latter are considered as the owners of capital, due to the fact that Indonesia - is a relatively new tourist destination, and allow yourself to rest there may be quite wealthy people. However, despite the good attitude towards Russian in Indonesia, 30.4% of respondents indicates that there are conflicts with the local people. In our opinion, these judgments are quite subjective, so all of the respondents who reported this cause, surf, and, in this case, such conflicts could arise on the basis of athletic competition.

 In addition, respondents reported having household problems (8.8% in Turkey, 8.9% in Indonesia). . We believe that it is quite natural, since the difference in mentality and culture and customs - all this affects the living conditions. 8.8% of respondents living in Turkey and 7.1% - of respondents in Indonesia highlighted the difficulties of initiation to another culture. A relatively small percentage indicated that respondents were fairly easy to adapt to a new culture, and thus form a new cultural identity. In addition, 5.4% of respondents living in Indonesia, noted another problem arose when moving to Indonesia - "the incompatibility of religious belief"

None of the respondents living in Turkey, has not identified this problem. The low figure indicates that religious beliefs also did not become a significant barrier to immigrants newly arrived in conjunction with the new socio-cultural environment (group), and, therefore, the acquisition of a new cultural identity. 9% of respondents in Indonesia notes the problem in communication because of the language. However, it should be noted that almost the entire adult population of Indonesia is fluent in English, is not true of Russian-speaking immigrants. . Moreover, 18% of respondents living in Indonesia, stated "the difficulties with finding work. However, in our view, it is rather subjective judgment, as in Bali a significant number of organizations in need of employees owning Russian-language speech.

Conclusion

Russian-speaking Diaspora was formed in Turkey in the XVIII century, and in the Diaspora, the Russian-speaking immigrants maintain their cultural identity until the end of the twentieth century. Today there is a trend of weakening its impact on Russian-speaking immigrants;

-Russian-speaking Diaspora in Indonesia begins to take shape at the beginning of XX1 century. The process of its formation is spontaneous and remains unfinished;

-Russian-speaking Diaspora in Turkey is presented to a greater extent by women in Indonesia – it consists of the majority of men.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 3. Social Reality and Social Research

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E-Books Reading of Children and Adolescents

Abstract

The article discusses the e-books reading of children and adolescents. Special attention is paid to the children's age of entry into the information space of the Internet, types and forms in which they prefer to read books. The study shown that shifts proportion towards e-books reader of both age groups, paper books still dominate.

Keywords: Internet, e-book reading, children, teens, online, books

Information society establishes its own laws, providing new opportunities and penetrates in the increasing number of spheres of human activity. Internet figures prominently in children's lives – it's impossible to imagine a child or teenager who hasn't heard or never use the internet. According to studies modern teenagers actively join to the new information society. In 2013 Russian State Children's Library in conjunction with the "Levada Center" conducted a comprehensive study on All-Russian children's reading. In the context of this study respondents were given a set of questions about their attitudes to e-reading. The results showed that the age of entry into the information space of the Internet among children decreased: a third part of primary school students said they read e-books from the Internet.

The girls are in the early school years surpass of boys: 30% of boys and 37% of girls reported they read e-books. 60% of children ages 7-10 reported reading books on computer's screen (69% of boys and 53% of girls), and only 20% of children print out books from the Internet. The majority of them are girls also (25%).

Table 1: Types of e-book reader (primary school students)

How do you read books from the Internet, e-books?	Total, %	Gender	
		Male	Female
1. I read books on the computer screen / laptop / iPod	60	69	53
2. I print out books from the Internet	20	13	25
3. I read books on my mobile phone / device / iPhone	7	10	3
4. I have a device for reading electronic books	24	23	25

As seen from Table 1 e-book readers have 24% of children, girls use them more often than boys - 25% and 23% respectively. Reading from mobile phone's screen is not very popular among the pupils - only 7% of children, this kind of electronic reading attracts much more the boys (10%) than girls (3%).

Coming to secondary school children it changes attitude toward e-reading: 67% of adolescents reported reading books from the Internet. The interest in reading e-books increases two times among boys and girls (Table 2).

Table 2: Reading e-books on the Internet

Do you read books from the Internet, e-books?	Primary school			Secondary school		
	Gender		Total, %	Gender		Total, %
	Male	Female		Male	Female	
Yes	30	37	33	61	73	67
No	70	63	67	39	27	33

Attitude children to different ways of reading electronic books practically does not change as they get older, while there is some increase in the use of the device for reading - 19% at the secondary school compared with 7% of pupils at the primary school. At the same time there is a trend of falling interest in electronic reading from computer's screen of the boys: in primary school 69% of pupils say that they read books from the monitor, in secondary school this figure dropped to 57%. Also increased reading books on mobile phone: girls increased six times (from 3% in the primary school to 18% in secondary), boys increased twice (from 10% to 21%). A using electronic device strengthens the activity in girls reading and opens greater access to a variety of texts.

Most teens reported that they mostly prefer paper books (48%) than e-books (23%). Moreover, paper books prefer 50% of girls and 46% of boys, and e-books prefer 26% of boys and 21% girls. For 29% of boys and girls don't matter format of books (e-books or paper) that they are interested in reading (Table 3). So the electronic reading today is not threatened by the traditional book, but rather complements it and makes it possible to refer to the process of reading in different circumstances.

Table 3: Variety of reading books

In what form do you prefer to read books?	Total, %	Gender	
		Male	Female
1. Paper books	48	46	50
2. E-books	23	26	21
3. It doesn't matter how to read	29	29	29

The results showed that adolescents know where on the Internet you can find information about the books, and can easily get it: on publishers web-sites (23% of boys and 30% girls); on social networks (31% and 29%); on forums and on communities web-sites (11% and 19%), in

the blogs (16% of boys and girls). 35% of boys and 24% girls are not interested in such information.

Characteristics of teen's reading changed slightly larger due to the increased accessibility to the Internet at the last 5 years; namely teenagers actively learn new electronic tools for reading. Children's and teen's circle of reading nowadays consists of two main parts: reading printed (paper) books and magazines and reading books and magazines from the Internet. Despite of shifts proportion towards e-books reader of both age groups, paper books still dominate. Due to the Internet and new technologies adolescents show more intensive reading as compared to 2006, and at the same time they know more about where and what to read (including Internet).

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Teaching conditions of use of the Orff Approach in the development of creative abilities of preschoolers

Abstract

The basis for formation of a creative and active person, who is able to effectively cope with life's issues and find non-standard solutions for everyday problems, is laid during preschool childhood and is a vital step in further development of a person, leading to their successful creative activity and self-development. That is why the modern system of preschool education is looking for new approaches to the upbringing and learning of preschoolers, and to the formation of a creative, active person, trying to combine them with educational standards and existing methods.

Keywords: preschoolers, psychology, education

In our times society needs the person who is confident and able to navigate the ever-changing world around. The basis for formation of a creative and active person, who is able to effectively cope with life's issues and find non-standard solutions for everyday problems, is laid during preschool childhood and is a vital step in further development of a person, leading to their successful creative activity and self-development. In times of rapid change, such as ours, children need to have an independent, out-of-the-box thinking, self-belief, courage to try and make mistakes, and temporize, until they are able to find a solution to their problem. And it's teachers who are responsible for unlocking of children's creative potential.

That is why the modern system of preschool education is looking for new approaches to the upbringing and learning of preschoolers, and to the formation of a creative, active person, trying to combine them with educational standards and existing methods. This process applies to all aspects of early childhood care and education.

From the point of view of Psychology, preschool childhood is a sensitive period for the development of creative abilities, because at this age children are extremely curious, they have a great desire to familiarize with the world around them. Accumulation of experience and knowledge - is a prerequisite for the future creative activity. Preschoolers' minds are more opened and free than minds of older children. It has not yet been suppressed and limited by different dogmas and is more independent. [Goncharova, 2012]

Many psychologists and educators have proven important role of musical activity in the creative development of children (Petrushin V. I., Radynova O. P. etc.) This means that those

children who play music, think, feel, and evolve in a different manner comparing to those who just talked about and listened to music [Goncharova, 2012].

According to Vygotsky L. S., creativity peeps not only in the process of creating great works, but also every time when a child dreams, modifies or creates something new. Every child is capable of such activity. We need only to guide them and control this process.

Creating an educational environment which would enhance the feeling of psychological protection of children and contribute to developing of new ideas is essential for the development of creative abilities and optimization of the creative process.

Such environment, supporting the development of creative abilities of preschoolers, should consist of (acc. to Maslow, Orff, Druzhinin, Bogoyavlenskaya, and others): treating a child as an self-sufficient person; respect; acceptance of any of its individual manifestations of creativity; compliance with the main principle of child-centered way of learning to "support the child, not just dictate"; active and creative interaction of all the participants in the pedagogical process; software, methodical, didactic equipment to the pedagogical process; widespread use of modern technologies and learning tools and multimedia; selection of repertoire according to the age-group, based on the folklore; conducting classes in a playful way, using active methods of learning - "learning in action", when a child is a co-author and creator.

Our work on the development of creative abilities is based on the pedagogical ideas of the great German musician-teacher Carl Orff, as we believe that his developmental approach possess the necessary flexibility and universalism, and is a foundation for creative expressions; it also gives a teacher an opportunity to find an optimal and complex approach to the process of solving different challenges of creative development, and creativity of preschoolers. The Orff Approach to child character building puts in the first place the respect of a child's personality; which in its turn is a psychological base for creation of a friendly educational environment which leads to a smooth creative process [Barenboym, 1978].

Relying on the Orff's main technological approaches to the development of artistic skills of preschoolers, we have developed an original project "Orff-Feechka" (Orff's Fairy). This project involves preschoolers, a musical director, preschool teachers, and parents.

The main goal of the project is the development of creative abilities of preschoolers with the help of the Orff Schulwerk. Our objectives are to develop creative abilities of preschoolers; to promote the development of basic mental functions of children: perception, memory, thinking, emotion, imagination, will; to create the motivation to express creative abilities; to involve parents in the process alongside with their children; to generate children desire to be creative in

different activities; to raise children, who respect and pay attention to the creative manifestations of others.

One of the basic principles of the project is the frequent change of different activities during study in class and integration of those activities, including: 1) movement (core movement, dance); 2) speech (articulation and speech exercises, recitation); 3) voice (vocalization, singing); 4) rhythm (body percussion, game); 5) musical instruments (Orff's instruments, objects and materials). [Barenboym, 1978].

Thereafter, the project includes five sections: Section 1 – Fairy of Movement. Motor skills, development of simple dance movements, elementary dancing. Section 2 - Fairy of Voice. Vocal utterance, intonation. Singing with accompaniment and a cappella. Section 3 – Fairy of Knowledge. Theory of the process. Section 4 – Fairy of Sound. Body percussion, Orff's instruments, techniques of sound producing. Section 5 - Fairy of Imagination. Development of psychological functions of children: perception, memory, thinking, emotions, imagining, will. Also, in every section there's a Fairy of Inspiration - creative activity, implying a children creative tasks, improvisation in the given activities.

Each class consists of the following types of activities: warm-up activity; text exercises; use of the body percussions; orchestration with body percussion, work on the metric pulsation; orchestration with noise instruments; creating a composition - "unified form" of a lesson; play. Thus, all forms of activities are activated during class-work. The development of motor skills (general, shallow, speech); direct motor reactions; the development of speech (expressive intonation, vocabulary enriching, diction); learning and understanding of theoretical music concepts; the development of mental functions of a person (emotions, memory, attention, imagination, thinking, cognitive processes); an education of artistic taste, creative performance, and improvisation. Class usually takes 30-35 minutes of work with children in an atmosphere that is similar to a child's world of play involving solution of several problems. Repertoire, musical and poetic materials should be multifunctional. At the end of the class all the components are combined into one composition, thus creating a "unified form". Musical instruments needed for class should be arranged in such a way that children would have free access to them and can choose a tool for their liking [Zaburdyaeva, Karsh, Perunova, 2010].

The practical significance of the project: 1) project might be used to create situations of success, stimulating creative manifestations and fulfillment of children through musical and creative sequences; 2) based on the Orff Schulwerk, this project of development of creative abilities of preschoolers helps to uncover and develop creativity in children; 3) different types of

interactions of all members of the creative process, help to create effective pedagogical conditions for the development of creative abilities of preschoolers.

Thus, creating of this educational environment is one of the main factors in the development of creative abilities. It is vital for optimization of the creative process and for the creative development of pupils. In this case the teacher acts not just as an adult, who teaches, but as sincerely enthusiastic person who draws others in their creative process as colleagues, and provides opportunities for them to express their creative potential.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 3. Social Reality and Social Research

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Young Students' Self-protective Behaviour in the Axiological Framework of the Modern Russian Society

Abstract

The article raised the issue of general ill health of Russian young students' in recent years. The factors identified non-compliance with the principles of self-preservation behavior among students and distribution relationships, increased risk to their health. The article raised the problems of youth's lifestyle, its socialization and adaptation, social state of health and social development etc. Health in sociological dimension supposes the analysis of its social parameter

Keyworlds: axiological framework of the modern Russian society, self- protective behavior, youth healthy, values of a healthy lifestyle, health risks

The Russian society has been in a lingering sociocultural crisis, which is characterized by changing values, changing attitude towards personality, society and health and changing lifestyle, as a whole, among the Russians, primarily, among the Russian youngsters [Cherednichenko, 2004; Hlopova & Ozernikova, 2002; Kovaleva & Lukov, 1999, Igoshev & Mingaleva, 2010b].

There have been noticeable symptoms of young Russians' social indisposition for a long time in the Post-Soviet Space, due to what the national project "Health" is developed and is focused on strengthening the social and physical potential of population and the national and regional positions about reproduction of Russian population [Igoshev & Mingaleva, 2010a].

This problem is more up to date for pupils and young students , who are between states and preparing to be adults, but at the same time, are those who have own aims, views, priorities and lifestyles, which are the results of socialization and adaptation to the changing conditions of dynamic world [Gavrilyuk & Trikoz, 2002; Konstantinovskiy and all, 2002; Kuhterina, 2003]. The specific of the Russian society is that there is a process of active axiological dynamics nowadays, which has a strong influence on a conscious, behaviour and values system of youngsters and their views on the self-protective behavior [Boyko, 2002; Vishnevskiy and all, 2000; Vishnevskiy, 1999; Zborovskiy & Shuklina, 2003].

With all this going on, the researchers, when studying youngsters' health in the social aspect, focus on an axiological side of social health as building emotional and physical health and self-protective behaviour of the young generation [Lisovskiy, 2000].

The scientists point out the crisis of the essential agencies of socialization- family and education as one of the main factors, which influences the state of youth's health and its self-protective behaviour and they also say about the rise of Mass Media influence, which develops

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the philosophy of "here and now" lifestyle , on a process of building a young personality. It can be thought that the most scientists share this point of view, because none of the researchers do not deny the fact that the low health awareness and corresponding attitude towards it as towards the value of life run in the Russian youth.

Sport does not only help keep the youth healthy, letting them be in a good shape but also can be the way of self- actualization for a young personality in a society. Thus, the analysis of the topical works showed that this topic was widely reported in some aspects on both theoretical and practical levels. It worth mentioning that the most of the scientific works relate to the study of self-protective behaviour and health of the Russian youth as a whole, while the students and their self-protective behaviour have not been fully studied yet [Lukov, 2002; Sorokina, 2003].

The absence of a complex scientific analysis of young students' self-protective behaviour in the axiological framework of the modern Russian society determines the need of deep scientific analysis of the problem.

In compliance with the background of this topic it is necessary to achieve the following objectives:

- Analysis of the theoretical approach to research of self-protective behaviour of young students in sociology;

- to explore the influence of the Russian society's values system transformation on the youth's social health;

- to study the features of healthcare values transmission to a young generation in the conditions of axiological dynamics of Russian society and in the conditions of crisis of social development system;

- to find out what values are priority for the young Russian students and to determine what place is given to healthcare in the values hierarchy system.

- to give the characteristic to the features of young Russian students' self-protective behaviour in the conditions of spontaneous socialization;

- to determine the ways out of the present situation of Russian society's crisis through physical training and sport as an agent of socialization while building self-protective behaviour of young Russian students.

The study of Russian youth's lifestyle and its axiological and psychological aspects will allow us to get the psychological knowledge about youth's self-protective behaviour and determine priority directions in the field of building youth's self-protective behaviour as an essential condition for young Russian generation's emotional and physical healing.

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Having studied the statistics and demographical data, the results of sociological researches done by the Russian scientists and large learning centers of the country (IS RAN, VTSIOM), where the Russian youth's social health and self-protective behaviour problems are solved, the own sociological survey "Healthy lifestyle as a value among young students" have been carried out (February – March 2014) 455 Perm students took part in it – 163 Perm State Academy of Art and Culture students and 152 Perm State Pharmaceutical Academy students and 140 Perm State Humanitarian Pedagogical University students. The respondents are 274 girls and 181 boys.

The empirical data collection represents the main tendencies in building young Russians' values system, concerning self-protective behaviour and changing of it.

Summary:

1.   Self-protective behaviour is one of the main indices, showing the level of social health and emotional state of a society and, primarily, a youth. The self-protective behaviour means the attitude towards own health, this behaviour is being built in the sociocultural, social economical and historical conditions of society's development, as a result the approaches, which were made in the frameworks of sociocultural, axiological paradigm modern society research and the principles of clinical approach in sociology of medicine can be considered as optimal for studying youth's self-protective behaviour. Thus, young students' self-protective behaviour can be determined as the set of actions, directed to health promotion and preservation, reflecting youth's attitude towards healthcare in the conditions of modern society's axiological dynamics and spontaneous socialization.

2.   The attitude towards healthcare is built during the process of socialization. The standards of healthy lifestyle as well as the standards of views, behaviour, attitude towards the world are set up in traditions, customs, proverbs and sayings, in principles of upbringing and, then, are passed on from generation to generation. The crisis of socialization system in Russian society has destroyed the system of sociocultural succession and intergenerational transmission, and at the same time the system of healthcare values transmission. The health as a value is getting to be a tool for achieving success among youngsters, being turned into the instrumental value.

3.   The main reason of the high sickness among the young Russian students is the absence of health awareness and self-protective behaviour skills, which is built during the process of upbringing, in which family, school and other agencies of socialization take part. The breakdown of unified values system led to the ruin of social development paradigm and caused

spontaneous socialization, which is the reason of young Russians' physical and emotional state declining nowadays.

4.   Universities of Physical Culture and Sport are the agents of socialization, contributing to youth's self-protective behaviour building. The process of socialization that takes place trough physical training and sport differ from those of family and school, developing the way of promotion definite social values and views, which build that necessary self-protective behaviour culture. However the results of such socialization, which takes place trough sport, depends on concurrence in the values of sport and society, development of such values as the equality of chances for success, freedom, social justice in sport. Physical training and sport possess powerful social development potential, which should be used against the counteragents of socialization such as Mass Media, criminal subculture etc.

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Karpova, Daria N., Moscow

«The Youth-Online»: the Influence of Internet-Communication on Younger Generation?

Abstract

The author analyzes such social phenomenon like digitalization of society especially of the youngest part of it. Many social scientists are deeply concerned with the problem of youth cyber dependency. It is primarily caused by people's "submergence" into the newest technological gadgets and virtual reality. The author proposes a definition for the newest youth behavior applied to describe people who use electronic smartphones most part of their day time – youth-online. However there is no need to diminish all advantages associated with the internet using. It is both quick access to any information and distance education, but here the author stresses upon another side of internet using. The paper reveals some forms of social and psychological challenges and deviance behavior while active using of virtual mass communication tools. On the base of the empirical data made by the Sociological School of The Moscow State University of International Relations (MGIMO-University), there was made an attempt to clarify the youth understanding of such phenomenon like internet-responsibility for the content users post and what do students mean by the term "cybersecurity"? Thus, the virtual freedom has ambivalent nature: firstly, it seems to be a public wealth, providing «unlimited» sources for communications; secondly, it can harm both society and younger generation in economical and moral terms.

Keywords: youth-online, internet-communication, information overloading, «disabled» face-to-face communication

More rarely we can witness a young man without a portable computer, mobile phone or pocket book. Thanks to a high speed of Internet supported by these gadgets, it became possible for young people to carry out continuous online-communications. For their new quality - to be constantly in touch instant messaging in chat rooms and social network pages [Wakefield and Rice, 2008, p. 1-2] – we propose to define a new type of youth behavior called «the youth-online».

The consequences of continuous internet-communications are ambivalent in its character and can influence young people' immature consciousness. On the one hand, manifest functional consequences are noted, for instance, the emergence of new type of youth solidarities [Omel'chenko, 2011, p. 185] as well as the distance learning, quick access to the necessary information, etc. On the other hand, this Internet openness can inflict the threat to the individual security, conduce the emergence of deviant behavior forms along with socio-psychological deformations occurring after an active use of virtual media. Scholars have noted a dysfunctional impact of the Internet, emphasizing its effect on the social consciousness, lifestyle and skills of young people. The impact of the Internet on the younger generation can cause a psychological

distress, the so-called «computer hunger» if at least one day there is no access to a computer [Kondrat'eva, 2000, p. 101]. Sociologists N.V. Korytnikova has studied internet-dependency during virtual interactions, information overloading and techno stresses, gaming and Internet addiction, self-identifications with cyber heroes and the desire of escapism [Korytnikova, 2010, p. 72]. The Internet-communication deforms interpersonal interaction, creating a fundamentally new quality of communication that is different to a traditional one (in kindergartens, schools, and sport sections) considering that for young people it is easier to communicate with a computer than actually with friends [Lapchenko, 2009, p. 140]. Consequently, the technological advanced level of young people makes them «professionals» in virtual communications, but «disabled» in the real life in face-to-face communications not only with their peers, but also in the family.

The author represents the results of a research conducted by the Sociological Department of Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO-University) showing how much time students spent online every day, and on what issue. There was also made an attempt to find out whether young people were aware of their responsibility for the information they published on their social network pages. The project «Virtual Freedom and Security of Students in the Internet Space» presupposed the survey of more than 700 students (bachelor and master degrees) in three Moscow universities (MGIMO-University, Moscow State University named after M. Lomonosov, RUDN). The survey revealed that 80% of all students used Internet primarily for their work and study. However, it is very important to understand the evident difference between informational and educational functions of the Internet. Students' perception that the Internet is the only reliable source of knowledge in preparation for classes and exams is false. Internet searching sites are arranged in such a way that provides with a narrow selection of information and links to other sites helping to find exactly what person wants excluding the excessive information. The French scientist A. Moll under such mechanical exclusivity understood «mosaic culture» [Moll, 2008, p. 292] which encourages superficial «fast» knowledge characterizing young people modern lifestyle. During the survey another question was asked: «Can you express your thoughts in Internet as safely and freely as you do in everyday life?» in order to understand their awareness of latent responsibility excited in virtual space. 80 % of respondents answered to this question in an affirmative way. 30% noted that they are free to speak out on the Internet as well as in everyday life and only 4% gave a negative answer to this question. In that study, we came across a paradoxical tendency: the elder students were the freer and more willing they were to share their thoughts through social networks. 63 % of graduate students communicated through the Internet without fear. Those who were younger were more

cautious - 56 % respectively. Thus, the virtual freedom has ambivalent nature: firstly, it seems to be a public wealth, providing «unlimited» sources for communications; secondly, it can harm both society and younger generation in economical (cybercriminals) and moral (bullying) terms.

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Khaknazarov, Said Kh., Khanty-Mansiysk

Compensatory Payments in the Context of the Public Opinion on the example of the Nefteyugansky District, Yugra

Abstract

In this article, the question of the compensation payments received by owners of the territory of traditional environmental management of indigenous people of the North of the Nefteyugansky District of Yugra is analyzed. In particular results of the sociological researches conducted in the territory of the Nefteyugansky District in 2007-2008 are generalized and analyzed.

Keywords: compensation payments, indigenous small people of the North, users of a subsoil

It is well-known that almost all main fields of hydrocarbonic raw materials in Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug-Yugra generally are located within the territories of traditional nature use (TTNU) of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North (ISNPN) or border on them. Problems of relationship between subsoil users and representatives of indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North were and remain one of the most acute and most urgent issues at industrial development of northern territories in modern conditions.

Geographically the Nefteyugansky District is located in the central part of Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug, in the middle course of the Ob River, in the forest-swamp zone of the Western Siberian lowland. The area of its territory is 24.5 thousand square kilometers. Total population of the Nefteyugansky District (according to the department of the state statistics) is 46.2 thousand persons, of which only 1 per cent (486 persons) is representatives of indigenous peoples (the Khanty, Mansi, Nenets) [Obshhie svedenija…, 2013].

There are 33 territories of traditional nature use within municipal district. Their total area is half of the district's territory. It is a natural complex with woods, rivers, lakes, swamps, meadows and pastures. Historically there was created the indigenous peoples' traditional way of life. For protection of primordial living environment of ISNPN and control of use and protection of TTNU, the Committee on affairs of peoples of the North, environmental protection and water resources of the district's administration controls issues of coordination of schemes of placement of industrial facilities, compensations for environmental damage, and losses to subjects of traditional nature use by oil companies.

102 economic agreements were prepared, signed and registered in the committee in 2010. The number of concluded agreements in 2010 is increased by 58% in comparison with 2009 (43 agreements). By inquiries of the organizations, subsoil users, specialists of the committee give

the information on TTNU existence, conclusions on acts of choice of the land plots and projects of the timberland. 264 conclusions were given in 2010 that is 34% more than in 2009 (175 conclusions). 404 conclusions were prepared during nine months of 2011.

A basis of economy of area are enterprises of the fuel and energy complex, such as OOO "Uganskneftegas", Salym Petroleum Development N.V., OAO "Surgutneftegas", etc.

The conclusion of economic agreements between subsoil users and owners of TTNU among ISNPN is carried out for compensation of losses for restriction of rights of traditional economic activity owing to industrial development of the territory of traditional nature use. Education and treatment payment, employment in the resource-extraction companies, transport services are provided in agreements. By agreement there is a practice of construction or purchase of housing to inhabitants of nomad camps in settlements.

We have repeatedly noted the imperfection of present economic agreements. They don't solve the existing problems connected with use of tribal lands by the industrial enterprises; don't promote the restoration of the ecological balance broken as a result of the extraction of hydrocarbons. In particular there is a discrepancy between the reality and the Article 105 of the Law of KhMAO "On subsoil and subsoil use" (1996). According to this Article, the contract has to contain purposes, data of land plot use, the location of objects, legal regime of their use, the use of water and other natural resources within the boundaries of tribal lands, carrying out of obligatory works on the restoration of the used land plots, activities for reforestation, etc. In the economic agreements concluded at the present time, these points are not considered. This is their main drawback. The other one is the absence of a mechanism and methods of realization of these items. There are not following basic provisions in economic agreements: recultivation of the seized lands; the procedure for the identification of the damage caused to the environment; compensation payments to the indigenous peoples, etc. [Khaknazarov, 1999; 2000; 2002; 2006; 2010]. Sampling analysis of previously signed economic agreements between subsoil users and tribal lands' owners [Beljaev, 2001] allows drawing following conclusions about their drawbacks. First, agreements are made for one year, while works on the plot of tribal land may be kept for several years (according to the license agreements), i.e. the owner of the tribal land doesn't know what he has in the future. Secondly, there isn't a legal review of these agreements and control over the execution by the relevant authorities. Thirdly, a duplicate of an agreed plan of placing of construction objects, of the field development is not handed to the representatives of indigenous peoples. This eliminates the reliability of the control over its realization.

In 2007-2008 the author of this paper carried out ethnosociological researches on the territory of the Nefteyugansky District to study a current ecological and socio-economic status of ISNP of Yugra. The research was conducted in the form of questionnaire.

By results of the conducted researches we found out the relation of respondents to economic agreements between representatives of indigenous people (owners of a tribal land or a community) and subsoil users.

It was interesting to us to learn opinion of respondents on economic agreements between owners of tribal lands and subsoil users at present time. The question was: "What do you think of economic agreements which are concluded between subsoil users and owners of tribal lands and communities?" The majority of respondents (33.3%) noted that the conclusion of economic agreements can provide communities and compensate their expenses. 22.2% of respondents noted that the conclusion of economic agreements is a simple formality and is only on paper (37.56%) that shows mistrust of respondents to such form of the relations, while experts (34.00%) consider that it is good.

For comparison we should note that the results received in the answer to the same question in 2008 show that the majority of respondents from among ISNPN expressed opinion that the conclusion of economic agreements is a simple formality (37.56%) that shows mistrust of respondents to such form of the relations. Experts (34.00%) consider that it is good. In all districts of the Okrug (except for Sovetsky district) the minority spoke against the conclusion of economic agreements (11 and 15% respectively).

Concerning a question, what compensation has to receive the indigenous people for damage from results of industrial mining in areas of their accommodation, the majority of respondents is considered that the indigenous people has to have:

- Guaranteed workplaces (37.0%);

- Compensation payments for deterioration of their living space (35.2%);

- Certain percentage of the total income of the company (27.8%).

It should be noted that the majority of respondents (73.57 %) of the district (2007) argue that the indigenous population should have compensation for deterioration of their living space and guaranteed workplaces (63%). The option to receive a certain percentage from the total income of the company has received the support of a minority of respondents (24%). The idea of creation of regional Fund of development of traditional crafts in the arrears where mining is conducted has supported a small number of respondents (27%). For comparison, the majority of respondents (60%) of the Khanty-Mansiysk District supported this idea.

Data from repeated survey in 2008 show that majority of respondents think that indigenous peoples should have guaranteed jobs (57.18% indigenous peoples and 34.69% experts respectively). On the second place respondents selected the variant on obtaining a certain percentage of the total income of the companies (31.09% indigenous peoples and 34.69% experts respectively).

In conclusion, we should note that the respondents ' views on these issues are different. There is no single approach in how to build mutual relations between subsoil users and indigenous peoples of the North. This is because not all indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North are interested in the development of hydrocarbons on the territory of traditional nature use, though data of conducted surveys don't cover this fact.

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Kovsova, Elena S., Sarov

Moral crisis in the city

Abstract

Importance of moral culture is shown in this article as factor of city development. The problems of moral influencing city culture as a whole are described. It is emphasized that interpersonal relationship is the most important component of moral culture.

Keywords: social problems of the city, city moral culture, moral, moral crisis in the city

Social problems of the city is one of the most debatable and steadily actual issues of social studies. One of the most complex phenomena generated by the social space of the city is moral culture. The urban environment can be defined as the structured community, in the habitat artificially recreated by it, on the basis of material and mental production. This community functions in the system of social, cultural and ethical norms and values. Moral and ethical institutions are recorded in the corresponding organizations and establishments.

Moral, in sociology, is the form of social consciousness. Customs are intentions which are realized in behavior and manifest in interpersonal relations. Moral relations are based on the perception of the other as a self-valuable and self-sufficient personality - not as the the circumstance of one's life.

Working and creative functioning demands to limit, sometimes to sacrifice family relations. That's the problem of the city moral culture. Asian countries hold family bonds as the supreme value, but in the conditions of the western industrialism and postindustrialism the labor and creativity force out family from the system of values. According to Russian researches, the more experts are involved in production, the less they value family. However the more competitive the environment becomes, the higher is the unemployment threat, the higher becomes the family worthiness for the person.

Moral has always been the institution which resists to public disintegration. Nowadays dysfunction of the whole globalized community, especially the developed countries of "glamourous capitalism" is obvious. Traditionalism of BRICS countries and Japan resists to the moral degradation. Russian society - included in the world global process, changed from "closeness" to "openness" - cannot but feel the destructions of the new postrevolutionary moral.

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Part 3. Social Reality and Social Research

Mukhanova, Maria N., Moscow

Sociodemographic Characteristics of Russian Rural Population

Abstract
The article is based on the data of the Russian Federal State Statistics Service (Rosstat) and data of the Russian Longitudinal Monitoring health (RLMS-HSE) conducted between 1994 and 2011 analyses the socio-demographic situation in rural areas.

Keywords: Russian countryside, rural population, rural settlements, migration, unemployment

Cardinal changes took place in Russia in the 1990s. Free-market reforms eventuated in the transformation of the national social structure, the rural social structure in particular. In the course of reforms in the Agroindustrial Complex the number of agricultural enterprises decreased by 56% (this comes to 27,000 sovkhozes and kolkhozes) and the area under crops decreased by 41 mln ha against the 1990 figure. As a result of those shifts, agriculture has turned into an outsider in the contemporary Russian economy, and countrymen have fallen into the lowest paid category of the working population. The average wage in agriculture amounts to 50% of the average wage in the economy as a whole.

Today, 20 years after the period of reforms, more than half of agricultural enterprises in the Agroindustrial Complex are unprofitable. Price disparity is one of the main reasons of such situation, that is, the four- to fivefold growth of the cost of industrial production compared with the cost of agricultural production. Hence, agricultural enterprises are unable to cover their production expenses, and they are in debt to both the federal budget and private financers [Kashin, 2013, p. 2]. The continual growth of energy supply, fuel, and rail transportation prices aggravates the Russian countrymen's standings. They pay for these services two to three times more than Western European and American agricultural producers [Obrashenue.., 2013, p. 3].

Russian rural population declined in the period of political and economic reforms. The decrease between 2002 and 2010 amounted to 1.2 mln people. Judging by the Rosstat data there were 37,314,000 rural residents, which made up 26% of the total population [Otsenka..]. Natural loss among rural population fell between 2006 and 2010: the birth rate grew from 11.3 to 14.0 persons per 1000 rural population, while the death rate decreased from 17.3 до 16.1 [Byalleten…].

Migration outflow from countryside areas was observed in 2010 in three age groups: below working age, of working age, and above working age. During this year, 2.7% of the

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population left rural areas. On the other hand, migration gain was recorded in several age groups. Those were men and women aged 40 to 64, that is, the people having labour and life experience. More than half of the newcomers to rural areas were migrants from Russian urban localities (62%); the arrivals from other Russian villages made up 29%; and international migration came to 9%. It should be noted that migration to rural areas from both urban and rural localities took place mostly within the limits of the federal okrugs of the Russian Federation. Foreign migrants were mostly people aged 20 to 49. They made up 65% of total foreign migrants [Byalleten…].

According to the RLMS data for 2010, 34.1% countrymen had been living in a particular village for not more than 20 years. Those who came from abroad beginning from 1991, mostly from the CIS countries, made up 13.4% of the rural population. More than half of them were secondary school students (36.6%) and higher school students (17.5%). Every fourth of the newcomers from abroad was engaged in economy in that period; pensioners and disabled made up merely 9.2%. The absolute majority of foreign migrants (82.2%) were Russians. In this way, the age composition of migrants to rural areas produced a favourable effect on the age structure of the rural population replenishing the ranks of able-bodied population.

A growth of uninhabited rural localities was recorded in Russia. The 1989 census registered 9000 such localities, 13,000 was registered by the 2002 census, and 19,000 by the 2010 census. The number of uninhabited localities grew by 48% in the last inter-census period.

The number of rural localities in Russia dropped by 8500 in the period between 2002 and 2010. This happened because many rural localities were included into cities, towns and urban-type settlements or were liquidated by the decision of local authorities by the reason of the natural loss and migration outflow of the population to other areas.

According to the data of the last, 2010 census, there were 134,000 inhabited rural localities in Russia. The migration outflow and the natural loss of the population caused an increase in the number of small rural localities having 10 and less inhabitants. They made up 27% of the total rural localities in Russia, and their residents made up 0.4% of the total rural population. The greater part of such localities were the "dying out villages" with the population mostly above the working age and lacking or having poorly developed social and economic infrastructures. Every twentieth countryside resident lived in localities numbering from 11 to 100 people. Nearly one-fifth countryside residents lived in localities numbering 101-500 or 501-1000 people. More than half rural residents lived in large and very large localities: 51.8% in 2002, and 54.8% in 2010. There was a noticeable growth in the percentage of rural residents living in

localities numbering 3001 and more people (from 26 to 29.7%) in the period between the last two censuses [Okonshatelnye..].

The number of the people employed in agriculture dropped by more than 2.5 mln over the past 12 years. For this reason, the migration outflow from rural areas in 2011 turned to be the greatest over the past 11 years. The rise was accountable to the migration of young people aged 14-29: their share was 58.3% (or 411,000 persons) in 2011 against 48% in 2009. The yearly outflow of youth from rural areas amounted to about 400,000 in recent years [Sostoyanie…, 2011, p. 22-23). Young people migrated chiefly in search of jobs. Some moved to their oblast centres, but the greater part went to the capital cities – Moscow and St. Petersburg.

On the whole, the intensity of migration from rural areas stayed on a low level in the period between 1990 and 2002 and did not undergo essential changes even though the majority of rural school graduates moved to cities and towns and would not return to villages. As it was said earlier, they were replaced by Russian speaking migrants coming from CIS countries in that period. This is clearly seen from Table 1. Having adjusted themselves to rural conditions young migrants would later also move to cities and towns.

Table 1: Rural youth age indicators, Rosstat data for 1989-2012, %

Year of observation	Ages 0-14	Ages 15-19	Ages 20-24	Ages 25-29
1989	25.0	5.7	6.0	8.0
2002	19.5	8.1	6.7	6.3
2008	17.0	7.4	8.1	7.0
2010	17.4	5.9	8.0	7.5
2012	17.8	5.5	7.3	7.7

Source: Calculated from Rosstat data of the 1989, 2002, 2010 and 2012 censuses.

The Rosstat data (Table 1) show that at the end of the Soviet period (1989) the share of children up to 14 years of age was the highest (25%). Interest in this group is explained by its being the population that forms the rural youth cohort. Later, in subsequent years, the size of this age group decreased, nearly to 18% in 2012, as a result of the birth rate decline. However, the age structure of rural youth practically had not changed. Or it demonstrated the 20-24 age cohort growth in some years, which was accountable chiefly to the coming of Russian speaking migrants from the CIS countries.

Judging by the 2010 census data, the level of unemployment among rural youth was higher than in the older age strata and among urban youth.
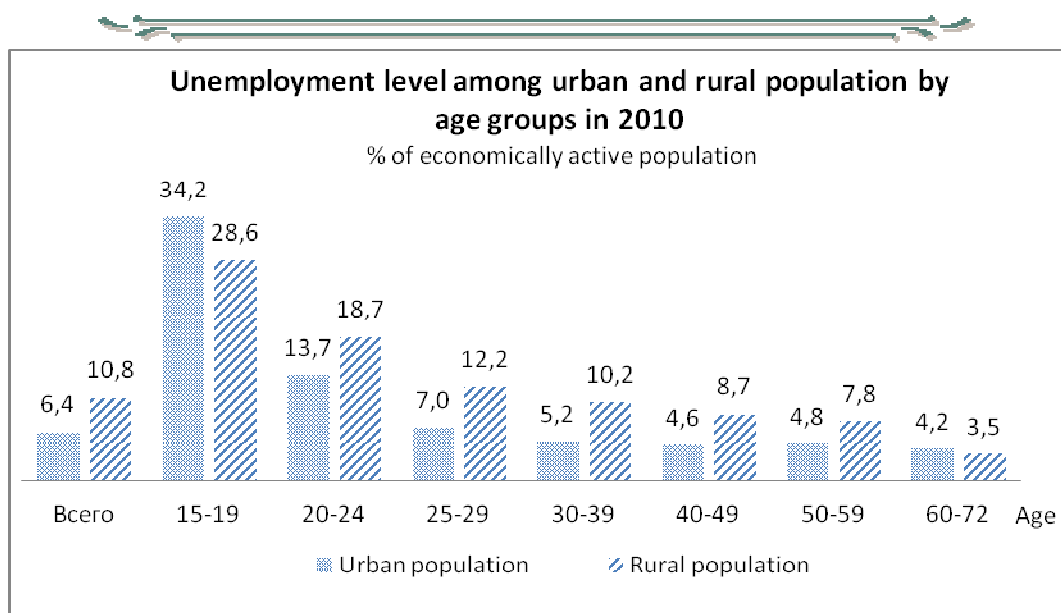
Fig. 1

For instance, the unemployment level in the 20-24 and 25-29 age groups was 1.4 times higher among rural than among urban population. Registered unemployment among rural population aged from 15 to 72 was 4.1 % and 1.9% among urban population in 2010. For instance, 772,600 rural unemployed were registered out of the 2,042,000 assessed by ILO methods in 2010, [Sostoyanie…, 2011, p. 44]. It means that 62% jobless rural residents were outside the labour market controlled by the government and thereby belonged to the unprotected contingent of the unemployed. Nearly 60% of the unemployed (Fig. 1) were rural young people aged 15 to 29 [Trud…].

Table 2 also shows that the situation in youth groups had not changed as of April 2013; they dominated in the unemployment structure as before.

Table 2: Unemployment level by age groups among urban and rural population as of April 2013 (% of the economically active population, without adjustment for seasonal fluctuations)

Age group	Rural population	Urban population
15-19	24.5	26.2
20-24	17.1	10.6
25-29	10.7	4.1
30-39	9.1	3.9
40-49	7.6	3.0
50-59	7.0	3.7
60-72	5.1	3.5
Total	9.3	4.4

Source: Rosstat data [7]

The level of unemployment in rural youth groups was higher than both in the older rural groups and in urban youth groups, with the exception of urban youth aged 15-19, where the share of unemployed was higher than that of their rural peers. This was due primarily to their ambitious claims for high wages.

In this way, many problems and characteristics inherent in the rural youth cohort stem from the objective processes going on in Russian society.

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Family Policy and Demographic Changes in Russia during the last Century

Abstract

The paper discusses some peculiarities of the family policies in different stages of Soviet and post-Soviet Russia development during the last century. The author explores the trends in family policy as the state reactions to the changing family and demographic transitions. The paper analyses the diversity of allowances for families with children in different social contexts. The paper also discusses the current demographic situation and family policy in Russia.

Keywords: family policy, demographic changes, family changes, state protection of motherhood and childhood, allowance system for families with children

The aim of the paper is to shed light on the peculiarities of demographic transformations, which have caused the evolution of the family policy in Russia. The paper has two key issues. The first one explores some factors that have determined the demographic situation in different stages of Soviet and modern Russian history during the last century. The second one analyses the family policy measures as the state reactions to different demographic challenges. The impact of these measures on the family and demography transformations in Russia are considered.

We have analyzed five stages of demographic changes and corresponding five main models of the family policy in Russia. They are the post-revolutionary model (1917-1926), the "Stalin" model (1927-1954), the Soviet "welfare" model (1955-1990), the post-Soviet model (1991-2005), and the current model (since 2006).

On the first stage (1917-1927), the family has become an object of the political struggle. The first Soviet political leaders saw in the traditional family relations a source of renewal of previous (bourgeois) patterns of social ties. Therefore, in the first post-revolutionary decade, the politics concerned family was aimed at the destruction of the patriarchal family patterns, which were deeply rooted in Russian people life. At the same time, the first Soviet leaders tried to implant the new «socialistic» models of family, marital ties and gender relations. To promote «socialistic» models of family life, a new marriage legislation was created. «New» models of family, marital ties and gender relations were based on some main principles: a freedom from a church regulation and pressure; sexual rights and freedoms; free divorce; gender equality; state support for childhood and motherhood. The ensuring of women's rights and gender equality was declared as one of the main advantages of the socialist society. So, the state feminism was established as the mainstream of soviet social policy. In this context, a creation of social

conditions for gender equality became one of the key social targets for Soviet Russia. Soviet women got reproductive rights as well as an access to education and employment. In that time, the public childcare began to appear in Soviet Russia. The first measures of social and economic support for motherhood were introduced in 1917 (Decree of December 22, 1917). This decree ensured a maternity leave of 16 weeks (to be taken 8 weeks before and 8 after giving birth) for a working woman. By the same decree, a special allowance from 1/4 to 1/2 of woman earnings must be given out to mothers within 9 months after a child birth by so called «hospital cash desks». It was done at the first time in the Russia history.

For the future demographic trends, a right of abortion, which Soviet women received in 1920, had the significant meaning. Moreover, it was made for the first time in the world. The intervention of the state in family life during the first post-revolution decade had an important impact on family and gender relations in Russia, and led to transitions in family and demographic behavior.

The decline of fertility in 1930s caused the necessity in a new state family ideology and special measures for families. Between the census of 1926 and census of 1959 the number of children per woman (TFR) was reduced by more than 4 children [Vishnevskiy, 2006]. So, during the second stage (1927-1954), a turn to another kind of family politics and policies was done. Two main laws concerning family (the law of 1936 and the law of 1944) were a good illustration of the transition to new model of Soviet family politics. According to the law of 1936, a ban on abortion and restriction of divorces were introduced. Strengthening of the state protection of motherhood and childhood was declared, too. For the first time, cash transfers for families with few children were accepted. Regular allowance was granted for families after 6 children [Biblioteka]. In 1944 these regular cash transfers for families were increased. Now the allowance was granted for mothers with four children and more [Elizarov, 1994, 82]. It was paid in correspondence with the number of children during four years: after achievement by a child of 1 year old and up to 5-year age. It is important to stress that these measures were mainly designed in demographic concern. Transition from the agricultural economics to the industrial one increased the social need of women participation in working market. The problem of a reconciliation between family and work became the second main discourse of family policy. The law of 1936 also announced the extension of the childcare system and services (relative to nurses and kindergartens, in particular). So, in the Soviet Union, an extended system of early childhood education with full-day pre-schools was actively developed from the 1930s.

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The third stage (1955-1990) was marked by liberalization of family legislation and the final institutionalization of the Soviet family policy pattern. Liberalization of family law took place in 1955 when free abortions were allowed again. 10 years later in 1965, divorce was simplified. Combined with another different factors, this led to transitions in demographic behavior of Russians. As in many European countries, at the 1960s demographic concerns (decline of fertility rate and the increase of divorce rate) were on the rise. It was a time when demographic concerns were on the rise in Russia, as in many European countries [Revillard, 2007, 141].

The focuses of the Soviet family policy became gender and demographic issues. Mix of different measures resulted in a creation of a rather substantial and diversified system for family, motherhood and childhood protection.

Different laws concerning a family support were introduced in 1955-1990. For example, a law «On the statement of bases of the legislation of USSR and Federal republics about marriage and a family» was accepted in 1968. This law fixed equality of the man and the woman in various aspects of the family relations, and also proclaimed protection of a family and motherhood as a state duty. Some other laws covered financial and social support for families with children.

One of the main achievement of the Soviet family policy was a creation of the original childcare state system. On the base of this system were such principles as universal care, availability to all citizens, free of charge. The years between the 1936 -1990th have seen a childcare system expanded, fast increase of number of pre-school and after-school educational institutions with a peak in 1990 [].

It can be noted that the Soviet family politics and policies were an attempt to do the symbiosis of two groups of the measures. The first one was aimed at facilitating the work–family reconciliation; the second one was the supporting of the "traditional" family model. One of the most important direction of the first group has been the creation of the childcare public system. The organizing of this system for babies and pre-school children became one of the social achievements of the Soviet Union.

The first post-Soviet period of time (1990-2006) was marked by deep economic and social crises, moral deformations, starting after the Soviet Union dissolution. This led to a huge amount of problems in family and demographic spheres. It is possible to give following points of early post-Soviet family policy: - creation of «Concept of the state family policy of Russian Federation» (1993); - acceptance of the Family Code for the Russian Federation (1996); -

creation of a new system of benefits for families (1995); - a transition from universal to mean-tested allowance (1999). The main dimension for family policy became a social one. In spite of deep demographic crisis (a sharp decline of birth rate and simultaneously mortality growth), a social problem of families poverty became a priority one. Post-Soviet family policy was focused on reducing the poverty of families [Elizarov, 1994, 85]. But, transition from universal to mean-tested allowance system led to reduction on 7 million number of children (from 25 million to 18 million) whom this allowance was granted. Moreover, a mean-tested allowance system contradicts to usual representations of Russians that all parents with children must have the allowance for children. According to sociological All-Russian survey data (2007), 82 % of respondents agree with the statement that all parents must get the child allowance during the child's 16 years. The deformation of this system in 1990s led to new social challenges for families and demographic risks for Russian society.

A turn to a new family agenda was done in 2006, when the President of Russia suggested a set of measures to correct the demographic situation in Russia. In his Annual speech for Federal Assembly he has declared the following measures for family policy: the increasing of the amount of the childcare allowance during the child's first 1,5 years; introduction of the benefits for families to compensate their expenses for children's preschool education; and introduction of a «maternal capital». Among these measures, the most resonance one was «the maternal (parental) capital». The maternal capital is a certificate for the sum of approximately 9000 euros. This capital is not mean tested, it is provided for parents starting with the second child. This virtual sum may be used only for some definite purposes: as a contribution in purchase of dwelling, as a contribution in payment for a high school children education, and as a contribution in future pension insurance. These measures were aimed on stimulation a birth of the second child. So, the main object of the current stage of Russian family policy is a supporting of fertility.

According to demographic calculations, new measures had some positive demographic effect and led to increasing the birth rate in the last years from 2007 to 2012. Moreover, according to the survey data, the majority of Russians have a need in the different kinds of public financial support. Besides these universal measures for all Russians, every region has its own family policies with its own object and a set of measures. For example, the social dimension is priority one for the regions with a high birth rate (e.g., the North Caucasus). The demographic dimension is a priority one for the regions with the low birth rate.

To sum up, it is important to stress that the family policy in Russia during the last century like the history of Russia was complicated and – some times - discrepant. In addition, this policy had a great influence to a family and demographic behavior of Russians.

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Orlova, VeraV., Tomsk

Social Organizations in the Context of the Forming and Development of Youth Solidarnostej (regional aspect)

Abstract

The idea of solidarity is very important in modern Russia, it is able to reconnect and to reduce antagonism between the different actors of economic and social processes. Need to understand the degree of solidarity that exists between structural elements, and then, at what levels, and on the basis of what is in the process of value orientations.

Keywords: social organization**,** solidarnostej, youth, social status, associations, communications

In Russia at present negative social processes are obvious: the orientation of social institutions on the reproduction of class society; the transition from popular culture to the massively-elitist. The idea of solidarity in today's Russia is very important, it is able to reconnect and to reduce antagonism between the different actors of economic and social processes. Need to understand the degree of solidarity that exists between structural elements, and then, at what levels, and on the basis of what value orientations are in the process of self-identification will help understand why splitting society.

Solidarnostej problem was seen by sociologists and philosophers from different sides. So first the classical interpretation of the concepts proposed even Auguste Comte. Methodological tools description and analysis of solidarnostej presented the concepts T. Parsons and E. Durkheim. The theoretical-methodological development and interpretation of the concepts of dedicated their work of A.F. Filippov, V. T. Ghalkiev, G. S. Batygin, T.V. Popkova, etc. The processes of globalization and solidarity in a globalized world, wrote S.V. Ivanov and A. Weber. Current research studies devoted their youth solidarnostej O.I.Omelchenko, G.A. Sabirova.

Despite the extensive coverage of the topic in the literature, a number of important aspects and problems of youth solidarnostej parties in Russia have not been sufficiently full understanding. So instead of the classic concepts of solidarity have not yet formed new, meet the realities of the present.

The purpose of this work is to present the results of studies of youth solidarity, forms and reasons of its formation in the young Russian Germans of Tomsk.

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The empirical basis of the research served as the materials of sociological research: 1) the sociological questionnaire survey on values of youth, "January-February 2013. The sample size was 179 people. 2) informal interview (talk) with the "Ûgendblik" RNMO TROO.

The research perspective move toward the study of solidarnostej in the youth environment enables not only to depart from the commonly-used approach in studying the youth subculture, but to bring out more sophisticated, often implicit forms of activity of the young generation. Study on the current status of the youth movement in Russia using a shared approach will make it possible to examine the background and motives of young people see the values and motivations of youth participation in promotions, youth movements and organizations. This approach is particularly relevant now, in the days of technology and information, when activity of young people for various destinations can rapidly change their course. Thus, collective moods of young people can be provided at different levels and in different organizational forms, ranging from global movements and ending with the common interests of the Club.

Youth Organization of education solidarity members involves the participation of each of them in the life of the Association. But a surveillance study of solidarity is possible only in the event action and communications, which then make attribution of personal Sponsorship. Youth Organization of education solidarity members involves the participation of each of them in the life of the Association. But a surveillance study of solidarity is possible only in the event action and communications, which then make attribution of personal Sponsorship.

One way to study solidarity youth organization can serve as a definition of participation in the activities of its members and solidary people, including newcomers. So the main causes and motives for joining the Association for young people are: Desire to learn German, get conversation practice, sign up for free courses of German language; Participation of youth exchanges, trips to Germany; Visit the cultural and recreational activities; The opportunity to participate in the camps, seminars, visiting projects; Internship; Personal self-realisation, experience of project activities; The opportunity to have a good time; Desire to learn about their roots, etc.

Solidarity is real: the ideals of "society" are achieved through technical and organizational tools "communities": communication, task orientation, quantity of resources. To survive, the company must show self-discipline available to it, using and protecting its integrity as a result while maintaining internal cohesion of each constituent society member. Violation of social balance will certainly breeds reactionary forces aimed at its restoration and caused by the feeling of loss of confidence, since any major change raised people's expectations about their

own future; resistance occurs as in the case of a negative perception of the idea of change and positive because of the difficulties of shifting thinking due to prevailing social norms.

Structural functionalism T. Parsons solidarity is seen in the context of the integration of the social system. Since the development of the latest happening on the principles of differentiation and complexity, integration is understood as a single functional and valuable basis for building new elements in the system. It is characteristic that Parsons is actively using the recovery unit categorical Chicago interactionistic paradigm [Zalkiev, 2010 p. 52-53].

Also note that according to the theory of structural functionalism T. Parsons mutual assistance is a system with a number of very important social functions: celedostiženiâ, adaptation, integration, as well as the reproduction of a sample. Category integration t. Parsons is seen in two ways: 1) as the process of adapting the system to the environment; 2) as the process of stabilization (balance) system in all its elements with changes (including new elements)

[*Siebe, 1998*].

As the liaison of the teachings of the solidarity of the Emile Dûrkgejmom revealed in the work of the Division of social work ". From the point of view of e. Durkheim, increasing functional specialization entails not only increase productivity, but also, more importantly, qualitative transformation of the type of social relations: a substantial, progressive change in the type of social solidarity. Researcher, substantiates this transformation as a necessary transition from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity. In terms of mechanical solidarity community characterized by direct communication to a limited space and time, community control over their fortunes directly. In the community there is not sufficient time for the introduction of indirect control mechanisms of the collective view that goes beyond the actual space and time [*Shkudnova*, 2012, Pp. 37-38]. Mechanical solidarity is characteristic for the traditional society in which individuals are, in General, the same functions, and are significant in the likeness of his status and identities. E. Durkheim calls this type of solidarity is solidarity on the similarities.

Organic solidarity-solidarity in diversity "-is characteristic of modern society, and is based on the highest level of Division of labor and a significant diversity of social relations. [Shkudnova, 2012, p. 98-99]

The fundamental principles laid down in the concept of e. Durkheim on solidarity: the separation of types and the necessary structural elements of solidarnostej in society, adopted the methodological basis of the study. In the work is not being asked to review the classification of the existing diversity of youth associations. However, the analysis allows us to select the

classification criteria such as: latitude social base; the degree of opposition to the State ideology and policies; the way the internal structure; range of interests protected by the members of the Organization; organizational forms, stage of development, the territory of the.

Select the primary and secondary indicators underlying the classification of youth associations. The key, according to the author, you can use the principal provisions, specified in the domestic legislation:-the organizational forms of Association; -method of internal structuring; -Task Force (social base); -the territory of activity of Association is a way of liquidation and reorganization of Association

As a secondary indicators most relevant to the classification of youth associations should be considered such as:-the degree of opposition to the State; -range of interests protected by the members of the Organization; -the purpose of the activities and tasks.

Therefore, we are of the sociology and sociology of social movements are identical and are in the first case: a type of social organization, and the second are the common notion of a social movement.

The research part of the activities of the youth movement of Russian Germans in Russia and the regional organization of young Russian Germans «Ûgendblik» (Tomsk) in terms of shaping the structure of youth solidarnostej.

In this paper, the following methods were used: document analysis in sociology are used both quantitative and qualitative methods for collection and analysis of information on the substantive aspects of the object of the research. In practice, there are methods of gathering primary information and the methods of formal analysis of complex problems. Among the methods of gathering primary information on the role and place of youth organizations is the analysis of the documents. It can be a primary or secondary source information collection method. The most important is the correct definition of the range of documents which can serve as a source of information on the role of youth organizations, their objectives and functions in the solution of social-political, economic, etc. the problems of youth, focus and scale effects on political integration, the factors affecting the efficiency of their operation, and define the behavior of young people. [Zalkie*v*, 2010, Pp. 76-77]

A public opinion survey as a method of gathering information on the role of youth organizations in modernizing society widely used straw poll of public opinion. Despite the fact that the proponents of the theory of mobilization resources as the creation and effective

operation of the Association, called the resource capacity of the Organization, it should be noted that dissatisfaction, discontent is also seen as an important factor influencing the effectiveness, direction of youth associations. This raises the need to introduce indicators which take account of the impact of dissatisfaction at the protest potential of youth, the manifestation of her protest and institutional activity; the focus of social structures and compliance with its inquiries of personality, motives of the participation of members of youth associations. This study used a method of remote surveying young Russian Germans on the values of young people. " Was held ... A public opinion survey as a method of gathering information on the role of youth organizations in modernizing society widely used straw poll of public opinion. Despite the fact that the proponents of the theory of mobilization resources as the creation and effective operation of the Association, called the resource capacity of the Organization, it should be noted that dissatisfaction, discontent is also seen as an important factor influencing the effectiveness, direction of youth associations. This raises the need to introduce indicators which take account of the impact of dissatisfaction at the protest potential of youth, the manifestation of her protest and institutional activity; the focus of social structures and compliance with its inquiries of personality, motives of the participation of members of youth associations. This study used a method of remote surveying young Russian Germans on the values of young people. " Was held ...Опрос экспертов

Also widely used in sociological research method of polling experts. This method is very efficient as a qualitative method collecting meaningful information on various problems of the youth organizations of their functions. Survey of experts particularly productive, if you want to evaluate and analyze hidden from external observation of trends in the functioning of the youth organizations, in particular characteristics such as:-activities of youth associations; -motivating participants to work together in solidarity; -relationship within the public sector and with Governments. Of course, when the expert survey difficulties arise when assessing the levels of competence, objectivity of judgment, i.e. the problem of quality for the selection of experts. The criterion for the selection of experts is the position in the Organization, the head of the public organization, a representative of the authorities in charge of youth issues.

Taking into account the characteristics of the empirical base, as well as the overall goal, objectives and the nature of the opinion poll-the principle of consistency of obtaining knowledge. As a rule, at the initial stage of studying the object using methods of primary accumulation of information, which is then analyzed. At this stage in the general scientific methods of the empirical level a special place: observation, questioning, analysis of documents

and regulations, expert survey. In examining the motives of young people's participation in the activities of the youth organisations is essential to the principle of combining qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis. Adherence to this principle is a necessary condition to enhance the objectivity of knowledge. An interdisciplinary approach and its individual elements used in the methodology in General and specific methods of system and comparative analyses. Thus, the study of the role of youth organizations in the process of becoming a youth solidarnostej .

In this work the movement is young Russian Germans in their resettlement and relocation (Russia, Kazakhstan, Germany), as well as the activities of the regional organization acting on the territory of Tomsk and the Tomsk oblast. The results of the survey reflect the value orientations of young men from among the Russian Germans and allow you to select a general mainstream in the preferences, desires and life priorities of this category.

Neither respondent did not appreciate the "hard work" is not as meaningful to yourself; 39% identified the industry as one of the most important qualities in life; 34%-also appreciate this category.

More than half of the participants in the survey have identified the "professionalism and skills" as a priority in their lives, thereby claiming the importance of vocational self-actualization and employment for young people. Such preferences are not contrary to the general trend of value orientations of youth in Russia, where the priorities are given to professional self-realization and to build a career on the side, and the female and male genders. The vast majority of respondents (73%) consider the family of one of the most meaningful categories, only 1% of respondents do not represent the values of family relations. Young Russian Germans appreciated category of "money" as the most important. So for 3% of the respondents are not big money values. A vast majority of survey participants rated capacity at 3, 4 points.

"Safety and security" is meaningful to 47% of respondents indicating a lack of interest on the part of the younger generation to ensure you and your family protection and security. Given the history of the national minority% result in this category seems logical to us.

The younger generation can not imagine his life without sense of inner freedom. So 50% of respondents rated the category as one of the most significant. To 29%-it is one of the priority and evaluated on 4 points. At the same time, only 2% of the survey participants do not see "freedom" as a value Guide. "Belonging to power most of the survey participants rated as marginal value, while 23% of respondents, this characterization is generally of no interest. Here you can talk about the politics of the younger generation, however, notice a lack of mutually beneficial partnerships and links with political parties, non-governmental movements.

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The "health" category was for 67% of the respondents preferred value field; only 1% of those surveyed health is not a meaningful category. These results may indicate a sufficient interest to youth a healthy lifestyle and interest in your physical, psychological state, as well as the health of their family members. "The parents" has been evaluated by 32% of respondents as a priority; 25%-rated by category as not really important, but still worthy of attention. Only 3% of respondents do not represent "as a priority" parent category. It should be noted that the question could be interpreted in two parties: on the one hand, it might appear that some understanding of the wealth of the parents and their relationships, and the ability to help children; and on the other hand, the situation of the parents, i.e. their honourable old age and material well-being. 30% of respondents are interested in "useful links", but do not assess it as ...

Youth as the most active and mobile part of society's "traveling" highly enough. As a result, the assessment of the 5 awarded 40% of the respondents rated 4-33%. The vast majority of the respondents rated the "mental well-being" as one of the most important. So 61% rated this category at 5; In contrast, only 1% of respondents had expressed that mental well-being is of no value.

Hedonism as a value of 35% of respondents drew 34 percent rated category "fun and adventure" as a priority. Only 2% of youth do not have the position to an important part of their lives. From here, you can see that the most valuable categories for young Russian Germans were family, health and emotional well-being. The lowest value belonging to the authorities and parents. Pronounced traits for respondents, in their view, are the responsibility of other nationalities, the respect and cordiality.

Interesting is the category "selfishness-altruism", where 2% of the respondents consider themselves more likely to al′truistam (here might be hampered by the involvement of the public), and 6%-on the contrary, characterize themselves as Egoists. 31%-Note that this category may not be applicable to their personality. A fairly high percentage of the respondents see the quality and responsiveness, as well as young people characterize ourselves as hospitable people. Note also, 25% of respondents were unable to classify themselves as "suevernost′-rationality". Rationalists assume found 11% of youth aged 15. The complexity in the evaluation took place in the category of "mind-30%, as the respondents were not able to evaluate yourself from this point of view. Although the nearest item in this category was the "restraint and unleash", where the participants of the survey carried a more restrained people. So 27% identified themselves as people with this quality more. The overall picture paints a social portrait ...

In our view, these results are rather standard than the present, reflecting the real quality of the young generation.   Vital points of reference for the majority of young people are building family happiness, finding opportunities to make career and showcase their talents. In general the homogeneity of the respondents on their assessment of the values and qualities of character. Everyone is talking about commonality of value orientations and attitudes study group and the community of interests of the younger generation. Such edinennost′ attitudes can serve as a basis for the formation of solidarnostej and is a structural component of social traffic system along with the roles, rules and teams formed in it. The importance of such a community will play a person, i.e. the individual actor, whose actions are co-ordinated with the functional requirements of the culture and social system.

According to the concept of t. Parsons values are structural element of any social system, including the youth movement as a shared community. Thus, a survey among the young generation allowed to determine the values of preference among young people, and formulate general life guidance inherent in the social group. According to the concept of t. Parsons values are structural element of any social system, including the youth movement as a shared community. Thus, a survey among the young generation allowed to determine the values of preference among young people, and formulate general life guidance inherent in the social group.

Any organization is a group of people whose activities are coordinated and regulated deliberately to achieve one or more of the common objectives on the basis of the interests that have brought this group of people. On the other hand, youth organizations, legal entities, past State registration in the order established by the legislation of Russian Federation, their branches, representative offices and other units. According to art. 50 CC of the RF «legal persons, which are not-for-profit organizations may be created in the form of public organizations (associations), funded by the owner of the institutions, charitable and other funds, and in other forms provided for by law " [Bondaletov, 2010].

Thus, the youth organization is not a simple sum of its constituent parts, and system, the basic principles of which are: 1) the integrity of the system property nesvodimost′ is the sum of the properties of its constituent elements and non-deducibility of a property;   2) structuring is the ability to describe a system rather than that of its individual elements as properties of the structure;   3) the interdependence of structure and environment is a system generates and displays its properties in the process of interaction with the environment, as the active element of interaction;   4) hierarchy, each element of the system, in turn, can be considered as a system,

and the system is part of a larger, global system;   5) multiple descriptions of each system, macroscopic, microscopic, hierarchical, functional and procedural view of the system. The tasks for the systems ...

The rules establishing public associations with some differences. Public associations are established at the initiative of their founders: at least three individuals. Composition of founders in addition to natural persons and legal entities can enter, but only public associations. Since the adoption of the founding documents of the Association is established and may exercise statutory activities, acquire rights, except the right of legal entity, and to assume responsibility. Public organization is a membership-based Association, created on the basis of the joint action to protect the general interest and the achievement of the goals United citizens. Based on this definition, the main constituent document of any public organisation will be considered as its Charter. And although the law establishes a mandatory list of provisions that should contain the Charter, it does not take into account fully the contents of the Charter and its impact .

The purpose of this program is to identify the substantive expertise of the Organization, methods, techniques, activities, innovative introductions, and the analysis of the goals and objectives. Map expert includes graphs criterion directly assess the expert and his comment. As an example, and testing of this card was selected, the Charter of the Tomsk regional public organization "Russian-German Youth Association" Ûgendblik ", Tomsk. The organization carries out its activities in 1999.

Method of peer review by filling an expert card allowed to review the Charter youth organization and identify the underlying field statutory gaps, such as the neprorabotannost′ goal-setting organization or a failure of the active participation of young people in the Affairs of the organization up to 14 years, etc. All this makes it possible to assess the organizational structure of the Organization, the extent of its interaction with other administrative components, community organizations and directly with youth. The Charter defines the role, rights and responsibilities of each of the solidarity of the group. This document explains the purpose and objectives of the Union, making the Organization more open and understandable for youth as well as reveals the General ideas on the basis of which the formation took place and gathered in solidarity initiatives of youth. It will update the lead objective of the Association as specified in the Charter of the Organization: Association of youth of Tomsk and the Tomsk Region for the development of the German nation .

To achieve the objectives of the Association has the following tasks: the involvement of young people in the cultural and national life of Russian Germans and popularization of historical and cultural German heritage; Contributing to the restoration and development of the German language and culture among young people in traditional and contemporary forms; Development of comprehensive cooperation with public associations of Russian Germans; Promote and assist members in establishing and developing relations with various public organizations in Germany and Europe as a whole; Contribute to the development and implementation of intellectual and creative capacity of young people to achieve the statutory objectives; The provision of assistance and information; Interaction with the concerned governmental bodies and organizations in Russia and abroad to achieve the statutory objective to promote spiritual and cultural cooperation with traditional German religious organizations and places of worship.

A study of young people's participation in public organization young Russian Germans

Youth Organization of education solidarity members involves the participation of each of them in the life of the Association. But a surveillance study of solidarity is possible only in the event action and communications, which then make attribution of personal Sponsorship. The folding together of hypothetical underlying motives managed and ruling, we can gain the knowledge that is not in them, and between them. Thus, what is seen is the action of one person or several persons communications. So, one of the most important categories to consider solidarity among young people, is the motive. Youth Organization of education solidarity members involves the participation of each of them in the life of the Association. But a surveillance study of solidarity is possible only in the event action and communications, which then make attribution of personal Sponsorship. The folding together of hypothetical underlying motives managed and ruling, we can gain the knowledge that is not in them, and between them. Thus, what is seen is the action of one person or several persons communications. So, one of the most important categories to consider solidarity among young people, is the motive.

One way to study solidarity youth organization can serve as a definition of participation in the activities of its members and solidary people, including newcomers. So the main causes and motives for joining the Association for young people are: the desire to study the German

language, get conversation practice, sign up for free courses of German language; Participation of youth exchanges, trips to Germany; Visit the cultural and recreational activities; The opportunity to participate in the camps, seminars, visiting projects; Internship; Personal self-realisation, experience of project activities; The opportunity to have a good time; Desire to learn about their roots, etc. One way to study solidarity youth organization can serve as a definition of participation in the activities of its members and solidary people, including newcomers. So the main causes and motives for joining the Association for young people are: the desire to study the German language, get conversation practice, sign up for free courses of German language; Participation of youth exchanges, trips to Germany; Visit the cultural and recreational activities; The opportunity to participate in the camps, seminars, visiting projects; Internship; Personal self-realisation, experience of project activities; The opportunity to have a good time; Desire to learn about their roots, etc.

Note the increasing interest in the young people who are not Russian by Germans, but wishing to participate in the work of the society. On the other hand, a large number of young Russian Germans belonging to the national minority movement is not valuable, that shows a lack of solidarity on the basis of nationality. In our view, the motivation of young people into the ranks of the Organization are only tied, but it cannot be argued that getting rid of these motifs, depriving young people work in these areas, young people will be shared in other matters and the existence of an organization does not cease.

As well as achieving the objectives of the organization specified in the Charter (Association of youth of Tomsk and the Tomsk Region for the development of German national cultural traditions and language) will not be able to take place, as all parties do not have an underlying motive in the development of the cultural traditions of Russian Germans. In addition, there has been a reluctance to learn German as their native language, dropping the percentage of pupils of Russian Germans in the German language. All this makes it possible to approve the closing mechanical solidarity among members of the Organization of the young Russian Germans. At this stage there is the decline of asset of the Organization, the complementarity, reduced confidence among members of the Association. All of this leads to the collapse of some of the activities of the organization. However, the increased load and requirements for governance and organizational structure of the Organization: to require new methods of attracting young people into their ranks.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 3. Social Reality and Social Research

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Adolescent Health in a parental family in the Ural

Abstract

The article discusses the current problems of health and physical culture of children and adolescents in families in the Urals. A special place is given to the analysis of self-preservation behavior of adolescents and its effects on health. The role of family and school in rural valeological upbringing of children and adolescents, compared to their urban peers. Empirical base for the analysis and conclusions stated problem for the authors are the results of a series of polls conducted by them in 2000-2013 years in the Institute of Economics, Ural Branch of Russian Academy of Sciences.

Keywords: health, physical education, healthy lifestyle, family, adolescent, quality of life

The process of formation of market relations in Russia has affected practically all spheres of life of Russians (including - Uralians). Special sphere of life support - *health, combines* the interests of the individual, social group *(primarily - family)* and society in general. The transition to a market relations is largely changed the value orientations of the population with respect to the protection and rehabilitation of a healthy lifestyle. Under the conditions the so-called socialist society, people's health, the health of the nation was considered *(at least in ideology)* of the public domain, which might *(and should)* be sacrificed to the public interest, the interests of the state. Under the conditions of transition to market formed related to health, mainly as private property of the individual *(family)*, with which the owner himself can do *"as he pleases"*.

Health in an integrated form reflects the qualitative aspect of the character of involvement of the person in the natural and social sphere and is an important natural prerequisite of the total activity. Health and social in nature, and in the form of determination of various spheres of life. Complicated anthropogenic changes of the environmental situation, the ongoing armed man the latest tools and impact on nature and itself, the lack of adequate social base healthcare movement purposefully creating conditions adequate humanistic lifestyle, require a deep ideological reorientation of society and, above all, the younger generation in health as the most important social value [Pavlov, 2014].

Ontogenetic development of the young person should be regarded as an integral component of the organic and physical, mental and reproductive health. Evidence of relationship with the labor health, defense and reproductive potential (both the individual and society as a whole) does not require comment. However, the state of health has a direct impact on the intelligence and moral condition, and on the socio-political behavior.

Setting goals and tasks of education and self-preserving viable generation - a problem that requires close attention not only parents, but also experts in the field of social psychology, sociology of youth, environmental and economic demographics. Necessary to create social and educational technology demographic policy, which would be able to form a viable and vitality generation of Russians [Pavlov, 2008].

Empirical basis for the analysis of the stated problems were the results of two polls conducted by us in 2008 and 2013. at the Institute of Economics of UB RAS in various cities and towns of the RF subjects included in the Urals Federal District, in particular:

- 2008 - in 7 cities and 14 rural settlements in Perm, Sverdlovsk and Chelyabinsk regions surveyed by author profiles *five categories* of respondents: a) students of secondary and high school students in urban schools - 900 people; b) Students at middle and senior classes in rural schools - 540 people.; c) parents of students in urban schools - 770 people.; g) as experts - specialists authorities, coaches, teachers of physical culture - 220 people. *- "Ural-1".*

- 2013 - by quota and representative samples and were interviewed a) 300 adolescents a number of city schools closed administrative-territorial formation "Forest" (Sverdlovsk region) and b) 510 adolescents - Ekaterinburg. The main objective of the study - an analysis of processes of socialization of school youth in parental families, their health saving behavior, the formation of social values, attitudes and plans - *"Ural-2."*

Let us discuss some aspects of the stated problem. Our young respondents in the Ural cities and villages *("Ural-1" and "Ural - 2")* asked: *"Here are some of the values of life, which might seek adult. Choose five "most-" important to you "*- we have received the following answers - (Table 1).

Table 1: The most preferred values of life, which, according to young urbanites and villagers can seek to young man (% Of total number of respondents in each group, in 2008 - survey of 900 urban and 570 rural adolescents: in 2013 -survey 510 adolescents Ekaterinburg and 300 teenagers - CATF "Forest"):

Values of life, to be pursued	Groups of pupils			
	«Ural-1»		«Ural-2».	
	city	village	Ekat-g	Forest
Good family and children	87	88	n.d.	n.d.
Good parents	n.d.	n.d.	57	62
Wellness	68	70	72	78
Good companions, loyal friends	66	54	81	77
Favorite work, a successful business career	68	67	n.d.	n.d.
Opportunity to study at university	n.d.	n.d.	68	69
Opportunity to earn money himself	n.d.	n.d.	61	51

Material well-being, economic independence	58	46	52	47
Good living conditions	42	46	40	49
Knowing that benefit people	23	25	31	30
Informative, interesting leisure	27	20	47	44
Honesty, conscientiousness, good name	23	23	30	33
Sense of security from violence, theft	n.d.	n.d.	29	29
Belief in God	n.d..	n.d.	21	13

First of all, cannot surprise virtually identical in the distribution of responses in young townspeople and villagers in the survey in 2008 Difference in various positions within the statistical error. Such similarity in value orientations we associate, primarily, to the impact on young people in a single town and village information and ideological field created Internet TV, radio and other media. The five-year lag between the last two surveys (2008-2013) practically did not change the structure of value orientations of students in material wealth, but raised several claims and expectations of young urbanites in the spiritual sphere *("friends", "leisure", "good people", "good name")* [Pavlov, 2013].

Lifestyle - one of the most important bio-social categories, integrating concepts of a certain kind (type) of human life. "Healthy Lifestyle" (HLS) - the category the more general concept "lifestyle", which includes assessment of the conditions of human life, the level of its culture and hygiene practices that preserve and promote health, to prevent the development of its violations and maintain optimal quality of life.

Poll "Ural-1" showed that the overwhelming majority of respondents from different social groups (97-99%) are aware of and release these or other factors of conduct consistent with a healthy lifestyle. Among the most significant determinants of healthy lifestyles, scored 60-80% of the vote respondntami included: "Refusal of bad habits (alcohol, smoking, overeating" (80-85%), "Regular exercise, physical exercise" (43-63%) "Proper nutrition» (52-74%) [Pavlov, 2010]. Health and health as goal-saving activities are often not matched in the daily life of the individual. It is important to take into account the cognitive health crushing its many components: physical, physical, mental, spiritual, moral, social. Motivational point of motor activity for the formation of physical culture in general is, for example, increase the visual attractiveness, confidence, support the activity of the society.

*O*ur young respondents in the two cities of the Urals *("Ural-2")* asked: *"What are you doing now regularly for their health and physical development? Number of responses is not limited."* The obtained answers are given in Table. 2.

Table 2: Types and forms of participation of young Uralians in sports and recreational activities (% Of total number of respondents for each of the four groups of adolescents; in the "5-6 cl." - students in the numerator of Ekaterinburg, denominator - of Forest; in the "10-11 cl." - similar)

Types of sports and recreational activities	Groups	
	5-6 cl.	10-11 cl.
Himself, individually doing:		
- In the sports section	21 / 54	19 / 34
-Doing physical exercises	13 / 24	20 / 31
- Go skiing	17 / 56	18 / 37
- I skate	27 / 60	26 / 43
-Ride on a motorcycle, bicycle	22 / 46	20 / 25
- run	14 / 33	12 / 27
-swimming	9 / 24	9 / 11
-Weights, dumbbells	6 / 12	12 / 21
-Snowboarding	6 / 12	8 / 5
-Go to the gym	6 / 11	16 / 27
-Play chess	9 / 9	6 / 12
Participate in school competitions	10 / 35	13 / 26
I go hiking in	7 / 29	8 / 20
Currently sports do not, unfortunately, there is no time and conditions	5 / 2	11 / 5

Figures given in the table, give competent and rich food for thought to the interested reader and relevant conclusions. First, they allow us to estimate *(at least approximately)* quantitative and qualitative indicators of development of sports activities in different socio-demographic groups of children and adolescents, the ratio of traditional, the spontaneous *(in the family, in the yard, in the company of their peers)* and socially organized *(school, city cultural institutions and sports)* forms of employment of the population the physical culture and sports.

Domination parental family in formation value orientations in general and particularly in the field of familiarizing young people in physical education is obvious. *"What activities listed below you regularly worked with parents as a child?"* - Answers to this question teenagers from Ekaterinburg **(Ural-2)** were distributed as follows (% of total number of respondents - 510

people).

a) activities outside the city	
- Went to the lake to rest on the sea	- 72
- Went to the lake, sea hunt, fish	- 33
- Harvested in the forest mushrooms and berries	- 63
- Regularly went to the forest, "the nature"	- 44
- Harvested in the forest herbs	- 6
b) classes in	
- Regularly played football, hockey	- 24
- Played badminton, volleyball, basketball	- 42
- Doing regular physical exercises	- 15
- Jog	- 15
- Riding a bike, skateboard	- 60
- Riding on a motorcycle, car	- 27

To sum up. Despite the fact that the value of health in normative representations of Russians (both young and adult) increased, it does not become a factor of consciousness, remained at the level of fashion - a real self-preservation behavior does not change much: still a lot of drinkers and smokers who violate sleep, rest and motor activity, not caring about nutrition, etc. Obviously, the formation of health fashion should not replace the creation of a culture of health and physical culture of the person primarily.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 3. Social Reality and Social Research

Pavlova, Vera I. Chelyabinsk
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Reasons and causes of family quarrels in the Ural

Abstract

This article analyzes one of the key factors in the destabilization of family relations – Sociological Anatomy "family quarrels". Special attention is paid to the problem of destabilization influence of marital relations on the process of socialization of children. Materials used a number of complex regional studies of the Ural families conducted by the authors in 2003-2013 in the Institute of Economics, Ural Branch of Russian Academy of Sciences.

Keywords: family conflict, family quarrel, "family risk" children deviance

The family as a small social group has certain benefits, dignity properties that are (can be) attractive in the eyes of "normal" people. In this sense, we are talking about values and preference for family life compared with bachelor. The family as an interpersonal Union (welfare association) exists, not only due to external circumstances, socio-economic "hoops" (as if obliged to live together), not only thanks to habit and inertia. Scrapie powerful matrimony are such gracious feelings as love, admiration, respect, gratitude, honesty, solidarity, loyalty, etc.

Significant amendments to the destructive social and psychological relationship between spouses, between parents and their children makes such "antiscripe" as "married quarrel." "Nothing is good or bad - said at the time W. Shakespeare - it all depends on how we look at things." Let us, from the standpoint of sociology look at the phenomenon of "marital strife" becoming, quite often, when cause of or reason for the destabilization and disintegration of matrimonial alliances, deformation process of socialization of children.

In the present article draws a number of complex regional studies of intra-family relations in the Ural families conducted by the authors in 2003-2013 the Institute of Economics RAS, in particular:

- 2005 in Ekaterinburg were interviewed 880 young couple on the stabilization of relations in young families with children (362 males and 518 females) - "Family-1."

Complexity and differentiation of species and areas of public practice, a change in the mobility of the human natural and socio- cultural environment of multi-vector has the opposite impact on the livelihoods of people. At the same time their ability to respond adequately to qualitative changes in the environment are finite existence. Often a source of social tension are manifestations of antisocial behavior in individuals, social groups . Society requires special attention young family. Similarly, a living organism, the newly formed young family is the most

unstable, unstable in the first period of its existence.

This is due to a number of interrelated reasons. Like every living education, each individual family in its development (ontogeny) goes through a series of successive stages of the birth of the social and living cell until her death. It takes years of married life to stabilize relations, development of general family such spiritual values as mutual respect, mutual support, commitment to strengthening the union.

It is known that the future causes of divorce (if one happens in this particular family) are laid, usually at a young age marital when set a certain style of relations between spouses, there is a formation of a way of life, the development and promotion of certain at - without quotation marks forms of media , etc. Responsibilities of the spouses during this period of family life seems not only to prevent divorce in the early years of marriage , but also to prevent those intrafamily processes that can lead to divorce at a more mature age of the family [Bersenyev, Vazhenin, Pavlov 2011] .

Interviewing 880 young couples in Ekaterinburg ("Family-1"), we try to clarify the sociological "anatomy" occurring in the Urals quarrels between the young husband and wife. Below is a series of questionnaires given us questions about family quarrels and the respondents' opinion on the matter (% of respondents):

1. Can I do without quarrels in family life?

Yes, perhaps we could	23
Quarrels are sometimes necessary	52
No quarrels there is no family life	25

2. Who is the instigator of quarrels often?

"It is unclear who"	33
Wife	28
Husband	15
Both	24

3. Duration quarrels in your family

Put up immediately	39
Not more than one day	33
A few days (2-3 days)	16
About a week	7
About a month	3
Month or more	2

4. Who often inferior to the family conflicts?

Mutually	49
Husband	30
Wife	21

5. Having a spouse (wife) harmful, gambling habits and their impact on the occurrence of quarrels:

Pernicious habits	In young family these habits:	
	are present	contention
Smoking	60	30
Drinking alcohol	36	40
Dawdle	26	27
Ribaldry	18	15
Overeating	15	8
Playing Cards	8	8

Causal "diversity" of family quarrels and quenching due not only to subjective factors. They reflect and objective in syly social and psychological complexities and contradictions that accompany the process of adaptation of the members of the family unit together, the family unit adaptation to their environment life. It would, for example, be wrong to consider the process of stabilization of the family (especially young) relations within a deterministic, depending on the level of spiritual culture and emotional development of the spouses. Building family relationships on the basis of flows of material life.

A certain level of spiritual comfort of the family unit - largely a reflection of its material and economic challenges in meeting both material and spiritual needs of defined income levels , size and condition of the home, the development of the service system, health care , etc. And this, in turn, depends largely on the development of relations "society - a young family". The latter includes not only the material realm. It is essential to public opinion on such moral concepts as "conjugal love", "family happiness", "debt family man", "fatherhood", "motherhood", etc. [Pavlov, 2010] .

This is a comprehensive sociological study conducted in 1983 in Magnitogorsk. Briefly about the program of the study. Its program included: a) survey 690 young married couple from the so-called "safe" urban families; b) an expert survey of judges, about the nature of the passage (at the time of the survey), 243 cases of divorcing couples in three district courts of the city folk.

Here are some results of this study. According to experts, the main reason about every three of four divorces (78%), which were carried out on the initiative of the women, was

drinking or alcoholism male. Characteristically, the relative number of marriages is terminated by reason of male drunkenness, hardly changed in different age groups. Immediately, we note that in most cases, the women pointed to drinking in combination with other factors. Much of cases (about 50%) of women indicated a number of reasons, on the basis of which they consider continued their married life impossible. If we evaluate the results of the examination as a whole, in the opinion of the judges, most marriages in Magnitogorsk decayed due to the fault of men. The ratio of these judges causes guilt and guilt husband wife was about the proportion of 2:1 [Pavlov, 2013].

In search of the true root causes of anti-family behavior must be remembered that certain personality traits, her actions towards the family can not be fully explained by any adverse circumstances or behavior of one spouse. In the construction of family relationships involved, usually two. Unlikely to be correct when the error of one of the spouses does not recover his partner, and worse.

In our study, Magnitogorsk attempt was made to find out how the decision to divorce spouses to stop between intimate relationships. In the questionnaire, we asked an expert judge to specify how long (up to the date of application) divorcing lived intimate conjugal life. It is understandable how difficult ethical aspect determine such information. And yet our experts considered it possible to accomplish this task in the management of 180 divorce cases, representing 74% of all cases examined. Was detected following relationship termination period of intimate relationships before applying for a divorce on the type of leadership.

Evidence suggests that the issues of sexual relations and divorce different groups destabilize families decide differently. For some spiritual destabilization of family means, usually intimate and termination of relationship, for others, these two issues are not linked virtually. The latter situation has been characterized primarily for families where the husband dominates. Of this group, 8% had intimate relations on the eve of filing an application for divorce to the registrar. Public practice shows that there are cases where the spouses are applying for a divorce too hastily, without weighing the "pros" and "cons" without attempting to neutralize the causes, factors underlying the motivation for termination of the family unit. It is for this part of the divorcing couples reconciling important preventive activities of court employees in the first place - people's judge, the leading case [Pavlov, 1984]. Of particular importance for a positive outcome of the reconciling activity takes on a new line of work with families on the "threshold" of divorce, namely: social mediation - work on pre-trial settlement of family conflicts. This kind of professional activity is currently becoming more and more

common and popular in Russia.

Draw some conclusions. In the beginning of this article you'll find answers to the question of young couple questionnaire: "Can we do without quarrels in family life?" Only one in four respondents (23%) said the option "Yes, perhaps we could." The overwhelming majority of the respondents believe the young couple that "Quarrels sometimes necessary" - 52%, or the option "No quarrels there is no family life" - 25%. We do not have sufficient reason not to recognize the fact that now the phenomenon of marital strife is almost a "must" attribute family construction. In our case, we are talking primarily about young Ural families. The question arises: "Quarrels and family conflicts - a new acquisition of the family institution or" generic "legacy?".

As history shows, the "age" of family conflict is the same as the age of the institution of the family - a unique institution of human interaction. And today we obviously should not focus on finding effective (cardinal) means and methods "eradication" quarrels and conflicts of family items. Need to learn, especially the prevention of "peaceful" family relations - is, first. And, secondly, it is important to use the creative potential of interpersonal communication between family members, in search of a satisfactory resolution of the contradictions that arise, and, most importantly, for the good preservation of the family unit and its values.

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Contradictions and Conflicts as a result of institutional transformations in Russia

Abstract

Reformatory and revolutionary institutional changes formed the basis of social transformations in post-Soviet Russia. They were correlated with solution of dilemma "continuity - refusal from continuity". Reformers' desire to remote at most from totalitarian organization of Soviet society was embodied in practice of destruction even of viable institutional forms. Constructing new institutions wasn't always sociality effective as they were produced not by interests of narrow groups of politicians, officials and business elite following to the ideology of radical liberalism. Foreign experience served as an idealized standard of such ideas. Simultaneously, cultural potential of the past caused inertia and restoration processes, which restricted approval of new forms to a certain degree. Different tempo of institutional transformations, multiple corrections, unbalanced correlation of formal and informal institutions created preconditions for social conflicts.

Keywords: institutional transformations in Russia, institutional construction, Actors of institutional construction, institutional contradictions, conflictogenic conditions

Introduction

In this report we shall present a crisis interpretation of institutions in Russian social reality, discussing the problems of institutional construction, existing institutional contradictions and conflicts in our country.

Radical institutional transformations that began in the second half of the 1980s in Soviet society and continued in the 1990s led to the collapse of the USSR, fall of socialism as an ideology and social practice, construction of new social relations in modern Russian society. The whimsical combination of the ideology of liberalism, uncritically accepted and adopted experience, strong inertness of traditions and conservatism gave occasion to that renewal. Attempts to combine such antagonistic contradictions have led to the appearance of a condition of permanent crisis in Russia's modern social reality expressed in unresolved and growing social problems. Institutional regulators created under these circumstances, and the institutional structure as a whole, are filled with numerous contradictions and conflicts.

In a crisis interpretation the inherent features and characteristics of institutions become distinguishable more obviously. Following some sociological traditions (P. Sorokin), we can consider crisis not as a process leading to catastrophe, disintegration and collapse, but as a condition of anomie and transformation when social diseases generated by a previous state and its conflict with a contradictory new one become more obvious.

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1. Among many diverse objective aspects and problems in the institutional field, we are especially interested:

- *Firstly,* in the processes of institutional construction and state of social institutions in modern Russia;

- *Secondly,* in the institutional system contradictions and conflicts as a modulator of crisis processes in this sphere.

2. Problematic condition of Russia's current institutional reality consists in the existence of three different views:

- *First.* Institutional change in modern Russia represents the overdue modernization, which may result in more full inclusion of Russia into the context of modern civilization.

- *Second.* Current Russian institutions are totally destructive and they go down the wrong disastrous path.

- *Third.* In conjunction with the first two arguments, but separately, the idea of Russia's special path, including its institutional uniqueness, is actively discussed.

3. Research methodology

Speaking of the research methodology, it is possible to say that questions about the nature, construction and objective-subjective content of social institutions are one of the key themes in the sociological discourse.

- According to *the objectivist paradigm*, institutions are considered as a product of human activity and strictly organized social factors of a supra-individual reality, existing outside the human being and influencing upon him (E. Durkheim, K. Marx, T. Parsons). Attempts at using an objectivist approach to understanding the history and modern fundamentals of institutionality in Russian society have taken shape in O. Bessonova's *civilizational matrices theory* and S. Kirdina's *institutional matrices theory*.

- *A constructivist approach* emphasizes that both objective and subjective social experiences, i.e. objective reality and subjective one, matter in the processes of institutionalization (M. Weber, P. Berger, H. Blumer). Needs, interests, motives, attitudes and aims of active social actors have great significance in the construction of institutions and maintaining their viability.

- *Neo-institutionalism* formed by theoretical considerations of modern economists (D. North, G. Hodgson, T. Eggertsson) suggests that social institutions are a complex of formal

and informal rules, principles, norms, attitudes, regulating different spheres of human activity. Institutions are defined as a complex system, the efficiency of which is ensured by the implementation of control over rule observance and activity of organizations that have status and role structure.

4. The logic of institutional construction is determined by considering institutions as the most rational and adequate way of organization (conditions, methods and procedures) of need satisfaction in a concrete situation. More precisely, institutions are determined as a set of rules ensuring a definite order and good results of such satisfaction.

5. The stages of the institutionalization of social relations and a model of social institution

The institutionalization of social relations passes through the following stages:

• The needs of social actors generate the emergence of social institutions and their functioning.

• The actualization of the necessity to satisfy certain needs follows the emergence and conflict of interests, which in their turn create the need for their adjustment and balancing.

• The correlation between different needs and interests occurs on the basis of the scale of values accepted within a given culture.

• Normative limits (i.e. formal and informal rules, regulations and expectations), determining the quantity and quality, order and procedure of interchange of rights and duties, are developed and established.

• The control system supports the specificity, validity and stability of such interchange.

• The positional and functional structure composed of statuses and roles takes a concrete shape in social organizations.

• Institutional complexes developed by people as a certain agreement between interacting parts pass through the stage of legitimation in public conscience and people's behavior. They are made into laws, codes and informal institutional arrangements and transmitted in culture, thus objectifying themselves into supra-individual structures.

Summarizing the examined conceptions of understanding the nature and structure of social institutions, we can suggest the following definition:

A social institution is a system of regulatory control over relationships between actors in their interactions connected with the satisfaction of multiple needs, which is accepted and

widely-spread in a given society and culture. It includes the normative value system and functional structure of social positions with corresponding statuses and roles.

6. The ideology and projects of institutional construction in modern Russia

A brief word must be said with respect to the ideology and projects of institutional construction. Russia as a twofaced Janus finds the role models in the past as well as in the fantastic future, adopting both Western and Eastern cultures.

- One of the most essential factors, influencing the processes of institutional transformation, is the contradiction between Westernizers arguing that Russian mentality is tolerant to European culture and people arguing that Russian mentality is more tolerant to Oriental culture.

- According to the neoconservative Slavophil project, the main vector of the existence of Russian society and culture is set as the maximum achievement of Russia's uniqueness and independent existence through the self-understanding of Russian spirit.

7. Actors of institutional construction

The processes of transformation in Russia, which began in the middle of 80-s of the XX century, are characterized by the diminishing social-political activity and involvement of a narrow circle of actors into these processes.

In reality the actors of institutional construction were people owning resources, i.e. property, power and influence, such as:

- Statesmen, party and Komsomol leaders; directors of enterprises, institutions and their associates; managers in the sphere of trade and service who had created the underground financial capital by the beginning of perestroika; representatives of different social layers who had displayed owner's activity; finally, representatives of criminal and semi-criminal world.

- The group of radical liberals recruited from the westward-looking intellectuals, first of all, social scientists and politics of the Soviet party nomenclature, who had changed their views sharply to the extremely anti-Soviet ones and strived for the realization of their own egoistical interests.

- International financial and political organizations, powerful political sources and nongovernmental organizations.

It is especially remarkable that the middle class didn't participate in those processes.

8. Types and character of institutional contradictions in the changing social reality of modern Russia

A crisis condition of Russian social reality makes itself evident in the fact, that institutional innovations have caused the appearance of several groups of institutional contradictions, which in turn caused the rise and escalation of social tension in the changing social reality of modern Russia.

They are:

• Contradictions between the need for construction and spread of modern institutions and maintenance and reproduction of frankly outdated institutional complexes.

• Contradictions of interaction and correlation of formal and informal institutions.

• Contradictions between new and old social institutions.

• Contradictions between evident and latent functions, functions and dysfunctions.

• Contradiction between impersonal and personal character of institutional statuses.

• Contradictions between the rate of introduction of institutional innovations and lagging behind the need for the institutional infrastructure development.

• Contradiction between the need for certainty, stability and instability of institutions themselves associated with the unsystematic character of carrying out institutional innovations.

9. Conflicts as a result of institutional transformations in Russia

Institutional innovations are considered as factors, causing the conflictogenic character of Russian social reality and thus creating conflicts, namely:

• Conflicts of legitimation.

• Socio-structural conflicts.

• Conflicts caused by the unbalance of formal and informal institutions.

Conclusion

We shall conclude our report with a few observations:

• The processes of institutional transformations in Russia occurred and are still occurring on the basis of multi-vector ideological reference points, mutually excluding each other.

• The mismatch between institutional innovations and practical needs, arising as a result of social practices, has become one of the powerful sources of institutional contradictions.

• In the processes of institutional innovations' implementation the contradictoriness between its results and constructions of current reality stipulated by these innovations, which

creates the field of strong evident and latent tension, has appeared. Institutional contradictions being embodied in social practice become conflictogenic conditions and factors in interactions and relationships of actors in all areas of social life.

- Institutional contradictions in modern Russia are caused by the collision of different interest groups in the absence of self-organization and opportunities to protect these interests, on the one hand, and the imposition of conditions and rules of the game by those who own all kinds of resources, from the other hand (according to some estimates, there are 750 private individuals, possessing the largest share of Russia's resources).

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Bologna Process in Russia: Common Rules or Inequality chance?

Abstract

The article analyzes the results of the implementation of the Bologna system in Russia. The author proves that the inclusion of Russia in the Bologna process is an artificial process and it has no objective prerequisites. The researcher analyzes the reasons of the gaps in the level of training European's graduates and graduates of Russian universities, and argues that the transition to the new system does not guarantee the majority of graduates of Russian universities equal opportunities in employment, compared with graduates of European countries.

Keywords: Bologna system, quality of education, bachelor degree, specialty, soviet system of education, Russian system of education, principles of education, employment of graduates

Theoretical backgrounds

Bologna system may not be bad in itself, but it is alien to Russian education, because it is based on opposite principles. The basic principles of the Soviet and then Russian education system are fundamental and systematic. Its main method - deductive: from general laws - to private local manifestations and, ultimately, to the practical application. Bologna system is the result of the Anglo-Saxon model of education; it is based on the inductive principle and leads idea of an infinite number of particulars and specific examples to a common knowledge. And it's not just cultural and historical feature, it is a fundamental philosophical difference, which does not allow to transfer to the Russian educational system the elements from the Bologna system.

We can identify seven basic provisions of the Bologna Declaration. The first of which is the adoption of a system of comparable degrees to allow European citizens to be employed and to increase the international competitiveness of European higher education system. It should be noted that a very decent Soviet education and without comparable degrees was quite competitive, and it is not necessary to break the existing and well established system of an academic degree and a Ph.D. candidate in favor of a hypothetical integration of higher education. It seems to me, that it is, at least, unwise [Baydenko, 2006, p. 37].

The second provision is the introduction of two-level learning: preliminary and final, which should lead to the master's degree or doctorate degree. I dare say that this is the only one of the seven provisions which implemented in Russia. But the introduction of this provision, despite the fact that in the Bologna Declaration emphasizes voluntary accession and the need to preserve the independence of educational institutions, wore the coercive nature. Professional academic community almost did not participate in the development and implementation of this

process, and therefore it is not passed by the way of adaptation of national education system to the Bologna system and preserving the best of what it was created by many generations of faculty members, and on the way it was unreasonable destruction. If Baccalaureate aims to teach a specific utility case, the Russian education had analogue - technical schools. The traditional five-year training of specialists in high school, replaced by Bachelor, means rejection of fundamental education in favor of narrow profile and training for crafts. Of course, education should supply the labor market specialists, sought in the economic sphere, but if the market needs are short-term and local, the education should be long-term strategic nature, that is, to develop creative thinking specialists in order to adapt them to constant change. Theoretically, this should provide magistracy, but in fact it has so little budget places that many students are able and willing to continue their education, can't do it, because it is financially inaccessible. In conjunction with the policy guidelines to the same minimum value of learning in all (and prestigious metropolitan and provincial small) universities in the country, it leads to elitarisation higher education system.

The third position is the introduction of the European Transfer System ECTS complexity (credit system). European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) – funded system operating under the concept of "learning throughout life", which should ensure a successful transition to a society based on knowledge, is taken as a basis. This requirement of the Bologna agreement was done with mechanical equating to a certain amount of credit (36) semester hours, but credits and hours as measuring instruments of academic work are fundamentally incomparable effect of the above differences in the processes of learning in Europe and Russia.

The next provision - namely, a significant promotion of mobility of students, teachers and other staff and the establishment of standards of transnational education in Russia does not work at all. [Baydenko, 2006, p. 51]. To be more exact, it works, but for a selected group of people and universities which are situated in the large cities and capitals. The vast majority of the students does not know foreign languages, and, moreover, does not have the means for such trips (mobility) teachers are mobile, mainly due to personal contacts with foreign colleagues, and "other staff" – due to the access to governmental and academic sources of finance. For other participants of the educational process mobility is no more than a declaration. As for setting standards of transnational education, or more simply, its unification, it is unclear why it is necessary for Russia. Is one of the main objectives of education is not the development of domestic production and saturation of the labor market (their own, and not a foreign country) highly qualified personnel? That's why, integration is one-sided process.

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The fifth principle - the promotion of European cooperation in quality assurance with a view to developing comparable criteria and methodologies in Russia took the form of mechanical the transfer completely unadapted to our reality, incomprehensible bureaucratic directives. Naturally, there is no comparability of programs, but there are dull irritation of teachers who are forced to engage in endlessly compiling various kinds of plans - to the detriment of direct reports professional duties - namely, teaching students. We can say the same about the following principle – the promotion of the necessary European dimensions in higher education, particularly in the area of curricular development, inter-institutional cooperation, mobility schemes and integrated programs of study.

The last of the basic principles – is the introduction of high quality control systems of education and the involvement of an external evaluation of universities students and employers. Here I must say that those competencies (29 professional and 26 general culture), which should serve to control the quality of education, in terms of the average Russian university, are essentially unverifiable. Students today are unlikely to evaluate the quality of universities' activity, since they do not know the Bologna system. Data from survey conducted in the South-Ural State University, confirmed this fact.

Research objectives: to clarify student's attitude to the transition to the European system of education; to estimate student's knowledge of the Bologna process.

Methodology

Quantitative analysis of the process of educational reforms, in particular Russia's transition to the Bologna system of higher education.

Findings and results

Students' attitude to the transition to the European system of education shows a low level of awareness about this process and a negative attitude. For half the respondents the image of this system is associated first of all with the advent of Bachelor's and Master's degrees. About 20% of respondents are aware of the fact that the Bologna education system allows evaluation of knowledge with ECTS credits. Fewer students know about its main objectives (mobility, employability and the ability to transmit and deploy in society everything that makes up a student's learning; an up-to-date education, centering on the acquisition of professional and academic competencies, providing enhanced opportunities for rapid entry into the professional

workplace; a system of easily readable and comparable degrees; a system of credits (ECTS); European cooperation in quality assurance, etc.).

The conclusion is that modern students have a rather low level of awareness about the changes taking place in the field of education. It also might indicate biased views towards Russia's transition to the Bologna system of education.

More than half the students get to know about the Bologna system of education when they enter university. A quarter of respondents know about it from the mass media, and 14.5% from relatives and friends. The data led to the conclusion that one of the main points of the integration of the Bologna process in Russian education is, first of all, increasing student awareness of this process. For this purpose, a public awareness campaign should be carried out at the universities and the essence of the innovations should be explained.

Upon examination of students' attitude to the Bologna system of education, half of the respondents haven't determined their attitude. At the same time, 28.0% of respondents disapprove of the transition of Russian universities to the Bologna system of education, a larger proportion than those who are satisfied with the new system of education (21.0%), while 9.0% of the respondents are indifferent toward it.

When asked about the purpose of implementing the Bologna system in the Russian educational system one third of respondents noted that the purpose is "to make Russian education popular abroad." A quarter of respondents said that the purpose is "To destroy the established system of national education." Less than 20% of the respondents noted that the purpose is "To improve the quality of education in Russia and to cancel state-financed institutions." And about 5.0% of respondents think that this is a common decision made by the authorities to become like everyone else, like the West, in favor of globalization and international cooperation.

Among the main advantages of the Bologna system respondents mention possibilities of internships in Europe (38.0%), continued studies in Europe (36.5%), improvement of the quality of national education (25.5%), and development of joint training programs in Russian and European universities (20.5%). Approximately 15% think that the system has no advantages.

Among the limitations of the Bologna system, respondents identify the discrepancy between Russian and European academic hours. Teaching techniques in Russia should be completely changed (37.5%) in order to sort out these differences. It is impossible to train a qualified specialist in 4 years (37.5%). The increase in tuition fees (29.0%). Every fifth respondent thinks that this is an unnecessary process of Europeanization, which will not be

beneficial for national education. Some respondents note the uncertain status of the Bachelor's degree and employers' negative attitudes to the Bachelor's Degree. According to every third respondent, a specialist degree is the most attractive diploma for any employer.

The analysis shows that views on the Bologna system of education are very vague, fragmentary, unsystematic. Nobody is aware of the fact that, having signed the Bologna Declaration, Russia, in accordance with the regulations, must rely on non-state agencies for quality assessment and accreditation.

Conclusion

The transition to the new system of higher education does not guarantee the majority of domestic graduates of universities equal opportunities for employment with graduates of European universities. The situation is aggravated by the education reform, under which there were highlighted several Federal universities. Meanwhile, these universities before joining the Bologna process had been competitive in the global labor market. All other universities are designed to meet the needs of the local labor market, and this is the main reason for the low level of training of graduates. The fact is that the domestic industry is a major consumer of the graduates. However, it lags behind in the development of European level, so it makes no sense to raise the bar of education. Besides, provincial universities are left without adequate funding from the state. That's why they are forced to survive by paying students who come to the university with a very low level of training and without competition. These causes aggravate the gap in the level of training of graduates of European and domestic universities, and, respectively, the chances of successful employment.

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Fundamental Paradoxes of the Theory and Practice of the Criminal law

Abstract

The article discusses the question of ideological inferiority of modern justice system. The basis of such inferiority are the paradoxes of inferiority, supporting the existence of the justice system. The author examines three paradoxes: rigorizm as the principle of self-justification; distorted understanding of social justice; economic pragmatism of the penal system, leading to a neglect of the interests of society.

Keywords: justice, systemic violence, social justice, the concept of social protection

From our point of view, "crisis of punishment " and all negative phenomena peculiar to modern system of justice, are mostly caused by its ideological inferiority with core fundamental paradoxes, i.e. the statements which are contradicting common sense and seeming improbable, unexpected or ridiculous in modern context. The criminal law represents a ball of such paradoxes which interdeterminate each other and create illusion of logicality and naturalness of system of punishment. They feed its ideological bases and represent arguments for a justification of its usefulness from the point of view of maintenance of social justice in society. We will consider only three most important (in our opinion) and rather independent ideas.

1 . Rigorizm of criminal law as principle of existence and self-justification

Originally negative acts and the doing harm to society phenomena were considered within philosophical and ethical doctrines. At this stage of knowledge violation of the law and, for example, lie, greed, unfriendliness were considered as equivalent manifestations of the evil. The evil is the evil, and therefore we shouldn't divide it on less or more significant. This approach can be called as natural because it was based on ideas of the value of rules of cohabitation and interactions which almost haven't been mediated by intervention of official institutions.

During the Enlightenment study of the social evil had an particular importance in connection with the concept of the public contract. And though the subject of good and evil didn't stop being ethical, it gained addition political and public (sociological) character. The political and legal thoughts were found on the concept of the natural right which has been originally formulated by Aristotle and Cicero, and then the developed Diderot, John Locke, Montesquieu, A. Radishchev, Jean-Jacques Rousseau. It meant set of principles and rights following from human nature and independent from social conditions. The natural right of the

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XVII-XVIII century became the ideological tool of fight against feudalism and at the same time base for formation of the bourgeois right [Ivanov, Il'ina 1991] in which ideas of "natural" norms of a human society became official, and interactions between individuals had mediated character. Eventually in legislations of different countries the norms dictated by interests of the mighty of this world, i.e. a bourgeoisie class were added to norms of the natural right.

Since the end of the XVII century the problem of crime gains special point for societies. The crime becomes a subject of politicians' speeches and everyday life conversations of citizens, and the institute of criminal law gets the state support (financial, political, moral). Some kinds of human activity become an object of official reaction and, as a result, a subject of theoretical understanding as the most dangerous manifestations of social evil. Other part of human acts was not put to the dangerous list (for example, prostitution, alcoholism, domestic violence, lie, etc.) and therefore remains beyond the consideration by the experts who are officially dealing with problems of the social order. Among negative consequences of this process it is necessary to name a fixing to criminal law of status of the official conductor of the state ideology. It leads to the compelled short circuit on the circle of problems (and vision of these problems), defined by the fact of belonging to law science (and, therefore, being under ideological influence of the state). This situation in many respects remains the same till today. Fixing to criminal law of status of the official conductor of the state ideology, continued and uncompromising support of this idea (in what the rigorizm is shown) turned criminal law into the mechanism of the system violence aimed at reproduction of the relations of the power-obedience [Schumann, 1977, s. 190-195].

Criminal justice disturbs democratization of society, reviving totalitarianism remnants again and again. This statement contains in works of many researchers who are engaged in studying of system (legitimate) violence which follows from an aggressive essence of any power [Dahrendorf, 1972]. It keeps on special maintenance of domination by means of legitimation of certain norms and suppression of their breaking by the state authorities. This practice turned into the legitimate social institute which has developed own framework of categories and concepts for a theoretical explanation (and justifications) need of the existence, as well as own practices of application of explanatory concepts of criminal prosecution, police and civil coercion. It is possible to distinguish three levels of activity of this violence institute: interpersonal, collective actors, social. Thus, however, it is necessary to remember that object of its activity at any level is, eventually, every single citizen [Cremer-Schäffer, Steinert, 1997, s. 245-249]. So, at social level the violence institute supports the slogan "law and order" everywhere, and also develops

"crime and punishment" theories (various projects of crime motives, criminological theories about causes of crime and becoming the criminal, distribution of images – especially through mass media – about criminal social groups or "risk groups" etc.). In this way strategy and tactics of social exclusion of particular political undesirables social groups [Kristi, 1999] are developed. Here tactics of direct intimidation of the population through application of death penalty as drastic remedy of exception of life are realized; imprisonment which means no other than "internal exile"; physical punishment of people which are in temporary or long isolation, etc. Some criminologists distinguish "five main markers which can help to explain the volume of the harm done by the state to the citizens" [Politicheskij rezhim …, 2001, p. 25]: 1) extent of penal system; 2) possibility of management of growth of penal system; 3) level of maintenance of prisoners; 4) transparency of penal system; 5) civility degree of the relations in penal system [ibod, Pp. 64-69].

2 . Warped understanding of social justice conducting to justification of violence

The mission of the law, including criminal law, is to support of certain level of social justice in society. At least law-abiding citizens of democratic societies expect this. These expectations in many respects depend also on understanding of social justice. For example, Karl Popper understands equal distribution of civil duties, i.e. those restrictions of freedom that are necessary in public life, as well as the equality of citizens before the law in terms of impartiality, existence of a fair judicial system and the equal distribution of benefits (not only duties) that can mean for people membership in the given state [Popper, 2009].

John Rowls considers social justice as "an ideal society organization", based on the theory of strict consent, and "a real condition of society", based on the theory of a partial consent which allows to get on with social injustice somehow. The theory of a partial consent include two principles of justice: a) everyone has the equal right for freedom, fundamentally compatible with the same freedom of others; b) economic and social inequality, as the wealth and the power, are fair only when bear the general advantage and compensate losses of the most unprotected members of society [Rolz Dzh, 1995, Pp. 19-29].

In general agreeing with approach of these authors, it is possible to offer the following definition of the concept "social justice": it is a measure of public advantage (=social adequacy) norms (formal and informal), which on the basis of the agreement establishes and supports such order of activity of people and the organizations, which promotes a survival and development of society, and also provides integration and dignity existence of members of society. Here "dignity existence" is generalization of all those benefits which are proclaimed as those in modern

society: measure of freedom, equality, social security, education, social inclusion, wide opportunities of choice of legal kinds of activity, level and quality of life, etc. Those institutes, governmental forms, norms etc. are socially fair, those on the basis of the agreement between members of social interactions create and support bases of dignity life of people in society, i.e. they have an aspiration to provide individual justice to everyone in his/her relationship with the state and social institutes. Individual justice is a measure of paying tribute (in an ideal) at equal rights of all citizens. In this definition there are two types of justice, which were offered by Aristotle, - leveling and distributive.

The modern system of criminal law as the ideological basis relies on idea of individual justice (because the principle of equivalence of requital for violation of norms is constantly broken it is not observed). However Aristotle specified that social and individual justice are not simply in close connection, they are not imaginable without each other. What does it mean for the theory and practice of criminal law?

Firstly, the criminal law has to take care of paying tribute, both criminals, and their victims the same. Concerning criminals it is a question not only of punishment, but also of observance of inalienable rights of prisoners as citizens. Concerning victims it is about need of compensation of the damage caused to them for the size corresponding to nature of done harm. And this loss is indemnified at the expense of the criminal only if he or she is capable to compensate it. Otherwise compensation of harm has to lay down completely on shoulders of law-enforcement institutes which couldn't observe in a due measure an order and safety (= is right) the citizens who have fallen a victim of a crime.

Secondly, according to definition of social justice, it would be necessary to confer responsibility for level of crime in society on those social institutes (political, legal, legislative) and those persons, which: a) thoughtlessly criminalize types of behavior or, vice verse evade from codification of norms directly violating the rights of citizens and infringing their interests; b) develop unreasonable criminal policy; c) by activity or inactivity don't provide integration and dignity existence of members of society that conducts to rise of crime and other types of deviance. (The author realizes that this statements sounds as utopian one, but we consider paradoxes).

Thirdly, according to understanding of social justice given above the system of justice has to be aimed, first of all, at crime prevention and only after that at criminal prosecution, punishment and/or rehabilitation of criminals.

3 . Economic pragmatism of the concept "social protection"

Certainly, the democratic states make attempts of restoration and maintenance of justice in legal relations with the citizens. One of indicators of such efforts is the tendency which has outlined at the end of the XX century to change in management of the closed organizations of an execution of punishment. So, R. Driebold notes the following tendencies: reduction of number of prisoners; reduction of harm to the prisoner due to use of opportunities of short release in the period of confinement (short-term holiday); change of structure of prison and order of punishment; change of the principles of the treatment of prisoners and principles of order of punishment [Driebold, 1990, s. 109-115].

However penal system is not suitable for correction of criminals. Probably that is why, some countries refused the demagogical declarative purposes with which long time the penal system was allocated, and took a pragmatical position in punishment of criminals. This approach issued under the name "social protection".

This concept reflects modern ideas of punishment and gains the increasing popularity, at the same time varying in the different countries on humanity degree concerning criminals. So, in Great Britain and the USA the state control of crime is exercised in economic regime of high-quality management in which profitability, effectiveness and efficiency in use of resources of criminal justice is emphasized. This economic idea of crime is aimed at rational calculation of crime (cost-benefit evaluation) which is limited to the payment price. It's not anymore about individual fault, the most important is the collective security [Klimke, 2008, s. 17] and the prison is regarded as pragmatical and at the same time populist decision satisfying requirement of the population in protection and punishment.

Strengthening of this approach is based on that circumstance that punishment is more favorable (in economic sense) than the correction based on formation of responsibility. It is also more favorable than reforming of society for purpose of creating favorable conditions of activity of people in legitimate social space. The main conclusion from change of the concept of punishment is that the justice system comes back to the punishment concept. Besides, this approach contradicts mission of the state legal system which as expression of social justice assumes (at least) providing a guarantee of integrity of human beings and preservation of its property. However victims of crimes suffer double damage: first, from the crime and, secondly, from a retaliatory way of the organization of the justice that does not allow to resolve their problems properly. The retaliatory orientation of criminal justice is caused by understanding of crime as violations of laws of the state, instead of infliction of harm to the people and the

relations, and also aiming of criminal trial at the proof of guilt and punishment sentence to the person which is exposed to criminal prosecution. Criminal trial has stigma character towards offenders and complicates their reintegration into society.

Western criminologists actively develop this subject discussing reorganization of criminal and legal system. The main content (quintessence) of this discussion can be formulated as following: at the national-state level the criminal law acts as the intermediary in so-called policy of risks' restriction. According to this the concepts "reliability" and "protection" are widely discussed in society. However these concepts are considered as though in itself, without analysis of that, actually, it is necessary to protect, i.e. the object of protection is not analyzed. Thus "reliability" becomes purely symbolical concept. Material and formal reliability of criminal law in modern western society is thought as increasing attention of official institutions to conditions of victimization of potential victims. From here and the purposes of criminal law which is implementation of actions for detection suspicious one when under suspicion are not only criminals, but social groups, life situations and circumstances [Albrecht, 1999, s. 3-4]. And it means that there is an expansion of law-enforcement system on all social field and everyday life.

If after all to expect from system of an execution of the punishment of fast effect, that, speaking about quality of the product made by this system, we always have to realize that, from positions of whom we will estimate it. From a position of the producer? But that it makes: the maintenance of people in the closed organizations? correction of criminals? social services for prisoners? retaliation? safety of citizens? From a position of the consumer? But who this consumer: prisoner, society or state? From a market position? But what to consider as efficiency of penal system? Or from position of the state? But what purposes of the state concerning prisoners and criminal policy? These estimates can significantly differ, as well as answers to the posed questions.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 3. Social Reality and Social Research

Shirmazanyan, Armen A., Moscow

The Presentation of Self as "other" in On-line Social Network

Abstract

The on-line social network is a social institution of virtual type in which individuals by using certain practices have the opportunity to present themselves as "others". Nowadays the on-line social network as a social institution of virtual type is being formed. In the context of the becoming complex society that is in constant action the virtual reality is being formed, and a certain part of the social practices acquires respectively the virtual content that exists in the on-line social networks.

Keywords: presentation of "self", becoming, social institution, social network

The on-line social network is a social institution of virtual type in which individuals by using certain practices have the opportunity to present themselves as "others". The virtual practices and the actual social practices have some features in common: they are relatively the same in a certain space and time due to the reflexivity of actors.

Nowadays the on-line social network as a social institution of virtual type is being formed. This is a fundamentally new social structure that has never existed before. In a traditional society and even industrial one the social institution was a form of organization and regulation of life (family, state, religion, etc.) that ensured normative functioning of the society through the implementation of social control. The nature and the content of the social institution have radically changed today when the modern society as the English sociologist Anthony Giddens says has become acquired a fundamentally different socio-cultural dynamics becoming "the runaway world" [Giddens, 1999]. These conditions of dispersion create a new and unprecedented setting for individual life pursuits, raising a serious of challenges: the passage from the "solid" to a "liquid" phase of modernity. As a result, the social forms (structures that limit individual choices, institutions that guard patterns of acceptable behavior) can no longer keep their shape for long, because they decompose and melt faster than it takes the time to cast them. The "society" is increasingly viewed and treated as a "network" rather than a "structure" [Bauman, 2009, p. 1-3]. So, the social institutions have moved to a new quality - they appear in the form of social practices arranged in space and time. It should be emphasized that the social practices are not created by social actors but are being constantly produced by them and appear to be the same for a certain period time and in concrete space due to the reflexivity of actors and that makes them an institution with adequate functions.

At the same time, in the context of the becoming complex society that is in constant action [Sztompka, 1991] the virtual reality is being formed, and a certain part of the social

practices acquires respectively the virtual content that exists in the on-line social networks. Virtual social practices gradually become an integral part of the social lives of millions of people worldwide. In fact, the possession of a person's own page in the on-line social network takes the character of social organization and the regulation of everyday life. In this regard, it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish the difference between the real and virtual functions of social practices. If the functions of real social practices have been well studied in dynamics (E. Durkheim – T. Parsons – R. Merton – A. Giddens), the same cannot be said about virtual social practices that have just come into our lives, gradually acquiring the character of a new social institution.

The on-line social network as a social institution of virtual type has specific manifest and latent functions. The main manifest function of the on-line social networks is to build and maintain relationships as well as the exchange of information among its users as reflexive actors that have the ability to self-creation and self-organization. These qualities of actors are initially implemented during the registration in the social network that is available to anyone capable and wishing to connect to the Internet. With the development of mass popularity and use of on-line social networks such web projects as Facebook and VK are not actually specialized that was typical of them earlier. Nowadays, Then, the basis of on-line social network is a kind of space that, according to the words of the famous American sociologist Erving Goffman, is increasingly used for the representation of self in everyday life [Goffman, 1959].

Of course, the presentation of self in on-line social network can only be based on specific rules. Moreover, in our opinion, There are three main functional regulators of behavior in on-line social networks: 1) *quantitative* restrictions on self-representation that are specified by the format of the information; 2) the *qualitative content* of the self-representation is based on the international and Russian legislation norms; 3) the *rituals* of virtual interactions.

There is a certain interactive order in on-line social network that is based on emerging rituals. In particular, each user by editing his/her personal page expresses concrete means of self-creation and self-presentation. If in actual ritual interactions statuses and roles are utilized for this, in the Internet a special tool of presentation of self is applied. Thus, in the on-line social network VK (http: \ \ www.vk.com) a potential user is invited to make the presentation of self as "other" by filling a standard form of the user's page which includes the space for identifying the user through a photography, the "wall" of messages and a questionnaire about the user. The information also includes a list of contacts to be added by the user.

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Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 3. Social Reality and Social Research

Shirokalova, Galina S., Nizhny Novgorod

Attitude to GM-products and actual behavior of students

Abstract

This article focuses on the attitude towards GM-products of the students. In the questionnaire blocks of questions characterizing the level of awareness about GM-products, motivational component of an attitude to them and actual behavior were presented. The students have more cautious than optimistic estimates of GM-technologies and their use in Russia. But the choice of development strategy of agro industrial complex is not so much economic as political question and depends not only on public opinion of various social groups but on the sovereignty of the Russian Federation in international relations.

Keywords: GM-products, GM-technologies, Russia, agro industrial, public opinion

The emergence of new biotechnologies caused euphoria among politicians and scientists of various descriptions. Mythology around breakthrough discoveries radically changing the picture of the world is an objective process, accompanied by a sobering up few years later, when unexpected consequences are found and neither science nor practice can offer the method of stopping them.

Similar processes began in the 1980th after emergence of information on opportunity to change genetic structure of plants and animals according to the set properties. For a quarter of a century significant data both "for" and "against" these technologies was accumulated. There are many factors that have influence on the formation of attitudes to them: age, level and type of education, political views, place of work, financial capacity of the family, religious affiliation of the respondents etc.

This article focuses on the attitude towards GM-products of the students of Nizhny Novgorod State Agricultural Academy. It is clear that the degree of awareness of students of higher education institutions of such a profile is higher, because knowledge about biotechnology is given in the taught disciplines and to some extent students reflect their teachers' attitude to this problem. In the questionnaire blocks of questions characterizing the level of awareness about GM-products, motivational component of an attitude to them and actual behavior were presented. Table 1 shows the degree of students' interest in the problem of spreading of genetically modified organisms.

Table 1: Attitude of NNSAA students to GM-production, % of the total number of respondents

1	There is a plenty of opinions, I do not know, which position is correct. There is too little scientific information.	35,8
2	I try to read and watch everything that is about GMOs.	21,1
3	I consider there is a real war between supporters and opponents of GMOs in mass media.	16,8
4	I am indifferent to this information. There are many other more important issues.	16,8
5	I am ready to participate in actions against GMO distribution.	13,7
6	I search for information about GMOs and try to report it to relatives and friends.	12,6
7	I know almost nothing about GMOs.	12,6
8	I signed online petition to Putin against GMOs and encouraged my friends to do the same.	1,1

As we see, third part of respondents has not formed a clear attitude to the problem; each fifth student is active in information search. The number of indifferent do not significantly vary from the amount of "activists" that are ready to participate and already take part in actions.

As GM-production is a very profitable international business, the polemic in mass media and, correspondingly, in public opinion about influence of GMOs on nature and people is inevitable. But how accessible and interesting this information is to the respondents? 17% of them characterize the situation in mass media as an informational war between supporters and opponents of GMOs, which particularly intensified in the spring of 2014 at the time of adoption of the resolution on prohibition of GM-products cultivation on Russian Federation's territory. There were also 13% of "uninformed" respondents in the sample.

Information about GMOs can be grouped into three positions, which are presented below. The wordings of positive, neutral and negative aspects of GM-technologies were taken from publications and media appearances.

Table 2: Attitude of the respondents to the positive estimates of GM-technologies, %

1	We have been eating GMOs in imported products for a long time and nothing has happened to us.	28,4
2	GMOs will help to solve the food problem, because they increases yield capacity, cattle productivity.	24,2
3	GMO is the result of "implantation" of animal genes into plants to obtain the necessary properties, for example, tomatoes with the genome of fish are not affected by cold. It is worthy for agricultural business.	18,9
4	GMO is the result of acceleration of the process of crossing different varieties of plants. Michurin spent years on what is now done in laboratories using the "implantation" of genes.	12,6
5	Actions against GMOs are an attempt to stop scientific progress.	11,6

Inattention to the health peculiar to the youth and exaggeration of quantity of GM-production in import affected answers of 28% of respondents. It is also clear that students of agricultural academy focus attention on the solution of a food problem. However, optimistic estimates concerning its solving with GMOs – the argument most frequently occurring for GMOs promotion – were expressed only by a quarter of students.

Every fifth fairly considers that increase of storage period, specified change of other commodity characteristics are profitable for business based on GM-technologies. Disadvantages for such business that are caused by risks will be discussed below. Unlike respondents from other social groups, only 13% of respondents see no fundamental difference between the experiments of Michurin, who was crossing different species of plants (apple, pear etc.), and the creation of artificial organisms through "crossing" of representatives of flora and fauna.

Table 3: Attitude of the respondents to the negative estimates of GM-technologies, %

1	If there are GMOs in a stern of cattle, their offspring are born sick and reproductive indicators decrease.	34,7
2	Animals that were feed with GMOs get diseases, including cancer.	32,6
3	GMOs introduction in DNA of an organism occurs as soon as it gets inside and is passed to posterity. As a result we see allergies, obesity, especially in the USA.	29,5
4	God created plants and animals separately. The man shouldn't combine what He separated.	29,5
5	Those who protect GMOs has benefits from distraction the population of Russia. This is another diversion.	22,1
6	From GM-plants insects that pollinating crops and soil fauna die.	17,9
7	GM-plants do not produce seeds.	16,8
8	Farmers began to use GM-seeds become dependent on their manufacturers and often go bankrupt.	15,8

It is quite natural that concern about animals' health came out on the top for students of agricultural academy. Awareness of other consequences of the use of GMOs is much lower, which indicates that this information was learned on lections, but the problem is beyond students' actual interest. The vast majority of respondents consider themselves Orthodox, slightly less – believers, but only the part of them chose argument of the Providence of God.

Table 4: Attitude of the respondents to the neutral estimates of GM-technologies, %

1	The international sign is needed to mark the goods containing GMOs, and everyone will decide for himself whether to buy or not.	49,5
2	The impact of GMOs on human will become apparent in 50 years. For now all statements are political PR.	22,1
3	If things were so bad, GM-products would not be spreading with such speed on the planet.	16,8
4	In the digestive system everything that comes into the body decays, including GMOs.	14,7
5	Joining the WTO, Russia agreed to produce and import GMOs. There is no way back.	14,7
6	The emergence of animal diseases is the result of improperly conducted experiments.	8,4
7	Even if animals get sick, it does not mean that people will do.	7,4

As we can see, the percentage of the selected neutral responses indicates certain optimism, based on the lack of competence in these matters. It is not only about the credibility of the labels on the products, and the confidence that some social subject has enough legal, administrative, economic and other resources to prohibit harmful experiences and foods in a highly competitive international market. It is impossible to obtain ecologically pure foods on the planet in conditions of widespread GM-seeds and GM-pollen. Consequently, the label "Without GMOs" merely will not have a product to be pasted. And since these plants do not give a reproduction, the general question about the possibility of conservation of flora, fauna and human beings on the planet arises. Irreversible process will begin much earlier than in 50 years.

How the knowledge of the products' quality correlates with consumer behavior we found out through the question: "On what terms can you buy GM-products?"

Table 5: Terms on which respondents are ready to buy GM-products, %

1	If the Ministry of Health confirms its harmlessness.	43,2
2	Under no circumstances, if I know that the product contains GMOs.	37,9
3	If there is no similar product without GMOs.	15,8
4	If it tastes better.	11,6
5	If it is cheaper.	5,3
6	If it is faster to cook.	5,3
7	If it is promoted by advertising.	1,1

Nearly a half of students trust the recommendations of Ministry of Health, which indicates that the youth still remain the respect to medical men. More than a third part refer to knowledge gained from other sources, and has already created the unambiguous attitude to such production. The percentage of those focused primarily on price is much lower than the part of

respondents that reported "Struggling to make ends meet", "We live in poverty" (12.7%). Perhaps, it is an indicator of changes in the value of health due to the gradual elimination of free medicine. The role of advertising as a factor of consumer behavior reduces.

How stable students' attitudes are, we have checked through the question of readiness for participation in the experiment to study the effects of GMOs on the human body. Such researches are regularly conducted on volunteers receiving a payment and a guarantee treatment in all the countries with the pharmaceutical industry. The question was asked in the following way: "The proponents of GMOs argue that because the study of the impact of GM-products on humans has not been undertaken, there is no basis for claims about the negative consequences of its consumption. Would you agree to take part in this research?"

Table 6: The willingness of the students to participate in an experiment to identify the impact of GMOs on the human body, %

1	Yes, I am sure in its harmlessness. We must help to the implementation of advanced technologies.	2,1
2	Yes, I am sure in its harmlessness. Besides, the participants of the experiment will be well paid.	2,1
3	I am not very confident in its harmlessness, but it is a way to straighten out my financial situation.	3,2
4	I am not very confident in its harmlessness, but if there are guarantees of treatment and payment for participation, then I agree.	6,3
5	I consider that the negative consequences are inevitable, but it is a way to improve my financial situation.	2,1
6	I consider that the negative consequences are inevitable and I will not participate in such a study.	69,5

Two-thirds of respondents unambiguously negatively expressed their opinions in favor of preservation of their health. But every tenth would agree to risk for the considerable amount of money even if negative consequences are inevitable. The share of altruists, as could be expected, is insignificant.

Due to possible sanctions against Russia the question about the vector of Russian agriculture development raised. Until recently two strategies were considered: promotion of GM-technologies or organic farming. There are several countries in the world that have declared themselves as zones free from GMOs. In Russia several areas announced the same. In this regard, the students were asked whether the Nizhny Novgorod region should join this movement. 56,8% answered positively, referring to that "it is more profitable to make ecologically clean production"; 23,2% noted that such choice "will positively affect on health of the population and will cut down budget expenses". The same amount of respondents has questioned the efficiency of this prohibition, because "if neighboring regions will grow GM-products than genetic

contamination cannot be avoided." 10% are sure that "It is necessary, but it will turn out nothing, because production with GMOs is more cost-effective". 4,2% of optimists said "No need to stop progress by intimidation people with GMOs".

Summing up, it can be noted that the students have more cautious than optimistic estimates of GM-technologies and their use in Russia. But the choice of development strategy of agro industrial complex is not so much economic as political question and depends not only on public opinion of various social groups but on the sovereignty of the Russian Federation in international relations

Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology
Part 3. Social Reality and Social Research

Sillaste, Galina, G., Moscow

Gender break, its risks and consequences

Abstract

In the article the notion of gender break is formulated. Also the author notes features of this process in modern society and social risks which are caused by it. Finally need of further studying of a problem is concluded.

Keywords: gender break, gender structure, social risks, genderno country enclave, social consequences

Gender break – the new multidimensional social phenomenon connected with changes in gender structure of society and having impact on social values, sociocultural norms and forms of behavior of women and men as backbone communities. The gender break is aggravated during an era of social cataclysms. During a globalization and postmodernism era the gender break gains intercountry character and possesses sharply expressed conflictogenic property. The gender break fuels sotsiogenderny tension in society, devaluates traditional roles of women and men, leads to difficult gender transformations of long-term action. Conceptually it is possible to define a gender break as process of steady proliferation of women in the population structure, bringing to steady gender asymmetry in favor of women, to society feminization, change of gender models of behavior, mixture of styles and the role statuses of representatives of gender communities (the author). An important role in this process is played by the cultural trauma transferred or endured by society. Condition of uncertainty, characteristic for development of market economy and ideology, social risks in activity of women and men, development of a family and safety of children strengthen.

I will mark out the most important features of a gender break in the Russian society.

1 - increase in number of women in gender structure of the population and steady feminization of the Russian society as reflection of a universal sotsiogenderny tendency. Increase in number of women in population structure - process characteristic not only for Russia. It gained lines of global character, took the world community which got a pronounced gender asymmetric profile. The world grows women more intensively, than men. According to the world report of the UN, the number of women increases in the last decade almost in all states.

As a result of a society break on a gender axis it is possible to enter new group of the countries. It is group not only on level of economic development, but also on level of gender

country disproportionality. In such gender segmentation of the world community it is possible to allocate four **genderno country enclave.**

1-genderno **symmetric** with parity of men and women in population structure (50 for 50%). Such countries 11: Australia, Greece and Denmark, Canada, Norway and Sweden, Republic of Korea, Turkey, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan. In these countries the type of an egalitarian family supported by the national legislation prevails. Though sociocultural gender norms, traditions and behavior strongly differ from each other. The strong regulator of gender behavior in these countries are national and religious norms and customs.

2-gender and country enclave is asymmetric in favor of men. The countries forming it make absolute minority among the planet countries. It is China and India. According to forecasts of bureau of censuses of the USA the population of India in 2025 will exceed the population of China. Thus, we will consider that it is the countries taking a key place in political life of the continent, and their cooperation played an important role in formation of a post-war world order.

If we speak about gender values and stereotypes in these country communities, the traditional aspiration is to limit the birth of girls, the moral and ideological power of a man's shoviznizm, social discrimination of women, girls and girls (before all - in India) is inherent in them. But along with it - recognition of female equality, broad advance of educated women in policy and economy, China is in this regard very indicative country. Demographic, family and gender policy are bound especially difficult in the countries.

If we speak about gender values and stereotypes in these country communities, the traditional aspiration to limit the birth of girls, the moral and ideological power of a man's shoviznizm, social discrimination of women, girls and girls (first of all in India) is inherent in them. Along with it is recognition of female equality and their broad advance in China. In the countries with gender asymmetry in favor of men are especially difficult bound demographic, family, social and gender policy. The 3rd enclave - the countries are **genderno asymmetric in favor of women**. The share of women in structure of the population of these countries makes from 51% to 54%. This group of the countries without exaggeration "rules a gender ball" on a global scale, because their absolute majority. Russia treats this gender enclave (54% of women in population structure, growth steady from 51% in 1953 to 54% - in 2013). But unlike the second gender enclave (asymmetry in favor of men) the third enclave is internally non-uniform on historical, political, national and confessional features. **Therefore this gender enclave can conditionally be divided into two country subgroups.** The first-most polyphonical (51-

52%zhenshchin) unites the old European countries - (Austria, Belgium and Germany, Spain and Italy, England, the Netherlands, Switzerland), the USA (51%женщин), and also Finland (the Scandinavian group) and Japan (the Pacific group). On 52% of women in France and in Poland, Bulgaria and Armenia, Kazakhstan and in Moldova.

The second subgroup (53-54% of women) unites the countries of **the Euroasian community** (Russia, Ukraine, Belarus), in much smaller degree - **European, but Post-Soviet** (Hungary), and **the Baltic States** (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia).

In this gender enclave, the biggest sotsiogenderny ideological and moral contradictions in relation to preservation of the traditional family values, the institute of a family, the hidden social discrimination of women along with their high degree of gender equality, an equal share and emancipation level develops. It is very inconsistent gender enclave combining social contrasts and fight of gender stereoty. In a research context this multidimensional gender enclave the most interesting and is much planned.

Plot 3-Social consequences and risks of a gender break today and tomorrow.

There is a question of interrelation of processes of mitigation of gender asymmetry in countries of Western Europe and the USA with aggression increase in them various sexual minorities, their claims on marital status by means of legalization of same-sex marriages; devaluation of value of a family and liberal policy of the state concerning sexual deviations. Expansion of infringement of personal security of women and children as the state represented by legislature of these countries refused protection of a traditional family became a consequence and everything protects any rights of gender minority more actively, endowing interests and social safety of women and children. Protection by the state of the rights of gender minority is carried out due to sharp infringement of the rights of the majority of supporters of a traditional family, decrease in social safety of women and children. Social risks of devaluation of a traditional family sharply increased. . In the countries with pronounced gender asymmetry in favor of women even more often it is possible to see the men acting in role role of women. The hobby for correction of the floor, aggressive pressure "blue", aggressive requirements legalization of same-sex marriages became the characteristic phenomenon. A number of the western researchers already tell about existence in the world not two, but five floors, including all perversions of the nature.

Serious social risks concentrated in **spiritual life.** These are risks of deepening of a cultural trauma on an ideological and moral basis of reproduction of the population: ideologies of self-preservation and nation reproduction; spiritual value of the woman, motherhood and

paternity, risks of gender identification. changes of the gender person of media space, liberalization of the negative sexual deviations passing into standards of behavior. **Women become more muskulitsized, men become more feminized** This adult game can't but affect world outlooks and ideas of the social and moral value of a family, mother and the father, is wider - motherhood and paternity in the new millennium.

Social consequences are connected, in particular, with growth of a social orientation of gender aggression of sexual minorities, their aggressive intolerance in society. It provokes social protest actions unusual in essence, the basic conflictogenic which the aggressive ideology and behavior of gender minority is.

Social consequences of a gender break directly affect both social life, and economic behavior of gender communities. It is a separate subject of the analysis. It is obvious that the gender context very closely connects future development of social, economic and gender policy in the world community. Such new directions of economic and family policy as, for example, gender budgeting everything will demand more persistently than the development and deployment in financial practice

The world in the aspiration to overcome a gender break stirs traditional and nonconventional gender roles with passion, doing of them a peculiar gender mix. Social risks of its use don't give in any moral and ethical, moral and even to economic calculations. The center of gravity in sotsiogenderny distribution of country enclaves under the influence of actively extending gender substitutes in the certain countries and in the world community strengthens requirements to social responsibility of women and men for made decisions for results of a universe.

The social and political reality brought a problem of gender sociology out of area of branch knowledge. Life and social practice of XXI century demands consideration of gender sociology and the most sotsiogenderny theory as interdisciplinary knowledge of high extent of integration into all spheres of activity of society not only at the level of the certain countries, but also prospects of development of the world community as a whole.

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Social and political versions of justice in Russia

Abstract

The main concern of the article is the discrepancy in social and political representations of justice that comes from the long historical development of state-social relations in Russia. The contemporary Russian politics that try to restore the traditional model of paternal care in exchange of mass obedience contradicts much to the rising need of the active part of society in improvement the law-based mode of justice realization. The development of state-social dialogue seems to be the only way to prevent risks of growing instability.

Keywords: justice, social contract, democracy, social order, state control, social policy, social lifts

The question of justice comes into public sight in crucial historical moments when society feels certain irregularity in mechanisms that should provide such social functioning that could be generally accepted as "good" and "ought to be". The striking cleavage in levels and styles of life brings to social mind doubts in consistency of works and benefits, merits and their social recognition, rights and duties. These doubts take especially sharp form when the real life comes to visible contradiction with its official representation. The growing discrepancy in social and political representations of real state of affairs sooner or later moves society toward serious reconsideration of principles of political system functioning.

The traditionally shaped Russian identity is characterized in state terms. It means the specific sort of state-social contract when the state has overwhelming right to treat the people as mass unity that supports vertically shaped order. Historically, it was deeply rooted submissive mass consciousness that recognized exclusive rights of state power as blessed by God. That was an urgent dictate of survivability. The people were deprived of individual rights but supposedly were provided with power defense as compensation for unarguable obedience to power. The systemic identification had much prevalence before the formation of personal one. So traditionally there was no place for the development of lawful mechanisms that would regulate the practical relations in terms of personal rights and duties. Instead the legal system had been developed exclusively in terms of mass duty before the political system. As a result the Russian version of truth and justice was formed not in terms of law but of power care that could be provided only in exchange of readiness to implement power instructions. Individual wishes and needs, thoughts and opinions were to be sacrificed to the national whole. A lot of historical examples of social contract violation when power failed to fulfill its functions of defense and support were not explained in mass mind in terms of inadequacy of autocratic power institute as

such but by weakness or dishonesty of personality in power that had to be replaced by another one, honest and strong. The hard life and dissatisfaction with personalities in power forced to look for justice not in law improvement but in idealized unearthly world vividly described by ideological power servants - orthodox priests.

This sort of social contract does not contradict to the classic J.Rawls' definition of justice. Rawls defined justice for the conditions of meritocratic society where equality is understood as equality of opportunities for social growth for all regardless of the social position of the family in which a person is born. However, his second principle fits well the societies with egalitarian justice concept. Rawls factually allows "the least advantaged members of society" to reconcile with their unequal dependent position if the social and economic inequalities are in their greatest benefit [Rawls, 1971, p.302]. It may be understood that inequality is tolerable if the "least advantaged" layers have something valuable in exchange. So the Russian "simple people" have right to claim for paternal care of the state in exchange of their submissive position. No wonder that such understanding of justice is still alive, if to take into account its long historical cultivation in conditions of tsarist Russia and soviet Stalinism where "simple people" composed the majority of the society. Now, according to sociological data, although not the majority but still about 40% of population still appeal to "strong hand" [Levada-centre, 2013, p.51], think that state has to take care of people and have nostalgic feelings upon Stalin's rule. However people are ready to accept such social contract only if they are sure that those who are on the top of social hierarchy really deserve their status by distinct personal qualities and honest work.

The modern social representation of justice inherited many of its traditional traits. However certain changes occurred. The main aspect of the changes refers to the weakening of people's faith in power as God's deputy on earth. The desacralization of power took its start after Stalin's death and grew up during the late Soviet period. It had been strengthening in transformation time especially after big disappointment of the society in ability of new political leaders to make adequate efforts in the way of common life improvement. However it would be not correct to speak about the full loss of significance of personal authority in power in mass minds. The belief in good personal qualities of political leader, who must take care of "simple people", is still strong in the consciousness of "simple people": 32% still believe that only decent persons in power can provide national welfare [ibid, p. 49].

At the same time an understanding that the concept of social justice has to be connected with the fact that people are different, have various interests and want to realize them by their own efforts is obviously growing up in the society. In Russian context the difference means "non-

simple". Different people are those who are active and advantaged. They do not need excessive power care at the expense of the loss of freedom. Accordingly it is growing up an understanding that the social justice for all but not only for "simple" people is to be guaranteed not by good personal qualities but by balanced political structure with developed institutions of social control over power functionaries and reliable and effective laws (about 60% of population) [ibid].

It is a commonplace in contemporary sociological debates to argue for the trend starting in 2000s of revival of soviet egalitarian justice representations in mass minds. However it is true only for certain part of the society and not the majority. It is necessary to deeply and carefully analyze the sociological data devoted to such a subtle topic.

It is the historical fact that political course of 2000s turned to the re-establishment of vertical type of relations of power and society. The aim of such political system, as its supporters put it, was to provide "unity and stability" in the country. Post-socialist political mentality proved to be unable to offer any other way of guaranteeing the unity and stability than again through the good will of upper leader. So the political spiral came to its starting historical point when all desires and hopes of disadvantaged were firmly tied to superior power.

However, it would be misleading to represent this turn as an answer to the social requirement as it may seem on the first glance. The turn to political vertical structure was the reaction to the social chaos of 90-s which mistakenly and artificially had been associated with "democracy". However, "democracy" in 90-s was just an ideological slogan that had in common with democratic type of social relations only the political rhetoric. Political leaders of 90-s used the ideological idiom of "transition to democracy", in its borrowed western shape, in order to forcefully push the society to the principles of unconstraint willfulness that were not grown up on the cultural ground. It would be more fruitful and less painful for the society to pay more attention to the spontaneous transformation of social relations as they were in soviet 80-s providing them with adequate legal basis while leaving the ideological identification for latter time. The incompetence of politicians of 90-s had as a result the great confuse with the terms "democracy", "social order" and "social justice" not only in mass mind but also in expert discourse. Since the 90-s the "democracy" in unsophisticated social discourse is firmly associated with "chaos" and opposed to "social order". It found its expression even in sociological studies of public opinion. So the Russian Center of Public Opinion Study publicizes very contradictory data about social representations of justice. The questionnaire offers to think about the "social justice" and suggests choosing one of the two associative chains - (1) "social justice" in a line with "strong state", "order", "national interests" - 58% or (2) "social justice" in

a line with "democracy", "solidarity", "freedom" - 27%. "Social order" is directly opposed to "democracy." [WCIOM, 2013].

At the first glance almost two thirds are for the state style of justice understanding, what is used to be associated with paternal care of "ordinary people", and only about one third are for democratic justice associated with personal freedom and solidarity. Does it really mean that the majority of Russian people agree with the unarguable right of the state to determine all aspects of partial life? Are the contemporary Russian people ready to sacrifice their individual freedom to the national interests and to execute all power commands as soldiers without any right to discuss them? The WCIOM data does not give answers to these questions. However the answers could be found if to observe what meaning Russian people put into terms "strong state" and "social order". When asking people what "social order" means for them, only 1% connects it with limitation of democratic rights and liberties. [ibid].

According to representative data of another opinion poll agency – Levada-Centre, in august 2012, 70% of respondents thought that in good and fair constitution of society the individual interests and freedom should be higher than national interest. State duty is to guarantee the opportunities for individual interests' realization. 30% suppose that state interests are higher than individual ones and person's duty is to make all for their realization. [Levada-centre, 2012, p.27]. In January 2013, 66% of respondents agree that power is needed to guarantee social order but the society should control power institutes. At the same time only 17% recognize the right of the power institutes to dominate over society. In December of 2013, 26% said that power institutes are to be strengthened. But for about 55% of respondents the "strong state power" means power that guarantees the observance a law by all persons and organizations and does not intervene into partial life. Only for 34% "strong power" should control all spheres of social life. [Ezhegodnye oprosy…, 2013, p.43-51].

So in mass mind "social order" does not contradict to classical definition of democracy, at least for the significant part of population. At the same time the real life, in peoples' eyes seriously differs from the "good model". Only 2% of respondents think that "ordinary person in Russia can hope for justice in court". 25% are not sure that they may trust it and 61% do not trust it at all. [ibid, p.131].

At the same time the attitudes of the modernized super power undertook certain modifications too. On the one side, since 2000-s it tends to take under its control all spheres of personal life but, on the other side, it has no wishes and abilities to take all the burden of providing population with full care especially at the time of growing social needs and requires.

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As Russian president confirmed, "In the first 10-year period of 21 century the view on normal needs and opportunities of average Russian family has changed in principle. 10-12 years ago the main aim was to prevent beggary but certain social layers were forced to exist under the poverty line. Now the majority needs much more and social politics did not adapt yet to new requirements" [Putin, 2012].

In post-soviet period the social sphere is characterized not only by permanently growing needs and diversification of interests but also by rising level of their awareness. The power that took its turn back to the early modern style of governing with attempts to push the society to the single way of thinking and behavior is obviously not able to cope with growing social variety. It is unable not only to provide decent life support for weak and disabled but also to offer adequate perspectives for strong and advantaged.

In the conditions of full destruction of socialist economic structure with its industrial units and networks and inability to make new effective economic policy the masses of population lost vital resources for self-maintenance. The income coming from the traditional for Soviet economics oil and gas industry went into the pockets of close to power groups while the source for economic activity of the rest of population had been left empty. As a result the gap between rich and poor reached the extreme points. President Putin is forced to declare that income differentiation is "intolerably, defiantly huge". Every eighth Russian citizen lives under the beggary line. "Many citizens cannot realize their professional skills, find good job with decent salary that could allow growing up and making career. Social lifts work badly. Many of university graduates are not are claimed in the job market" [ibid]. However power rhetoric that concerns with way and means of social improvements more and more reminds soviet type of official speeches. It operates with statistics that allows masking real state of affairs. It optimistically looks to the light future without real grounds for hopes. It uses demonstrable unique examples of successful endeavors (as so called Potemkin's villages) in order to persuade people in effectiveness of its social policy. It carefully chooses the information that is intended for public.

When power tries to convince citizens in the success of its social policy it has to operate with economic statistics presenting "average" indicators. According to it, the average salaries in social sphere grow up as well as pensions of retired and disabled. However official reports never put real pictures of income changes to public attention. The growth of social salaries and pensions is measured on arithmetic scale while that of political and business elite in geometric progression. The "average" indices are composed from periodically multiplying incomes of

bureaucracy (that were not small at all) and miserable growth of salaries of those working in so called "budget sphere". As compared to upper level of income pyramid the position of people on the bottom proves very soon to fall under the survival line. Another drop to injustice is added by the fact that miserable growth of budget salaries comes at the expense of cutting down of the number of objects of social infrastructure as schools and hospitals in small settlements and villages.

Justice in social policy has various aims and several measures. The aim is not only to provide decent benefits for those working in social sphere or state support of weak ad disabled. It is also to help those who look for the new, sometimes risky, forms of self-realization in social structure. According to official speeches, state functionaries recognize this task in full: "social policy implies making conditions for individual use of all abilities and talents" [ibid]. However, as president put it, "entrepreneurs still do not fill themselves confident in post-soviet society" [ibid]. Certainly, it is the inheritance of chaotic and risky 90-s when business was mainly reduced to criminal fighting for national property. Since that time business activity is perceived by mass consciousness as dishonest and distrustful.

At the same time the years of power vertical did not improve much the business atmosphere. The good conditions for middle and small business development were not still created. The tax system is favorable just for the enrichment of oligarchs while small business is often forced to stop its activity or take the illegal status. The innovations in tax system in 2013 had a result of cutting down of number of individual entrepreneurs from 4 to 3,5 million (came back to the level of 2008) as the first vice-premier reported in Kremlin [V Rossii stalo…].

Power has to recognize ineffectiveness of current entrepreneurship model. The way to business is still open just for those who have good personal contacts with upper level politicians or bureaucracy and closely entangled to corruption schemes. Though president promises light future for Russian middle and small business in a form of "public corporations" that "do not have personal owner and thus are resistible to corruption and not dependent on bureaucracy' interests", those who are in small business express great skepticism upon power projects. More than 65% small entrepreneurs are going to sway off their business plans, 50% reduce the number of employees and cut down salaries of the rest [Rossijane izbavljajutsja…]. According to experts' opinion, the contemporary situation in the sphere of small business threatens to collapse.

Thus it might be concluded that the optimal balance of abilities and opportunities, possibilities and social support - all that could be called social justice - is not achieved yet in Russian conditions. Moreover, the ways that are undertaken for its attainment are estimated

contradictorily by various social and political groups. The state course on ideological justice support of unified soviet style contradicts to the social hopes that are looking for the perfection of the legal system to the side of its ability for fair regulation of various social interests.

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