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Social-innovative bases of civil servants' professionalism development management

Problem context.

Relevance of a subject of article in its fundamental basis is defined by the problem of traditional institute of public administration ability structurally to answer calls of difficult being transformed modern society. In the solution of this problem in recent years among scientists and practicians of social management the increasing attention to a question of quality of public service is shown. However, despite carried out in Russia within nearly two decades administrative reforms and reforms of public service, a problem remains not solvedyet.

In search of the reasons of not success of these reforms the scientific direction in which the question of insufficiency of their orientation mainly on structurally functional changes of systems and state governing bodies is accented is allocated. Thus in the center of attention of researchers increasing value of a human factor, both in genesis of problems of a living arrangement, and in the course of their purposeful decision is defined.

Scientific work in this direction becomes complicated that, according to a number of authors, now social sciences endure an era of change of paradigms. The classical paradigm of public administration was created during an era of domination of mechanistic ideas of the device of public life and, respectively, management of this life. Now the nonclassical and post-nonclassical representations putting theory and methodological bases of management of difficult social transformations come to change by it, being characterized unexpectedness of manifestations, nonlinearity of processes, ambiguity of consequences. In this context the imperative of new quality of social management professionals formation at all its structurally functional levels is defined.

The modern institute of public service with its functions of direct activity connection of public authorities with citizens, their communities and the organizations especially needs the professionals, capable to solve complex problems of public administration. Now there is a number of the directions in scientific studying of professionalism of civil servants. However, despite their general orientation to the solution of problems of human resource management, research are conducted it is separate, from positions of subject domains of economy, political science, psychology and pedagogic and other sciences. Thus the attraction fact in methodology of professionalism of foreign experience which, first, mainly belongs to the solution of problems of the management which provisions it isn't always corresponded to subject domain of the theory and practice of public administration attracts attention, secondly, itself plunges into crisis in connection with accruing complexity of objects of administrative influence.

Scientific providing the solution of these basic problems of high-quality modernization of the personnel case of public service needs focusing of researches of statesmen' professionalism from a position of evolutionary interpretation of its nature and openness to innovatively being transformed environment of social management.

Degree of a scientific readiness of a problem.

Features of the analyzed problem lying on crossing of different knowledge, define various approaches of identification of degree of a readiness of this subject. These approaches can be grouped in some semantic blocks.

The first group was made by works of scientists in the field of the general sociology and sociology of social changes which make a basic context of article. Conceptual bases of scientific research of the present stage of social dynamics and acceleration of social changes are put in scientific works of such scientists, as R. Boudon, A. Giddens, M. Castells, N.N. Moiseyev, R.A. Nisbet, T. Parsons, P.A. Sorokin, A. Toffler, P. Sztompka.

The second group of works is made by works of experts in sociology of professions and professional groups. In this group works of representatives western classical (É. Durkheim, T. Parsons etc.) and more modern sociology (P.L. Berger, T. Luckmann, P. Bourdieu, R. Dingwall, M.S. Larsson, E. Freidson, A. Abbott), and also modern domestic researchers (R.N. Abramov, I.P. Popova, P.V. Romanov, E.Ya. Yarskaya-Smirnova), the defining theoretical and methodological bases of various sociological approaches to research of regularities of professional socialization are allocated. It is necessary to notice that this direction was formed under essential influence of views and scientific provisions of the classic of sociology of M. Weber.

The third group of works was made by works on studying of essence of professionalism and professionalizing of the civil service of V.K. Belolipetskiy, V.E. Boykov, A.A. Derkach, V.G. Zazykin, V.G. Ignatov, E.A. Klimov, A.K. Markova, A.S. Ognev, A.V. Ponedelkov, A.M.Starostin, A.I. Turchinov, etc.

The fourth group is made by the works devoted to a perspective of work with the personnel of public service and management of its professional development. Here we will call T.P. Galkina, L.A. Kalinichenko, K.O. Magomedov, S.I. Samygin, N. S. Sleptsov, V.A.Sologub, A.I. Turchinov, V.N. Shevelev, V.V. Shcherbina etc. The specified authors pay attention to research social the practician of professional selection of shots, their motivations, an assessment, training and promotion.

The fifth group of works opens value of innovative processes in social development and social management, these questions were investigated by S.Yu. Glazyev, Yu.A. Karpova, V.S. Karpichev, L.Ya. Kosals, N.I. Lapin, V.L. Romanov, B.F. Usmanov, which made an essential contribution to definition of essence of innovations, innovative activity and innovative process, and also in formation of some approaches to determination of efficiency of introduction of innovations.

The sixth group of works treats development of interdisciplinary approaches in public administration and preparations of public service professionals from positions of social synergetrics (V.G. Budanov, L.A. Vasilenko, V.S. Karpichev, E.N. Knyazeva, S.P. Kurdyumov, G.G. Malinetsky, I.E. Moskalev, V.L. Romanov).

Despite so volume and versatile scientific contribution to research of problems of professionalism, it is necessary to recognize that the complex sociological analysis of problems of civil servants professionalism and justification of model of its modernization now is necessary, as defined a choice of a subject of article.

The object of the research is the professionalism of civil servants.

The subject of the research are social-innovative bases of civil servants' professionalism progress management in the conditions of social changes of the environment of professional activity.

The aim of the article is: to suggest the algorithm of civil servants' professionalism development management in the conditions of transformation of modern Russian society.

The main objectives are:

1 . To analyse methodological approaches to professionalism research as basic category in management science.

2 . To prove value of professional competence of structure of civil servants' professionalism in changing society.

3 . To characterize management of development of civil servants' professionalism as function of institute of public service.

4 . To reveal the main directions and methodical aspect of social and innovative orientation of civil servants'professionalism.

5 . To give the comparative characteristic of strategic value of real and social-innovative models of development of civil servants' professionalism and to open their value in social management.

6 . To explain the algorithm of management of processes of innovative formation and development of civil servants'professionalism.

Theoretical and methodological basis of research is focused on the integrated theory of sociocultural dynamics of P.A. Sorokin which formed the fundamental basis for the analysis of evolution of scientific representations and knowledge of essence of professionalism and its value in the course of public administration in the conditions of difficult transformations of modern society. The theoretical bases were works of school of sciences of the State personnel policy and the human resource management, developed by scientists of the Chair of public service and personnel policy of the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA), and also works of researchers in the field of the general sociology, sociology of management, sociology of public service, sociology of professions and professional groups, sociology of social changes, and also the theory of social self-organization. As special sociological methods the comparative analysis, generalization, method of expert evaluations, the analysis of normative documents, modeling of social processes were used.

Regulatory legal base of research made legislative and regulations of the Russian Federation: Constitution of the Russian Federation, federal laws of the Russian Federation; decrees of the President of the Russian Federation, resolution of the Government of the Russian Federation; provisions and the conclusions containing in interviews, reports and speeches of heads of the Russian state on problems of public administration and public service; materials of scientific and scientific and practical conferences, monographs and articles, other documents and the materials devoted to a problem of research.

Empirical base of research were results of the sociological researches conducted by scientists of chair of management and the organization of social systems, chair of public service and personnel policy RANEPA, a number of researches, made by WCIOM, IG "Zyrcon", IS RAS, and also results of the empirical researches which planned and have been carried out by the author of article.

The researches conducted personally by the author:

- "Modernization of civil servants'professional development" (questionnaire). Sociological poll of the civil servants is carried out in October-November, 2012. During mass poll (N = 1060) acted as respondents the civil servants who have been selected by the following criteria: 1) replace positions of the public civil service in territorial bodies of federal executive authorities and in public authorities of the Bryansk region; 2) have an experience of the public civil service not less than 1 year; 3) selection is representative on a sex, age, category and group of a position, a civil service experience. Research captured 12,5% of civil servants from their total in the Bryansk region and 90% of authorities of all branches and power levels: (selection didn't include only power structures: UMVD, UFSB, UFSIN in which civil servants also work.

- "Modernization of civil servants'professional development " (expert poll). Sociological poll of experts (N = 30) is carried out by in December, 2012. As experts the professors of Bryansk branch of RANEPA who have been selected by the following criteria acted: 1) not less than 5 years have a practical experience of the public (municipal) service; 2) teach disciplines of an administrative profile; 3) regularly participate in meetings of contest, examination, certifying commissions and the commissions on a settlement of conflicting interests in public authorities as independent experts.

The results of both polls are available on the Internet on the address: http://wciom.ru/conference2013/

For the secondary analysis materials of the sociological researches conducted by scientists of chair of public service and personnel policy RANEPA, all-Russian and some regional sociological centers were used.

Reliability and scientific validity of results of research are provided by: use of general scientific approaches and principles of knowledge of social reality, conceptual provisions of sociology, theory of social management, theory of social changes and theories of social self-organization; use of scientifically reasonable technique of collecting sociological information, its analysis and interpretation, and also correlation of conclusions of the author with conclusions of other Russian researchers.

The theoretical and practical importance of research consists that the offered models of a condition of quality of civil servants' professionalism carry not only descriptive, but also social the focusing character allowing to algorithmize the process of advance from traditionally understood professionalism to social-innovatively, formation new educational and administrative practician, to application of the offered models and algorithms in management of civil servants'professional development and self-education. The basic theoretical and methodologicalprovisions, practical conclusions and recommendations can be used at modernization of personnel policy of public authorities at regional and federal levels, by preparation, retraining, of civil servants' professional development in RANEPA and its branches.

The theoretical and methodological bases of research of civil servants' professionalism in a context of social changes.

As a result of studying of methodological approaches to professionalism research as basic category in management science, containing in references, we revealed a number of fundamental differences in foreign and Russian scientific views on this phenomenon.

In foreign methodology professionalism is understood as special system of values in the work sphere which defines a specific form of social control in the organization of employment and situation on a labor market of the separate professional groups possessing special distinctive signs.

Distinctions of Anglo-American and European (continental) approach to professionalism research are established. The first emphasizes freedom of self-busy professional workers in control of conditions of the work, that is it is entirely got by spirit of self-organization. The second focuses attention to roles of administrative elites and their powers based on official diplomas, and differs by commitment to the harmonous organization and hierarchical management.

The author inventoried the extensive material containing original interpretations of a phenomenon of professionalism in works of a number of the western scientists. Results of this inventory showed that studying of such specific professional group as civil servants, is on the periphery of research attention in the western sociology of professions.

In Russian methodology professional activity is most often considered in terms of the functional contents and labor skills, that is in line with a structural functionalism. The emphasis was placed on work sociology, and professional questions of officials and public servants practically weren't mentioned. The similar aberration of research interest has natural and explainable character: first, it is caused by a technocratic distortion in system of vocational training of shots, secondly, the reasons of an ideological order.

The author analysed 16 methodological approaches to professionalism research, and is thus established that in the majority of the approaches lying in line with a classical paradigm, the phenomenon of professionalism can be studied in a context of sustainable, forward development which can be explained and described in rationality and linearity terms ("a social statics").

The general basis both foreign, and Russian publications on this problem is shown in idea of professionalism as basic category in management science by production and public affairs, and also – its definition from a position of practical value as special way of the organization of work.

Available distinctions in methodological approaches and definitions/characteristics of professionalism are focused, first of all, in the field of contradictions of technocratic and socio-humanistic submission of professional requirements. In this collision entry into crisis of traditional Weber's model of rational bureaucracy and need of an exit to the new methodological bases of professionalism is distinctly shown, meaning its value in the conditions of complex changes in life of society and people.

As a result of studying of problems of civil servants' professionalism and professional competence of changing society we differentiated concepts of professionalism, competence and competence. Competence is defined as a backbone component of professionalism, its activity expression. In activity become available to research attention of public service'professional competence problems.

We consider these problems in a context of acceleration of social dynamics when the competent analysis of social problems and development of versions of their decision is especially necessary.

The author allocated two groups of problems. The first – obvious, they received sufficient coverage in scientific literature. The second group – latent (professional dyschronosys, a professional «non-Weberism», a professional «non-Managerism», competence-based discrepancy, professional distancing), promoting increase of the postponed personnel threat which can just be realized while the country will need professionally competent heads.

This author's hypothesis is verified by the results of empirical researches received on the All-Russian selections, and also us: the interrogated civil servants estimate level of professionalism of the state personnel case as a whole both own as high and rather high, and experts doubt it. The same vision is projected and in the future: respondents believe that in state agencies there are the professionals, capable to bring big benefit in the future, than official regulations demand from them.

We believe that in development of professional competence there has to be a space in which self-organization processes could be staticized.

According to synergetic vision of the world, professionalizing of civil servants in a context of acceleration of social changes assumes openness future, and its further development is connected with overcoming of closeness and giving to process of professional development of creative character. It demands entering of basic adjustments into the organization of operating system of civil servants' preparation, retraining and professional development which mechanically copies everything growing differentiation of sciences.

As a result of the secondary analysis of a wide range of sociological researches and author's poll of civil servants and experts inadequacy of perception by civil servants of the professional qualities in relation to the requirements of dynamically being transformed society shown to civil service is shown.

The basic component of system of professionalism marks out of civil servants' competence with function of perception of influence of factors internal and environment and production of answers to their calls.

Institutional bases of civil servants'professionalismformation.

As a result of studying of specifics of management by of civil servants' professionalism as functions of institute of public service the author found stage-by-stage removability of approaches to definition of essence of this institute in interaction with calls of the changes growing in society and the government. As the answer to these calls, civil servants' professionalism development management as functions of institute of public service was historically shown.

The author analyzed various typology of public service. Development of various models (systems) of its organization is presented as a chain of innovations: 1) on change patriarchal (patrimonial, according to Weber) bureaucracies the rational bureaucracy that was the real innovative break came; 2) the concept of a new public management (NPM) came to change of rational bureaucracy in the middle of the XX century, 3) now it starts developing innovative alternative to both systems, of which designation we enter concept social innovative the focused public service. Its formation isn't finished yet therefore difficult exhaustive image to characterize it, but it is possible to note some features.

The rational bureaucracy is based on the re-active principle, i.e. response to already occurred changes. The NPM concept is based on an activity position, synchronous with dynamics of social changes. We think that professionalism of employees is formed today in a framework rather the first paradigm that is confirmed by results of research: in them internal installation on rationalization and a schematization of professional activity that testifies that employees insufficiently realize existence of alternative, innovative solutions of becoming complicated problems is obviously traced. Judging by answers of officials, their professionalism corresponds to ideal type of Weber's bureaucrat. However the detailed analysis showed that the image of Weber's official shown by respondents actually isn't so complete and indisputable though tendency to look for answers to the uncommon questions "in system" is an unbiased fact. Considering traditional type of creation of this system, it is possible to claim that in process of advance in the future possibility of extraction of these answers will decrease.

Realization of the basic directions of public administration in Weber's model, NPM and offered by us social-innovative model is considered in three aspects: 1) social diagnostics, 2) social organization and 3) dynamic self-organization of civil service. The most progressive is the social-innovative model.

The author drew a conclusion that public service is open system, and opened both towards the political class, and towards society. In the course of historical development of public service' models the tendency to openness extends and goes deep. Value of dynamics of social changes consistently is developed and increases in them, value that of self-organization, managements alternately increased: archaic system – self-organization, Weber's bureaucracy – the management, NPM – self-organization, social-innovative system – management, but management soft, nonlinear, based on soft influences.

Such nature of influences is necessary at further reforming of civil service'system, all respondents are sure of it.

The organization and functioning of Russian public service in a certain measure inherited a number of elements of classical models of government, and also the related problems. Along with it, public service experiences accruing influence of the factors proceeding from difficult changes in a social and state system: 1) political, 2) economic, 3) social, 4) intra organizational and 5) the personal. The empirical research conducted by us allowed to reveal force of influence of each factor on civil servants'professionalismformation.

The cyclic type of genesis of the general problem field of public service and civil servants' professionalism when the last, being in steady dependence on problems of institute of public service is reasonable, as feedback is a source of problems of this institute as a whole.

As a result of studying of the main directions and methodical aspect of social-innovative orientation of civil servants' professionalism the author claims that the state can't be innovatively focused if its device as appropriate isn't focused. Management of social innovations and innovative public administration are impossible without the corresponding orientation of quality of civil servants'professionalism.

The author tracked evolution of ideas of the professional worker of innovative type, from M. Weber to the modern researchers of RANEPA.

It is shown that in dynamically being transformed society classical Weber's bureaucrats in large quantities won't be able to be guided in diverse complexity of the social world, new administrative situations will be all less clear and more difficult for permission. This contradiction staticizes a problem of modernization of civil servants'professional development during an era of increase of innovative complexity of the world.

Social-innovative modernization of professionalism of civil servants includes the following components.

1. Innovative orientation of professional meanings: 1) in the field of a representation of the world, 2) in the field of a feeling of the world, 3) in the field of a research of the world. The specified professional meanings make professional and world outlook basis of the civil servant.

2. Innovative orientation is more whole than professional formation: 1) from Weber's rational bureaucrat – to 2) service manager, and from it – 3) to the active subject of social-innovative processes.

3. Innovative orientation of technologies of professionalizing: 1) in the field of professional education, 2) in the field of additional professional education, 3) in the field of innovative self-education, self-training and self-education.

4. Innovative orientation of the directions of professional office activity: 1) strategy of jet response to social and innovative processes, ascertainings of the social facts, situational management with selective application of norms is replaced 2) by strategy of active response to processes occurring in society, to the analysis, the description and development of versions of administrative decisions, standard management with strict following to norms, and then – 3) strategy of monitoring of social-innovative processes, dynamic modeling of becoming social reality, risk management.

5. Innovative orientation of functions of professional activity. We suggest function of professionalism to aggregate in three groups: 1) the functions directed on execution of professional state and administrative tasks (expert, performing, expected and analytical, informative and estimated, stimulating, preventive, correcting, organizational, stopping); 2) the functions directed on reproduction, preservation and development of standardly approved way of concrete professional activity in its development at the expense of individual enrichment (praksiological, deontological and technological); 3) the functions directed on reproduction, preservation and development of the civil servants' professional community which participant is the official and which, in turn, is part of extensive community of professionals in the sphere of social management (autodiagnostical and reflexive).

6. Innovative of reception of the factors influencing on professionalism. The factors influencing formation of civil servants'professionalism, lie as outside the state and office sphere (operating parameters), and in inside it (order parameters). 5 groups of factors are allocated. Imperatives of their innovative reorientation are the problems caused by injuring impacts of factors on processes of professionalizing of employees and menacing to its normal course.

7. Innovative orientation of scales of professionalizing. She demands transfer of accents from studying of problems of education of professional competence of each employee separately to a problem of modernization of professionalism of the state personnel case as autopoiesis continuum of knowledge, skills in their activity expression.

Realization of the specified directions will serve as the starting mechanism of an innovatization of the state personnel case considered as the main link in the mechanism of increase of efficiency of public administration.

Innovatively transformed state personnel case will be able to realize the mission as main actor of processes social-innovative public management.

Modernization models as instruments of quality of civil servants'professionalismmanagement.

As a result of creation of real and social-innovative models of civil servants' professionalism development and determination of their value in social management the author shows, that the characteristic of a current state of level of civil servants' professionalism process of its difficult dynamic variability is steadily allocated.

We enter the concept *"innovative quality of civil servants'professionalism"* which is offered to be understood as set of the competences providing compliance of institute of public service to its mission in practice of a social-innovative public management.

The mission of civil servants' professionalism is defined in the fullest satisfaction of functions of public administration in innovatively being transformed society. Quality of professionalism can be characterized only by results of an assessment of how employees realize functions of public administration. Functions, in turn, follow from the tasks facing system of public service.

Professionalism of employees is ambivalent: it is urged to serve as the tool of knowledge and solution of social management problems, but in a paradoxical way itself makes problems in system of public service therefore it is necessary to make active its potential in respect of the decision both intra organizational problems of service, and problems of social management as a whole.

Realization of an imperative of social-innovative professionalism modernization assumes the description of really operating and preferable attractor of civil servants' professionalizing through creation of descriptive models.

In the methodological plan the real model of civil servants' professionalism is represented in the form of situational model, and offered by us – in the form of social and innovative model.

The first model is urged to reflect real-life quality of professionalism. At creation of the second model which has to outline contours of social-innovative modernization of professionalism, the author, interpreting the obtained data, attracted methods of a sociological reflection and reconstruction of the latent meanings revealed during research.

The analysis of this model shows that all features inherent in this type, characterize professionalism as the *open dissipative system* which research is in a subject field of the theory of nonlinear dynamics, and formation is its fundamental category.

This model is a strategic reference point of desirable quality of civil servants' professionalism which leaves sufficient space of a freedom of choice of methods of tactical realization.

In end we offer algorithm of administrative impact on processes of civil servants'professionalisminnovative formation and development. The author allocated two ways of achievement of social-innovative modernization of professionalism: revolutionary and evolutionary. The revolutionary way is a radical reform, evolutionary – modernization. The revolutionary withdrawal pains of civil service system are dangerous, and the evolutionary way promises minimization of risks, social expenses of reforming.

Various typologys of modernization development according to which modernization happenswere analysed: 1) organic and inorganic, 2) freely proceeding and directed, 3) catching up (jet) и4) advancing (pro-active).

Civil servants' professionalism innovative modernization has to go on an organic way, i.e. the priority has to be given to internal factors, including basic changes in the sphere of culture, mentality, outlook.

Optimum the way of directed evolution of the civil servants'professionalism, representing dynamic balance of self-organization and management of modernization processes is represented.

The author entered for the first time the concept *"social-innovative modernization of civil servants*'*professionalism"* which is offered to be understood as rational purposeful change of the fundamental bases of the civil servants'professional development, aiming to bring public service system to level of compliance to inquiries of public and political life, and carried out by means of mechanisms of state regulation.

The author describes growing complexity of professional and office activity of civil servants by means of a concept of "formation" of professionalism, as flexible, fluid activity field, and also the concept of "development" interfaced to it.

The central idea of the present article – *idea of directed formation of professionalism* which is dynamic process of interpenetration of self-organization and management. The algorithm of this formation is considered not as the obligatory step-by-step instruction. It can be discrete, faltering. The algorithm is a consecutive change of conditions of quality of professionalism.

We allocate *seven steps of directed formation of civil servants*'*professionalism* in a context of social changes: 1) professionalism as set of qualities individually cultivated in the person, 2) as group quality, 3) as system quality, 4) as a configuration, 5) as activity, 6) as cultural quality and 7) professionalism as an event field.

Formation and development of professionalism can and have to be carried out differentially depending on category and group of a position of public service.

Correlation of conditions of quality of civil servants' professionalism with office and official advance in hierarchy of public service allows to operate development of the civil servants' professionalism even before appointment to the corresponding position. The procedures provided by the legislation allow to realize the most various professional and official trajectories.

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Factors Influencing the Choice of Youth Acculturation Strategies

Recently Russia has been characterized by intensification of cross-cultural contacts. Mobility in the field of science, education, migration both external and internal contribute to the intensification of interaction per se. All these made the study of individual acculturation strategies quite a topical subject.

Our assumption is the following: acculturation strategy choice should be determined by ethnic and civic self-identifications and by the socio-economic status of social and ethnic groups. The latter in turn affect formation of socio-cultural attitudes and choice of behavior patterns by the person.

In the complex sociological and socio-psychological research carried out in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) was aimed at the study of those opinions and attitudes of the youth that affect their choice of acculturation strategy. The topicality of the research of the youth of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) is conditioned by the peculiarity of the territory where Slavic, Tiurk and Arctic (Northern) ethnics interact. This process becomes more and more complicated due to the growth of the number of migrants from Northern Caucasus, Middle Asia and other areas of Russia as well as migrants from abroad. The country is inhabited by more than 120 nationalities. The ethnic composition of the population is: Yakuts (Sakhas) - 48%, Russian - 37%, Evenks - 2.1%, Evens - 1.6%. The ethnic picture of the region is changing because of many Slavic people leaving the Republic (those remained: year 1989 – 50,3%; year 2010 – up to 37.8%).

The study object has been young students: senior grade school students, students of specialized secondary schools, university students who reside in the cities of Yakutsk, Mirny and Neryungry as well as students in the rural areas. There have been 3,484 respondents interviewed, age range: 16 – 29, among them: Sakhas (Yukuts) – 1690 people, Russians – 1168 people, representatives of indigenous small number peoples of the North – 310 people and members of other ethnic groups – 316 people. While analyzing the data, we didn't count those who spoiled the questionnaire and those who didn't answer all the questions.

Research tools used were: sociologic questionnaires, value questionnaires by Sh. Schwartz and test by L.N. Sobchik. Theories by J.W. Berry and H. Tajfel on social identity and the concept by C. Cammilleri on identity strategies have been used for fixing the type of acculturation strategies of the individual.

Major socio-cultural patterns of youth acculturation and adaptation are pointed out. By the socio-cultural adaptation we understand a certain mode of interaction of social subjects (individuals, groups, communities) in their socio-cultural integrity (indissoluble triad of "personality –society-culture" according to concept by P. Sorokin) with socio-cultural systems (society as a whole or its subsystems as "milieu") which result in the condition of relative adjustment (compliance) of their elements (characteristics).

It is determined that adaptation integration (multicultural) strategy prevails when ethnic and All Russia (civil) self identification is important for respondents. Thus, an individual is inclined to cross-cultural interaction which makes for his higher adaptedness independently of his ethnicity.

Subjective factors - settled ethnic self-consciousness, positive attitude to the traditional value system and desire to maintain traditions in one's family, optimistic expectations of one's folk's future –favorably affect youth adaptation.

Psychological peculiar features of the respondents are also important: in adaptation: extraverts, who are of optimistic spirit, have disposition of a leader, socio-politically active, share collectivism values, have actual financial claims, hardworking, are better at adaptation.

The obtained data made it possible to elicit a fact of the prevalence of the mixed type of the acculturation strategy irrespective of the ethnicity of the respondents. All the ethnic groups are to a rather high extent disposed towards cross-cultural interaction (integration, assimilation).

Among those who choose the strategy of separation or integration there is a large part of the respondents with "the settled" ethnic self-consciousness. Among those inclined to assimilation or marginalization the part of individuals who have "partially settled" or "non settled" self-consciousness grows.

The data of the research show that there is a dependence between the decrease of the level of settledness of the ethnic self-consciousness and the level of the youth adaptedness which was determined in the research in question by the issue of subjective well- being. The revelation of this dependence enabled us to make a conclusion that the strategies of assimilation and marginalization prove to be the least affective adaptation models. In choosing the type of acculturation strategy by the youth an important role belongs to maintaining traditions of the parental home.

Strategies of integration and separation are more often chosen by children from families where folk's traditions have been maintained. It is worth noting that the adaptedness of youth from such families is higher. This conclusion matches the one by U. Neisser where he says that people can behave themselves adaptively in situations that allow a limited number of behavior patterns [U.Neisser.,1981]. When we have an unlimited number of behavior patterns the choice of the optimal one becomes impossible and eventually the disadaptedness state comes to pass. Thus, traditions and the practice of their maintaining become one of the mechanisms of human adaptation.

The analysis of strategies to choose would have been incomplete if we had stopped at the level of choice declaration. We took for granted that the theory by C. Camilleri yields results only on the perception of their own selves by the respondents. But for a more accurate diagnosis of the dominant strategy of acculturation in different ethnic groups it is necessary to correlate the verbalized self-identification with the projective behavior of the individual. Therefore, to cross-check these results, we turned to the theory by J.W. Berry, describing signs that distinguish the integration strategy based on psychological assumptions, among which there is acceptance of cultural diversity, low level of prejudice, positive perception, realization of cross-cultural interaction, etc.

We have examined distribution of strategy types chosen by Russian and Sakha (Yakut) young people, with the social distance (friends, fellow-employees, leadership at work and in power) taken into account. The results show that with increasing social distance there appears a reduction of the number of respondents who exercise the integration strategy. The lack of coincidence of the declared and exercised strategies is caused not only by the transition from the abstract perception of the situation to the actual action but also by the value-norm system that is conditioned by the ethno-socio-cultural milieu in which the individual is being settled.

Types of strategies, that the youth chooses in the sphere of education and employment, depend on the degree of their adaptedness at a given moment: youth well adapted chooses a strategy based on the principle of success maximization whereas youth scarcely adapted chooses the one based on the principle of costs minimization. The higher the degree of adaptedness of individuals and groups is, the stronger is their inclination towards choosing the strategy of integration.

We believe that the choice of the integration strategy by the youth is one of favorable conditions for establishing multicultural community. In particular, if this tendency is maintained and propagated by means of political programmes on control of international relations in Russia, by the mass media and by the system of education.

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Conceptual basis for sustainable development of society

Abstract:*In this article,the author examines theconceptual basisof sustainable development of the society.The idea of sustainabledevelopmentcan make their way,if only they reflect themass, the public interests in the direction ofcreating conditionsfor sustainable developmentin all the countries.Only witha serious attitudeof the West towardsthis model of development, the concept mayhave a seriousprospect.*

Key words: the idea of sustainable development, moral and humanistic dynamics, social development, the ideology and methodology of sustainable development, the balance, the relative stability.

When applied to the understanding of the social life, the idea of sustainable development has some peculiarities, which make select this issue for a separate discussion. Research of the reasonable social behavior on the basis of scientific and philosophical ideas about the regularities of the development of the society remains one of the most important in the social and philosophical knowledge. The scientists and political figures face the problem of elaboration of the science-based approaches to the study of sustainable development of society and of the consequences of its manifestations in history.

The evolutionary process is always the unity and interaction of two tendencies which balance each other - the stability and instability. Both groups in their contradictory unity are necessary for the development of the system. At the same time, there are various forms of conflict resolution between the above tendencies, and one of such forms is to achieve balance. But if one of the tendencies dominates the other, the development will stop. Even in the case when the stability prevails over the instability, the development of the system is exposed to an exceptional damage. "Sustainability, carried to its limit, stops any development. It contradicts the principle of variability. Too stable forms - are dead-end forms, the evolution of which is stopped. "[2] But there is another option, when the positive feedback intensity is too large and leads to the destruction of the system, and the low intensity, in contrast, stimulates the development. Consequently, for the relatively favorable sustainable development of the society it’s necessary that both types of connections of stability and instability were in organic unity. It is important that the bent for the sustainability was supplemented by the desire to limit stability. Thereby, social development is the unity of opposite tendencies: evolution and involution, revolution and reform, progress and regress, stability and instability, etc. Also it’s necessary to consider that the development is carried out within the existing order, and the last in the path of society erects various barriers, controls and if necessary, to limits the development in one or either direction. Also necessary to consider that development is carried out within the existing order, and the latter erects various barriers in the path of society, controls, and if necessary, limits the development in one or another direction. Changes may occur either spontaneously or intentionally, lead to the destruction the corresponding structures, which ensure stability of the society. And one of the goals of society should be to fully protect social contacts and in such a way maintain the necessary pace and rhythm of development, which has various manifestations, and therefore cannotact in a universal form.

The social history of humankind for centuries demonstrates a confrontation between two types of social dynamics. In one of them there is a strong guiding action to the ideas of natural selection and the struggle for existence as an engine of progress. Further ascent of humanity is seen by struggle and displacement of the weak and unfit forms. The purpose "to displace" and not “to develop” won’t be able to ensure the survival in the long term. This is the technical dynamics, commercial, parasitic, leading to the establishment of a rigid unipolar world order.

To achieve the harmonious development of humankind, the concept of sustainable development refers to the need to reduce the gap between the rich and poor, and make greater efforts to protect the environment. Ideology of sustainable development of the society called on countries of the world to become more modest in respect of the requirements of development in the face of aoncoming environmental and social disasters, and to feel the unity in front of the impending danger. But in reality, it is the developing countries that were asked not to engage in backbreaking race, to prefer so-called sustainable development, which satisfies the West, but not the non-Western countries. The right to development turned out to be among the inalienable rights. The fact that the U.S.A. did not ratify the Kyoto Protocol, aimed at limiting of the human intervention in nature, testifies once again that today the concept of sustainable development, which has positive tasks, works only on limiting the growth of the less developed countries, without affecting the "golden billion". "We have entered in the twenty-first century, when the contradiction “labor – capital” is globalized, and assumed the shape of "golden billion "- the rest of the world, - and this has qualitatively changed both the scope and the complexity of the problems of mankind." [1]

Another moral and humanistic idea, justifies the self-sufficient and highest value of the human personality, intended to transform not only the outworld but alsoone’s own imperfect nature. For this type of social dynamics the egocentric ideal of the future is unnatural. According to this ideal,the future allegedly belongs to those who, guided by self-interest, brings to an extreme expression the principle of "everyone for himself." Complete and stable evolution is impossible without a certain, though minimal, promotion of the world as a whole. Otherwise the integrity will be violated, not only the harmony, but a balance will be broken, because some part of society will not be able to move in this direction. Entrance into thesupermanhood opens not only for one chosen nation - this is possible only under the pressure of the everyone together and in a direction in which anyone can join and complete oneself in the spiritual renewal of the Earth.

To escape the threatening ecological, spiritual, and, possibly, nuclear disaster, the humanity will have to ensure, once again, the prevalence of moral and humanistic dynamics over the parasitic, consumer and commercial one, as in most of the twentieth century. A special role here is played by the conscious factor, which is considered as an objective factor of the historical process. Without the passage to the new level of consciousness of the people it’s impossible to avoid the catastrophic devaluation of human life. It requires consolidation, primarily intellectual and moral, which is provided by enormous difficulties and efforts. Only with a serious attitude of the West towards this model of development this concept may have a serious prospect.

Therefore, sustainable development is the realization of opportunities, where certain trajectory are formed. At certain stages of the development the functioning of matter "enrichesby the ability to experience." Appears something what is called the "subjective", management becomes more and more conscious.

The ideas of sustainable development make their way, only if they reflect the mass, the public interest in the direction of creating conditions for sustainable development in all the countries.

The balance, to be more precise, the relative stability – is the necessary element of any development process. "The possibility of a relative peace of the bodies, the possibility of temporary equilibrium states, is an essential condition for the differentiation of matter, and thereby is an essential condition of life".[6] However, the idea of sustainable development – just a clear, but not the actual way of existence and development of mankind, which rather reflects the proper state of the society, the perfect image of a possible society, than the current state of the present society, is nothing more than a perfect option for development of society. To make the knowledge specific and living, the philosophy of sustainable development of the world should become the banner of not only what is, but what is to be, that is, it must become from a passive speculative explanation of things to an active project, the project of the common cause.

Great turn towards sustainable development should be also a great break. The break with the centuries-old logic of scientific and technical progress with the aspiration to provide oneself's wealth, without getting into the humanity or inhumanityofone's activity. In the twentieth century, more than in any other, the murder was used during the two world wars on the industrial base, at the forefront of scientific and technological progress was the "homicide industry" (Marx's expression). The solution lies in the fundamental change of "economic algorithm" of technology. In the transition from parasitic-dominating technology and economy to the technology and economy saving and creating. Only by recognizing this necessity, it's possible to search ways to include the industry in material and energetical processes of natural exchange. The way to such technology lies in its total biologization. [2] It's necessary to carry through a fundamental reorientation of economic and technological systems that are based on the use of renewable resources and attention to the human dimension. The key idea should be a non-violent economy, one that would cooperate more with nature, rather than exploit it. Not the curtailment of production and the suspension of knowledge, but the development of both in a well-coordinated interaction for general transition to the other forms of technology, which should be a variation of historical processes of natural exchange. All spiritual and moral strength of humanity should be directed to this goal, which only can succeed when creating a convincing for millions of people "philosophy of sustainable peace."

Improvement and better use of nature and its energy for the purpose of giving to a person of a higher spiritual life - these are the objectives of the progressive man in his struggle with nature. The use of energy of natural forces have traditionally been carried in the development and creation of the Universe, that was managed to observe and begin to apply this principle to man. Possibility and conditions of economization of energy and work, of course are not new, and are based on presuppositions of the entire modern physics with its studies about saving energy and transformation and storage of energy. But the recognition of the fact that the process of economization of energy in nature and by man is the basic condition for the evolution of man and nature, even in the sense of morality and in the spirit of the ethics of duty - is a statement which constitutes the main peculiarity of the concept of sustainable development. Therefore, the basic presupposition of the theory of social evolution is the belief that the development of man and nature is rational process in a known manner predetermined by nature, though among these predeterminations there is the freedom of the human mind which is its emanation.

The modern consumer society with its actual "deification" of current natural givenness of a person does not seek to expand the ideal of a man. Lack of values pushes the person aside from the creative and useful work, providing at the same time a lot of fragmented and divisive work. Operating in the field of such "ideal", the science, which is at the same time the main creative force of the modern world - with equal success works for cynical destruction, dementalizing perfectly "legal", dark, "demonic" instincts of human nature.

Contemporary scientific knowledge is mainly dealing with the knowledge that is useful for manipulation, and manipulation of nature almost inevitably leads to manipulations with human beings. Methodology of the modern economy and system of values that form the basis of modern technology resides in ignorance of the human depending of the nature. In contrast to all natural systems, which are based on the principles of self-balancing, self-regulation and self-cleaning, the modern economic and technological thinking doesn’t recognize self-limiting principles. Modern economic thinking is characterized by "obsession" of economists with unreasonable economic growth and commercial success and its failure to take into account the dependence of man from the nature. Economic expansion became the main goal of all modern societies, and any increase in the gross national product is considered to be a success. Though one must admit that the growth is an important characteristic of life, however, all kinds of economic growth should be analyzed. Something should grow, something should decrease, and it’s not necessary to have a special insight to realize that infinite growth of material consumption in the long run is impossible. Only by the definition - not indirect (for example, through the market), but the direct, of the major natural needs of the population and by planning on the basis of such basic data, the volume and pace of economic development, increase or, on the contrary, a decrease in certain industries. To build economic strategy on the understanding of the contradictory relation of productive forces and the consumer forces of society, every time finding a reasonable measure of the two, corresponding to the science, requirements of medicine, ethics, and aesthetics. [2] The achievement of a true "social state", in which people would perfectly satisfy their needs, so that everyone has such a need, which can be satisfied without violating the rights of others to achieve this satisfaction.

Transition to sustainable development caused only by economic incentives and technical performance of technical tasks, deprives the biosphere of its plastic core - the living matter. In addition, the technical kinds of mechanisms are short-lived compared to the vegetable and animal species. The creation of economic systems that are optimal for the technical operation of matter and energy, lead man to the biological isolation. Earth as a cosmic body is exposed to constant influence of cosmic forces.

The rate of evolution of cosmic forces "lag behind" the rate of the world's technological progress. It is natural to assume that the evolutionizing Cosmos has its "program" of the progressive deployment of the stages of evolution, that differs from the Earth’s. In this case, the question arises about the concurrency of these "programs", as the pathos of technical change is not aimed at changing people, but at the change of environment. Therefore, sustainable development is possible when natural systems are compatible with reasonable human activities.

It’s impossible to determine the future development of humankind without understanding the fundamental laws of the evolution of nature as a single planetary system. A natural phenomenon can not be understood a simple singularconsequence. Included in universal global connections, it has a direct or indirect impact on a number of processes sometimes causing unexpected consequences, the account of which is essential for practical activity of people. The principle of "universal interaction" of which Engels wrote, from which one can understand in the causal relationship, the moment of the global interdependence.

Specialization of science has gone so far that its general rise in the level of world-historical generalization is impossible without synthesis of sciences of inanimate, living and social nature. True understanding of this problem in all its complexity and depth is possible only in the field of synthesis of scientific, philosophical and ethical conceptions. Elaboration a holistic, universal approach to the reality, overcoming of fragmentation in science and culture, access to a new level of understanding of human life and life of the Universe – is not just a call of the times, but a condition of survival in a rapidly changing world. In the present conditions this process is essential to scientific knowledge, precisely because this process is a method of removing contradictions between cognition and humanism, including a way to prevent transformation of the technological revolution in the technological anarchy. Science of the new millennium will be based on a search of universals (ontological orientation and unifying concepts at a time) and spiritual synthesis of human knowledge. Features of the new approach (let’s call it metascientific) will be recognition of the complexity and depth of the world's life, the integrity of perception, aspiration not so much to dismember and analyze how to look for a common in a diverse world.

The dream about a united science, which we find even in the views of the ancient thinkers, in the philosophy and science of the Renaissance, in the works of the French Enlightenment and classical German philosophy, and later in Marxism and in active-evolutionary thought, today has become a practical necessity.

Perhaps the science of the future will be a synthesis of the various theoretical and practical models, none of which will bedominating,all of them should be mutually consistent. Science of this kind will really go beyond conditional separation between the disciplines, using the languages that will be suitable to describe different aspects of multi-level interrelated structural fabric of reality.

A necessary condition for the transition of human civilization through the present - the crisis - phase of development, the condition of acquirement of the creative process of development, is the transformation of humanity as a single system in the subject of creativity. The solution of this problem is on the forces only to humanity as whole. This requires the subordination of the interests of the system and subsystems. And this subordination should be set not by the dictate and violence of the system against the subsystems, but through the understanding by the subsystems (nations, classes, socio-political sub-systems, etc.) of the supremacy of interests of a whole (humanity), through their awareness of the inability to achieve their goals without achieving objectives of the system as a whole.

This transition will require a huge effort from humanity, the restructuring of its public and social structures, as in the era of the noosphere an increasing role will be played by ecological imperative, that is conscious behavior of people agreed upon the objectively necessary requirements of stability of the environment. In modern conditions, humanity must realize, first of all, the fact that each of us belongs not only to the family, social group, nation, society, but also to the united world where everything is interconnected.

The philosophy of sustainable development of the world is a part of philosophy of nature, as well as the social evolution is part of the great cosmic process, which is subject to the Universe.

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Peculiarities of attitudeto work of pre-school educators in science cities to the prospects of their profession[1]

Annotation

The present day science cities of Russia remain the scientific and technological centers of the world level. So, in the science cities of the Moscow region is a whole range of priority scientific and innovative directions. Moreover, in the cities of science people sensitive about their history and traditions.

Science cities are not only today, they are working on the future of the entire world science.

Visit the science cities are much more interesting than the individual enterprise: this complex objects, in the history which reflects specific historical periods of the life of the country.

In this article we carry out a comparative analysis of the characteristics of attitude to work of pre-school educators to their profession between science cities, peripheral cities of Russia and its capital Moscow.

Some notes:

The science town (city) of the Russian Federation - municipal formation with the status of city district possessing high scientific and technical potential with the city scientific-industrial complex.

Dubna is a science town in the North of Moscow region on the border with the Tver region Russia's largest research center in the field of nuclear physics.

Murom is a city in Russian administrative centre of Murom district, Vladimir region.

Article

How one or the other profession develops in a transforming society is certainly interesting to many Russians. Most of them care for the education and the future education for their children from preschool age.

Me, Maria Gorbunkova-Bazhenova, a specialist in the teaching of English in a kindergarten, I had the favourable opportunity last year to join the Russian society of sociologists, because the problem of society is a constituent of my profession.

I was lucky to collaborate with Professor in the faculty of preschool pedagogy and psychology, which explores the features and prospects of development of my profession. I have

[1]The material was prepared with the support of the Russian Foundation for the Humanities (grant 12-03-00490/13)

my own professional and personal problems, like all people, but they are offset when we try to look into the future.

It is very important to say that I live in the science town of Dubna, well-known in the world of science, but that is located on the periphery of Moscow region. And the problem «center-periphery» widely studied in recent time is felt in our city in full measure.

In June 2013 at the St. Petersburg economic forum Sberbank by tradition, hosted a business Breakfast on a theme "Investment in human capital: after seven too late?", dedicated to the development of the education system. The event was attended by heads of regions and the representatives of business.

Governor of Kaluga region A..Artamonov noted in his speech very important for our study thought: «it is important not to encourage the degradation of preschool teachers. Educator in Kostroma doesn’t have to be paid in five times less than in Moscow. You need to go back to a common social space».

In our study, which of course is at the starting stage, we try to define a new constructor of a profession of educator of a municipal kindergarten taking into account specifics of the town of science.

We have a small «sketch» of a survey on the comparison professional problems in the course of which have been identified as General trends and differences in opinions educators-teachers in the town of Dubna (20 respondents) and the city of Murom (21 respondents).

The city of Murom is a kind of capital for family education and home consent, where now are annually held in the all-Russian summer family holiday.

The issue to the educators was raised in such a way:

If you are now again choose your profession, then repeated it would be your choice?

1. Yes, I am satisfied with my profession and would choose it again

2. I am satisfied with my profession, but wouldn’t choose it again

3. No, I'm not satisfied with my profession and never choose it again

So we give data in Figure 1.

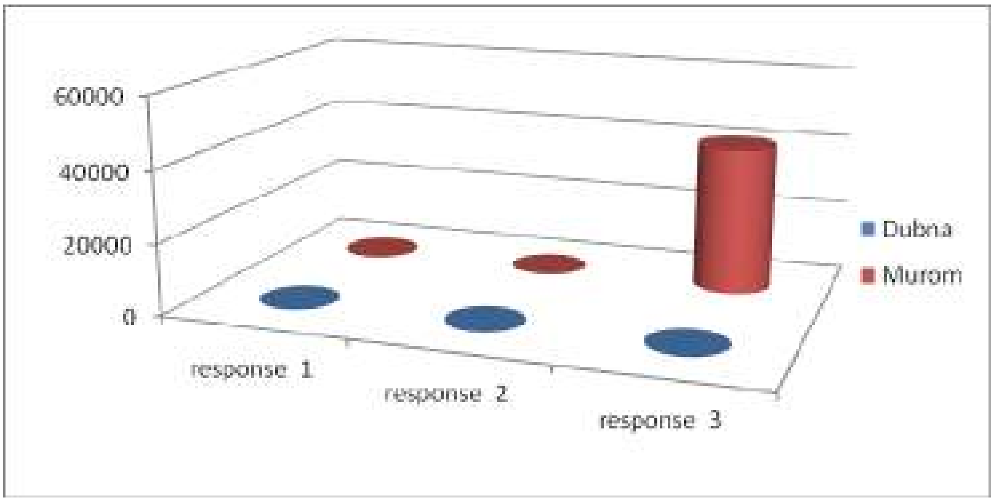

Figure 1. Peculiarities of choice of profession « pre-school educator » in the science town of Dubna in comparison with city of Murom

Figure 1.shows the majority of respondents in the science town of Dubna are happy a profession and would choose it again.

«When the child does, he(she) can feel the genuine joy that she passed me, and I rejoice with him(her).»

«I'm proud to work with children, and I hope, that I can much to do for the development of preschool education.» - say the educators.

«A huge number of various interesting toys are appeared in kindergartens, improved information technologies are actively used in kindergartens. Using them you can significantly better develop the mind of a child. Our city gives us such an opportunity. In the study of Informatics we have an interactive whiteboard. We, the pre-school educators, have access to it and if necessary we use it during the lessons. In the kindergarten there is a portable multimedia system. Appeared more different sports equipment.»

In this case, since after the collapse of the USSR kindergartens switched to self-sufficiency, the pre-school educators by themselves on their money buy didactic material or do with their hands.

But it isn't confusing them: «I think so - if you choose this profession, you fear nothing, and there are no obstacles to your favorite cause. And if you love to do most, all obstacles can be overcome,» - says the educator Maria Afonasieva from Dubna.

According Response 2 in both cities the index is equal, approximately half of the respondents are satisfied with their profession, but wouldn't choose it again. Response 3 (unhappy with the profession and would not choose it again) figures in both cities are minimal.

The data of the respondents also believe that the biggest problem of educator profession in Murom is low earnings, it is characteristic of both cities, but in Dubna the problem of large psychological overloads is in the first place.

And the third reason for the respondents of both cities is the lack of respect for the profession by the Federal mass media.

There is a certain difference in the attitude of local media to workers of education in Dubna. Here is what Anna Tugolukova, a pre-school educator of the highest qualification category of «Centre of development of the child - a kindergarten №3 « Sunbeam », the Dubna, Moscow region, Honorary worker of General education of the Russian Federation says:

«The media of Dubna promote the positive image. Parents who work in the media, are well aware that the moral support of employee pre-school education is a contribution to the development of the education of their child.»

Since the issue came about parents in the science town of Dubna, we asked Anna Tugolukova:

What is the distinctive feature of parents in Dubna? Whether it?

«Of course,» - replied Anna,- «Parents are demanding for their children, they want their children to develop. The parents are very developed and conscious. They bring us the latest materials from all over the world, interesting educational games. Parents want to take part in the process of education and training.

Children are recorded in circles, because the program is overestimated there.

About 80% of children develop their creative abilities in a variety of institutions of additional education. All is on the initiative of the parents. Parents help their children, because some of them have musical, some have art education on the basis of specialized schools.

Parents in Dubna know tendencies and the Federal state standard of secondary school very well, and they want to prepare their children as best they can.

Centres of development of the child - modern models of preschool educational institutions with creative flexible use of innovative educational programs and technologies - came from the parents; it was a public order of the science city.

Parents in Dubna require additional studies with a complicated program. And the children take what their parents want from them.»

«Since the times of the USSR the kindergartens of the our town is visited by children of different nationalities and all children feel comfortable, regardless of their appearance and their religion, because teachers are trained in them tolerance and respect for all confessions» - says Olga Baranova, the Methodist of « Centre of development of the child - a kindergarten №3 « Sunbeam », a pre-school educator of the highest qualification category. «It is caused by specificity of our science city, where since the founding of the main city-forming enterprise JINR by specialists - scientists from around the world.»

What is singularity of kindergartens in Dubna?

All pre-school institutions subordinate to one management body - the Management of pre-school education.

Dubna and Murom are «peripheral» of the city. And what are the problems noted by educators from Moscow.

So S. Gubanova, experienced Methodist see the problem and trying to offer solutions. Is this possible in modern conditions arch workload of teachers documentary reporting?

Recently on educational institutions are mass directives, instructions, circulars of various kinds and forms of accountability, and that's important to this reporting does not improve and isn’t conducive to a good level of pedagogical activity, not in demand neither parent or nor a teacher, or the child.

It promotes a huge congestion of a Methodist of red tape, for which neither of the individual child, nor a teacher. All on paper - on paper – a tale, and it cannot become reality, because of formal nature, and therefore dead. It is necessary to stop this destructive vandalism of a living thing. This is a return to the old methods of management; they are only useful and necessary for those who are accustomed to work with the regulations. Working day of the contemporary a methodologist, a senior teacher of pre-school institutions passes near a computer in the design of the reporting documentation, and his contact with the children and personnel of children's institutions is minimized.

Surprisingly, but the fact is a modern senior educator of the child care institution may not know all the pupils of his kindergarten. Perhaps, there are proponents of this situation, it is convenient not to assume that high mission discussed before, but then it's not a profession of a practitioner, rather, it is a mediocre, an administrator.

T. Dudorova, a teacher with 20 years’ experience, Moscow, notes «the Most important is the personnel problem. Those leave who have kept pre-school education; they raised three generations of children. It replaced with the new young staff.

Not all come at the behest of the heart. It’s not a secret that caregivers are still perceived by many as those who just feeding and sleep stacks. The prestige of the profession doesn’t correspond to the emotional and physical costs of preschool educators. It is a paradoxical situation. When we want to place a child in a kindergarten, we often don’t important, new furniture in it or not. First of all we hope that there will be a kind and sympathetic pedagogue, who will become, if not to love the baby as we have, then at least to understand. But when we hear that someone is going to enter the pedagogical University, College, our reaction, as a rule, is sceptical. Why? After all, everybody wants a good pre-school educator with our children and a good tutor would teach them.

Kindergarten isn’t just a home for the children. It is a place of employment for a large number of adults. Joy and happy fatigue from this activity can be ensured only by understanding all those, who is with child. We’d like more beautiful, comfortable buildings for preschool institutions with large group rooms and cozy bedrooms, bright halls and swimming pools, a recreation room for the teacher and the living room for the parents. Pre-school institutions lack the male component in upbringing, not in administration.

We‘d like to wish a reasonable occupancy rates groups, but not on the list, but in reality. It means our children will get sick less, because we keep and strengthen their health. We would like to parent meeting came parents, because this is how it is called. We expect that preschool education is the first stage of education, because it begins with us. Don't forget doors kindergarten opened early in the morning.

Employees of the RAS A.Tikhonov, E. Akimkin , V. note: «The subjects of management in science cities, which received the freedom of choice in self-determination of further urban development, were faced with a difficult task to organize the interaction of various social active entities in the context of creating a system of city management as a science city. » [Tihonov A.V, 2012, p 5]

As a co-author of the research Yuri Antonov asked us a question: are pre-educators of science-town of Dubna social active entities?

He notes: «the bright representative of a leader in the professional community of educators in Dubna is our Maria Gorbunkova-Bazhenova. Weekly, overcoming 250 kilometers she cooperates with the teachers of the British Council, prepares a project with Cambridge university press, she also participates in presentations textbooks, studies in retraining, organizes an individual enterprise training kids. Representatives of the Department of pre-school education of the city of Dubna under the leadership of candidate of psychological Sciences Nadezhda Smirnova regularly help educational institutions to participate in all-Russian exhibitions, where they become the winners of professional competitions. At a high scientific-organizational level in Dubna was held Ministerial experiment of creating groups of short-time stay of preschool children at Centres of development of the child.   But this is a view of support of professionals, families, organizations leaders from Moscow.

Question: What are the main obstacles in professional activities for educators do you see?

That's what they say, most of the pre-school educators in Dubna: «In Dubna are being cut specialists - teachers of additional education. Educator cannot replace them. 20 years educators conducted neither painting, nor the sculpt. Skills have gone. Because there were specialists.»

Thus says the pre-school educator of the 1st qualifying category Maria Afanasieva, 35 years old, the winner of the city professional competition « Pre-school educator - 2012», Dubna: «The teacher should be constantly improved. I annually raise my pedagogical skills of methodical literature, courses of improvement of qualification, exchange experience with the colleagues, take part in different competitions, trade fairs, seminars, constantly use of information technology in my work.»

Anna Tugolukova, 53 years old, the pre-school educator of the highest qualification category, Dubna: «I am very curious person. I never forget the old. I take the best of the old.
I actively take part in symposiums, go to the yearly Pedagogical marathon in Moscow, where there's an opportunity to meet and discuss issues with professors of the country's leading Universities.»

Social pedagogical communities. Recently, managers, educators and teachers of preschool institutions, students of pedagogical Universities began to join social network pedagogical communities, including the Internet.

For the purpose to help the teachers-experimenters, parents, students, trainees, collectives of preschool institutions of science cities of megapolises and rural settlements, areas of art and crafts, high-tech enterprises, introduction of social technologies, by the efforts of the senior scientific employee of the Institute of sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences Yuri Antonov was organized the Cross-sectoral Integration Centre of Preschool Organizations (MTsIDO). There is an Internet page of ICross-sectoral Integration Centre of Preschool Organizations (MTsIDO) in a social network Facebook.

All of the above is consistent with the policy of the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir. Putin, who says that «we should support the development of teachers' websites, online methodological rooms - in a word, everything that forms a professional environment.

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Farm business as a factor of reducing the tension at the labour market[1]

The economic crisis affects most negatively the main characteristics of labour power and the level of population employment. At the Russian labour market the influence of the crisis aggravates the deprofessionalization and dequalification of a worker, increases the number of the unemployed.The negative changes, characteristic of the Russian labour market display themselves more strikingly in the countryside.

Typical of the modern rural market are the following features: narrowness of the labour application sphere, low quality of working places and labour power, high level of real and registered unemployment. Practically everywhere the rural unemployment is of chronic form and of stagnant character. The economic crisis has aggravated the existing problems, which manifested itself in a further rise of unemployment and tension at the labour market, in slowing down the rate of creating new working places, in the growth of concealed unemployment, and in the growing arrears of wages.

Is the structural adjustment possible without the state interference in this process? In our opinion, the hope that the ”free market” itself “will regulate” all the proportions of the national economy only by taking measures of financial stabilization on the macro level is a utopia, particularly in the epoch of the globalization of the world economy and of the necessity to realize an “overtaking” scenario of development. It is a different matter if the instruments of state regulation are of a market character, otherwise we once again risk depriving the country’s economy of the internal mechanisms of innovational development which must be promptly “started up” by realizing the measures of the state policy of social-economic development.

The study of the international experience of economic transformation suggests that at a period of deep economic transformations the significance of the state policy of employment increases. The effectiveness of this policy can essentially accelerate the restructuring of the economy by promoting the formation of a more progressive structure of employment (via raising the qualitative characteristics of labour power, developing the systems of professional education and retraining the population, tariff policy), by impeding the start of stagnant unemployment, and improving the social and investment climate in the country. The more so, as the potential of elemental adjustment of the labour market to the grave modern challenges has by now been practically exhausted.

Deserving of attention in the existing situation is the consideration of such transformations in the complex of social policy provisions, which can reduce the tension at the labour market by

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creating new working places. The federal program of additional steps to be taken for reducing the tension at the labour market, which is being realized for eliminating negative consequences of the economic crisis, suggests a great variety of these directions. Among these, deserving of particular attention is the support of small business, self-employment of the population and assistance to the unemployed in starting one's own business. Micro-enterprises belong to very small businesses. They often involve a single owner, or rarely two ones as well as the sphere of the family business. Most of these micro-enterprises possess insignificant capital and limited technical and business skills. But for all that most of these enterprises demonstrate the viability of small entrepreneurship.

In the opinion of the State University, the Higher School of Economy (SU NSE), experts, the support of the small entrepreneurship under the conditions of the crisis is of very great significance not only for stimulating the economic growth, but also for the maintenance of employment and the relaxation of the crisis consequences. Judging by the number of support provisions envisaged in the said program, this direction appears to be one of the most important priorities of the crisis management policy: 16 provisions are directly aimed at this segment of economy, and, besides, over 30 others concern it partially.

However, despite great expectations, the number of new entrepreneurs is not growing so fast as the authors of the program would like it to. Thus, according to the data of the Ministry of Labour, Employment, and Labour Resources of the Novosibirsk Region for 2010, only 815 people out of the number of the unemployed had started their business, of these, fewer than 300 in the countryside. Note, that the plan for this direction was to involve 1130 jobless people with corresponding program funds provided for the purpose. Of course, these growth rates cannot make up for the drop of employment due to the crisis: only for one year of 2009 the decrease of working places amounted to about 50,000. the total number of the unemployed for the same period amounted to 141,000 people.

A similar situation also arises in ther regions of the Siberian federal district. In the course of 2010 in SFD as a whole the number of people that started their own business amounted to about 20,000 versus the planned 30,000 while the drop of working places due to the crisis amounted to about 300,000. The total number of the unemployed in the district amounted to about 900.000 people.

Of course, there are many reasons for which the population hesitates to turn into the sphere of small business: uncertain prospects, great risks, absence of the material basis, etc. many researches and practitioners, while analyzing the problems of developing business undertakings, mark out whole groups of factors, hindering or promoting this development starting from a macro-level.

In the present paper we pursue another goal: to analyze the factors (internal and external) of successful formation of small business, of its stable functioning as a prospective employer at a micro-level. By the micro-level in this context we mean the totality of businessman's personal characteristics, the activities of social institutions and power-holding structures at the place of his residence, the system of their interrelations and interactions. The factors of the micro-level are chosen by the respondents themselves as the most significant in comparison with other groups of factors. Serving as an informational basis for the paper were profound unformalized interviews arranged with entrepreneurs in a case-study manner by the author in rural districts of the Novosibirsk region.

To the to group of internal factors we assign the following ones:

1. A detail study of possible segments of demand for products and services.
2. Professional experience in the past or the presence of a special professional education.

To the group external factors one can assign the following ones:

1. Support of a family and of the closest social environment.
2. Material support.
3. Support of administrative structures and local organs of government.

Summary

The results of our short research have made it possible to analyze the effect of the most significant factors of the development of business undertakings on their successful starts and their further functioning on the micro-level. Of course, it is more likely an ideal model. The key moment in this model for a successful start and subsequent development, in our opinion, is the co-ordination of interests of all the subjects of this process: businessmen proper, governmental structures, population employment centers.

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Classification of Russian elite's positions in the federal Russian media information space

One of the reasons behind the 2011-2013 Russian protests was a crisis in communication between the state and society due to the traditional media's loss of trust. The movement was largely fueled by dubious state policy, the emergence of an active middle class and many other factors forming the basis of significant population groups' disagreement with ideas conveyed by state officials. But focus-group research by the Center of strategic research also showed certain Russians' dissatisfaction with the existing form of political elite representation. "The focus group members' ideals remain a "blind spot" due to the respondents' lack of proper experience and perspective. However, they do understand what they don't like. And it's not only the old faces (personalia), but also the old politician image they've been seeing for more than 10 years" [Obshhestvo i vlast' …, 2012, p. 69]. Thus, it can be assumed that one of the reasons behind the crisis is structural peculiarities of society-state communication. Our article covers one aspect of these peculiarities – the structure of higher Russian political elite's positions in the information space created by the federal press. The analysis conducted does not claim to fully cover the topic; it is rather an experimental application of a methodological approach that can be the basis of monitoring models of Russian political elite's representation in the media.

Thus empirical structural research of the Russian leaders' positions in the information space was conducted using content analysis of publications present in the East View Russian Central Newspapers database for June 1, 2012 – June 1, 2013. It covered 185,429 articles from the following newspapers and magazines: Argumenty i fakty, Ekonomika i zhizn', Ekspert, Itogi, Izvestiia, Kommersant. Daily, Komsomol'skaia Pravda, Kul'tura, Literaturnaia gazeta, Moskovskaia Pravda, Moskovskie novosti, Moskovskii komsomolets, The New Times, Nezavisimaia gazeta, Novaia gazeta, Novye izvestiia, Ogonek, Pravda, President, Profil', Rossiiskaia gazeta, Rossiiskie vesti, Sankt-Peterburgskie vedomosti, Slovo, Sovetskaia Rossiia, Tribuna, Trud, Uchitel'skaia gazeta, Vecherniaia Moskva, Vedomosti, Zavtra. The data was collected by search queries for full text of Russian articles containing the surnames (in all grammatical forms) of the following highest political elite members: Putin, Medvedev, Sobyanin, Shoigu, Shuvalov, Dvorkovich, Naryshkin, Siluanov, Zuganov, Rogozin, Zhirinovsky, Kudrin, Sechin, Surkov, Matvienko, Kolokoltsev, Golodets. An article in a periodical served as a unit of data collection.

Content analysis yielded data both on each surname's frequency of occurrence (Table 1) and their pairwise co-occurrence (Table 2). It should be noted that calculations based on automated search results have a certain margin of error concerning widespread Russian surnames, such as Medvedev or Rogozin. However, this margin of error is minimized for the co-occurrence table which is the basis of our further analysis.

Table 1

Surname frequency of occurrence

Surname	**Absolute frequency**	**Relative frequency (of total article number)**
Putin	19,006	0.102
Medvedev	11,075	0.060
Sobyanin	3,050	0.016
Shoigu	2,076	0.011
Shuvalov	1,611	0.009
Dvorkovich	1,534	0.008
Naryshkin	1,285	0.007
Siluanov	1,261	0.007
Zuganov	1,210	0.007
Rogozin	1,174	0.006
Zhirinovsky	1,131	0.006
Kudrin	1,110	0.006
Sechin	1,084	0.006
Surkov	1,053	0.006
Matvienko	994	0.005
Kolokoltsev	851	0.005
Golodets	724	0.004

The surname co-occurrence data allows us to classify information space positions using the highest political elite representative's structural relations. The information space is viewed as relational, i.e. formed by relations between its member objects. “Thus, the social world can be represented as a space (with several dimensions) constructed on the basis of principles of differentiation or distribution constituted by the set of properties active within the social universe in question, i.e., capable of conferring strength, power within that universe, on their holder. Agents and groups of agents are thus defined by their relative positions within that space.” [Bourdieu, 1985, pp. 723-724]. However, it should be noted here that the observed relations refer only to formal surname media occurrence properties. All the further conclusions of elite representatives' proximity, their power, etc., should be regarded only in this context. Information proximity does not mean alliance and information power does not always come together with real power. However, analysis of relative media positions yields a rather interesting picture.

Table 2

Surname co-occurrence absolute frequency

	Medvedev	Sobyanin	Shoigu	Shuvalov	Dvorkovich	Naryshkin	Siluanov	Zuganov	Rogozin	Zhirinovsky	Kudrin	Sechin	Surkov	Matvienko	Kolokoltsev	Golodets
Putin	4,378	434	705	570	624	389	507	491	431	432	629	602	469	337	209	295
Medvedev		295	353	513	681	311	419	286	317	267	447	337	381	208	111	238
Sobyanin			162	59	46	39	46	45	46	46	44	46	44	45	46	30
Shoigu				63	51	42	69	63	140	67	63	54	41	53	45	15
Shuvalov					192	77	196	35	68	32	125	118	72	44	37	63
Dvorkovich						39	129	46	81	28	85	308	93	35	24	55
Naryshkin							31	106	28	165	37	31	47	103	29	26
Siluanov								36	49	27	140	64	47	40	36	66
Zuganov									43	272	69	18	51	36	18	22
Rogozin										52	52	52	56	51	37	26
Zhirinovsky											53	17	39	50	23	13
Kudrin												70	59	38	23	29
Sechin													51	30	23	10
Surkov														40	29	43
Matvienko															22	37
Kolokoltsev																15

Table 3

Relative surname co-occurrence frequency (asymmetric matrix)

	Putin	Medvedev	Sobyanin	Shoigu	Shuvalov	Dvorkovich	Naryshkin	Siluanov	Zuganov	Rogozin	Zhirinovsky	Kudrin	Sechin	Surkov	Matvienko	Kolokoltsev	Golodets
Putin	1.00	0.40	0.14	0.34	0.35	0.41	0.30	0.40	0.41	0.37	0.38	0.57	0.56	0.45	0.34	0.25	0.41
Medvedev	0.23	1.00	0.10	0.17	0.32	0.44	0.24	0.33	0.24	0.27	0.24	0.40	0.31	0.36	0.21	0.13	0.33
Sobyanin	0.02	0.03	1.00	0.08	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.04
Shoigu	0.04	0.03	0.05	1.00	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.05	0.12	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.02
Shuvalov	0.03	0.05	0.02	0.03	1.00	0.13	0.06	0.16	0.03	0.06	0.03	0.11	0.11	0.07	0.04	0.04	0.09
Dvorkovich	0.03	0.06	0.02	0.02	0.12	1.00	0.03	0.10	0.04	0.07	0.02	0.08	0.28	0.09	0.04	0.03	0.08
Naryshkin	0.02	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.05	0.03	1.00	0.02	0.09	0.02	0.15	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.10	0.03	0.04
Siluanov	0.03	0.04	0.02	0.03	0.12	0.08	0.02	1.00	0.03	0.04	0.02	0.13	0.06	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.09
Zuganov	0.03	0.03	0.01	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.08	0.03	1.00	0.04	0.24	0.06	0.02	0.05	0.04	0.02	0.03
Rogozin	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.07	0.04	0.05	0.02	0.04	0.04	1.00	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.04	0.04
Zhirinovsky	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.13	0.02	0.22	0.04	1.00	0.05	0.02	0.04	0.05	0.03	0.02
Kudrin	0.03	0.04	0.01	0.03	0.08	0.06	0.03	0.11	0.06	0.04	0.05	1.00	0.06	0.06	0.04	0.03	0.04
Sechin	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.07	0.20	0.02	0.05	0.01	0.04	0.02	0.06	1.00	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.01
Surkov	0.02	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.04	0.06	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.05	0.03	0.05	0.05	1.00	0.04	0.03	0.06
Matvienko	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.08	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.04	1.00	0.03	0.05
Kolokoltsev	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.01	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.02	1.00	0.02
Golodets	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.04	0.04	0.02	0.05	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.04	0.04	0.02	1.00

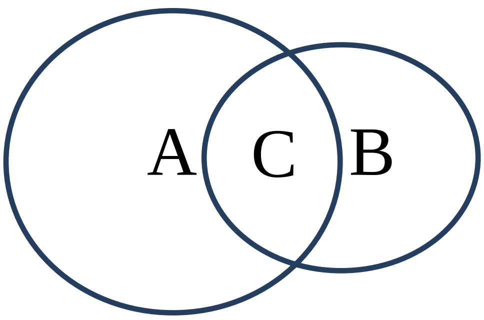

Figure 1.Co-occurrence

The main principles of our information space position analysis are rather simple and may be represented with an elementary logical scheme (Fig. 1). Assume two unequal intersecting sets of media surname occurrences (A and B). There are at least two ways to calculate the relation index between the respective elite representatives: $^{C}/_{A}$ and $^{C}/_{B}$. Fig. 1 shows that $^{C}/_{A}<^{C}/_{B}$. This yields an asymmetric politician co-occurrence matrix with each value representing the share of column surname occurrences in row surname occurrences (Table 3).

Table 4

Information influence rating

Surname	**Averaged influence rating**
Putin	0.38
Medvedev	0.27
Dvorkovich	0.07
Shuvalov	0.07
Siluanov	0.05
Shoigu	0.05
Kudrin	0.05
Zuganov	0.05
Zhirinovsky	0.05
Naryshkin	0.04
Sechin	0.04
Rogozin	0.04
Sobyanin	0.04
Surkov	0.04
Matvienko	0.03
Golodets	0.03
Kolokoltsev	0.02

When mentioning Medvedev or Sobyanin journalists also mention Putin in 40% or 14% cases, respectively. On the other hand, Medvedev's surname is mentioned only in 23% of articles mentioning Putin's surname and for Sobyanin's surname the frequency is only 2%. The asymmetric co-occurrence frequency matrix enables calculating elementary ratings of influence and dependence in the information field. The first of these may be calculated as the arithmetic average for the respective row (excluding the diagonal identity elements) and the other as the arithmetic average for the column.

Table 5

Information dependence rating

Surname	Averaged dependence rating
Kudrin	0.11
Sechin	0.11
Dvorkovich	0.10
Siluanov	0.09
Surkov	0.09
Shuvalov	0.09
Zhirinovsky	0.09
Golodets	0.09
Zuganov	0.09
Rogozin	0.08
Matvienko	0.07
Naryshkin	0.07
Shoigu	0.06
Medvedev	0.05
Kolokoltsev	0.05
Putin	0.04
Sobyanin	0.03

The information influence rating calculation (Table 4) yields a quite expected picture of a dramatic gap between Putin, Medvedev and all the remaining elite representatives with Putin in significant lead over Medvedev. Less trivial results are yielded by calculating information dependence rating (Table 5), which is the highest for Igor Sechin and Alexey Kudrin. These persons, often antithesized, yet have significant common features: firstly, they are certain ideological markers, distinguishing "liberals" from "statists"; secondly, both the politicians have become distanced from the decision-making process visible to the general public. As a result the

Table 6

Symmetric information prevalence matrix

	Putin	Medvedev	Sobyanin	Shoigu	Shuvalov	Dvorkovich	Naryshkin	Siluanov	Zuganov	Rogozin	Zhirinovsky	Kudrin	Sechin	Surkov	Matvienko	Kolokoltsev	Golodets
Putin	0.00	0.08	0.06	0.15	0.16	0.19	0.14	0.19	0.19	0.17	0.18	0.27	0.26	0.21	0.16	0.12	0.20
Medvedev	0.08	0.00	0.04	0.07	0.14	0.19	0.11	0.15	0.11	0.12	0.11	0.18	0.14	0.16	0.10	0.06	0.15
Sobyanin	0.06	0.04	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02
Shoigu	0.15	0.07	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01
Shuvalov	0.16	0.14	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Dvorkovich	0.19	0.19	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.04	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Naryshkin	0.14	0.11	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01
Siluanov	0.19	0.15	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.02
Zuganov	0.19	0.11	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Rogozin	0.17	0.12	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01
Zhirinovsky	0.18	0.11	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Kudrin	0.27	0.18	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Sechin	0.26	0.14	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Surkov	0.21	0.16	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Matvienko	0.16	0.10	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Kolokoltsev	0.12	0.06	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Golodets	0.20	0.15	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00

media started mentioning Sechin and Kudrin together with others as opposed to individually. This is the fact represented by their high information dependence ratings.

Another noteworthy fact is Sergey Sobyanin's extremely low information influence rating despite his third place in overall mentions. Apparently, his actions as the mayor of Moscow attract journalistic attention independently. This may be due to the limitations of the analyzed database containing largely Moscow-oriented newspapers, but the effect's magnitude still allows for signifying Sobyanin's position as unique for the information field.

Table 7

Information prevalence rating

Surname	Averaged prevalence rating
Putin	0.17
Medvedev	0.12
Kudrin	0.03
Dvorkovich	0.03
Golodets	0.03
Sechin	0.03
Shuvalov	0.03
Siluanov	0.03
Surkov	0.03
Shoigu	0.02
Rogozin	0.02
Zuganov	0.02
Matvienko	0.02
Zhirinovsky	0.02
Naryshkin	0.02
Sobyanin	0.02
Kolokoltsev	0.02

The ${}^{C}/_{B}–{}^{C}/_{A}$ difference may be interpreted as the relation of politicians A and B in the information space hierarchy. Indeed, if A is mentioned significantly more frequently than B, his influence on B may be considered more significant than B's influence on A. This means A is a more informationally significant person. This simple reasoning allows to single out an hierarchical symmetric component out of the asymmetric co-occurrence matrix. We calculated the prevalence index as the absolute value of difference of the values in the respective cells above and below the table 3 diagonal, divided by two to remove double counting: $|{}^{C}/_{A}–{}^{C}/_{B}|/2$.

The resulting symmetric matrix (Table 6) represents information field inequality. The higher the value in the cell at the intersection of a row and a column, the wider the hierarchical gap between the respective politicians. A simplified approximation of this matrix may be represented by the information prevalence rating (Table 7), generally corresponding to the information influence rating (Table 4), although having its own peculiarities. However, more precise representation of hierarchical relations requires more complicated means of analysis.

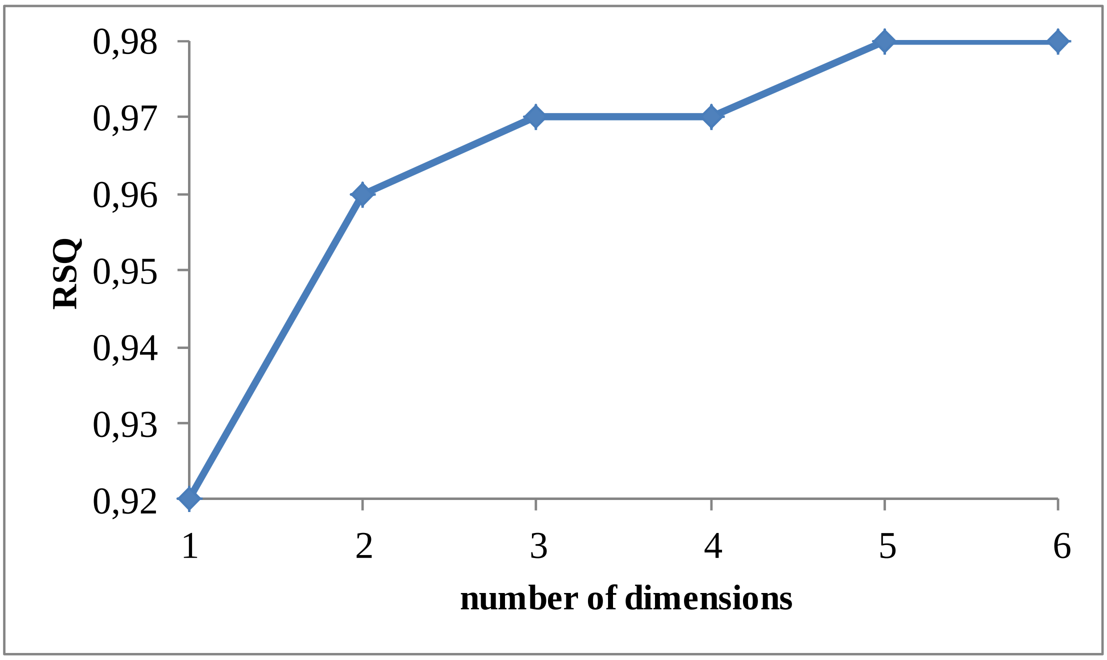

Figure 2. The dependence of RSQ on the number of dimensions for information prevalence data

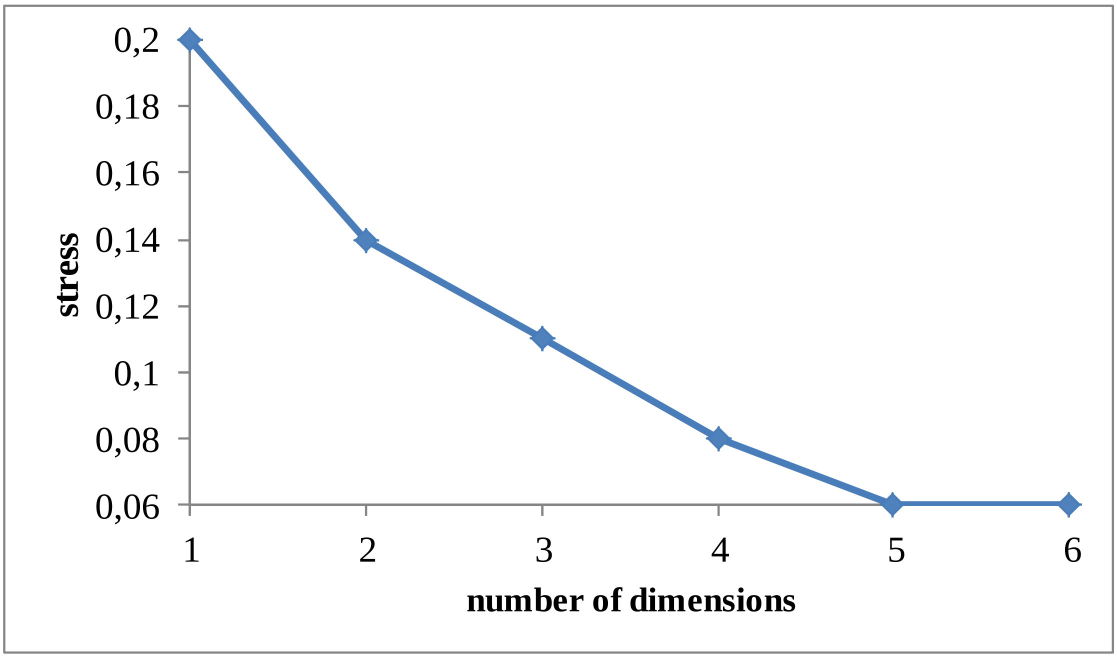

Figure 3. The dependence of stress on the number of dimensions for information prevalence data

To visualize the prevalence matrix we used the multidimensional scaling method, namely the ALSCAL algorithm implemented in the SPSS 15.0 program (Euclidean distance model for ordinal level of measurement with option “untie tied observations”). Charts visualizing the dependence of stress value and especially the RSQ quotient on the number of dimensions (Fig. 2 and 3) show that a satisfactory solution may be constructed within two axes.

The resulting two-dimensional coordinate space (Table 8, Fig.4) may be interpreted in the following way: The first axis reflects the information power. The most of it belongs to Putin, followed far behind by Medvedev and Sobyanin. The latter, apparently, has significant information autonomy, i.e. power over himself. The other political figures may be roughly described as one group dependent on the two unconditional leaders.

Table 8

Coordinates in the two-dimensional information prevalence space

Surname	Axis	
	Power	**Putin VS. Medvedev**
Putin	3.73	-1.35
Medvedev	2.73	1.96
Sobyanin	0.46	0.25
Shoigu	-0.09	-0.14
Shuvalov	-0.32	-0.39
Dvorkovich	-0.59	-0.90
Naryshkin	-0.13	-0.14
Siluanov	-0.58	-0.28
Zuganov	-0.40	0.26
Rogozin	-0.51	-0.13
Zhirinovsky	-0.38	0.23
Kudrin	-1.11	-0.07
Sechin	-0.84	0.72
Surkov	-0.92	0.01
Matvienko	-0.21	0.07
Kolokoltsev	-0.01	-0.22
Golodets	-0.83	0.13

The second axis of the space represents Putin and Medvedev as the two furthest informational influence poles. To interpret the chart correctly one should remember that the higher the values in table 6, the higher the prevalence. That is why the persons furthest from Medvedev on this scale (Dvorkovich, Shuvalov, Siluanov) are the most dependent on him. On the other hand, Sechin is more dependent on Putin than on Medvedev.

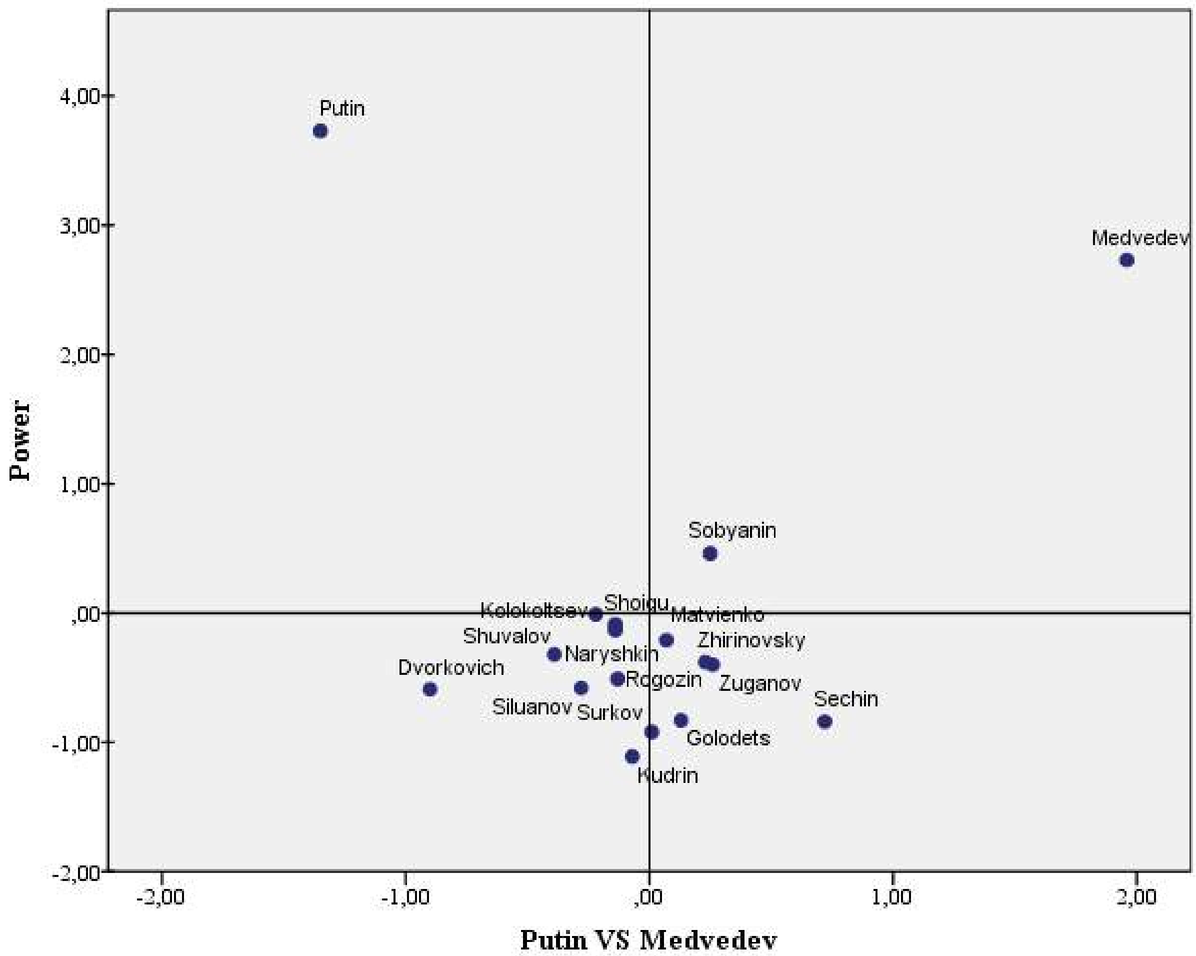

Figure 4. Two-dimensional information prevalence space

Apart from hierarchy of the persons, table 3 also reflects their information space proximity. If both $^C/_A$ and $^C/_B$ are high, then the surnames occur together frequently. If these values are low, then simultaneous mentions are rare. The symmetric component reflecting the information distance between politicians was calculated according to the formula $1–(^C/_A+^C/_B)/2$ and is represented in table 9. The data represented in table 9 has a simple interpretation: The higher the value in a cell, the further are the politicians in the row and column heads. The information distance rating (Table 10) was calculated as a sum of values in each row. It demonstrates that the information influence of the main leaders – Putin and Medvedev – is based, among other things, on their information proximity to other figures. Sobyanin's independence from the leaders makes him the furthest from the other political elite members. The information distance rating confirms the aforementioned Kudrin's and Sechin's roles as ideological markers, the relation to which is often used by journalists do describe other politicians.

Table 9

Symmetric information distance matrix

	Putin	Medvedev	Sobyanin	Shoigu	Shuvalov	Dvorkovich	Naryshkin	Siluanov	Zuganov	Rogozin	Zhirinovsky	Kudrin	Sechin	Surkov	Matvienko	Kolokoltsev	Golodets
Putin	0.00	0.69	0.92	0.81	0.81	0.78	0.84	0.79	0.78	0.81	0.80	0.70	0.71	0.76	0.82	0.87	0.79
Medvedev	0.69	0.00	0.94	0.90	0.82	0.75	0.86	0.81	0.87	0.85	0.87	0.78	0.83	0.80	0.89	0.93	0.82
Sobyanin	0.92	0.94	0.00	0.93	0.97	0.98	0.98	0.97	0.97	0.97	0.97	0.97	0.97	0.97	0.97	0.97	0.97
Shoigu	0.81	0.90	0.93	0.00	0.97	0.97	0.97	0.96	0.96	0.91	0.95	0.96	0.96	0.97	0.96	0.96	0.99
Shuvalov	0.81	0.82	0.97	0.97	0.00	0.88	0.95	0.86	0.97	0.95	0.98	0.90	0.91	0.94	0.96	0.97	0.94
Dvorkovich	0.78	0.75	0.98	0.97	0.88	0.00	0.97	0.91	0.97	0.94	0.98	0.93	0.76	0.93	0.97	0.98	0.94
Naryshkin	0.84	0.86	0.98	0.97	0.95	0.97	0.00	0.98	0.91	0.98	0.86	0.97	0.97	0.96	0.91	0.97	0.97
Siluanov	0.79	0.81	0.97	0.96	0.86	0.91	0.98	0.00	0.97	0.96	0.98	0.88	0.95	0.96	0.96	0.96	0.93
Zuganov	0.78	0.87	0.97	0.96	0.97	0.97	0.91	0.97	0.00	0.96	0.77	0.94	0.98	0.95	0.97	0.98	0.98
Rogozin	0.81	0.85	0.97	0.91	0.95	0.94	0.98	0.96	0.96	0.00	0.95	0.95	0.95	0.95	0.95	0.96	0.97
Zhirinovsky	0.80	0.87	0.97	0.95	0.98	0.98	0.86	0.98	0.77	0.95	0.00	0.95	0.98	0.96	0.95	0.98	0.99
Kudrin	0.70	0.78	0.97	0.96	0.90	0.93	0.97	0.88	0.94	0.95	0.95	0.00	0.94	0.95	0.96	0.98	0.97
Sechin	0.71	0.83	0.97	0.96	0.91	0.76	0.97	0.95	0.98	0.95	0.98	0.94	0.00	0.95	0.97	0.98	0.99
Surkov	0.76	0.80	0.97	0.97	0.94	0.93	0.96	0.96	0.95	0.95	0.96	0.95	0.95	0.00	0.96	0.97	0.95
Matvienko	0.82	0.89	0.97	0.96	0.96	0.97	0.91	0.96	0.97	0.95	0.95	0.96	0.97	0.96	0.00	0.98	0.96
Kolokoltsev	0.87	0.93	0.97	0.96	0.97	0.98	0.97	0.96	0.98	0.96	0.98	0.98	0.98	0.97	0.98	0.00	0.98
Golodets	0.79	0.82	0.97	0.99	0.94	0.94	0.97	0.93	0.98	0.97	0.99	0.97	0.99	0.95	0.96	0.98	0.00

Table 10

Information distance rating

Surname	Averaged distance rating
Putin	12.67
Medvedev	13.41
Dvorkovich	14.63
Kudrin	14.73
Shuvalov	14.77
Sechin	14.80
Siluanov	14.83
Zhirinovsky	14.93
Surkov	14.94
Zuganov	14.95
Rogozin	15.02
Naryshkin	15.06
Golodets	15.13
Shoigu	15.13
Matvienko	15.15
Kolokoltsev	15.41

Sobyanin	15.44

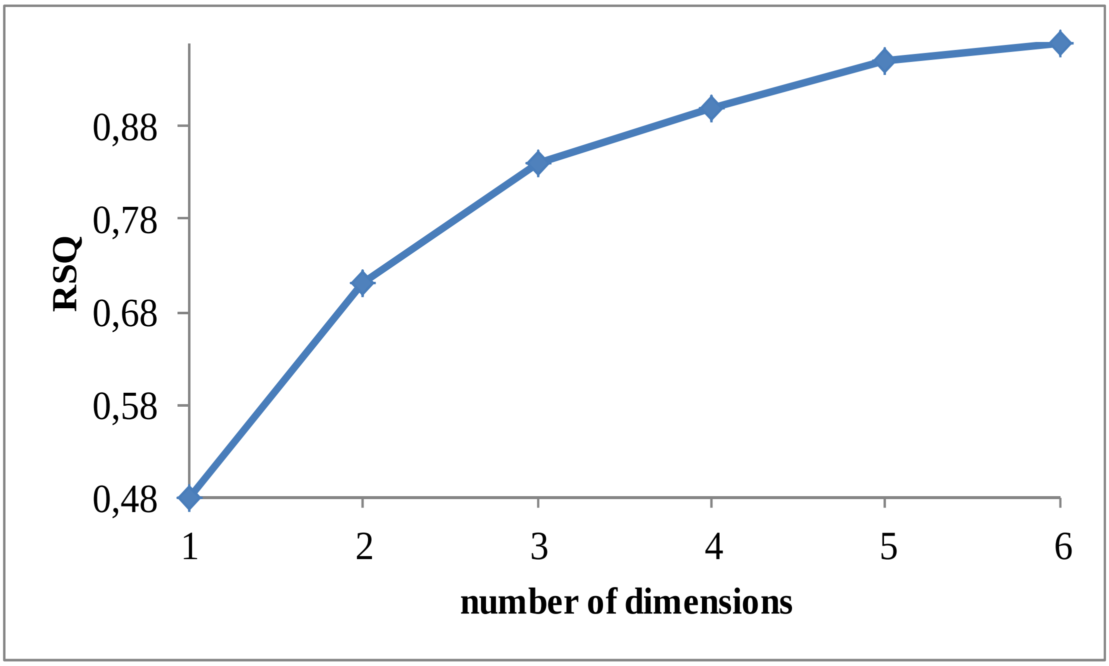

Figure 5. RSQ dependence on number of dimensions for information distance

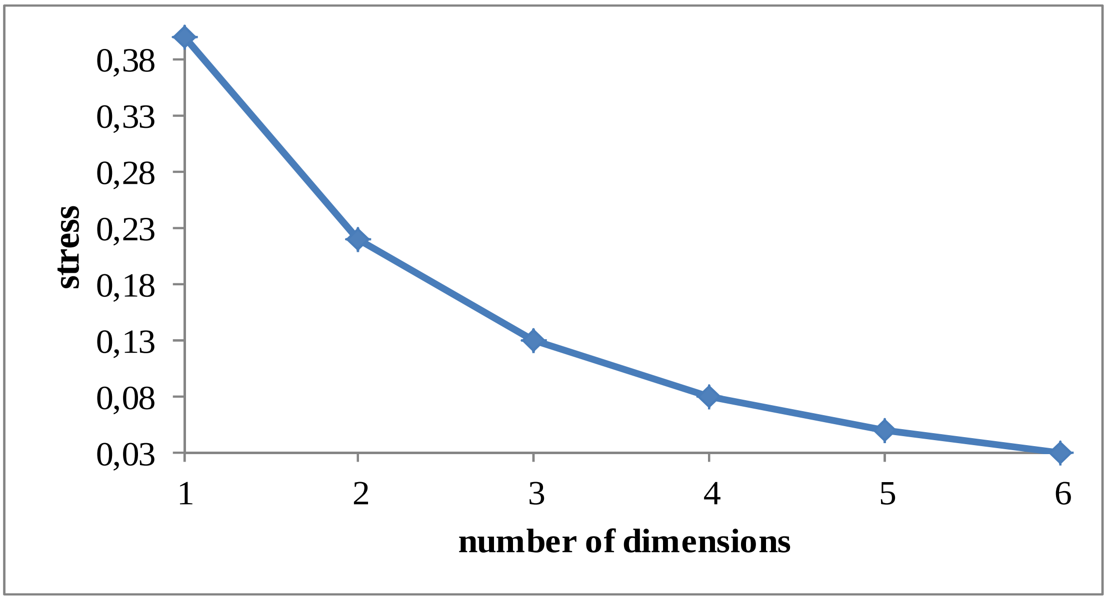

Figure 6. Stress dependence on number of dimensions for information distance

Table 11

Three-dimensional information distance space coordinates

Surname	Axes		
	Political decisions VS. Economic decisions	**Declarations VS. Actions**	**Social problems VS. State security**
Putin	-0.12	0.20	-0.09
Medvedev	-0.13	0.24	-0.14
Sobyanin	-0.84	2.12	0.38
Shoigu	-0.86	0.64	1.40
Shuvalov	1.36	-0.37	-0.83
Dvorkovich	1.78	-0.34	-0.12
Naryshkin	-1.05	-0.97	-1.42
Siluanov	1.19	0.98	-0.18
Zuganov	-1.54	-1.24	0.37
Rogozin	0.20	0.09	1.34
Zhirinovsky	-1.84	-0.92	0.38
Kudrin	0.39	-1.10	0.46
Sechin	1.45	-0.37	1.25
Surkov	0.50	-1.18	0.01
Matvienko	-1.00	-0.31	-1.09
Kolokoltsev	-0.34	2.28	0.32
Golodets	0.86	0.24	-2.03

The information distance matrix was visualized with the same ALSCAL algorithm. In this case the charts illustrating the dependence of stress value and RSQ quotient on the number of dimensions (Fig. 5 and 6) give much less confidence in the preferred dimensionality of space, but it most probably should equal three.

The three-dimension Russian political elite information space coordinates may be interpreted as proximity of the politicians' views content.

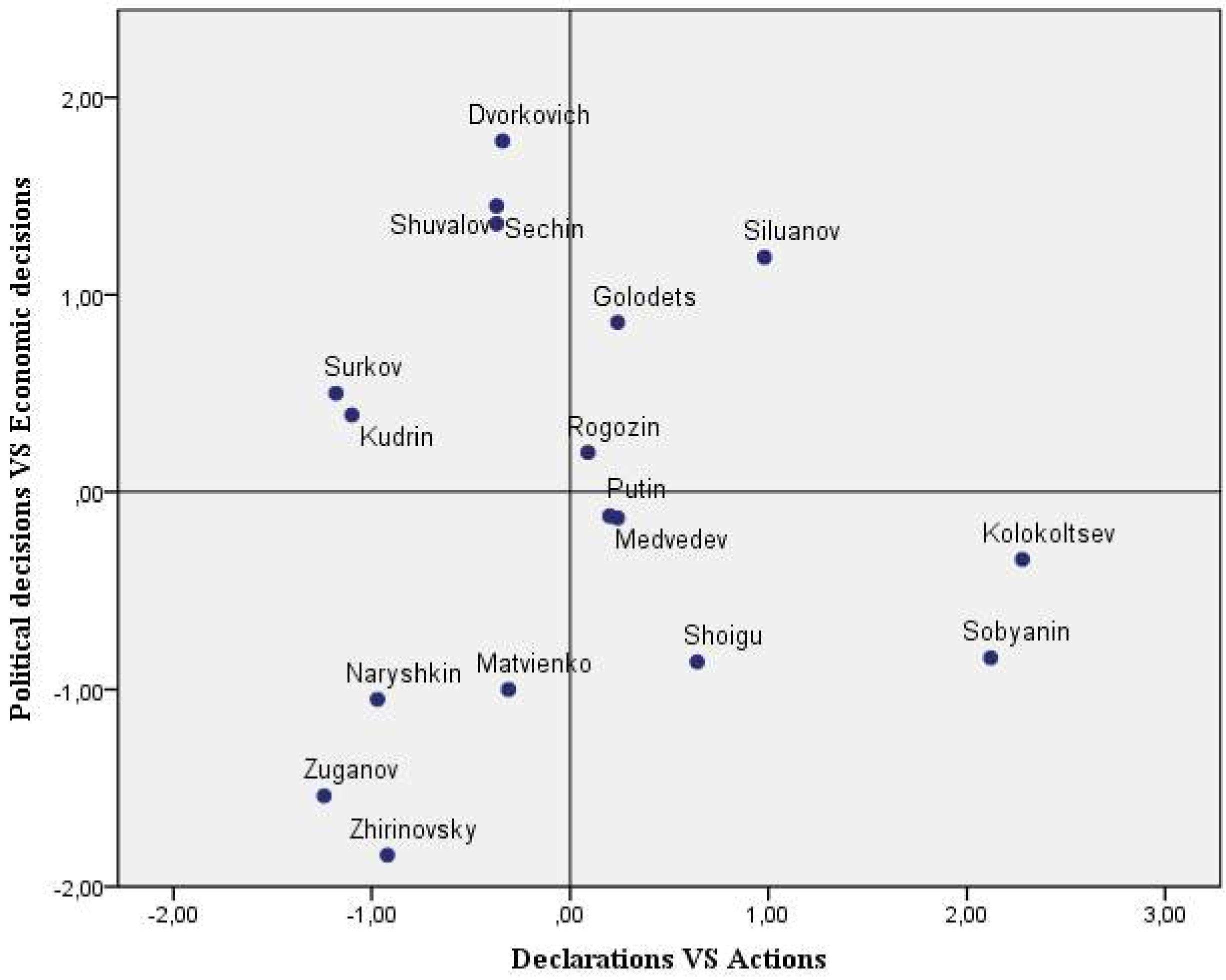

Figure 7.Two-dimensional information distance space for axes 1 and 2.

One of the poles on axis 1 is occupied by persons closely connected with the economic decision-making process, the other – by members of Parliament, the Minister of Defense and Moscow's mayor. This axis may be determined by the thematic difference of publications containing the respective surnames. In one case the topic is social, economic and financial decisions, while in the other the articles are more concerned with political issues. Thus, an appropriate name for the first axis would be "Political decisions VS. Economic decisions".

The second axis separates the members of Parliament and politicians who have left the government (Kudrin and Surkov) from rather active men of state such as Kolokoltsev, Sobyanin, Siluanov and Shoigu. Probably the thematic difference determining the distribution on this axis is that news on one set of persons appear in the press in the context of decisions taken, while news on the other set appear in the context of decision discussion. That's why this axis may be called "Declarations VS. Actions".

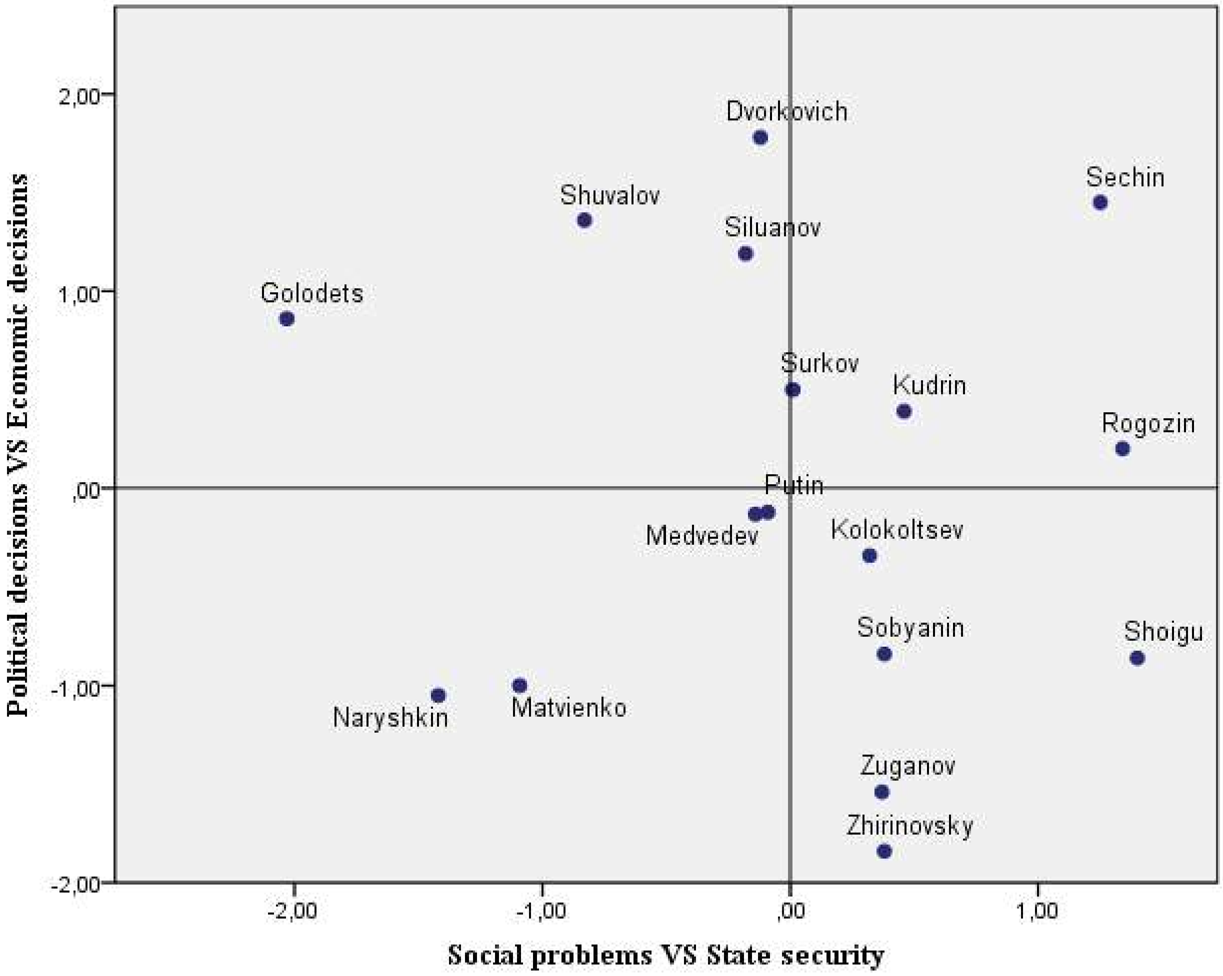

Figure 8.Two-dimensional information distance space for axes 1 and 3.

One of the poles of the third axis is occupied by Golodets, while the other attracts Sechin, Rogozin and Shoigu, people either directly involved in security issues or closely associated with

those. Golodets is accompanied by Naryshkin, Shuvalov and Matvienko, whose posts predetermine their close relation to social issues. Thus, the third axis may be interpreted as the antithesis of "Social problems VS. State security".

Of special note is the fact that on all the axes Medvedev and Putin are very close and located at the center. Apparently proximity to them is defining for determining the positions of other elite members (as demonstrated by information prevalence data). That's why all the politicians are at a closer or further distance to the leaders.

The analysis performed enables making the following conclusions. Firstly, the information space created by the elite's positions in the federal Russian press has a structure determined by the politicians' positions relative to the acting President and Prime Minister. Secondly, apart from these positions, the structure is characterized by rather low precision. Although certain persons form groups that may be interpreted in a specific context, these groups aren't stable and change completely depending on the angle of viewing the data. This lack of precision may be explained by the limitations of the database analyzed. But if it is a structural peculiarity of the Russian information field, then the absence of stable groups may complicate the perception of the political elite's actions by the populace and induce communicative crises.

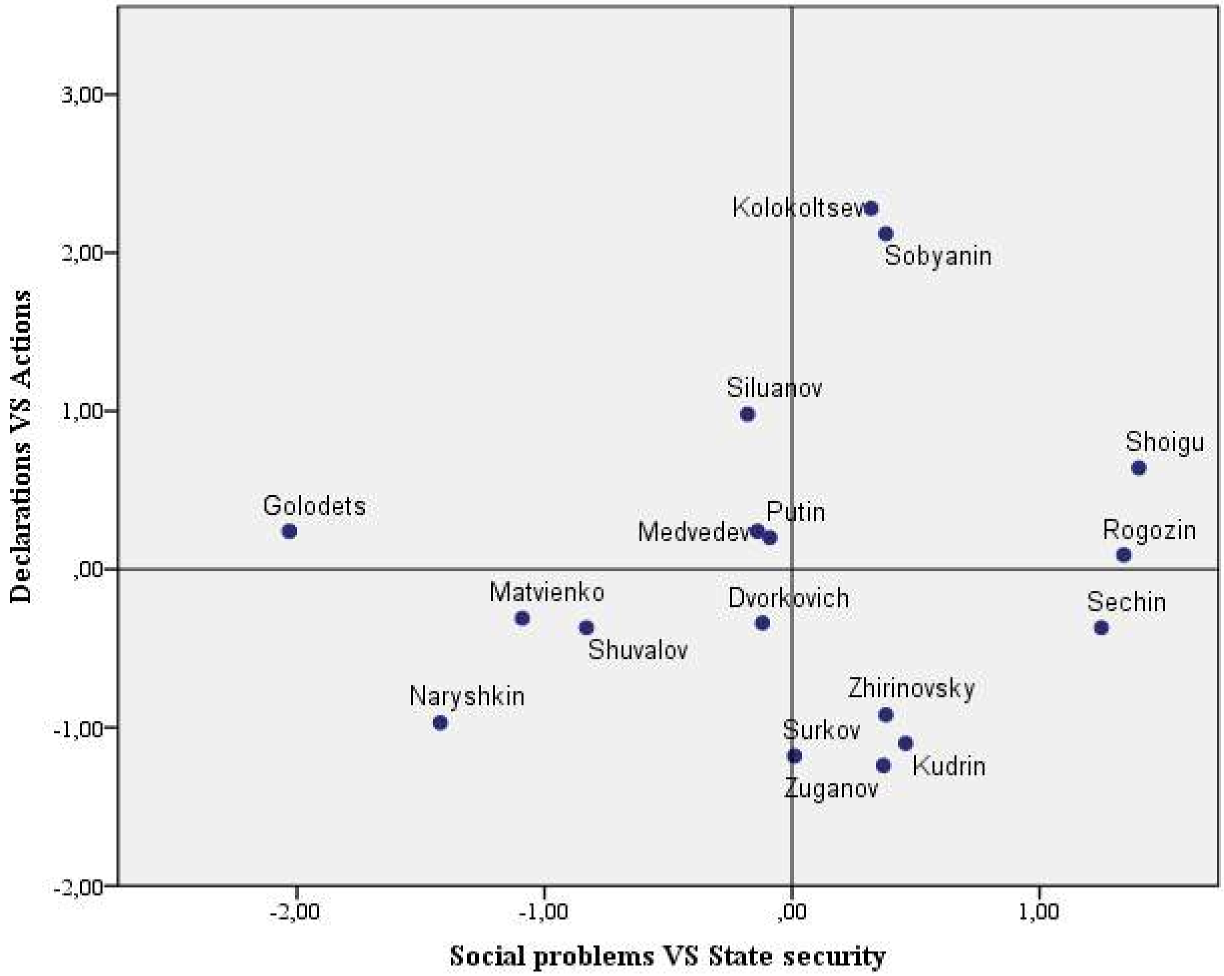

Figure 9.Two-dimensional information distance space for axes 2 and 3.

The methodology of the analysis has demonstrated its heuristic capabilities, including a capability to yield non-trivial results. At the same time the most important conclusions based on the results of using the methodology agree with common sense. Since the methodology is easily scaleable (i.e. may be applied to any significant information databases, like the whole Internet, the blogosphere, databases of specific media), it opens prospects for using it in the monitoring mode.

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Protest movement in contemporary Russia in sociological measurement

A new phenomenon has appeared in Russia. For the first time in the past years public mood has started changing. There are many things in social reality our citizens are discontent with. This complexity is penetrating into Russia despite the efforts made not to let it happen. In the first place it is connected with 2011-2012 parliamentary and presidential elections in Russia.

It should be noted immediately that independent observers from *Golos* and *Grazhdanin Nablyudatel* organizations, who were controlling the procedure of State Duma and presidential elections, played an immense role in forming public protest and developing its constructive features. Public discontent was given peaceful character to and people tried to achieve exercising their constitutional rights by means of elections. The fact that it is the first time that mass protest has been non-violent in the independent Russia is the merit of the active part of the intellectuals.

As it is known late 2011 and early 2012 were marked by a series of demonstrations and public rallies of Muscovites, dwellers of St. Petersburg and other cities. First of all here belong such mass protest actions in the capital as public rally on December 5, 2011 at the Chistye Prudy, on the ‘First Bolotnaya Square’ on December 10, in Sakharov avenue on December 24, in Yakimanka and Bolotnaya square on February 4, 2012 and finally in Novy Arbat on March 10. Then there was March of Millions on May 6 and June 12, 2012. Between the two Marches of Millions there was an action of ‘Mobile Maydan’ which lasted for a whole week. Moreover, recent actions of the opposition are also worth mentioning. Among them are March of Millions on September 15 and March of Freedom on December 15, 2012. However the last event was not approved by executive authorities. Finally a march against ‘Anti-orphan Law’ on January 13, 2013 became an important event of Russian social life.

No doubt accumulating critical amount of sentiments among the participants of protest movement has been continuing for some time. Falsifying Duma and presidential elections acted as a kind of accelerant for the protest movement in Moscow and other cities. There appeared a *For Fair Elections* movement. Many voters have received real evidence of the elections results having been falsified. Discontent with the current situation raised new questions about the country’s future. These are claims for the future that are probably the most unexpected and the most important events happening in the Russian society. Many analysts share the opinion that the situation in the country has changed since last December. Now one should describe this shift in sentiments and preferences of the considerable amount of Russian citizens.

One of the key events of this time is not just the arousal of civic consciousness but the fact that the representatives of politically non-motivated strata of the society, e.g. students, netizens, bank and office clerks take active part in it. They are called the representatives of the ‘creative class’ and there are a lot of creative people among them indeed. In other words a generation of young, active, able and promising people has woken up. It is this fact that means that Russian social life is becoming more complex. This complexity is metastable and ready for unexpected creation of new relationships and structures.

This part of population, which is sometimes called ‘angry city-dwellers’, is dissatisfied by the contemporary political leadership institutions, non-democratic character of parliamentary elections, lack of political freedoms, control over mass media and widespread corruption.

Using the results of the opinion survey carried out by Yury Levada Analytical Center one can make a comprehensive portrait of those participating in the demonstration and public rally on February 4, 2012. Among the protest movement participants 24% are people with high income. An important characteristic of Muscovites who gathered on Bolotnaya Square-2 is their education level. So, 63% of the respondents graduated from higher educational institutions, 7% - graduated from two higher educational institutions or from one higher educational institution followed by post-graduate studies. The total sum is 70% of well-educated people, while according to the last census people with higher education make 50% of those living in the capital. As for the occupation of this group one can single out two most important sub-groups: managers (self-employed, heads of departments – they make 23%) and professionals with higher education without supervisor responsibilities (36%). 13% are officers (without professional training) and workers. 11% of the respondents are students and there is the same amount of pensioners. It should be also taken into account that young people under 24 visited public rallies more often than representatives of other age groups [Dubin B., 2012, c. 12].

Such behavior of the young is regarded as positive by other population groups. At the same time thousands of young and most progressive personalities from different cities of the country have emigrated vertically to a virtual world creating their own houses, even finding employment, and soon worked out the rules of that world differing from those left ‘below’.

Protest movement was mostly widespread in Moscow and other large cities. It can be explained by a number of reasons. In these urban agglomerations resources of awareness (share of Internet users), better education and professional training, life success, social independence and requirements to respect dignity and rights of citizens are concentrated. Sooner or later cities will vanquish – such are the objective laws of development. These are these settlements where urbanization, internetization and free movement of financial, informational and migratory flows take place.

Of course tragic events during the March of Millions on May 6, 2012 do not fit well into the aims of protest movement. Clashes between the protesters and the police resulted in a number of injured from both sides. Naturally there are different explanations of what has happened. This is how a member of the Civic Chamber M. Blinkin explains it: “A 30 meter-wide flow of people moving down the Yakimanka needed to turn at right angle on the 20 meter-wide road; it meant creating a bottle neck” [Al'bac E., 2012, c. 19]. Such a situation results in bunching. This is what has happened.

Analysts compare *For Fair Elections* protest movement in Russia with *Occupy Wall-Street* movement which appeared in the USA. Similarly to the foreign variant an *OccupyAbay* street camp appeared in Moscow following the events of May 6, 2012. On May 11, 2012 an officer of the Sociology Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences O. Kryshtanovskaya together with her colleagues polled more than 100 campers, making a general portrait of the protestors. Average age of protestors is 31, 65,8% of them have higher education and 10,1% have two and more higher educations. At the Chistye Prudy there were about 35% students, 45% professionals – programmers, translators, lawyers, managers, bank clerks, scientists and university lecturers. The main part of the campers, about 40%, constituted participants of *For Fair Elections* public rallies in December-February. However that main part was growing quickly: about 30% of Mobile Maydan participants joined the protest movement during the recent month. 15% of them told they had suffered from law enforcement officials during the public rallies [Barabanov I., Krylov M., 2012, c. 10-11].

Taking OccupyAbay as an example city camps started appearing in other regions (St. Petersburg, Novosibirsk, Samara) or protesters just restricted themselves to daily walks (Astrakhan, Yekaterinburg, Nizhny Novgorod, Ulyanovsk, Ivanovo). However protest movement has changed a lot for the period between the events in the Bolotnaya Square in December and ‘going for a walk’ in May – regions started to wake up more actively. On May 18, 2012 members of the opposition even had a panel discussion on topic ‘Is there a revolution behind Moscow Ring Road?’ Each of the twenty regions where people ‘were going for a walk’ answered this question in its own way.

Changes in political situation found its way into legislative activity of the Federal Assembly prior to the March of Millions on June 12, 2012. The State Duma and the Federation Council passed a bill No. 70631-6 “Concerning the Introduction of Amendments to the Administrative Offences Code” and a law “Concerning meetings, public rallies, demonstrations, marches and picketing”. While the bill was being discussed at the State Duma plenary session opposition deputies, mainly members of *Spravedlivaya Rossiya* party, used the method of the so-called Italian strike. This method consists in the members of the opposition introducing thousands of amendments and bringing up for vote each of them. The initiators' idea was for the opposition deputies to prepare about one thousand amendments to prolong passing the law for a week. They have prepared half as much amendments laying down passing the law within one day at stake. This could have disrupted the bill being accepted by the Federation Council the next day. If the plan had been successful president V. Putin had not managed to sign the law prior to the March of Millions set for June 12. Nevertheless after an eleven-hour-session State Duma passed the law by 241 voices after the second and the third readings. Besides *Edinaya Rossiya* deputies three more former member of *Spravedlivaya Rossiya* fraction voted for it. For violating the public rallies law citizens may be fined up to 300 thousand roubles. Average wages in the country make 22 thousand roubles. Thus one will have to pay out the maximum fine for more than a year (having to abandon buying food). Moreover proposed fines are comparable to and even exceed punishments for some criminal deeds. The reason for making the laws more severe is clear: to frighten citizens and to lessen protests. This method is universal, as fear paralyzes people. On February 14, 2012 the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation demanded lowering fines for violations during public rallies.

However some experts regard it as part of legal system's fighting with all alternatives in the society. It is well-known that the State Duma accepted four laws for two months: Public Rallies Law, Foreign Agents Law, Libel Law and Information Law. The probability of the authorities' softening their politics is rather small. At the same time analysts share an opinion that one can change the politics of the authorities by means of mass actions, street protests and actions in the parliament. Despite the fact that opposition leaders failed to prevent the Public Rallies Law being passed, the ruling party was taught a good lesson.

Thus with the help of sociological surveys one can come to conclusions that during the two election campaigns of 2011-2012 many numerous members of the Russian society, first of all dwellers of Moscow and St. Petersburg, were not indifferent to their country, fortune of their compatriots and feeling of self-respect.

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Social and professional choices of post-Soviet students: the crisis of the model of higher education?

Choice of university, specialty, training areas and a choice of a young man's place in the social and occupational structure of society determines its prospective membership in a professional group. In many ways, this choice is motivated by the social prestige of the profession, professional group, it directly or indirectly affects the social stratification of society. Professional stratification for P.Sorokin, one of the three basic forms of social stratification, along with economic, political. Line card in each interrelated and simultaneously, there may be situations where "the various layers of each of the forms coincide with each other. Rather, they coincide with each other, but only partially, i.e. to a certain extent "[Sorokin, 1992, p.302, 354]. By defining in a professional and inter professional stratification, Sorokin, singled out as the basis of the latter, the role of "intelligence level" (competence), which is required for the "successful performance of professional duties." With respect to the stratification he identified phenomenon of "professional feudalism" when "wage difference and the difference of social status" worker are largely determined by differences in intelligence, and other factors.

Among the factors of occupational choice, as is increasingly noted by contemporary sociologists, the special role played by social capital. In this perspective, meaningful interpretation of Bourdieu's social capital as "resources", which are based on "relationships in the group membership" and "personal relationship» [Bourdieu P, 1986, p.21]. In summary, James Coleman social capital is correlated with the "embeddedness in human social structure» [Coleman, 1988, p. 95-120].

Ideally, the choice of profession is the result of correlating their internal human resource requirements of the profession. In real situations, a lot depends on a deep and comprehensive assessment of the internal resource: how the young man are clear and understandable about requirements of the profession, is not considered situational, and in the future - taking into account trends in the socio-occupational structure of society, the dynamics of the social prestige of occupations. Taking into account the effects of social changes of recent decades in the post-Soviet space, such as deformation of the occupational structure and occupational prestige on the basis of "servicazation of the economy", crisis MIC and other production industries in the post-socialist countries, the deformation work ethic (reducing the value of creative work), it will be apparent increased the difficulties and contradictions of professional choice.

For the past 20 years of reform benchmarks, the trajectory of social choice and efficiency of post-Soviet countries are still far from the sharpness and clarity. But, in a society whose "self-determination" seriously delayed, the perspectives of the profession, to choose it for themselves, identify with it, to accept its norms, roles and status, ie implement professional identity is very difficult [Schneider LB , 2007, 128 p.]. Choosing a profession increasingly associated with risk, it becomes problematic. There is a situation which is dramatically Giddens expressed: "We have no other choice but to permanently do a choice" [Giddens, 1994, p.19]. In the same direction, and are aggravated differences between the level of professionalism and the level of financial position on a number of traditional occupations and occupational groups (as manifested in the phenomenon of the "new poor", among which a very high proportion of representatives of intellectual work, having a relatively high level of training). According to Y. Verlina (Russian Public Opinion Research Center), the characteristic of the modern labor market can be identified as coincidence ideas about profitable and prestigious professions: "The most profitable and have the most prestigious professions, and it do not necessarily have to be respected." Respected professions, by contrast, are the most unprofitable activities: here the traditional list of doctors, teachers, professors. "In Soviet times, it was the opposite. Prestige was determined not yield, and other factors. Now, there is a perception that if a person is a teacher, then he is a failure "[Malakhov, 2007].

It's not just that the choice of university entrants is often not a professional choice in the full sense of the word. In Russia, for example, "40% of the graduates of technical faculties are not employed in the professional area, which acquired in high school [Gorshkov, Sheregi, 2010, p.221]. Similar answers were given by the respondents and the students of the Ural Federal University (UFU) and Kharkiv National University (KNU) in 2010. Committed to practice in the specialty noted UrFU 32% of students and 23% of students KNU [Wisniewski, 2012]. Specificity of tools allows to only talk about the similarities rather than sameness. Among the desirable forms of employment after graduation, students are especially significant for the establishment of a business, (UFU students - 43% of students KNU - 21%) and administrative and managerial activities (respectively 22% and 10%). For students KNU significant research work (19%), and for students UrFU it is important for the entire 5%, teaching activities (school, college, university) is significant, respectively, for 21% (KNU) and 4% (UFU) . It is very difficult to determine the extent to which these intentions and mastered by profession, but 1% of the students UFU and 20% of students KNU even IV course no firm plans for the future. In addition to the indifference mastered the profession (all the same, what to do, if only to pay, would not work, and devote himself to his family and children) have been shown respectively - 11% and 5%. So the main point here is that for a large part of college graduates mastered the profession is not a "profession for life."

In many ways marked facts are the conclusion of the investigation and reflection of the slow and contradictory reform of education (especially higher education) in our countries. The education system prepares people for the "gone" economy. There is a gap between the quality of education and increasing requirements for the competence of personnel. This trend is not unique to our country. Non-compliance of what is taught, what is required of social and practical situations, the global crisis of global proportions.

Close to it and the results of the survey of students UFU and KNU about the motives of their choice of university. Priority aspiration to become a qualified professional in the chosen field, but the total mass of the responses to share this motif accounts for only 21% (UFU) and 22% (KNU). To professional (through the desire to obtain a "profitable", "lucrative" profession) can be attributed, and a motive to work to ensure material prosperity in the future, respectively, 22% (UFU) and 21% (KNU). But still focus on social and cultural capital (the pursuit of high social status, the desire to become a cultural, highly educated, have a fun social circle) is more relevant today - 33% (UFU) and 32% (KNU). The responses of the respondents reflected a change in the professional identity of today's youth, "the ideal image of a professional" to "perfect life" when the choice of profession is instrumental - a means to achieve a desired lifestyle, the way to success in life, career. In the future you can expect more of the importance of practical reasons ("high school diploma useful in life", the desire to live and study in a big city, hope to meet future life, the reason not to go to the army"). Now they share - 18% (UFU) and 18% (KNU).

Should be changed and guidance - from going outside the profession to focus on the internal orientation. By the way, this change closer still the perception in our understanding of career counseling countries (the impact on young people) to its interpretation in ILO documents, where States are encouraged to gradually extend, adapt and harmonize the system of professional training "in order to meet the needs of young people and adults in obtaining professional training throughout their lives, in all sectors of the economy, in all economic sectors and all levels of skill and responsibility. "Thus, the main purpose of vocational guidance "to help any person on the basis of equality, without discrimination, to develop and apply the skills in their own interest and in accordance with their aspirations, taking into account the interests of society" [ILO, 1975].So, first and foremost the interests and needs of the individual young person.

Understanding the outcome of the six stages of the monitoring of socio-cultural attitudes and daily practices of students of universities of the Sverdlovsk region has allowed the research team to identify a number of significant changes and contradictions of everyday practices of social and vocational choices of students in need of sociological interpretation and explanation of the current status of the Institute of Higher Vocational Education [Student-2012]. To study the dynamics of social and professional motivation of the choice of monitoring data were used: generation of third-year students in 1995 (the first generation post-soviet formed at the turn of the eras), third-year 2007-2009. ("First fruits" of social transformations of the last 10-15 years), and third-year students in 2011-2012.Admitted to the university in the crisis year of 2009.

In the analysis of responses about the motives of the choice of high school third-year students to consider certain "bias" estimates. On the one hand, the euphoria of the proceeds are spent, a retrospective analysis of the motives, the selection is usually more balanced. Along with this there is a motive of self-justification: the choice is made, has overcome the "equator", and even if the student is disappointed in their chosen profession, and it was late to leave, we should have to finish training, to obtain the desired degree.

Analysis of the motives of entering a university captures a significant share of random choices. Strong motive for choosing, along with traditionally identified 'interest in the profession, "is the desire to get a well-paid job (not necessarily on the acquired specialty), the strongest fear - do not find a job, means desirable model work. The predominant motive of conduct on the market of educational services is to meet the security needs. Higher education is seen as a sure way to adapt to the labor market. The fear of unemployment makes consumers of educational services, their creditors (the parents) to act irrationally, overpaying for the prestige of the university, for the warranty (express or imagined) of employment after graduation. Their behavior is clearly expressed social risk, the fear that the resulting educational services will not provide the desired status. This gives rise to a feeling of dissatisfaction with the university.

Present in their behavior and socio-psychological risk as the ability, and the inclination of the future experts often simply not taken into account, the forms and content of dissatisfaction specialty. The risk of loss of resources is often limited to financial, it is often not taken into account the loss of time and cognitive. resources

In the hierarchy of motives for the choice of the university consistently maintains the primacy of such a parameter as "interest in the profession," the motif have a second and third years of the respondents in 1995 and 2012. (Table 1).

Table 1.

Dynamics of the motives for the choice of the university during the period of 1995-2012 years.

(% of respondents) [6]

Motivesfor the choices	**1995**	**2007**	**2009**	**2012**
Interestintheprofession	45	53	54	49
Attracted the prestige and authority of the university	32	32	34	30

Attracted the prospect of finding a good job after college	30	30	32	27
Thought: I have the best ability in this area	33	25	26	17
The desire to get a degree (no matter - what)	9	26	21	19
It was easier to do	-	18	15	13
Influenced by family tradition, parents	22	18	14	13
Influenced by studies in a specialized classroom, college, high school	15	15	13	10
I wish to extend more or less carefree period of life (in company with friends, attracted an active student life)	15	12	12	19
I did not want to join the army	17	7	7	6
Council teachers, specialists in career counseling	5	6	6	4
Other	4	9	9	4
I wanted to secure a stable material prosperity in the future	-	-	-	22

Total account exceeds 100% because respondents could give a few answers at the same time. The average number of responses to one of the interviewed 2.5 points.

In our view, the indicator "of interest to the profession" is too wide, you can say, integrative characteristics in need of specification, refinement. Each third of the students surveyed said prestige and authority of the university. This figure is also stable, not reduced, which can be explained by the specific educational product. The program of professional higher education - a product with significant symbolic meaning. She has lagged value, it is a "product of confidence." To estimate purchasers and users are using different standards and criteria, great subjectivity of perception and assessment of quality. High uncertainty when it is selected, as for the education market characterized by asymmetry of information about their quality. The seller knows everything about the service, and the buyer / consumer bit. Therefore, the "buyers", students enrolled in the contract, and on a budgetary basis, the choice of services chosen brand of high school, his reputation. Universities, in turn, care about the reputation of more than about the quality of education. Reputation of the university, the brand - it's institutional marketing practices, aligning information imbalances in the educational market.

Another third of the respondents as a motive noted the expected benefits, the utility from the consumption of educational product - find perspective after graduation a good job. It was the same in the 1970s. Sociologists point out that the choice of the social status precedes the choice of a profession. Students select status to enroll in college, but now weakened status function of universities. Diploma of Higher Vocational Education is only necessary but not sufficient condition for stability in the labor market. This situation is defined as W. Beck paradoxical decrease and increase the value of a certificate. No certificate of education chances of getting a job in the labor market are reduced to zero. The document may be eligible to participate in the competition, but not the job. On the one hand, the document formation are increasingly insufficient to ensure the existence of a professional in this sense its value is reduced. On the other hand, it is increasingly necessary for participation in the competition for the job, and in that sense the value of its enhanced.

Sharply, by 2.5 times increased consumption landmark educational products: the desire to get a degree ("a sign of education" by Jean Baudrillard) as the motive for choosing the university have one out of ten respondents in 1995 and every fourth or fifth in 2007 and 2012. Increase in the number of students focused on getting "diplomas in installments," the more of them, and the more prestigious the school, the better. There is excessive consumption as a measure of uncertainty, the mismatch between the opportunities and aspirations. Increasing marginal status - "sometimes work, sometimes learning" - reduces the importance of quality education in the eyes of students. The value of high-quality and specialized education that are essential to the modernization of society, for the processes of social stratification, the young Russian support today at best half. Surface and quantitative consumption of educational services as a sign of status as a "need to be aware of" (Jean Baudrillard) - an indicator of instability status.This "natural" marginal student status, and instability, uncertainty status of young professionals in the transitional economy of Russia.

The weight of the socio-psychological component of the demand for educational product has not changed, is still average for the sample. In some cases, students choose not only the professional educational services, and student body as a psychological condition related services. It was measured parameters such as "light-hearted desire to extend the period of life," "active student life," etc. You can draw an analogy with shopping when you select not only the product but also the concomitant psychological state, consumer expectations.

Among the reasons for the professional choice weakens the value of the socio-professional direct inheritance of parental influence on young people's choice a specific profession in various ways: from volitional pressure parents to infantile habits of children to depend on the choice of parents and unwillingness to take responsibility for the selection, as well as accidental career choices conscious desire to continue the family tradition of professional. In the analysis of the processes of professional continuity between students learning technical profile and their parents, we took into account three basic forms: social inheritance (status), professional (dynastic) and socio-cultural inheritance (value orientation and motivational installation). Our data confirmed the findings of researchers monitoring the conservation and, moreover, the growth processes of social reproduction specialists. Students with parents in the status of managers and professionals are twice as likely than the working families of this motif indicated admission to higher education as the influence of the family and family traditions. Students from working-class families are more likely to indicate a motive receipts as "it was easier to do here." The expansion of the education system (while reducing the labor of society) de facto leads to a revival of class criteria in the allocation of social chances. A number of indicators suggest that the case is neither more nor less, to refeodalization (now disguised form) in the distribution of opportunities and risks in the labor market [Beck, 2000]. A small percentage of students who chose the profession of their parents, said the instability of professional norms and values. Social and professional inheritance weakens the motives of professional choice, the impact of family traditions, the parents to choose the university has decreased over the years of monitoring by 1.5 times. Especially the family dropped the pressure at the future teachers and students of classical and technical universities.

In addition, the traditionally higher than the average family influence medical students and economists increased pressure from lawyers and family of miners. Assessing the value of the "influence of family traditions, the parents' choice for the university, future profession should distinguish between" influence "and" pressure "of the parents. In our study, this difference could be carried out only by indirect indicators, through a set of motives for choosing a specialty. Among the reasons for the choice of profession miners at all stages of monitoring were present expressed a desire to get a degree (above average), the expectation of good work and the pressure of the parents. Most pressure than the authority, for students miners intrinsic level of infantilism (tune of "extended period carefree life", "did for the company" is higher than that of many others). Special issue - the influence of the family on the formation of a legal professional guidance of applicants and medical schools. For example, medical students is 1.4 times more than the average for the sample indicate "interest in the profession," as the predominant motive for choosing the university. In 1995 on the sustained interest in the medical profession have indicated two out of three medical students surveyed in 2012 - for three-quarters of the students surveyed. Professional values prevail rather than social: selected not only status, but, above all, a profession.

An additional argument confirming this conclusion were the results of our desk research, statistical analysis of personal files of students. The analysis of documents (personal files of students in 2010) showed that only a fraction of students whose fathers (43%) and mothers (26%) had a higher technical education, have decided to repeat their choices and decide to become engineers and technicians. Students target set did not work to go to college, and thus had no practical idea of the chosen specialty. Probably their contracts and contractual relationships with companies initiated in the first place parents - employees of these same companies, which may indicate likely on corporate succession of generations.

Resources of the parents are not only important when choosing a future profession, but also in planning strategies for implementing professional and life plans of future specialists. The importance of social resources parental family (parents regard their moral and financial support) is especially great for those students who are not sure of the relevance of their future profession.

Unfortunately, the capacity for a certain type of activity are taken into account when choosing a university lesser extent. This option when choosing a profession in 1995 took into account every third student, in 2007-2012. – everyforth’s. Decrease in the number of students who believe that they have the ability to teaching, but the increase in the number of those future lawyers and architects. Sharply reduced the importance of abilities to choose the economics profession. In many ways, the underestimation of compliance with their aptitudes and abilities related to the requirements of the profession and of the change in the value orientations of young people. Only one out of four students identified "creativity, implementation abilities" as the most significant for his lifetime value. Especially little she means to young men (18%), for students who lived before entering the university in the IHT and rural areas (18%), for graduates of mass secondary school (21%), as well as those from families where the father (18%), and especially the mother (11%) - the workers. Among the paradoxes of the results - in the same group and those with a family on the material condition relates to the highly secured [Bannikova, 2010, p.164-168]. At a time when the country is becoming a reference point for modernization, innovation economy, marked underestimation of future compliance professionals profession of their aptitudes and abilities threatens trained innovators.

Another manifestation deprofessionalization - lack of recognition of their future profession ("a certain uncertainty 'choice). Potential professionals (applicants) do not choose the profession, and the image of the profession, as their perceptions of the profession and of themselves as professionals from vague. Most often, they act as a "non-professional", that is incompetent consumers of educational services. They did not choose the profession as a functional as a business but as a group of accessories and, in general, as the future social status, model of the desired future. In order to identify the dynamics of changes in perceptions of students about the content, nature and specificity of professional activity in the VI stage monitoring was used specific techniques: respondents were asked to compare their own ideas about the profession of "input" (for admission to university) to today's perception of it. This allowed to take into account how much a college education contributed to the consolidation of a professional choice or lead to disappointment chosen profession.

Only one out of four is definitely enough content imagined a future profession, more often than other students, lawyers and doctors. Every second was fragmentary, partial view of the future profession (miners, teachers). All this suggests a continuing and even increasing trend of the deprofessionalization when the content of the profession is gradually losing its essential, ceases to be a leading factor in site selection and motivation of the form work. Future profession like, but work on it is not planned. Evaluation of these processes are ambiguous as ambiguous assessment of the use-value of the service of higher education not only in the situation of comparing the past and the present, but also from the standpoint of today, for various settings of expectations. Obtaining a degree, according to some researchers, ceases to be the main purpose of the university. The goals of the university - the maximum adaptation, the mood for lifelong learning, the development of the amount of social competencies, skills civilizational, cultural standards. All these qualities, according to some researchers, specialists are required to work in the "new economy" in Russia, in services, to work with clients. The Russian society has formed the labor market and the segment of social roles, which showed the demand for a new type of worker, the demand for educational services to low-level, more precisely, on the skills and cultural standards, which makes the process of learning and staying in the atmosphere of the university. [Levinson, 2004 , pp.61-69]

More than usual, a negative assessment of these processes is obtained by other researchers. So, O.Leibovich, N.Shumkova, assessing trends of the deprofessionalization of the higher education, noted that if the universities and the need for a new economic elite, it is only as a five-year school to prepare for the white collar businesses. And because the main task of universities - disciplinary, etiquette, presentation. "In seeking to massive urban social groups deprive universities of professional education mission, we see a significant source of the crisis of the Institute of Higher Education" [Leibowitz, 2004, p. 149].

Members, employers receive virtually free for them, heterogeneous quality workforce dominated by pragmatic and utilitarian plants. For bringing it to the level of their requests take time, money and patience. But while the professional educational service is a public good for them, employers will be "free-riders" willing to shift the cost onto the shoulders of families and the state. The government as the payer is interested in receiving more or less professionally oriented employees and "cultural citizens" (by T. Parsons).

The current situation, in which the services of professional higher education are trying to present as a private good, shifting the costs of its preparation, preservation largely on the state and the family, is not optimal and is disadvantageous to all participants of the educational process. Not only is there a gap between the higher education and business, and about the problems of their interaction, but also the uncertainty of graduates in the labor market, despite a number of diplomas.

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Non-linearity and synergism in sociology of profession[1]

Abstract. We offer a new approach to the concept of statistical relation (non-linear and linear) in sociological research by means of usage the generalized version of a method of multiple comparison for quantile splittings of the data (objects) on each measured parameter. We shall stop for a substantiation of necessity of investigating of the elementary non-linear dependences with a demonstration of their quantity by the example of a sociological research.

Key words: linear, non-linear, dependence, synergetic, professions.

Synergetic style of thinking - a style of the thinking in the postnonclassic sciences. It represents the modern stage of the development of the system and cybernetic thinking, many elements which are subjected to essential alteration. "Non-linearities" - a fundamental conceptual node of the new paradigm.

In sociological research a correlation analysis is widely used. And, therefore presence or absence of dependence basically is understood as a presence or absence first of all linear dependence as the most simple and evident. And when the variables are dichotomic the linear dependence becomes the only variant in general. Thus very frequently many interesting dependences (for interval variables), being non-linear, are missed since for them the coefficients of correlation are small on an absolute value and fit to a hypothesis about equalling to zero point of a coefficient of correlation.

Attempts to advance hypotheses (with the purpose of further check) about a particular kind of non-linear dependence result in the solution of separate particular problems (for two variables). Thus there is a problem of the form of the received functional dependence should be to interpret, to determine the qualitative contents, since in any case n of points it is possible to connect by a curve, presenting a polynomial to N-th power, and formally to have a functional dependence for any case (any interval data).

We offer the new approach to concept of statistical dependence (non-linear and linear) in sociological research (when variables are not dichotomic, but interval) by means of usage the generalized (or alternative version from three) version of a method of multiple comparison for quantile splittings of the data (objects) on each measured parameter [Basimov M.M., 2008], rejecting from preliminary formulating a hypothesis about a form of dependence (linear or any

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particular kind of non-linear dependence), i.e. for a studied matrix of the data are determined as forms of dependences and degree of their expressiveness on different sections of scales of considered variables.

In our example, the analysis of non-linear (and linear as a particular case) dependencies in the framework of concrete sociological research on each of the investigated interval parameter has been defined two quantile, dividing the totality of data on the triad. The result is a decomposition of aggregate data on the 225 (225=75*3, at 75 interval parameters) intercrossing groups.

For comparison of the given groups was used the generalized variant of the method of the multiple comparison for all ranked pairs "the chosen triad on parameter X - a parameter Y". As the result there was received the general distribution of such pairs with the determined "comparative weightiness" for them. If a quantity of the investigated parameter is N, so the selected quantum (the triads) on all parameter will 3*N, but ranked pairs of the "chosen quantum (the triad) on parameter X - a parameter Y" - 3*N*N. For convenience of using the information it is necessary to structure it.

To select three comparative weightiness, characterizing the dependency of the parameter Y from parameter X, from the general distribution 3*N*N ranked pairs "the chosen quantum (the triad) on parameter X - a parameter Y" in the beginning choose 3*N pairs referring to one parameter (so we get a distribution of importance of the parameter Y for all 3*N groups-quantum, determined for all considered parameter), but afterwards choose 3 groups-quantums on the parameter X. Thereby, we have chosen three comparative weightiness, displaying a comparative value of the parameter Y for three quantums (the triads) determined for parameter X. These three comparative weightiness is possible to consider as a model for dependencies of the parameter Y from parameter X.

For making a possibility to compare the results of estimation of relationships through the multiple comparisons with the result of the using of traditional correlation analysis we shall enter the factor of the connection strenght. The factor of the connection strenght of i- and j-parameter (the dependency of i-parameter from j-parameter), considered at the realization of the procedure of the multiple comparison of quantum (triads), we shall define the following expression:

$$\mathbf{SV_{ij} = |V_{ij}^3 - V_{ij}^2| + |V_{ij}^2 - V_{ij}^1|},$$

where V_{ij}^g – the comparative weightiness of i-parameter for g-quantums of j- parameter.

The value SV_{ij} for single correlation is defined both as quantity parameter, and amount of the quantums (the triads, quarts, quints) of the partition data set. Thereby it appears a necessity to norm factors SV_{ij} in such way for the maximum for monotonous dependencies factor of the connection strenght, corresponding to a single correlation, was is 1. Then all considered above dependencies are possible to characterize the incorporated factor of the connection strenght SV_{ij} and interpret the strength of dependence on its value.

Study of "Young specialist on the labor market" (I.B. Britvina and etc.), the data of which we use in the study of the non-linear nature of sociological information, was carried out in 2007 by the grant of Administration (Government) of Kurgan area.

It was necessary empirically examine three sides of the process of employment, entering into interaction at the moment when the young specialists appears at the labour market, as its agent and as a carrier of those professional qualities, which he had received during the training in a particular primary, secondary or higher professional educational institution. This is the young specialist him/herself, professional school, where he/she studied and received a specific set of knowledge and skills, as well as a particular employer, materialized as the representative of "labour market". The direct agent of the market is the employer, as the representative of "customer ", which directly estimates the level of preparedness specialist and makes a decision about his/her employment or deny this.

During the research there were questioned 494 young specialists, working in the city of Kurgan. The main criteria of differentiation of the sample population were educational institution where a specialist studied, as well as specialty, which he had received. Among the respondents - 348 female (70% of the sample population) and 147 male (30%) persons. There were interviewed young specialists, who graduated from the secondary special and higher educational institutions, and working at the moment in Kurgan.

In our example from the questionnaire of the young specialist were chosen 75 estimations with interval scale, characterizing on answers: the role of the educational institution in training the specialist, features gained by the graduate at the period of the education, characteristics of the educational institution and professions, characteristics of the enterprise (the job place) and their role in labor activity, characteristics of the job position and their role in labor activity. There were estimated expectations before entering the University and before getting a job, real results and personal importance of the feature.

We note the motivation of need of the study of the simplest non-linear dependencies that demonstrate their quantity under structured consideration data. If we choose the dependencies with the coefficient of correlations more 0.5 (our factor of the connection strenght also more 0.5), that such dependencies exists 123. While non-linear dependencies with the factor of the connection strenght more 0.5 and insignificant coefficient of correlations (at least once modulo in two factor of the connection strenght less) have 385. Thereby, the simplest (the dependencies with maximum and minimum, monotonous, but not linear) of the non-linear dependencies turned out to be in three times stronger than linear.

But particularly significant that linear dependencies exist practically only within the framework of separate question block (104 dependencies from 123), where dependencies are forecasted already contents of the questions itself. Crossing dependencies for the parameter from different question block far less (19 from 123). But with coefficients of correlations more 0.6 there were no such dependencies.

Signifies, it is possible to speak of possibility of the synergetic paradigms in sociological science, directed on the investigation of non-linear effect. The description of the complex as shows K.Mainzer - the President of the German society of research of complex systems and non-linear dynamics, is impossible without a representation about non-linearity and modern non-linear models. In conditions of the modern world the linear thinking till now dominating over some areas of a science, becomes essentially insufficient and even dangerous in a non-linear complex reality [Mainzer, 1994, p. 13.].

We shall consider for example specifics non-linear relationships between two groups parameter: "Characteristics of the enterprise" - characteristics of the enterprise (the job place) and their role in labor activity, characteristics of the job position and their role in labor activity. We shall show the strongest dependencies of a parameter "Characteristics of the enterprise" from parameter "The job position". Us will interest in the events, when considered factor of the connection strenght SV>0.6, but linear correlations in 2 and more times less (close to zero). The events, when SV>0.6 and simultaneously $SV>2*|R|$ turned out to be 3.

Table 1

The dependencies of a parameter "Characteristics of the enterprise" from parameter "The job position

	N1	N2	SV	SV'	R	Triad N1	Parameter N2
1)	**62**	**54**	**0.75**	**0.33**	**0.21**	**X62**	**X54**
2)	**62**	**57**	**0.63**	**0.14**	**0.14**	**X62**	**X57**
3)	**74**	**49**	**0.61**	**0.49**	**0.29**	**X74**	**X49**

Let's show the identifications, which will be used in the offered tables: N1 - number of the parameter, for which is made splitting on triads; N2 - number of the parameter, which values are determined for the distinguished triad of the parameter with number N1; SV - factor of the connection strength determining the dependence of the parameter of the number N2 from the parameter for the number N1; SV' - factor of the connection strength determining reverse (in relation to SV) dependence of the parameter with number N1 from the parameter with number N2; R - the coefficient of linear correlation between parameters with numbers N1 and N2.

Linear dependences at the such strict limit (>0.6) simply was not there. At easing restrictions (>0.5), imposed on the factor of the connection strength and correlation coefficients, selected one linear dependence, and 7 non-linear.

We shall present three dependencies in the manner of distribution on level of the groups-triads (independent variable) with specified for each level of comparative weightiness of dependent variable.

1. Dependence of the parameter “Satisfaction with a favourite business (Importance)” (X54) from the parameter “Worthy wage level (Perception)” (X62) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X54 for triads on a scale X62:

Table 2

Dependence of the parameter “Satisfaction with a favourite business (Importance)” (X54) from the parameter “Worthy wage level (Perception)”

Triads on the scale X62	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X54 for triads
X62-3	834
X62-2	9426
X62-1	-7114

Factor of the connection strength = 0.75 (0.33)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.21

The Perception (worthy level of salary) on miscellaneous influences upon estimation of importance of the emotional satisfaction of job for small and greater importance of the studied spectrum. If sharp ascent exists on the first stage of importance of the emotional satisfaction of job on comparative weightiness from (-7114) till (9426). That is a further growing of the perception worthy level salaries vastly reduces importance of the emotional satisfaction of job (comparative weightiness of the triads is 834). Graphically dependence looks like:

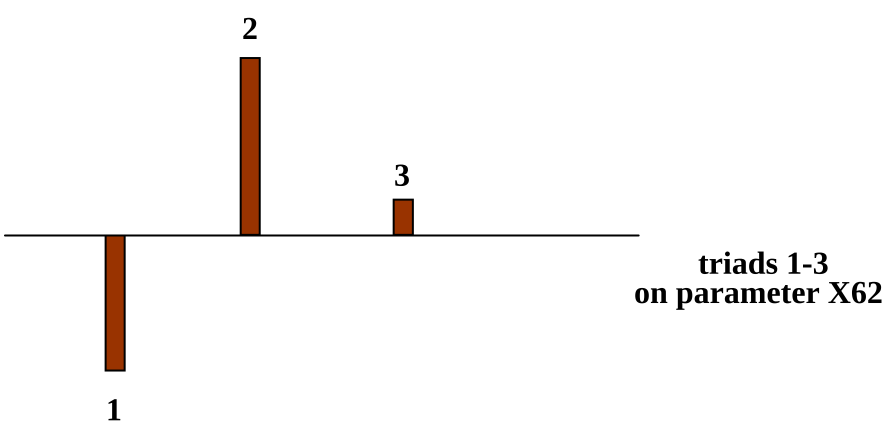

Figure 1. Satisfaction with a favourite business (Importance)

2. Dependence of the parameter "Development of abilities and reception of professional skills (Importance)" (X57) from the parameter "Worthy wage level (Perception)" (X62) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X57 for triads on a scale X62:

Table 3

Dependence of the parameter "Development of abilities and reception of professional skills (Importance)" (X57) from the parameter "Worthy wage level (Perception)"

Triads on the scale X62	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X57 for triads
X62-3	367
X62-2	8022
X62-1	-5446

Factor of the connection strength = 0.63 (0.14)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.14

The first dependency is the analog of the parameter dependency of importance of the development of the abilities and receptions of the professional skills from parameter Perception (worthy level of the salary): initial growing is replaced sharp decrease.

Thereby, importance of the emotional satisfaction of job and importance of the development of the abilities and receptions of professional skills depends equally on perception (is received in reality) worthy level of salary. In presented events are received dependencies with maximum, which is typical particularity is a sharp decline depended variable after the first stage of the joint increase depended and independent variable. Maximum importance dependent variable takes under average importance of independent variable. This possible characterizes as the effect of the saturation and cutting the change (the bifurcations) forming at first the idle time and easy interpreted to dependencies, when linear approximations can bring about simplified and wrong understanding the under study phenomena. But linear correlation will simply point to weaken relations between parameters.

3. Dependence of the parameter "Prestigiousness of a profession or post (Expectation)" (X49) from the parameter "Work on a speciality (Perception)" (X74) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X49 for triads on a scale X74:

Table 4

Dependence of the parameter "Prestigiousness of a profession or post (Expectation)" (X49) from the parameter "Work on a speciality (Perception)"

Triads on the scale X74	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X49 for triads

X74-3	**12143**
X74-2	**-222**
X74-1	**-8362**

Factor of the connection strength = 0.61 (0.49)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.29

Graphically dependence looks like:

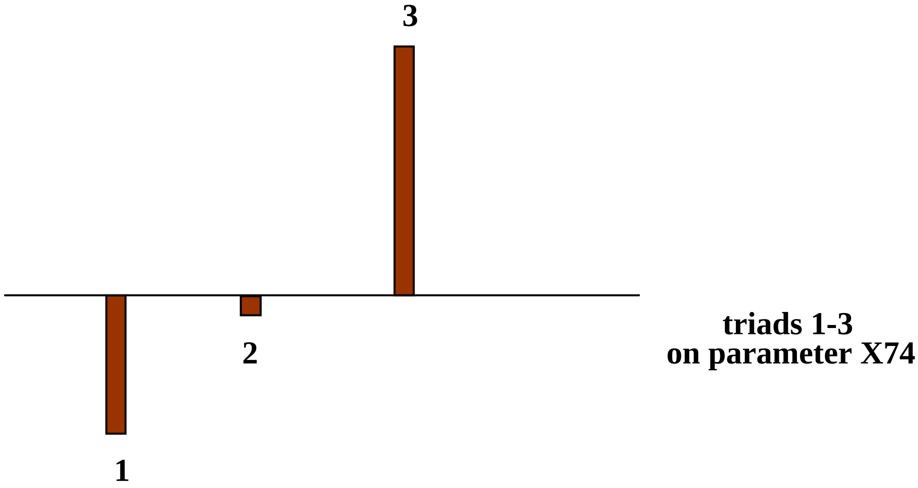

Figure 2. Prestigiousness of a profession or post (Expectation)

Dependence increasing, but not quite symmetrical, as evidenced by correlation coefficient (0.29) that is small in an absolute value. This is the case, when there is no extremum (maximum or minimum), but the relationship is non-linear - growing (monotone) dependence, which cannot be let out of the attention, but which is lost when we use the correlative analysis.

Later on, we consider two more (out of 25) specific example in the form of a subset of the non-linear dependencies between the five groups of parameters.

The non-linearity between parameter groups "the Role of educational institutions" and "Characteristics of post"

Let’s consider the non-linear relations between the two groups of parameters: "the Role of educational institutions" - what role in the preparation of the future specialist played characteristics of the educational institution and “the Characteristics of his/her post" - what role in employment played characteristics of a post. We show the dependence of the parameters of "the Post" on the parameters of "the Role of educational institutions". We are interested in cases, when the factor of the connection strenght of SV>0.6, a linear correlation module in 2 and more times less (close to zero). Cases, when the SV>0.6 and at the same time SV>2*|R| was 8.

Table 5

The non-linearity between parameter groups "the Role of educational institutions" and "Characteristics of post"

	N1	N2	SV	SV'	R	Triad N1	Parameter N2
1)	4	62	0.61	0.19	0.05	X04	X62
2)	6	62	0.63	0.14	-0.00	X06	X62
3)	8	71	0.62	0.45	0.21	X08	X71
4)	9	68	0.67	0.42	-0.06	X09	X68
5)	9	71	0.69	0.17	0.06	X09	X71
6)	14	65	0.68	0.47	0.30	X14	X65
7)	14	71	0.67	0.36	0.21	X14	X71
8)	14	74	0.66	0.33	0.13	X14	X74

Linear dependences at such strict limit (>0.6) simply was not there. At easing restrictions (>0.5), imposed on the factor of the connection strength and correlation coefficients, linear dependences also weren't found, and among non-linear ones were selected significantly more – 18 dependences.

Let's show eight dependencies of the table (all - dependence with maximum) in the form of distributions on the levels of groups-triad (the independent variable) with specified for each level of comparative weightiness of the dependent variable.

1. Dependence of the parameter "Worthy wage level (Perception)" (X62) from the parameter "The quality of practical training (Expectation)" (X04) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X62 for triads on a scale X04:

Table 6

Dependence of the parameter "Worthy wage level (Perception)" (X62) from the parameter "The quality of practical training (Expectation)"

Triads on the scale X04	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X62 for triads
X04-3	-1043
X04-2	6739
X04-1	-5804

Factor of the connection strength = 0.61 (0.19)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.05

Graphically dependence looks like:

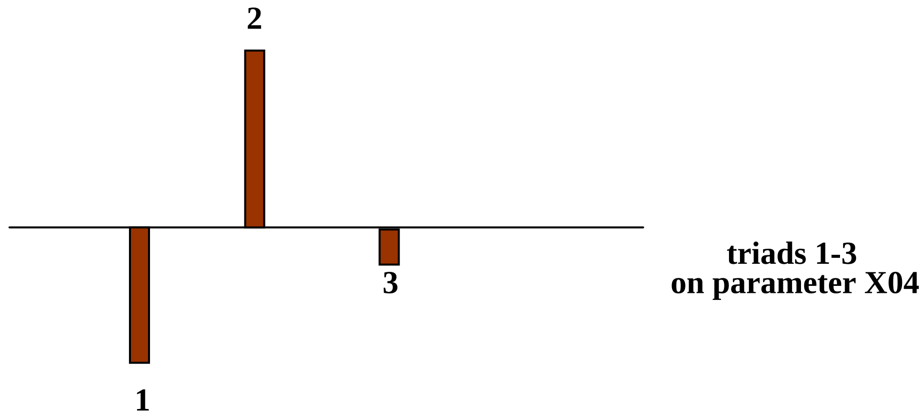

Figure 3. Worthy wage level (Perception)

2. Dependence of the parameter “Worthy wage level (Perception)” (X62) from the parameter “The quality of practical training (Importance)” (X06) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X62 for triads on a scale X06:

Table 7

Dependence of the parameter “Worthy wage level (Perception)” (X62) from the parameter “The quality of practical training (Importance)”

Triads on the scale X06	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X62 for triads
X06-3	-2341
X06-2	8026
X06-1	-2744

Factor of the connection strength = 0.63 (0.14)
Coefficient of correlation = -0.00

3. Dependence of the parameter “Free time presence (Perception)” (X71) from the parameter “The quality of practices and their significance (Perception)” (X08) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X71 for triads on a scale X08:

Table 8

Dependence of the parameter “Free time presence (Perception)” (X71) from the parameter “The quality of practices and their significance (Perception)”

Triads on the scale X08	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X71 for triads
X08-3	2120
X08-2	7885
X08-1	-7200

Factor of the connection strength = 0.62 (0.45)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.21

4. Dependence of the parameter “Possibility of professional (career) growth (Perception)” (X68) from the parameter “The quality of practices and their significance (Importance)” (X09) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X68 for triads on a scale X09:

Table 9

Dependence of the parameter “Possibility of professional (career) growth (Perception)” (X68) from the parameter “The quality of practices and their significance (Importance)”

Triads on the scale X09	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X68 for triads
X09-3	-3373
X09-2	9518
X09-1	97

Factor of the connection strength = 0.67 (0.42)
Coefficient of correlation = -0.06

5. Dependence of the parameter “Free time presence (Perception)” (X71) from the parameter “The quality of practices and their significance (Importance)” (X09) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X71 for triads on a scale X09:

Table 10

Dependence of the parameter “Free time presence (Perception)” (X71) from the parameter “The quality of practices and their significance (Importance)”

Triads on the scale X09	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X71 for triads
X09-3	-1003
X09-2	8175
X09-1	-5935

Factor of the connection strength = 0.69 (0.17)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.06

6. Dependence of the parameter “Good working conditions (Perception)” (X65) from the parameter “Hardware and software of educational laboratory and computer base (Perception)” (X14) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X65 for triads on a scale X14:

Table 11

Dependence of the parameter “Good working conditions (Perception)” (X65) from the parameter “Hardware and software of educational laboratory and computer base (Perception)”

Triads on the scale X14	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X65 for triads
X14-3	4241
X14-2	9562
X14-1	-7804

Factor of the connection strength = 0.68 (0.47)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.30

7. Dependence of the parameter “Free time presence (Perception)” (X71) from the parameter “Hardware and software of educational laboratory and computer base (Perception)” (X14) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X71 for triads on a scale X14:

Table 12

Dependence of the parameter “Free time presence (Perception)” (X71) from the parameter “Hardware and software of educational laboratory and computer base (Perception)”

Triads on the scale X14	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X71 for triads
X14-3	1324
X14-2	8938
X14-1	-6008

Factor of the connection strength = 0.67 (0.36)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.21

8. Dependence of the parameter “Work on a speciality (Perception)” (X74) from the parameter “Hardware and software of educational laboratory and computer base (Perception)” (X14) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X74 for triads on a scale X14:

Table 13

Dependence of the parameter “Work on a speciality (Perception)” (X74) from the parameter “Hardware and software of educational laboratory and computer base (Perception)”

Triads on the scale X14	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X74 for triads
X14-3	-365
X14-2	8772
X14-1	-4271

Factor of the connection strength = 0.66 (0.33)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.13

As you can see we have in all the cases, subject to a maximum of (more or less symmetrical), characteristic feature of which is the sharp decline in the dependent variable after the first stage of the joint increase in the dependent and independent variables.

Thus, the maximum values of the dependent variable takes with the average values of the independent variable. This can be interpreted as the effect of saturation and rapid change (bifurcation) current at first a simple and easily interpreted dependence, when the linear approximation may lead to a simplified and a wrong understanding of the investigated phenomenon.

The non-linearity between the groups of parameters "Characteristics of the enterprise" and "Quality of graduate"

Let's consider the non-linear relations between two groups of parameters: "Characteristics of the enterprise" - characteristics of the enterprise (place of work) and their role in the labour activity and "the Quality of the graduate" - quality purchased by a graduate during the training period. We show dependence of the parameters of "Quality graduate" from the parameters of the "Characteristics of the enterprise". We are interested in cases, when the factor of the connection strenght of SV>0.6, a linear correlation module in 2 and more times less (close to zero). Cases, when the SV>0.6 and at the same time SV>2*|R| was 6.

Table 14

The non-linearity between the groups of parameters "Characteristics of the enterprise" and "Quality of graduate"

	N1	N2	SV	SV'	R	Triad N1	Parameter N2
1)	46	22	0.70	0.61	0.32	X46	X22
2)	55	30	0.64	0.50	0.31	X55	X30
3)	57	19	0.70	0.47	0.23	X57	X19
4)	57	30	0.61	0.45	0.27	X57	X30
5)	60	28	0.71	0.15	0.04	X60	X28
6)	60	30	0.79	0.16	0.13	X60	X30

Linear dependences at such strict limit (>0.6) simply was not there. At easing restrictions (>0.5), imposed on the factor of the connection strength and correlation coefficients, we get 3 linear dependences, and 16 non-linear ones.

Let's consider six dependencies from the table (five dependencies with a minimum and a growing one) in the form of distributions on the levels of groups-triad (the independent variable) with specified for each level of comparative weightiness of the dependent variable.

1. Dependence of the parameter "Qualitative knowledge in their specialized area (Expectation)" (X22) from the parameter "Prestigiousness of the enterprise (Expectation)" (X46) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X22 for triads on a scale X46:

Table 15

Dependence of the parameter "Qualitative knowledge in their specialized area (Expectation)" (X22) from the parameter "Prestigiousness of the enterprise (Expectation)"

Triads on the scale X46	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X22 for triads
X46-3	13712

X46-2	**-7440**
X46-1	**-5125**

Factor of the connection strength = 0.70 (0.61)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.32

Graphically dependence looks like:

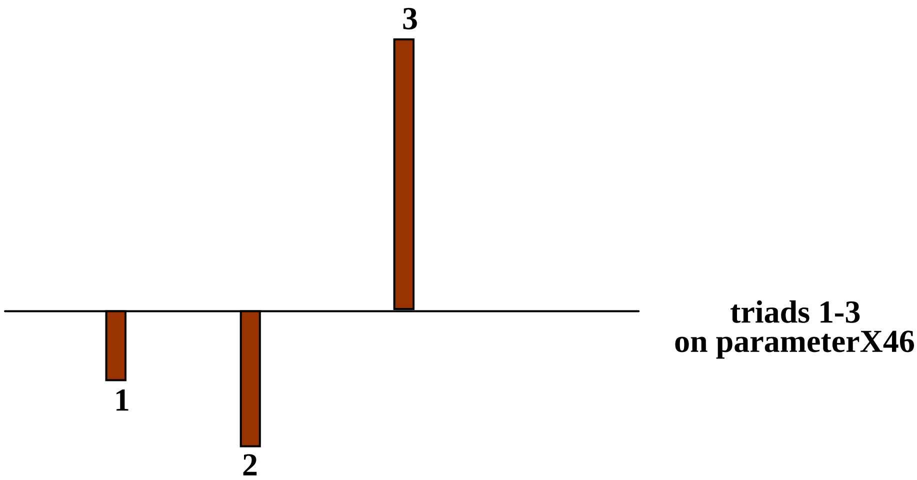

Figure 4. Qualitative knowledge in their specialized area (Expectation)

2. Dependence of the parameter "Useful contacts and links in the period of study (Importance)" (X30) from the parameter "Development of abilities and reception of professional skills (Expectation)" (X55) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X30 for triads on a scale X55:

Table 16

Dependence of the parameter "Useful contacts and links in the period of study (Importance)" (X30) from the parameter "Development of abilities and reception of professional skills (Expectation)"

Triads on the scale X55	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X30 for triads
X55-3	9858
X55-2	-2001
X55-1	-11567

Factor of the connection strength = 0.64 (0/50)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.31

3. Dependence of the parameter "A high level of general education (Expectation)" (X19) from the parameter "Development of abilities and reception of professional skills (Importance)" (X57) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X19 for triads on a scale X57:

Table 17

Dependence of the parameter “A high level of general education (Expectation)” (X19) from the parameter “Development of abilities and reception of professional skills (Importance)”

Triads on the scale X57	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X19 for triads
X57-3	9674
X57-2	-8610
X57-1	-3508

Factor of the connection strength = 0.70 (0.47)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.23

4. Dependence of the parameter “Useful contacts and links in the period of study (Importance)” (X30) from the parameter “Development of abilities and reception of professional skills (Importance)” (X57) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X30 for triads on a scale X57:

Table 18

Dependence of the parameter “Useful contacts and links in the period of study (Importance)” (X30) from the parameter “Development of abilities and reception of professional skills (Importance)”

Triads on the scale X57	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X30 for triads
X57-3	9719
X57-2	-8237
X57-1	-5768

Factor of the connection strength = 0.61 (0.45)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.27

5. Dependence of the parameter “Useful contacts and links in the period of study (Expectation)” (X28) from the parameter “Creative character of work (Importance)” (X60) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X28 for triads on a scale X60:

Table 19

Dependence of the parameter “Useful contacts and links in the period of study (Expectation)” (X28) from the parameter “Creative character of work (Importance)”

Triads on the scale X60	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X28 for triads
X60-3	6894
X60-2	-7237
X60-1	2405

Factor of the connection strength = 0.71 (0.15)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.04

6. Dependence of the parameter “Useful contacts and links in the period of study (Importance)” (X30) from the parameter “Creative character of work (Importance)” (X60) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X30 for triads on a scale X60:

Table 20

Dependence of the parameter “Useful contacts and links in the period of study (Importance)” (X30) from the parameter “Creative character of work (Importance)”

Triads on the scale X60	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X30 for triads
X60-3	9700
X60-2	-7879
X60-1	932

Factor of the connection strength = 0.79 (0.16)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.13

As we can see we have basically (for one exception of monotonous dependence) dependence to a minimum, characteristic feature of which is overcoming of the tendency initial release of the dependent variable in the first stage (a negative correlation) and a sharp rise of the dependent variable after the first stage of joint order of the dependent and independent variable.

Thus the dependent variable takes the minimum values in the case of the average values of the independent variable. This can be characterized as an effect of the discharge and the sharp change (bifurcation) current at first a simple and easily interpreted dependence, when the linear approximation may lead to a simplified and a wrong understanding of the investigated phenomenon.

In conclusion, we note that our statistical approach can be one of the methods in the implementation of synergistic approaches to the objectives, based on the study of the social environment, which for the most part, are non-linear and often ignored on methodological or technical problems.

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Non-linearity and synergism in sociology of profession[2]

Abstract. We offer a new approach to the concept of statistical relation (non-linear and linear) in sociological research by means of usage the generalized version of a method of multiple comparison for quantile splittings of the data (objects) on each measured parameter. We shall stop for a substantiation of necessity of investigating of the elementary non-linear dependences with a demonstration of their quantity by the example of a sociological research.

Key words: linear, non-linear, dependence, synergetic, professions.

Synergetic style of thinking - a style of the thinking in the postnonclassic sciences. It represents the modern stage of the development of the system and cybernetic thinking, many elements which are subjected to essential alteration. "Non-linearities" - a fundamental conceptual node of the new paradigm.

In sociological research a correlation analysis is widely used. And, therefore presence or absence of dependence basically is understood as a presence or absence first of all linear dependence as the most simple and evident. And when the variables are dichotomic the linear dependence becomes the only variant in general. Thus very frequently many interesting dependences (for interval variables), being non-linear, are missed since for them the coefficients

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of correlation are small on an absolute value and fit to a hypothesis about equalling to zero point of a coefficient of correlation.

Attempts to advance hypotheses (with the purpose of further check) about a particular kind of non-linear dependence result in the solution of separate particular problems (for two variables). Thus there is a problem of the form of the received functional dependence should be to interpret, to determine the qualitative contents, since in any case n of points it is possible to connect by a curve, presenting a polynomial to N-th power, and formally to have a functional dependence for any case (any interval data).

We offer the new approach to concept of statistical dependence (non-linear and linear) in sociological research (when variables are not dichotomic, but interval) by means of usage the generalized (or alternative version from three) version of a method of multiple comparison for quantile splittings of the data (objects) on each measured parameter [Basimov M.M., 2008], rejecting from preliminary formulating a hypothesis about a form of dependence (linear or any particular kind of non-linear dependence), i.e. for a studied matrix of the data are determined as forms of dependences and degree of their expressiveness on different sections of scales of considered variables.

In our example, the analysis of non-linear (and linear as a particular case) dependencies in the framework of concrete sociological research on each of the investigated interval parameter has been defined two quantile, dividing the totality of data on the triad. The result is a decomposition of aggregate data on the 225 (225=75*3, at 75 interval parameters) intercrossing groups.

For comparison of the given groups was used the generalized variant of the method of the multiple comparison for all ranked pairs "the chosen triad on parameter X - a parameter Y". As the result there was received the general distribution of such pairs with the determined "comparative weightiness" for them. If a quantity of the investigated parameter is N, so the selected quantum (the triads) on all parameter will 3*N, but ranked pairs of the "chosen quantum (the triad) on parameter X - a parameter Y" - 3*N*N. For convenience of using the information it is necessary to structure it.

To select three comparative weightiness, characterizing the dependency of the parameter Y from parameter X, from the general distribution 3*N*N ranked pairs "the chosen quantum (the triad) on parameter X - a parameter Y" in the beginning choose 3*N pairs referring to one parameter (so we get a distribution of importance of the parameter Y for all 3*N groups-quantum, determined for all considered parameter), but afterwards choose 3 groups-quantums on the parameter X. Thereby, we have chosen three comparative weightiness, displaying a comparative value of the parameter Y for three quantums (the triads) determined for parameter

X. These three comparative weightiness is possible to consider as a model for dependencies of the parameter Y from parameter X.

For making a possibility to compare the results of estimation of relationships through the multiple comparisons with the result of the using of traditional correlation analysis we shall enter the factor of the connection strenght. The factor of the connection strenght of i- and j-parameter (the dependency of i-parameter from j-parameter), considered at the realization of the procedure of the multiple comparison of quantum (triads), we shall define the following expression:

$$\mathbf{SV_{ij} = \left| V_{ij}^{3} - V_{ij}^{2} \right| + \left| V_{ij}^{2} - V_{ij}^{1} \right|},$$

where V_{ij}^{g} – the comparative weightiness of i-parameter for g-quantums of j- parameter.

The value SV_{ij} for single correlation is defined both as quantity parameter, and amount of the quantums (the triads, quarts, quints) of the partition data set. Thereby it appears a necessity to norm factors SV_{ij} in such way for the maximum for monotonous dependencies factor of the connection strenght, corresponding to a single correlation, was is 1. Then all considered above dependencies are possible to characterize the incorporated factor of the connection strenght SV_{ij} and interpret the strength of dependence on its value.

Study of "Young specialist on the labor market" (I.B. Britvina and etc.), the data of which we use in the study of the non-linear nature of sociological information, was carried out in 2007 by the grant of Administration (Government) of Kurgan area.

It was necessary empirically examine three sides of the process of employment, entering into interaction at the moment when the young specialists appears at the labour market, as its agent and as a carrier of those professional qualities, which he had received during the training in a particular primary, secondary or higher professional educational institution. This is the young specialist him/herself, professional school, where he/she studied and received a specific set of knowledge and skills, as well as a particular employer, materialized as the representative of "labour market". The direct agent of the market is the employer, as the representative of "customer ", which directly estimates the level of preparedness specialist and makes a decision about his/her employment or deny this.

During the research there were questioned 494 young specialists, working in the city of Kurgan. The main criteria of differentiation of the sample population were educational institution where a specialist studied, as well as specialty, which he had received. Among the respondents - 348 female (70% of the sample population) and 147 male (30%) persons. There were interviewed young specialists, who graduated from the secondary special and higher educational institutions, and working at the moment in Kurgan.

In our example from the questionnaire of the young specialist were chosen 75 estimations with interval scale, characterizing on answers: the role of the educational institution in training the specialist, features gained by the graduate at the period of the education, characteristics of the educational institution and professions, characteristics of the enterprise (the job place) and their role in labor activity, characteristics of the job position and their role in labor activity. There were estimated expectations before entering the University and before getting a job, real results and personal importance of the feature.

We note the motivation of need of the study of the simplest non-linear dependencies that demonstrate their quantity under structured consideration data. If we choose the dependencies with the coefficient of correlations more 0.5 (our factor of the connection strenght also more 0.5), that such dependencies exists 123. While non-linear dependencies with the factor of the connection strenght more 0.5 and insignificant coefficient of correlations (at least once modulo in two factor of the connection strenght less) have 385. Thereby, the simplest (the dependencies with maximum and minimum, monotonous, but not linear) of the non-linear dependencies turned out to be in three times stronger than linear.

But particularly significant that linear dependencies exist practically only within the framework of separate question block (104 dependencies from 123), where dependencies are forecasted already contents of the questions itself. Crossing dependencies for the parameter from different question block far less (19 from 123). But with coefficients of correlations more 0.6 there were no such dependencies.

Signifies, it is possible to speak of possibility of the synergetic paradigms in sociological science, directed on the investigation of non-linear effect. The description of the complex as shows K.Mainzer - the President of the German society of research of complex systems and non-linear dynamics, is impossible without a representation about non-linearity and modern non-linear models. In conditions of the modern world the linear thinking till now dominating over some areas of a science, becomes essentially insufficient and even dangerous in a non-linear complex reality [Mainzer, 1994, p. 13.].

We shall consider for example specifics non-linear relationships between two groups parameter: "Characteristics of the enterprise" - characteristics of the enterprise (the job place) and their role in labor activity, characteristics of the job position and their role in labor activity. We shall show the strongest dependencies of a parameter "Characteristics of the enterprise" from parameter "The job position". Us will interest in the events, when considered factor of the connection strenght SV>0.6, but linear correlations in 2 and more times less (close to zero). The events, when SV>0.6 and simultaneously SV>2*$|R|$ turned out to be 3.

	N1	N2	SV	SV’	R	Triad N1	Parameter N2
1)	**62**	**54**	**0.75**	**0.33**	**0.21**	**X62**	**X54**
2)	**62**	**57**	**0.63**	**0.14**	**0.14**	**X62**	**X57**
3)	**74**	**49**	**0.61**	**0.49**	**0.29**	**X74**	**X49**

Let's show the identifications, which will be used in the offered tables: N1 - number of the parameter, for which is made splitting on triads; N2 - number of the parameter, which values are determined for the distinguished triad of the parameter with number N1; SV - factor of the connection strength determining the dependence of the parameter of the number N2 from the parameter for the number N1; SV' - factor of the connection strength determining reverse (in relation to SV) dependence of the parameter with number N1 from the parameter with number N2; R - the coefficient of linear correlation between parameters with numbers N1 and N2.

Linear dependences at the such strict limit (>0.6) simply was not there. At easing restrictions (>0.5), imposed on the factor of the connection strength and correlation coefficients, selected one linear dependence, and 7 non-linear.

We shall present three dependencies in the manner of distribution on level of the groups-triads (independent variable) with specified for each level of comparative weightiness of dependent variable.

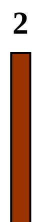
1. Dependence of the parameter “Satisfaction with a favourite business (Importance)” (X54) from the parameter “Worthy wage level (Perception)” (X62) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X54 for triads on a scale X62:

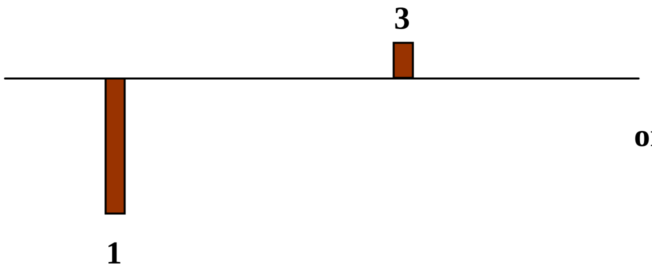
Triads on the scale X62	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X54 for triads
X62-3	**834**
X62-2	**9426**
X62-1	**-7114**

Factor of the connection strength = 0.75 (0.33)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.21

The Perception (worthy level of salary) on miscellaneous influences upon estimation of importance of the emotional satisfaction of job for small and greater importance of the studied spectrum. If sharp ascent exists on the first stage of importance of the emotional satisfaction of job on comparative weightiness from (-7114) till (9426). That is a further growing of the perception worthy level salaries vastly reduces importance of the emotional satisfaction of job (comparative weightiness of the triads is 834). Graphically dependence looks like:

Satisfaction with a favourite business (Importance)





2. Dependence of the parameter “Development of abilities and reception of professional skills (Importance)” (X57) from the parameter “Worthy wage level (Perception)” (X62) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X57 for triads on a scale X62:

Triads on the scale X62	**Comparative weightiness of the parameter X57 for triads**
X62-3	**367**
X62-2	**8022**
X62-1	**-5446**

Factor of the connection strength = 0.63 (0.14)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.14

The first dependency is the analog of the parameter dependency of importance of the development of the abilities and receptions of the professional skills from parameter Perception (worthy level of the salary): initial growing is replaced sharp decrease.

Thereby, importance of the emotional satisfaction of job and importance of the development of the abilities and receptions of professional skills depends equally on perception (is received in reality) worthy level of salary. In presented events are received dependencies with maximum, which is typical particularity is a sharp decline depended variable after the first stage of the joint increase depended and independent variable. Maximum importance dependent variable takes under average importance of independent variable. This possible characterizes as the effect of the saturation and cutting the change (the bifurcations) forming at first the idle time and easy interpreted to dependencies, when linear approximations can bring about simplified and wrong understanding the under study phenomena. But linear correlation will simply point to weaken relations between parameters.

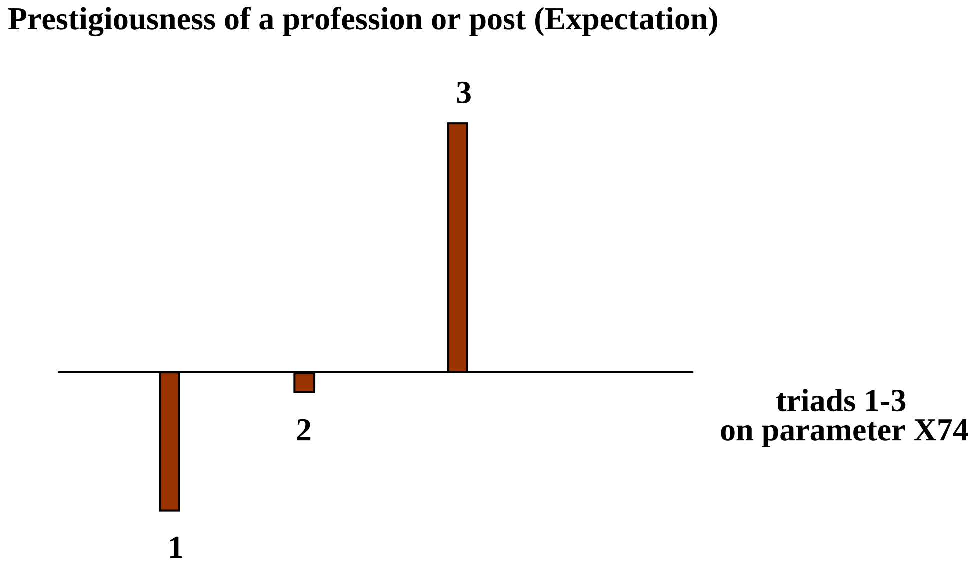
3. Dependence of the parameter “Prestigiousness of a profession or post (Expectation)” (X49) from the parameter “Work on a speciality (Perception)” (X74) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X49 for triads on a scale X74:

Triads on the scale X74	**Comparative weightiness of the parameter X49 for triads**
X74-3	**12143**
X74-2	**-222**

X74-1 -8362

Factor of the connection strength = 0.61 (0.49)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.29

Graphically dependence looks like:



Dependence increasing, but not quite symmetrical, as evidenced by correlation coefficient (0.29) that is small in an absolute value. This is the case, when there is no extremum (maximum or minimum), but the relationship is non-linear - growing (monotone) dependence, which cannot be let out of the attention, but which is lost when we use the correlative analysis.

Later on, we consider two more (out of 25) specific example in the form of a subset of the non-linear dependencies between the five groups of parameters.

The non-linearity between parameter groups "the Role of educational institutions" and "Characteristics of post"

Let’s consider the non-linear relations between the two groups of parameters: "the Role of educational institutions" - what role in the preparation of the future specialist played characteristics of the educational institution and “the Characteristics of his/her post" - what role in employment played characteristics of a post. We show the dependence of the parameters of "the Post" on the parameters of "the Role of educational institutions". We are interested in cases, when the factor of the connection strenght of SV>0.6, a linear correlation module in 2 and more times less (close to zero). Cases, when the SV>0.6 and at the same time SV>2*|R| was 8.

	N1	N2	SV	SV'	R	Triad N1	Parameter N2
1)	4	62	0.61	0.19	0.05	X04	X62
2)	6	62	0.63	0.14	-0.00	X06	X62
3)	8	71	0.62	0.45	0.21	X08	X71
4)	9	68	0.67	0.42	-0.06	X09	X68
5)	9	71	0.69	0.17	0.06	X09	X71
6)	14	65	0.68	0.47	0.30	X14	X65
7)	14	71	0.67	0.36	0.21	X14	X71
8)	14	74	0.66	0.33	0.13	X14	X74

Linear dependences at such strict limit (>0.6) simply was not there. At easing restrictions (>0.5), imposed on the factor of the connection strength and correlation coefficients, linear dependences also weren't found, and among non-linear ones were selected significantly more – 18 dependences.

Let's show eight dependencies of the table (all - dependence with maximum) in the form of distributions on the levels of groups-triad (the independent variable) with specified for each level of comparative weightiness of the dependent variable.

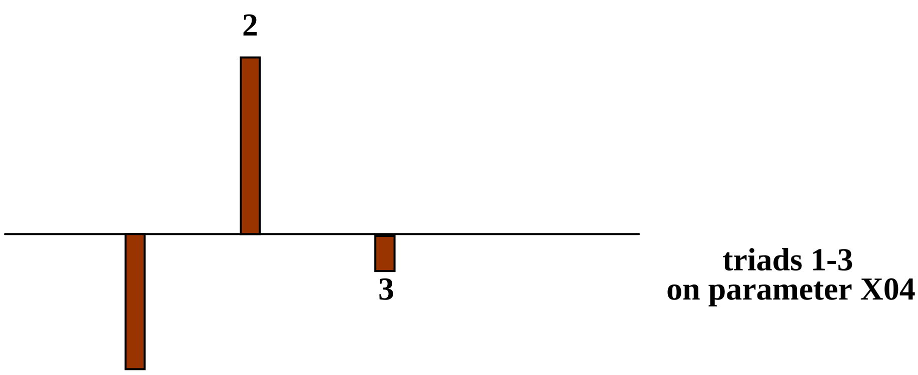
1. Dependence of the parameter "Worthy wage level (Perception)" (X62) from the parameter "The quality of practical training (Expectation)" (X04) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X62 for triads on a scale X04:

Triads on the scale X04	**Comparative weightiness of the parameter X62 for triads**
X04-3	**-1043**
X04-2	**6739**
X04-1	**-5804**

Factor of the connection strength = 0.61 (0.19)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.05

Graphically dependence looks like:

Worthy wage level (Perception)



1

2. Dependence of the parameter “Worthy wage level (Perception)” (X62) from the parameter “The quality of practical training (Importance)” (X06) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X62 for triads on a scale X06:

Triads on the scale X06	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X62 for triads
X06-3	**-2341**
X06-2	**8026**
X06-1	**-2744**

Factor of the connection strength = 0.63 (0.14)
Coefficient of correlation = -0.00

3. Dependence of the parameter “Free time presence (Perception)” (X71) from the parameter “The quality of practices and their significance (Perception)” (X08) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X71 for triads on a scale X08:

Triads on the scale X08	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X71 for triads
X08-3	**2120**
X08-2	**7885**
X08-1	**-7200**

Factor of the connection strength = 0.62 (0.45)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.21

4. Dependence of the parameter “Possibility of professional (career) growth (Perception)” (X68) from the parameter “The quality of practices and their significance (Importance)” (X09) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X68 for triads on a scale X09:

Triads on the scale X09	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X68 for triads
X09-3	**-3373**
X09-2	**9518**
X09-1	**97**

Factor of the connection strength = 0.67 (0.42)
Coefficient of correlation = -0.06

5. Dependence of the parameter “Free time presence (Perception)” (X71) from the parameter “The quality of practices and their significance (Importance)” (X09) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X71 for triads on a scale X09:

Triads on the scale X09	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X71 for triads
X09-3	**-1003**
X09-2	**8175**
X09-1	**-5935**

Factor of the connection strength = 0.69 (0.17)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.06

6. Dependence of the parameter “Good working conditions (Perception)” (X65) from the parameter “Hardware and software of educational laboratory and computer base (Perception)” (X14) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X65 for triads on a scale X14:

Triads on the scale X14	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X65 for triads
X14-3	4241
X14-2	9562
X14-1	-7804

Factor of the connection strength = 0.68 (0.47)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.30

7. Dependence of the parameter “Free time presence (Perception)” (X71) from the parameter “Hardware and software of educational laboratory and computer base (Perception)” (X14) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X71 for triads on a scale X14:

Triads on the scale X14	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X71 for triads
X14-3	1324
X14-2	8938
X14-1	-6008

Factor of the connection strength = 0.67 (0.36)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.21

8. Dependence of the parameter “Work on a speciality (Perception)” (X74) from the parameter “Hardware and software of educational laboratory and computer base (Perception)” (X14) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X74 for triads on a scale X14:

Triads on the scale X14	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X74 for triads
X14-3	-365
X14-2	8772
X14-1	-4271

Factor of the connection strength = 0.66 (0.33)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.13

As you can see we have in all the cases, subject to a maximum of (more or less symmetrical), characteristic feature of which is the sharp decline in the dependent variable after the first stage of the joint increase in the dependent and independent variables.

Thus, the maximum values of the dependent variable takes with the average values of the independent variable. This can be interpreted as the effect of saturation and rapid change (bifurcation) current at first a simple and easily interpreted dependence, when the linear approximation may lead to a simplified and a wrong understanding of the investigated phenomenon.

The non-linearity between the groups of parameters "Characteristics of the enterprise" and "Quality of graduate"

Let’s consider the non-linear relations between two groups of parameters: "Characteristics of the enterprise" - characteristics of the enterprise (place of work) and their role in the labour activity and “the Quality of the graduate" - quality purchased by a graduate during the training period. We show dependence of the parameters of "Quality graduate" from the parameters of the "Characteristics of the enterprise". We are interested in cases, when the factor of the connection strenght of SV>0.6, a linear correlation module in 2 and more times less (close to zero). Cases, when the SV>0.6 and at the same time SV>2*│R│ was 6.

	N1	N2	SV	SV’	R	Triad N1	Parameter N2
1)	46	22	0.70	0.61	0.32	X46	X22
2)	55	30	0.64	0.50	0.31	X55	X30
3)	57	19	0.70	0.47	0.23	X57	X19
4)	57	30	0.61	0.45	0.27	X57	X30
5)	60	28	0.71	0.15	0.04	X60	X28
6)	60	30	0.79	0.16	0.13	X60	X30

Linear dependences at such strict limit (>0.6) simply was not there. At easing restrictions (>0.5), imposed on the factor of the connection strength and correlation coefficients, we get 3 linear dependences, and 16 non-linear ones.

Let’s consider six dependencies from the table (five dependencies with a minimum and a growing one) in the form of distributions on the levels of groups-triad (the independent variable) with specified for each level of comparative weightiness of the dependent variable.

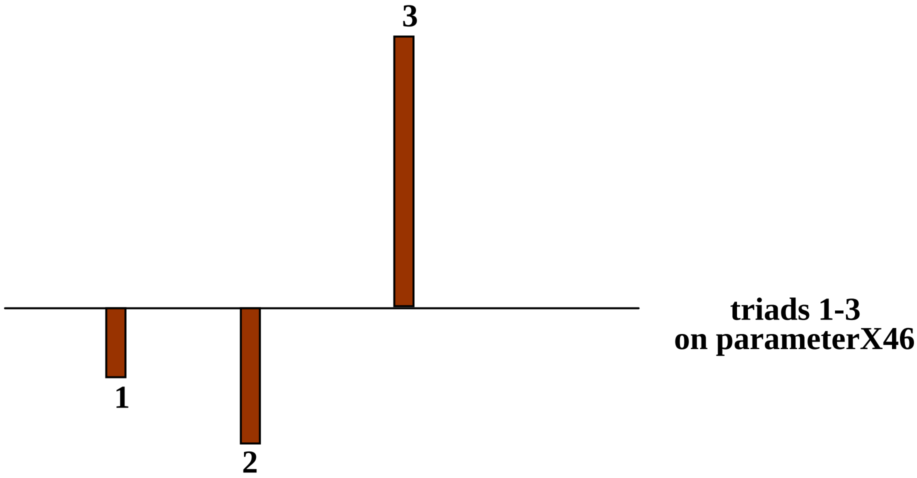
1. Dependence of the parameter “Qualitative knowledge in their specialized area (Expectation)” (X22) from the parameter “Prestigiousness of the enterprise (Expectation)” (X46) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X22 for triads on a scale X46:

Triads on the scale X46	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X22 for triads
X46-3	13712
X46-2	-7440
X46-1	-5125

Factor of the connection strength = 0.70 (0.61)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.32

Graphically dependence looks like:

Qualitative knowledge in their specialized area (Expectation)



2. Dependence of the parameter “Useful contacts and links in the period of study (Importance)” (X30) from the parameter “Development of abilities and reception of professional skills (Expectation)” (X55) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X30 for triads on a scale X55:

Triads on the scale X55	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X30 for triads
X55-3	9858
X55-2	-2001
X55-1	-11567

Factor of the connection strength = 0.64 (0/50)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.31

3. Dependence of the parameter “A high level of general education (Expectation)” (X19) from the parameter “Development of abilities and reception of professional skills (Importance)” (X57) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X19 for triads on a scale X57:

Triads on the scale X57	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X19 for triads
X57-3	9674
X57-2	-8610
X57-1	-3508

Factor of the connection strength = 0.70 (0.47)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.23

4. Dependence of the parameter “Useful contacts and links in the period of study (Importance)” (X30) from the parameter “Development of abilities and reception of professional skills (Importance)” (X57) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X30 for triads on a scale X57:

Triads on the scale X57	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X30 for triads
X57-3	9719
X57-2	-8237
X57-1	-5768

Factor of the connection strength = 0.61 (0.45)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.27

5. Dependence of the parameter “Useful contacts and links in the period of study (Expectation)” (X28) from the parameter “Creative character of work (Importance)” (X60) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X28 for triads on a scale X60:

Triads on the scale X60	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X28 for triads
X60-3	6894
X60-2	-7237
X60-1	2405

Factor of the connection strength = 0.71 (0.15)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.04

6. Dependence of the parameter “Useful contacts and links in the period of study (Importance)” (X30) from the parameter “Creative character of work (Importance)” (X60) as comparative weightiness of the parameter X30 for triads on a scale X60:

Triads on the scale X60	Comparative weightiness of the parameter X30 for triads
X60-3	9700
X60-2	-7879
X60-1	932

Factor of the connection strength = 0.79 (0.16)
Coefficient of correlation = 0.13

As we can see we have basically (for one exception of monotonous dependence) dependence to a minimum, characteristic feature of which is overcoming of the tendency initial release of the dependent variable in the first stage (a negative correlation) and a sharp rise of the dependent variable after the first stage of joint order of the dependent and independent variable.

Thus the dependent variable takes the minimum values in the case of the average values of the independent variable. This can be characterized as an effect of the discharge and the sharp change (bifurcation) current at first a simple and easily interpreted dependence, when the linear approximation may lead to a simplified and a wrong understanding of the investigated phenomenon.

In conclusion, we note that our statistical approach can be one of the methods in the implementation of synergistic approaches to the objectives, based on the study of the social environment, which for the most part, are non-linear and often ignored on methodological or technical problems.

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Basimov, Mikhail M., Kurgan

Analysis of statistical dependences in sociological research[1]

Abstract. On the basis of an authoring method of multiple comparison is designed the new approach of analysis of different form of statistical dependence in sociological research, thus the strength of connection and form of dependence are determined (the linear dependences are determined as a particular case).

Key words: linear, non-linear, dependence, synergetic.

Synergetic style of thinking is a style of thinking of a postnonclassical science. «Non-linearity» is a fundamental conceptual unit of a new paradigm.

Research of any social phenomena will be artificially extremely simplified and narrowed by external frameworks if the researcher investigating the multivariate social phenomenon will remain only within the framework of linear representations.

We offer the new approach to understanding of the concept of statistical relation in sociological research, that gives use of a method of multiple comparison for quantile splittings of the data set (objects) on each measured sociological parameter. Thus, it is necessary to refuse meaningly preliminary promotion of a hypothesis about the form of the dependence (linear or any other concrete non-linear dependence). The non-linear sociology is a new approach to studying of the social phenomena.

In sociological researches the correlation analysis is widely used. Here are developed measures of relations of various types of variables: scales of names, dichotomic scales, serial scales and scales of intervals and etc. Researchers basically understand a correlation as the presence of a linear relation between parameters – the simplest and the most evident. In the other way they say about the absence of correlation. Thus very much frequently (and it will be shown below) many interesting dependences which being non-linear, are missed since the coefficients of correlation have small values on the absolute size. Results of such linear correlation analysis further are transferred and to other statistical methods (for example, correlation dependence are used in factor and regression analysis), creating limited theoretical and prognostic models.

Attempts of researchers to put forward statistical hypotheses about presence of a concrete kind of non-linear dependence for the separate ordered pairs of variables results in the decision of particular problems which results appear incoherent with each other and with the results of

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linear correlation researches, and, it means that it cannot be reduced in united system. Besides if there are a lot of variables, these procedures demand much time for realization.

Also there is a question of the form that should be a received functional dependence that it would be possible to explicate and interpret the sociological contents from its initial parameters. As in any case **n** points possible to connect with a curve representing a multinomial **n** of a degree that allows to have formally functional dependence for any case of the analysis of experimental data.

Let's note also, that for the great number of sociological data (in view of the greater expressiveness of accident in their character in comparison, for example, with biological parameters), at calculations of relations between the measured parameters it is desirable to give less attention to separate measurements (objects) which at their projection to planes give only two points that should expand opportunities for interpretation of a data set.

We offer the new approach to understanding of the concept of statistical relation in sociological research, that gives use of a method of multiple comparison [Basimov M.M., 2005] for quantile splittings of the data set (objects) on each measured sociological parameter. Thus, it is necessary to refuse meaningly preliminary promotion of a hypothesis about the form of the dependence (linear or any other concrete non-linear dependence). That is, the method allows to determine for an investigated matrix of the data both the form of dependences, and a degree of their expressiveness on various pieces of test scales in the unified system of measurement of achievable norm of coefficients of the connection strength resulting the analogues of individual correlation (a self-dependence of the parameter) accept values close or equal an unit.

We shall consider the idealized mathematical problem, where each of parameters represents values of one of the considered elementary functions in an interval, symmetrical concerning zero point, with an even step of argument. We have applied the algorithm of multiple comparison [Basimov M.M., 2008] to 36 functions, which for convenient splittings on quarters are monotonic in a considered interval of argument, or even. For all monotonic functions the intervals of argument appropriate 4 quarters, are identical and represent four consecutive sections of equal length. For all even functions quarters will be derivated by pairs of sections sidetracked in opposite directions from zero point.

The method of multiple comparison (generalized version) for all ordered pairs «selected quarter on parameter X – parameter Y» was applied for the obtained groups. The result was the general distribution of such pairs with definite «comparative weightiness». If quantity of researched parameters is equal N, the allocated quarter on all parameters there will be 4*N, and ordered pairs «selected quarter on parameter X – parameter Y» – 4*N*N. For the convenient usage of the information it is necessary to structure it.

To single out four comparative weightinesses describing the dependence of parameter Y from parameter X, in the beginning we choose 4*N of a pair relating to one parameter from the general distribution 4*N*N of the ordered pairs «selected quarter on parameter X – parameter Y» (we receive distribution of option values Y for all 4*N of groups-quarters, definite for all considered parameters) and then we select 4 groups–quarters on parameter X. Thus, we have selected four comparative weightinesses demonstrating a comparative significance of parameter Y for four quarters definite for parameters X. These four comparative weightinesses can be esteemed as a model of dependence of parameter Y from parameter X.

Let's show examples of some functional dependences.

Table 1

Linear dependence X from X

Quarters on the scale X	**Comparative weightiness of the scale X for quarters**
FUN-4	**4458**
FUN-3	**2082**
FUN-2	**-2082**
FUN-1	**-4458**

Coefficient of correlation = 1

For even function as argument (dependence **X** from $\mathbf{X^2}$):

Table 2

Dependence X from $\mathbf{X^2}$

Quarters on the scale $\mathbf{X^2}$	**Comparative weightiness of the scale X for quarters**
FUN-1	**0**
FUN-2	**0**
FUN-3	**0**
FUN-4	**0**

Coefficient of correlation = 0

In this case there is no dependence, and not just linear that is reflected also by coefficient of correlation.

As one would expect similar to the first variant (linear dependence **X** from **X**) the picture will be observed and for any other linear function. For example, linear dependence **5*X** from **X**:

Table 3

Dependence 5*X from X

Quarters on the scale X	**Comparative weightiness of the scale 5*X for quarters**
FUN-4	**4458**
FUN-3	**2082**
FUN-2	**-2082**
FUN-1	**-4458**

Coefficient of correlation = 1

Monotonous dependence X^3 from X also corresponds to the big linear correlation:

Table 4

Dependence X^3 from X

Quarters on the scale X	**Comparative weightiness of the scale X^3 for quarters**
FUN-4	**4332**
FUN-3	**288**
FUN-2	**-288**
FUN-1	**-4332**

Coefficient of correlation = 0.92

The similar picture is observed and for dependence X^5 from X (only now linear correlation a little bit less):

Table 5

Dependence X^5 from X

Quarters on the scale X	**Comparative weightiness of the scale X^5 for quarters**
FUN-4	**4146**
FUN-3	**90**
FUN-2	**-90**
FUN-1	**-4146**

Coefficient of correlation = 0.82

Table 6

Dependence EXP(X) **from** X**:**

Quarters on the scale X	**Comparative weightiness of the scale EXP(X) for quarters**
FUN-4	**3738**
FUN-3	**-2166**
FUN-1 FUN-2	**-2718**

Coefficient of correlation = 0.57

Table 7

Dependence EXP(X) **from** X^2**:**

Quarters on the scale X^2	**Comparative weightiness of the scale EXP(X) for quarters**
FUN-4	**2802**
FUN-3	**-582**
FUN-2	**-2166**
FUN-1	**-2586**

Coefficient of correlation = 0.57

In the conclusion of a lineup of examples we will consider even functions for which coefficients of linear correlation are equal to zero, but during to time not only it is impossible to tell, that relation between variables is absent, and it is necessary to notice, that it very strong.

Table 8

Dependence X^2 **from** X**:**

Quarters on the scale X	**Comparative weightiness of the scale X^2 for quarters**
FUN-4	**3720**
FUN-3	**-3798**
FUN-2	**-3798**
FUN-1	**3720**

Coefficient of correlation = 0

Table 9

Similar, but less strong dependence X^4 **from** X**:**

Quarters on the scale X	**Comparative weightiness of the scale X^4 for quarters**
FUN-4	**2526**
FUN-3	**-3606**
FUN-2	**-3606**
FUN-1	**2526**

Coefficient of correlation = 0

For a capability of comparing the results of connections estimation through the multiple comparison with a traditional correlation analysis we shall introduce a number of values.

The coefficient of the strength of connections between **i-** and **j-** parameters considered at the implementation of a procedure of multiple comparison of the quarters, we shall define by the following expression:

$$\mathbf{SV_{ij}} = |\mathbf{V_{ij}^4} - \mathbf{V_{ij}^3}| + |\mathbf{V_{ij}^3} - \mathbf{V_{ij}^2}| + |\mathbf{V_{ij}^2} - \mathbf{V_{ij}^1}|.$$

Where $\mathbf{V_{ij}^g}$ – the comparative weightiness of **i**-parameter for **g**-quarter of **j**-parameter.

The value $\mathbf{SV_{ij}}$ for a single correlation in a considered case (36 functions of a model problem) is equal 8916 (this number is determined both quantity of parameters, and quantity of quantiles of splitting of a data set). Let's remark, that for all monotonic dependences this value is less, than for strict linear dependences. Thus, there is a necessity to normalize factors $\mathbf{SV_{ij}}$ in the way that the maximum factor of the connection strengths (appropriate to a single correlation) will be equal 1.

Table 10

Then all considered above dependence it is possible to characterise entered factor of the connection strength SV_{ij} **(nearby for comparison coefficient of linear correlation** R **are resulted):**

Linear dependence **X** from **X**	**SV=1**	**R=1**
Dependence X from $\mathbf{X^2}$	SV=0	R <0.001
Linear dependence **5*X** from **X**	SV=1	R=1
Monotonous dependence $\mathbf{X^3}$ from **X**	SV=0.97	R=0.92
Dependence $\mathbf{X^5}$ from **X**	SV =0.93	**R=0.82**
Dependence **EXP(X)** from **X**	SV=0.72	R=0.57
Dependence **EXP(X)** from $\mathbf{X^2}$	SV=0.60	R=0.57
Dependence $\mathbf{X^2}$ from **X**	SV=1.69	R=0
Dependence $\mathbf{X^4}$ from **X**	SV=1.38	R=0

Let's return to dependence $\mathbf{X^2}$ from **X** with the greatest factor of the connection strength and we will present visually distinguished dependence with zero correlation in the form of the diagram (graphically) where each column corresponds to one of quarters, and it is the value of comparative weightiness

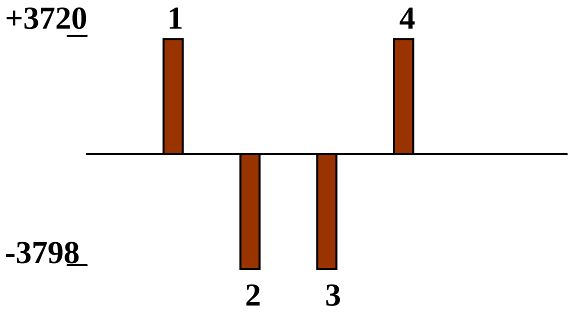

Figure 1. Comparative weightiness of the scale X^2 for quarters on the scale X

The non-linear sociology is a new approach to studying of the social phenomena, putting the main task studying of specifically non-linear properties in sociological researches.

Non-linear properties of the social phenomena basically dominate in a complicated social reality. And for easier guidance in a considerable quantity of the strong non-linear dependences allocated at the first stage their **automatic classification** is necessary.

We offer a software-based method of classification of dependences. For classification types of dependences are defined: 10 for triads and 28 for quarters. The basic types of dependences: dependence with a maximum and a minimum, increasing and decreasing, but it is far not linear, fluctuations max-min and min-max. In each basic type it contains the various quantity (from 2 to 9) types of dependences (less for triads, more for quarters) which are defined by symmetry, the general increasing or decreasing tendency, shift to the left or to the right, uniformity of change.

Criteria for such automatic classification are defined. Dependences which can't be put into one of 28 (10) types, are given in the end of the separate list. We will show lists of types of dependences for triads and for quarters.

Types of dependences for triads:

1. Dependences with a symmetric maximum.
2. Dependences with a maximum, cut off at the left (the general decrease).
3. Dependences with a maximum, cut off on the right (the general increase).
4. Dependences with a symmetric minimum.
5. Dependences with a minimum, cut off at the left (the general increase).
6. Dependences with a minimum, cut off on the right (the general decrease).
7. Monotonous increasing dependences (in regular intervals).
8. Monotonous increasing dependences (non-uniformly).
9. Monotonous decreasing dependences (in regular intervals).
10. Monotonous decreasing dependences (non-uniformly).

Types of dependences for quarters

I. Dependences with a maximum:

1. Dependences with a symmetric maximum.

2. Dependences with a maximum, cut off on the right (the general increase).

3. Dependences with a maximum, cut off at the left (the general decrease).

4. Dependences with a symmetric maximum (shift to the right).

5. Dependences with a maximum, cut off on the right (the general increase, shift to the right).

6. Dependences with a maximum, cut off at the left (the general decrease, shift to the right).

7. Dependences with a symmetric maximum (shift to the left).

8. Dependences with a maximum, cut off at the left (the general decrease, shift to the left).

9. Dependences with a maximum, cut off on the right (the general increase, shift to the left).

II. Dependences with a minimum:

10. Dependences with a symmetric minimum.

11. Dependences with a minimum, cut off at the left (the general increase).

12. Dependences with a minimum, cut off on the right (the general decrease).

13. Dependences with a symmetric minimum (shift to the right).

14. Dependences with a minimum, cut off at the left (the general increase, shift to the right).

15. Dependences with a minimum, cut off on the right (the general decrease, shift to the right).

16. Dependences with a symmetric minimum (shift to the left).

17. Dependences with a minimum, cut off at the left (the general increase, shift to the left).

18. Dependences with a minimum, cut off on the right (the general decrease, shift to the left).

III. Monotonous dependences:

19. Monotonous increasing dependences (in regular intervals).

20. Monotonous increasing dependences (non-uniformly).

21. Monotonous decreasing dependences (in regular intervals).

22. Monotonous decreasing dependences (non-uniformly).

IV. Dependences-fluctuations:

23. Dependences-fluctuations max-min (1 type: V2> V3) the symmetric.

24. Dependences-fluctuations max-min (1 type: V2> V3) the general increase.
25. Dependences-fluctuations max-min (1 type: V2> V3) the general decrease.
26. Dependences-fluctuations min-max (2 type: V2 <V3) the symmetric.
27. Dependences-fluctuations min-max (2 type: V2 <V3) the general increase.
28. Dependences-fluctuations min-max (2 type: V2 <V3) the general decrease.

Further we will show classification of types of statistical relation within the limits of concrete sociological research «Demographic and migratory attitudes of region inhabitants».

In any sociological research it is desirable to trace simultaneously in unified system of measures of links of dependence between all pairs of studied parameters, and, it should be both linear, and the elementary non-linear relations (considerably enriching a linear triviality of the deterministic approach).

And when there is a lot of strong relations for their analysis becomes useful their automatic classification, allowing to define prevailing forms of statistical relation which sometimes becomes very important characteristics of this or that group of the respondents, often characterizing national and social features of studied groups more substantially, than parameters and results of their comparative analysis within the limits of these groups.

The examples of non-linear social systems in 3 researches (I.B. Britvina and etc.) are considered.

In the **first** research **«Young specialist at the labor market»**, which data sets are used for demonstration of non-linear nature of sociological information, it was necessary to investigate three sides of the job placement, coming into action at the moment of appearance of a young specialist at the labor market. They are a young specialist him/herself, educational or professional institution where a specialist was given professional skills and a particular employer as the materialized representative of a labor market.

In our example from the questionnaire of the young specialist were chosen 75 estimations with interval scale, characterizing on answers: the role of the educational institution in training the specialist, features gained by the graduate at the period of the education, characteristics of the educational institution and professions, characteristics of the enterprise (the job place) and their role in labor activity, characteristics of the job position and their role in labor activity. There were estimated expectations before entering the University and before getting a job, real results and personal importance of the feature.

If we choose dependences with the coefficient of correlation more than 0.5 (our factor of the connection strenght also more than 0.5) such dependences are observed 123. While non-linear dependences with factor of the connection strenght more than 0.5 and small coefficient of correlation (at least on the module twice less than our factor of the connection strenght we have 385. Thus, the elementary (dependences with a maximum and a minimum, monotonous, but not linear) non-linear dependences appeared more than three times more, than linear.

So it is possible to speak about an opportunity of synergetic paradigm in sociological science directed on the investigation of non-linear effects.

In the **second** sociological research **«A Young family in Kurgan area»** the conceptual model of a young family is represented through the system of the descriptive parameters reflecting various aspects of its condition and performance of social functions inherent in it.

For the analysis of results of research in a context of non-linearity from the questionnaire for young spouses we had been received 19 interval scales.

For a substantiation of necessity of studying of the elementary non-linear dependences we shall stop on demonstration of their quantity. If we choose dependences with coefficient of correlation more than 0.5 (our factor of the connection strenght also more than 0.5) such dependences it is observed only 6. While non-linear dependences with factor of the connection strenght more than 0.5 and small coefficient of correlation (at least on the module twice there is less than factor of the connection strenght) we have 21. Thus, the simpliest (dependence with a maximum and a minimum, monotonous, but not linear) non-linear dependences appeared in three and a half of time more, than linear.

Linear dependences that is frequently expected, trivial under the maintenance and are easily predicted.

In the **third** sociological research **«Demographic and migratory attitudes of inhabitants of region»** were solved such problems: to investigate features of demographic attitudes of inhabitants of the Kurgan region in West Siberia; to analyze an orientation of migratory plans; to reveal the external and internal factors causing these attitudes; to investigate opinions of inhabitants of the region concerning success of introduction of measures of the national project of «Health» and the demographic policy in its structure etc.

462 inhabitants of the Kurgan region are interrogated. It was used the method of the stratified sample on a sex, age and type of district. For the analysis of results of research in a context of non-linearity from the questionnaire have been selected 44 interval (ordinal) parameters.

1. Splitting of an independent variable into triads.

Dependences with the coefficient of correlation more than 0.5 is observed only 8. But there were 37 non-linear dependences with factor of the connection strenght more than 0.5 and small coefficient of correlation.

Linear dependences are often trivial under the maintenance and are easily predicted, they more likely give the information on consistency of answers of the respondent, on his/her serious relation to filling the questionnaire form, rather than result for scientific comprehension.

Linear dependences not only are a small part of all strong dependences, but also frequently do not give the researcher the deep and substantial information, revealing basically trivial dependences. It also staticizes acceptance synergetic paradigms in sociological science directed on the research of non-linear effects.

Specificity of 37 non-linear dependences: with a minimum – 11, with a maximum – 14, monotonous, but far from linear, – 12 (11 increasing and 1 decreasing).

2. Splitting of an independent variable into quarters.

They are investigated 41 parameters (for three parameters from 44 splitting into quarters is impossible). Under the same conditions 133 dependences are selected.

Specificity of 133 non-linear dependences: with a minimum – 31, with a maximum – 28, monotonous, but far from linear, – 11 (9 increasing and 2 decreasing), fluctuations 29 (max-min – 17, min-max – 12).

There are 34 more dependences which classifications by criteria do not concern to the considered kinds of dependence.

As ideals of scientific knowledge simplicity, the linearity, full exception of uncertainty (accident) served in a classical science. The Same deterministic picture of the world – socalled the Laplace determinism – is realized from the point of view of our time as excessively simplified theoretical scheme. Though many stereotypes of classically focused reason – stereotypes of linear thinking have not been destroyed till now.

Above mentioned results also allow to speak about an opportunity for new synergetic paradigms in the sociological science directed on studying of non-linear effects of social systems. The non-linear sociology is a new approach to studying the social phenomena, putting the main task studying of specifically non-linear properties of the social phenomena.

In any sociological research it is desirable to trace simultaneously in united system of measures of dependence between all pairs of investigated parameters, and, it should be both linear, and the elementary non-linear relations (considerably enriching a linear triviality of the deterministic approach), that allows to make our method based on conscious ignoring of preliminary promotion of hypotheses about the form of dependence separately for each pair of variables that makes it quite universal and productive.

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Depending the responses in sociology of profession on the psychological type of respondent[1]

Abstract. The article deals with an example of interfacing sociological and psychological data set in the research of professional self-determination of students, represented a description of the respondent groups based on the responses to questions of sociological questionnaire with nominal responses for 14 types (interval data) of J.Oldham and L.Morris personality typology (comparison psychogram to 14 interval parameters).

Keywords: motive, personality type, career choices, multiple comparison, psychogram, nominal and interval parameters.

The positivistic sociology is focused on actions of people, sees objective reality "outside", inclines towards quantitative data (quantitative measurements of social behaviour). This maintains the detachment of scientists conducting the measurement.

The interpretive sociology is focused on the sense people give to behavior, prefers qualitative data (perception of the researchers concerning, how the people understand the environmental world). The researchers communicate with people, finding out what the meaning they fill their daily lives.

In the formulation of these approaches again we see the opposition of quantitative and qualitative methods. Although this is not necessary. In case of interpretive sociology we in essence understand as high-quality research "subject-subject" perceptions of respondents (objects) and researchers. And those and others in every particular case - this is a personal psychological portrait.

Two problems arise:

1. How respondents estimate the reality according to their psychological characteristics.

2. How researchers (subjectively) perceive the respondents understanding of the world, based on their psychological characteristics.

In such a manner, "quality grade" of method is a most likely its "subjectivity" which can be studied by quantitative methods for various typological "subject-subject" interactions realizing quantitatively the content of so-called "qualitative research", when the study is a part of a single "subject-subject" interaction, and the subjects did not specify, except one - the researcher, and another - the respondent.

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Let’s consider the first problem (we will not consider researchers as subjects), as a traditional scientific approach to the use of our statistical methods reveals the psychological characteristics of respondents groups answered one way or another on the question of sociological profiles with nominal issues.

In total, the task considered four questions with nominal responses of sociological questionnaires, which were used to build the groups being compared for psychological parameters of personality test (in the problem, the results of which we present, used other interval data - the results of the responses to the questionnaires and surveys).

In sociological studies among survey data are often present simultaneously two types of variables (responses to the two types of questions): nominal, which can be converted into dichotomous, and interval (ordinal) variables. Here, without the use of additional information, assign tasks of empirical research of local classifications when both are treated as external (criterion of classification) and the internal characteristics of the investigated classes, which provides more opportunities in the description of the survey results.

In contrast to the multi-dimensional classification methods (cluster analysis), when the division into classes is obtained from the algorithms that use the interval set of parameters, describing objects liable to classification, selected by a researcher, our method examines the great variety of differences between the classes generated from the responses to the questions (one or more) with nominal responses, based on an interval parameters set describing the same objects.

Remembering that the classes - is the result of the partition (grouping) of empirical objects into separate groups of similar objects for a criterion, given by a sociologist, you can define classes from the responses to one question with nominal responses as the result of an one-dimensional classification, and the classes simultaneously generated from the responses to several issues with the nominal responses as a result of a multi-dimensional classification. In this article, we will consider the multiple comparison procedure for such a classification.

The relation among the interval-valued variables and nominal variables does not make sense, but it is possible to compare the groups on the basis of a nominal multiple comparisons of these groups on interval parameters. Nominal responses allow a choice to refer the respondent to a particular group classification according to an answer. Classes on the responses to the question (with nominal responses) may differ on many other parameter intervals.

Subsequently nominal variables will be regarded as external factors caused research objects are divided into overlapping or non-overlapping groups, which may be subjected to multiple comparison procedure describing the set of all available (or meaningfully selected) interval parameters.

Local empirical classifications allow to consider internal (meaningfully selected by the questions of issues) the structure of a subset of empirical research data that show how heterogeneous is the set of responses to the questionnaire, where it is represented with interval variables, and how this heterogeneity highlighted and strengthened with external factors presented with nominal variables, giving it a certain typological structure.

To illustrate the proposed method, we used data obtained in research of the process of students professional self-determination. In the research at same time was used a sociological inquiry form and psychological tests. We elaborate on the description of groups of students answered one way or another, to the questions with nominal responses from sociological surveys as a part of the procedure of personality typology J.Oldham and L.Morris.

The object of the research was full-time 1-5 year students from Kurgan State University - for the general population of our research. In the research was used the method of cluster sampling - a kind of sampling, in which the objects are selected represents groups or cluster of smaller units. A cluster is called a unit of selection of the highest level, consisting of smaller units of lower stage. In our case - is an academic group. It is much easier to carry out the selection and examination of several compact groups than tens or hundreds of individual units.

Primary selection of clusters produced by random selection from all academic groups for full-time education of. The selection was made on the list of academic groups at Kurgan State University. In the selected academic groups was conducted a continuous survey (we interviewed those who attended lectures or seminars in the day of the interview). Thus, as a result, there were interviewed 300 students - representatives of 24 academic groups of all areas (departments and specialties of humanitarian, technical and natural science profiles). One of the goals of our research is to compare the degree of influence of various factors on the choice of specialty of different educational profiles. Accordingly, the proportions were observed and interviewed approximately equal number of respondents - representatives of all three of the above-mentioned educational profiles.

The method of cluster sampling can provide science-based sociological information in this research, because selected clusters (academic groups) are homogeneous in the main feature - all of them are representatives of Kurgan State University students, and their entrance to the university was influenced by certain factors (external and internal, explicit and latent).

The method of multiple comparisons (three variants) [Basimov, 2008, 2012], now is under consideration in the framework of sociological problems are a structural component of our statistical approach, developed for building typologies with external criteria.

Let’s show four questions with nominal responses from sociological questionnaires, which were used to build the groups being compared for psychological parameters of personality test (in the task, the results we present, used different interval data: the results of the responses to the questionnaires and surveys).

Question 2. You go up to university:

1. By competition for free education at a university (G02-01)
2. By means of a targeted referral (G02-02)
3. **Out of competition**
4. According to the interview for chargeable education (G02-04)
5. **Other**

Question 3. What were your main motives for entrance to the university? (You can select up to 4 variants):

1. Implementation of abilities, inclinations (G03-01)
2. A way to temporarily "escape" from military service (G03-02)
3. The wish to learn a profession (G03-03)
4. Easy or no competition for free education at a university (G03-04)
5. The prestige of studying at this institution (G03-05)
6. Increasing employment opportunities after training (G03-06)
7. There was a free education entrance to university (G03-07)
8. The uniqueness of the specialty which offers the institution (G03-08)
9. **A way to temporarily "rescue" of unemployment**
10. Opportunity to engage in intellectual work in future (G03-10)
11. The educational institution was close to home (G03-11)
12. **Continuation of a family tradition**
13. Low cost of education at this institution (G03-13)
14. **There were personal arrangement with the administration (teachers) of university**
15. No place to go up after graduating a school (G03-15)
16. Do not know (G03-16)
17. **Another reason**

Question 4. What were the motives of choice for your future profession? (You can select up to 4 variants):

1. Interest in future work (G04-01)
2. The prestige of the profession (G04-02)
3. It is easier to learn this profession because of free education (G04-03)
4. The demand in the future, the availability of professional work (G04-04)
5. Low cost of education (G04-05)

6. I wanted to have some specialization, what kind of - did not matter (G04-06)
7. This is a well-paid profession (G04-07)
8. Parents demand (G04-08)
9. Coincidence (G04-09)
10. The wish for self-actualization, to prove (G04-10)
11. It is a profession of my parents (G04-11)
12. Do not know (G04-12)
13. **Other**

Question 8. How did you know about the profession, you are studying now?

1. From promotional leaflets of Kurgan State University (G08-01)
2. From friends, relatives, acquaintances (G08-02)
3. Thanks to the work of career guidance at school (G08-03)
4. When applying for admission to selecting committee (G08-04)
5. **Other**

Four considered question contain 40 questions (40 possible ones to compare groups of respondents). There were selected 32 (out of 40) non-degenerate groups for the multiple comparison procedure. In the remaining 8 groups, the number of respondents is very low or even non-existent, they (the responses are in bold).

The psychological portrait of respondents was determined by the method of J.Oldham and L.Morris definition of "personality type" and "probabilistic disorders" of this type. In the proposed method are 14 categories of personality types. The test determines the "norm" and "accentuation" of a certain type of personality. Personal type - an unique blend of 14 types.

All fourteen styles are normal and universal, and although every person has strengths and weaknesses, there is nothing abnormal in the dominance of one type or another deficiency. "Personal Self" - an illustration of the richness and diversity of differences between all of us. The following are 14 types and corresponding disorders (in brackets):

Table 1

Types of personality (appropriated disorders)

Number	Types of personality (appropriated disorders)	Abbreviation
1	Type (A) Alert (Paranoid)	TL-A
2	Type (B) Hermit (Schizoid)	TL-B
3	Type (C) Idiosyncratic (Shizopatiya)	TL-C
4	Type (D) Adventurous (Asocial)	TL-D
5	Type (E) Active (Activity on the verge of collapse)	TL-E
6	Type (F) Dramatic (Unnatural acting)	TL-F
7	Type (G) Opinionated (Narcissism)	TL-G
8	Type (H) Sensitive (Dodge)	TL-H
9	Type (I) Devotee (Dependent)	TL-I
10	Type (J) Diligent (Obsessive-forced)	TL-J

11	Type (K) Idle (Passive-Aggressive)	TL-K
12	Type (L) Aggressive (Sadist)	TL-L
13	Type (M) Altruistic (Self-deprecation)	TL-M
14	Type (N) Serious (Depressed)	TL-N

Here are one example of the results of multiple comparisons - distribution groups on the results of the nominal response for the one parameter of personality typology.

Table 2

Type (K) Idle (Disorder: Passive-aggressive):

Level	Groups	Comparative weightiness
30) (421)	G04-12	1044
29) (419)	G03-16	983
28) (405)	G03-02	660
27) (352)	G04-03	205
26) (335)	G04-08	163
25) (295)	G03-07	98
24) (262)	G08-02	52
23) (249)	G03-04 G04-09	39
22) (243)	G08-04	33
21) (238)	G03-05	28
20) (235)	G03-13	25
19) (234)	G04-06	24
18) (224)	G04-04	14
17) (219)	G02-02	9
16) (218)	G03-10	8
15) (216)	G03-08 G04-07	6
14) (204)	G03-15	-6
13) (200)	G03-11	-10
12) (194)	G04-05	-16
11) (189)	G02-04	-21
10) (188)	G02-01	-22
9) (173)	G08-03	-37
8) (170)	G04-02	-41
7) (162)	G03-03	-49
6) (155)	G04-11	-56
5) (154)	G03-06	-57
4) (109)	G04-10	-116
3) (91)	G03-01	-153
2) (64)	G08-01	-211
1) (54)	G04-01	-244

Table 3

Grouped on the questions with nominal responses version of the same distribution

Level	Groups	Comparative weightiness
17) (219)	G02-02	9
11) (189)	G02-04	-21
10) (188)	G02-01	-22
29) (419)	G03-16	983
28) (405)	G03-02	660
25) (295)	G03-07	98
23) (249)	G03-04	39
21) (238)	G03-05	28

20) (235)	G03-13	25
16) (218)	G03-10	8
15) (216)	G03-08	6
14) (204)	G03-15	-6
13) (200)	G03-11	-10
7) (162)	G03-03	-49
5) (154)	G03-06	-57
3) (91)	G03-01	-153
30) (421)	G04-12	1044
27) (352)	G04-03	205
26) (335)	G04-08	163
23) (249)	G04-09	39
19) (234)	G04-06	24
18) (224)	G04-04	14
15) (216)	G04-07	6
12) (194)	G04-05	-16
8) (170)	G04-02	-41
6) (155)	G04-11	-56
4) (109)	G04-10	-116
1) (54)	G04-01	-244
24) (262)	G08-02	52
22) (243)	G08-04	33
9) (173)	G08-03	-37
2) (64)	G08-01	-211

Orthogonal representation of multiple comparison - this is the distribution of the levels of psychological parameters (in this case, the component of personality type) for each group, with a particular nominal response.

Consider the description of the groups at nominal responses (comparison psychogram within 14 types of personality typology), presuming a relatively strong noteworthy modulo >200 (for comparative weightiness).

Bases for university entrance (question 2)

Entered the University by means of competition for free education at a university (response 1) under the method "type of personality" are no different prevalence of a particular type in the study of typology. Comparative psychogram group (G02-01) illustrates this:

Table 4

Comparative psychogram group (G02-01)

Component of personality type	Comparative weightiness
TL-N	68
TL-B	46
TL-J	41
TL-E	37
TL-I	20
TL-G	5
TL-C	4
TL-A	3

TL-F	-4
TL-D	-11
TL-K	-22
TL-L	-24
TL-M	-30
TL-H	-33

Entered the University by means of a targeted referral (response 2) are characterized as a part of the method "type of personality" dominated types: (A) Alert (+415); (M) Altruistic (+397) and (H) Sensitive (+248).

Table 5

Comparative psychogram group (G02-02)

Component of personality type	Comparative weightiness
TL-A	415
TL-M	397
TL-H	248
TL-C	119
TL-B	73
TL-G	43
TL-E TL-L	34
TL-N	32
TL-K	9
TL-I	5
TL-D TL-F	-2
TL-J	-23

According to the interview for chargeable education (response 4) are dominated by types with a sign «-»: (N) Serious (-798); (E) Active (-603); (A) Alert (-490); (I) Devotee (-451); (C) Idiosyncratic (-334); (M) Altruistic (-229); (J) Diligent (-220). In other words, for extra places are trained serious, inactive, etc. non-alert student representatives.

Table 6

Comparative psychogram group (G02-04)

Component of personality type	Comparative weightiness
TL-K	-21
TL-G	-25
TL-L	-63
TL-F	-73
TL-D	-77
TL-H	-97
TL-B	-129
TL-J	-220
TL-M	-229
TL-C	-334
TL-I	-451
TL-A	-490
TL-E	-603
TL-N	-798

The main theme of the educational institutions (question 3)

The following motives admission to an educational institution in the framework of the method "type of personality" are no different prevalence of a particular type in the typology of the study: "The implementation of abilities, inclinations" (response 1), "The wish to learn a profession" (response 3), "Easy or no competition for free education at a university" (response 4), "Increasing employment opportunities after training" (response 6), "There was a free education entrance to university"(response 7), "Opportunity to engage in intellectual work in future" (response 10), "Low cost of education at this institution" (response 13).

Comparative psychogram these groups are rich manifestation of the studied parameters (comparative weightiness parameters are modulo <200) and they will not be given.

Other additions to the school determine the specific features of the respondents, which describe the methods in the "type of personality".

The motive of "A way to temporarily "escape" from military service" (response 2) the psychological level reveals first of all (K) type Idle (+660), in part (L) Aggressive type (+282).

The motive of " The prestige of studying at this institution" (response 5) psychologically identifies primarily (L) Aggressive type (+310) and to a lesser extent (D) The Adventurous type (+200).

The motive of "The uniqueness of the specialty which offers the institution" (response 8) reveals a psychological standpoint (F) Dramatic style (+312), but at the same time it is not “Idiosyncratic type” (-238).

The motive of "The educational institution was close to home" (response 11) psychologically identifies with the sign "-" in the first place (C) Idiosyncratic type (-569) and (E) The Active type (-565) and to a lesser degree (G) Opinionated (-244), and (M) Altruistic type (-214). Thus, it non-idiosyncratic, inactive, and non self-confident non-altruistic type.

The motive of "No place to go up after graduating a school" (response 15) psychologically identify with the sign «-» (J) Conscientious type (-477), i.e., the holders of the inherent dishonesty of motive.

Separately, you can mark those who found it difficult to answer this question (response 16), which in the framework of this typology of personality can be described as (K) type Idle (+983), and to a lesser extent, (I) Constant type (+220).

Motives for choosing a future profession (question 4)

The following motives admission to an educational institution in the framework of the method "type of personality" are no different prevalence of a particular type in the typology of the study: "The prestige of the profession" (response 2), "The demand in the future, the availability of professional work" (response 4); "I wanted to have some specialization, what kind of - did not matter" (response 6), "The wish for self-actualization, to prove" (response 10).

Comparative psychogram these groups are rich manifestation of the studied parameters (comparative weightiness parameters are modulo <200) and they will not be given.

Other choice of future profession determine the specific features of the respondents, which describe the methods in the "type of personality".

The motive of "The interest in future work" (response 1) psychologically identifies primarily (K) Idle type (-244), i.e., the owners of this motive to a small extent characterized by the absence of idleness.

Motive "It is easier to learn this profession because of free education" (response 3) psychologically identifies primarily (I) Constant type (+715), and to a lesser degree (K) type Idle (+205).

The motif of "Low cost of education" (response 5) psychologically identify with the sign «-» (G) Opinionated (-503), i.e., the owners of this ground are characterized by a lack of self-confidence.

Motive "This is a well-paid profession" (response 7) psychologically identifies with the sign «-» (I) Constant type (-256), i.e., the owners of this motive to a small extent characterized by a lack of loyalty.

The motive of "Parents demand" (response 8) psychologically identifies primarily (H) Sensitive Type (+880), to a lesser extent (A) Alert type (+590).

The motive of "Coincidence" (response 9) psychologically identify with the sign «-» (H) Sensitive type (-302) and (G) Opinionated (-206), i.e., the owners of this ground are characterized by a low degree of sensitivity and lack of self-confidence.

Tune of "It is a profession of my parents" (response 11) psychologically identifies with the sign" - "in the first place (F) Dramatic type (-1063); (J) Diligent type (-1042); (A) Alert type (-453); (N) Serious type (-287); (H) Sensitive type (-204). Hence, this motive is characterized in the extreme not dramatic and unscrupulous type, to a lesser extent non-alert, frivolous and insensitive type.

Also special mention of those who found it difficult to answer this question (response 12), which in the framework of this typology of personality can be described as (K) type Idle (+1044), and (N) Serious type (+785), to a lesser extent as (B) the type of Hermit (+580), and (C) Idiosyncratic type (+288).

Source of information about the specialty training (question 8)

The following representatives who reported sources of information about the specialty training "From friends, relatives, acquaintances," (response 2) and "When applying for admission to selecting committee" (response 4) under the method "type of personality" are no different prevalence of a particular type of personality in part of the study of typology.

Comparative psychogram these groups are rich manifestation of the studied parameters (comparative weightiness parameters are modulo <200) and they will not be given.

Other sources of information about the specialty of training determine the specific features of the respondents, which describe the methods in the "type of personality".

Source "From promotional leaflets of Kurgan State University" (response 1) in psychological terms reveals, though only slightly, with the sign «-» (G) Opinionated (-215) and (K) Idle type (-211), i.e., selection of this source of information characterizes the students who tend to a small degree of idleness and lack of self-confidence.

Source "Thanks to the work of career guidance in schools" (response 3) the psychological level reveals, albeit slightly, with the sign «-» (F) Dramatic type (-317), i.e., selection of this source of information characterizes the students who tend to a small extent without acting behavior.

Thus, most nominal questionnaire responses (18 of 32) are selected by members of some distinct personality types. Hence, psychological type determines (generates) a particular motive of student’s professional self-identification, regardless of specialty. And the responses from a sociological questionnaire become significant and understandable when they are additionally displayed psychologically. The percentage of certain responses (plain purpose of sociological research) is not just the result, as determined by the psychological personality types among the respondents, their accentuation of temperament and character.

Weber believed that the key to the interpretive sociology imprisoned in a German word Verstehen, which means "understanding" because the task of the followers is not only to observe people, but also to enter their understanding of the meaning of the world, to assess why they are doing so, and not otherwise.

And that understanding can be "measured" it is necessary to examine the psychological nature of the respondents and as a consequence - the probability of a response to the questions of sociological survey.

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Bataeva Z.V., Zobina E.K.

D. Hume's Philosophy and Studies of Trust

D. Hume discusses the subject of miracles in chapter 10 of "An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding". His work is very important for religious studies because he poses a question about probability of miracles as a basis of religion and religious belief. His contribution can be very useful for the sociological studies of trust since D. Hume views miracles as a trust-related phenomenon in his philosophy of knowledge. According to D. Hume, our judgment of facts is based only on experience. It is an exclusive base leading to the acceptance of facts as real or unreal. We admit the facts as real if they do not contradict our previous experience. On the other hand, the main source of information about facts comes from the testimonies of other people. We expand our knowledge of the world around us by taking in testimonies of others. At this point the question of trust emerges: we can admit the testimonies as true if we can trust the those who report them. Our trust is based on the next qualities: firmness of memory, common inclination to honesty, shame and fear of being caught in a lie. We know from our experience that these qualities are characteristic of human beings living in society. Thus D. Hume connects the knowledge, experience and trust.

D. Hume claimes that a miracle is always a violation of natural laws. Therefore a miracle contradicts our experience. On the other hand, we know about the miracle from the testimonies of others. There from the question comes: can we trust those who inform us about the fact which contradicts our experience? D. Hume considers two kinds of miracles. The first one does not have credibility since it is reported by simple people, without education, or, in other words, the "crowd". And the second one deserves credibility since it is reported by educated respectable people. Hume implicitly connects trust and the proximity of social position.

We believe that Hume's reasoning about trust and social proximity can be used to analyze the problems of the trust in contemporary Russian society. We explore the relatedness of the level of interpersonal trust and "social class' position. We use ESS' data of 2006 and 2010 for Russia.

In ESS' data the level of the interpersonal trust is measured on the scale of 11 points (from "0" – "You can't be too careful" to "10" – "Most people can be trusted"). In the period from 2006 to 2010 the level of the interpersonal trust in Russia increased: the average value in 2006 is 3.83 (standard deviation is 2.77), in 2010 – 4.16 (standard deviation is 2.59). But the analysis of frequencies shows that the change of the level of the interpersonal change is not related to the overall increase in the level of trust. Moreover, a fall in the estimation of "distrust" is observed. The median in 2006 and 2010 is the same – "4".

We transformed the data so that the variable of the interpersonal trust would have two values: “0” (“above the median”) and “1” (“under the median”). We also transformed the variable of respondents’ occupational status: we recoded the ISCO’ codes to EGP classes (according to Treiman’s and Ganzeboom’s algorithm).

According to the data presented in Table № 1, a connection of the level of the interpersonal trust with the social class’ position is not stable. We can observe it in 2006 when two classes - the lower controllers and skilled workers - differ in the level of trust:. The first group is characterized by a higher level of the interpersonal trust and the second one is characterized by a lower level. The difference is confirmed by the chi-squared test (p value = 0.001). In 2010 this connection disappears and we can see that all classes are characterized by the equal level of the interpersonal trust.

Table № 1.
Distribution of the level of interpersonal trust according to social classes in 2006 and 2010 (%).

	2006		2010	
	Above the median	Under the median	Above the median	Under the median
I. Higher Controllers	10.5	13.0	10.7	9.8
II. Lower Controller	15.5	21.1	19.7	19.2
IIIa. Routine Nonmanual	9.4	8.8	7.9	7.6
IIIb. Lower Sales-Service	9.0	10.8	15.8	15.9
V. Manual Supervisor	6.6	5.5	4.9	3.8
VI. Skilled Worker	19.9	14.6	15.6	15.5
VIIa. Unskilled Worker	22.5	21.5	22.1	23.0
VIIb. Farm Labor	6.7	4.8	3.4	5.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Therefore it is possible to view class as a “precarious” variable that has more influence when interclass relations experience a rise in tension. When the relations between classes improve, its influence is likely to recede.

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Regions of Russia in the world educational space:the dynamics of network activity of universities in the international rating Webometrics (2007 – 2013)

The openness of information on achievements in educational and research activities of world universities in modern conditions is of paramount importance not only for the modernization of education, but also in the context of financial constraints related to the economic crisis. The main ideas which have been initially put in Webometrics Ranking (2004) is the growth of online of publications; communication expansion between scientists and teachers; the formation of new connections; the speed, simplicity and efficiency of information exchange. During 10 years all these important indices have led to notable results which we recorded in the analysis of the dynamics of network activity of universities, particularly universities of Russia.

WebometricsRankingofWorldUniversitiesis the international ranking of universities where the evaluation of universities is determined by the content and the popularity of university web site. Rating is undertaken by an international research group "Laboratorio de Internet"(Spain). Ever-increasing interest to the Webometrics project is, to a great extent, brought about by a wide coverage of the world higher education institutions. This enables a great number of universities to constantly analyze their strengths and weaknesses and on the basis of such analysis not only to regulate the university web policy, but also to objectively assess the competitiveness of its educational and scientific activities.

Currently 20 000 world universities are ranked by Webometrics. Such a scale of research was presented for the first time in January 2012 – fig.1

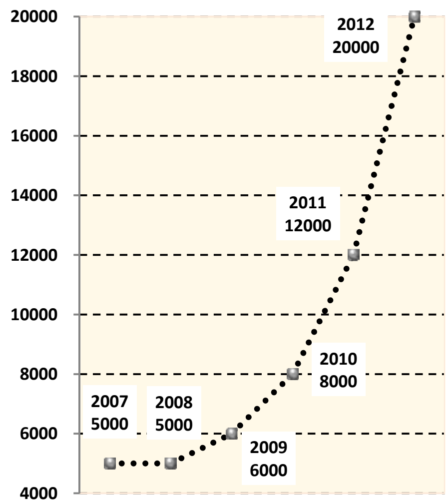


Fig.1 Number of universities being ranked inWebometrics Rankings

When analyzing the results of «Webometrics» we have repeatedly emphasizedthat among a large number of universities being ranked, the number of national universities which were included into the category of the best universities of the world is becoming an important indicator characterizing the system of higher education of the country.

This provides an indication of the system not only by the number of leading universitiesbut on the totality of its constituent universities (as opposed to the number of national universities for small samples of the best universities in the world).And, of course, it is a powerful stimulus for the development of each university, included in the system, as seen when analyzing the results of universities from all regions of Russia.

Let'sconsidertheresultsof 2012-2013 from this position.The sharp increase in the number of universities being ranked in 2012 revealed the scale of the system of higher education in such countries as *India* (3rd place in the total number of universities ranked), *Mexico, Poland, Indonesia, Pakistan, Ukraine, Columbia, Philippines* (fig.2a).Russia has significantly improved its performance in 2013, moving from the seventh to fourth place by the number of ranked universities(fig.2b).

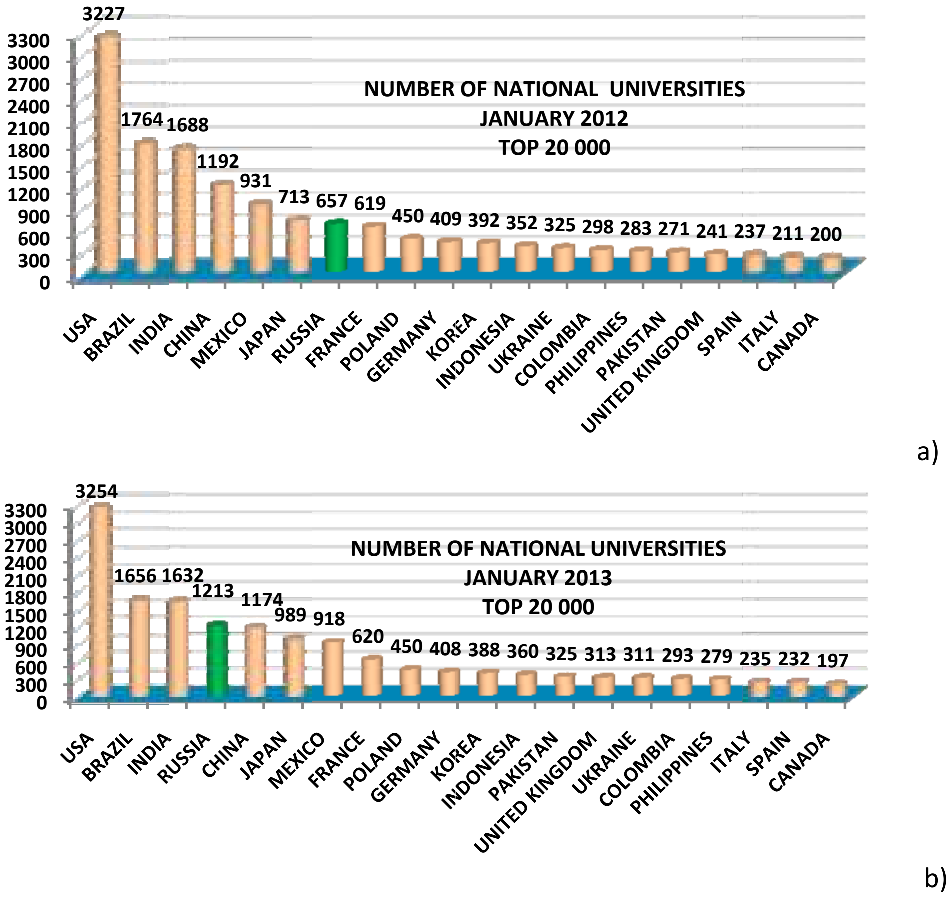


Fig.. 2. Countries with the largest number of national universities participating in the ranking 20000 universities of the world:a) January 2012; b) January 2013

Only five countries out of twenty increased the number of ranking universities during the year (January 2012- January 2013). the greatest growth of network activity is in Russia: Russia (85%), Japan (39 %), United Kingdom (30%), Pakistan (20%), Italy (11%).

According to the Table 1, characterizing the growth of network activity of Russian universities during the last year,Russia has no universities that are not represented in the internet properly.A year ago to modern concepts of the presence of the University in the Internet corresponded less than 50% of the universities of Russia.

Table 1

Growth performance of network activity of Russian universities

Results in Top 20 000	January 2012	July 2012	January 2013
Number of Russian universities among the best universities in the world	657	979	1213
The share of Russian universities ranked,%	57	84	100

AlongwiththequantitativeindicatorsofthedevelopmentoftheentiresystemofRussianhighereducationwithoutdistinctionbetweenstrongandweakuniversities, itshouldbeemphasizedqualitativegrowth, manifestedintheincreasingnumberofRussianuniversitiesamongthetopuniversitiesoftheworld.In January 2013 for the first time Russian university was represented in the top 100 (Lomonosov Moscow State University), in the top 500 - two Russian universities, top 1000 - 12 universities.More than ten national universities among 1000 best universities of the world - this indicator is observed only in a small number of countries:19 countries in the January ranking 2013 (in 2009, 2010 only in 15 countries). Russia for the first time entered the number of these countries in January 2013, dividing 16-18 place with Sweden and the Netherlands.

Starting from the top 3000, Russia in the last five rankings (July 2011 - January 2013) is among the top ten countries (8th place in January 2013 (Fig.4a).In the top 4000 Russia moves to 4th place, behind the United States, China and Japan (Fig.4b).Among the countries traditionally included in the top ten in the 5000 sample, Russia for the first time took 4th place in January 2012 (compared with the seventh-tenth places in the rankings in 2007 – 2010) and holds the position in the next rankings.Dynamics of Russian universities in the top 5000 shows a record result of Russia in January 2013 (Fig.5a). In this ranking in the top 5000 Russia (4th place) is behind Japan (3rd place) only by 4 universities (241 and 245 universities respectively (Fig.5b).

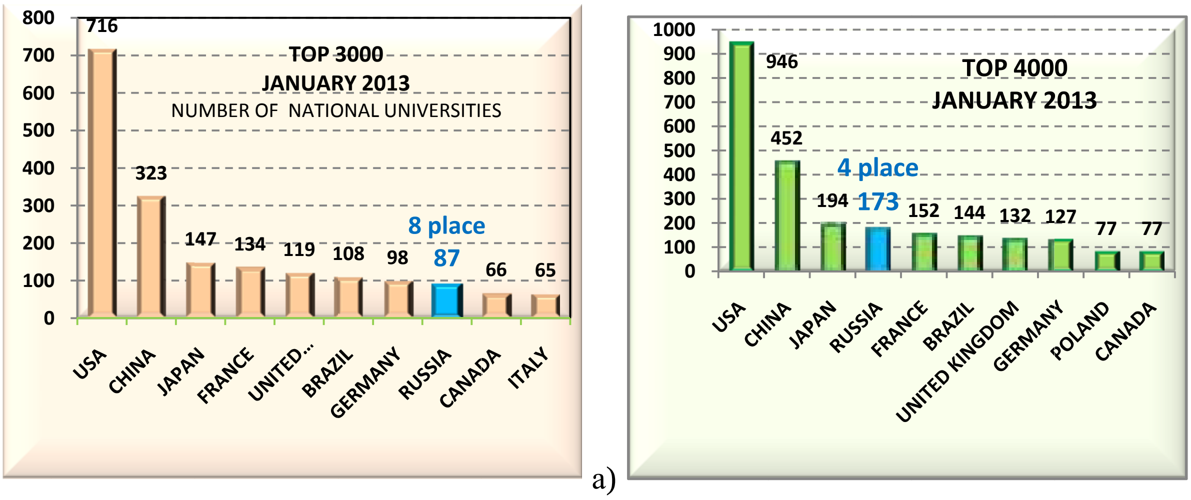


Fig.5.The top ten countries by number of the best universities among 3000(a) and 5000(b) January 2013.

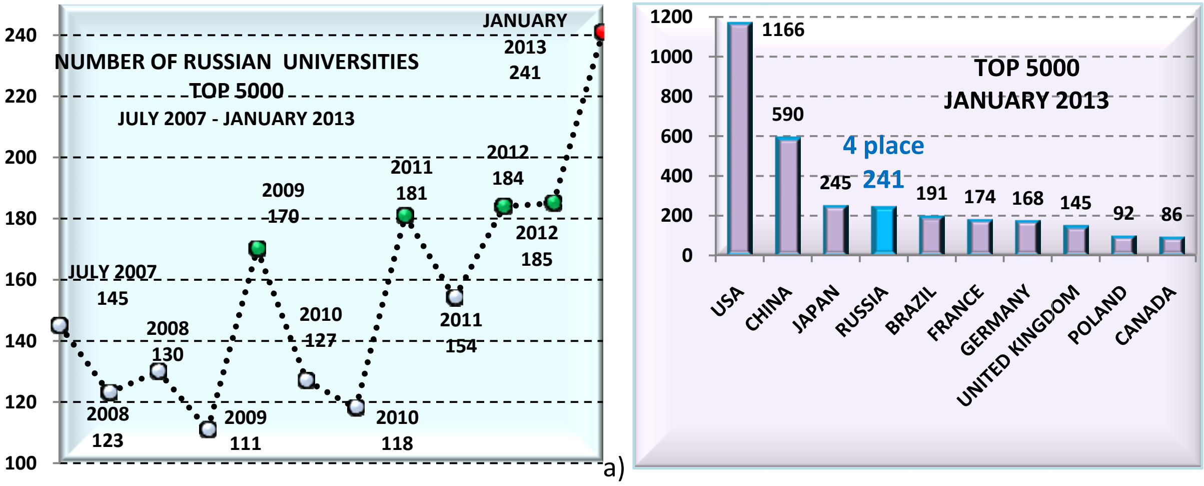
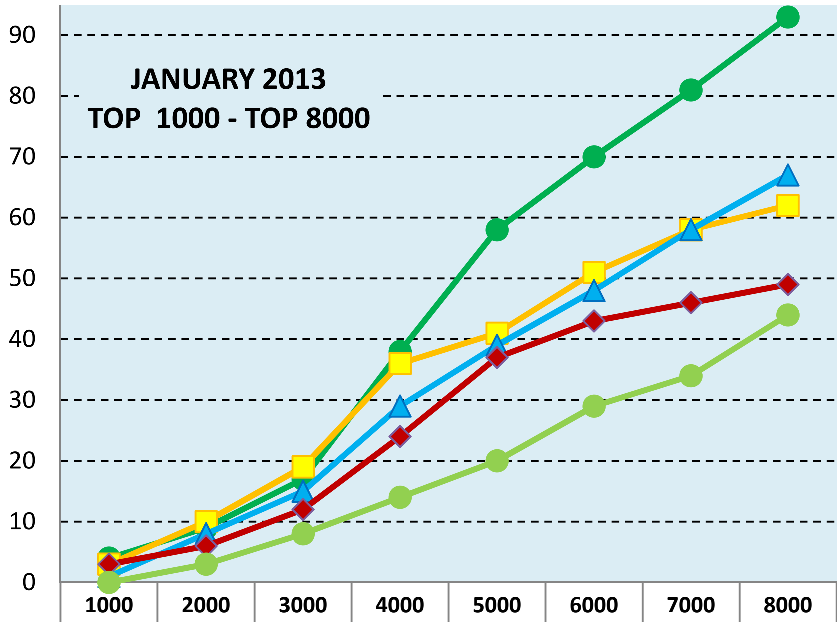


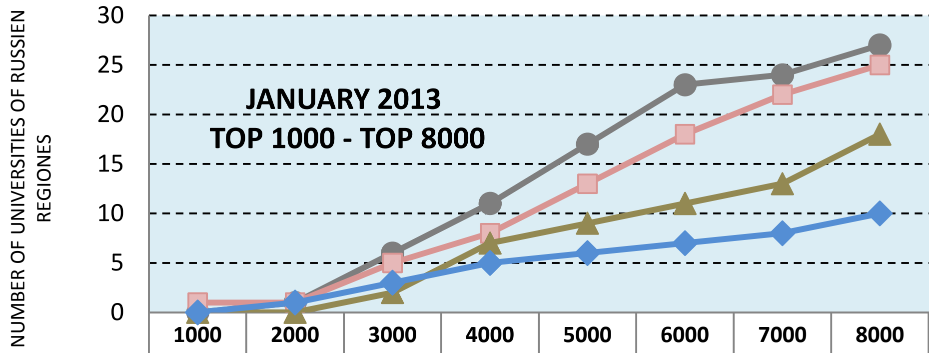
Fig.6. The results of the top 5000: a) the dynamics of Russian universities - 2007-2013 (12 rankings);b) the first ten countries by number of national universities in January 2013

As in previous rankings (2007-2013), universities of different regions of the country (federal districts) are among the best universities of Russia - Fig.7.Among 12 bestRussianuniversities (top 1000) only 4 Moscow universities, despite the fact that Moscow accounts for about 40% of the universities in the country– Fig. 7a. In the top 2000 among 39 Russian universities dominate universities of Siberia (10 of 39),followed by Moscow (9 universities) and Volga federal district (8 universities). This sample represents all federal districts except for the Far Eastern district– fig.7b. Starting from the top 3000 among the best universities of the world all federal districts of Russia are presented – fig.7.



	1000	2000	3000	4000	5000	6000	7000	8000
Moscow	4	9	17	38	58	70	81	93
Siberian Federal district	3	10	19	36	41	51	58	62
Volga Federal district	1	8	15	29	39	48	58	67
North-Western Federal district	3	6	12	24	37	43	46	49
Central Federal district	0	3	8	14	20	29	34	44

a)



	1000	2000	3000	4000	5000	6000	7000	8000
Ural Federal district	0	1	6	11	17	23	24	27
Southern Federal district	1	1	5	8	13	18	22	25
Far Eastern Federal district	0	0	2	7	9	11	13	18
North-Caucasian Federal district	0	1	3	5	6	7	8	10

b)

Fig.7. The number of universities of Russian regions among the best universities in the world (January 2013): a) regions with the highest results in the rating; (b) regions with relatively low rates

In the top 3000 (87 Russian universities from all eight federal districts) remains the superiority of Siberia (22% of 87), followed by Moscow (20%) and then Volga federal district (17%) – fig.7, 8. Starting from the top 4000Moscowuniversities are ahead. With the increasing sample theshare of Moscow universities grows (fig.7 a) – impact of a factor scale. Siberian and Volga districts, starting from the top 5000, have similar figures. Further follows the North-Western federal district (4th place, starting with the top 2000) and 5th place – Centralfederal district (excludingMoscowuniversities). Universities of the Ural, Southern, Far Eastern and North-Caucasian districts are characterized by relatively low network activity. (especially Far Eastern and North-Caucasian districts) – fig.7b.

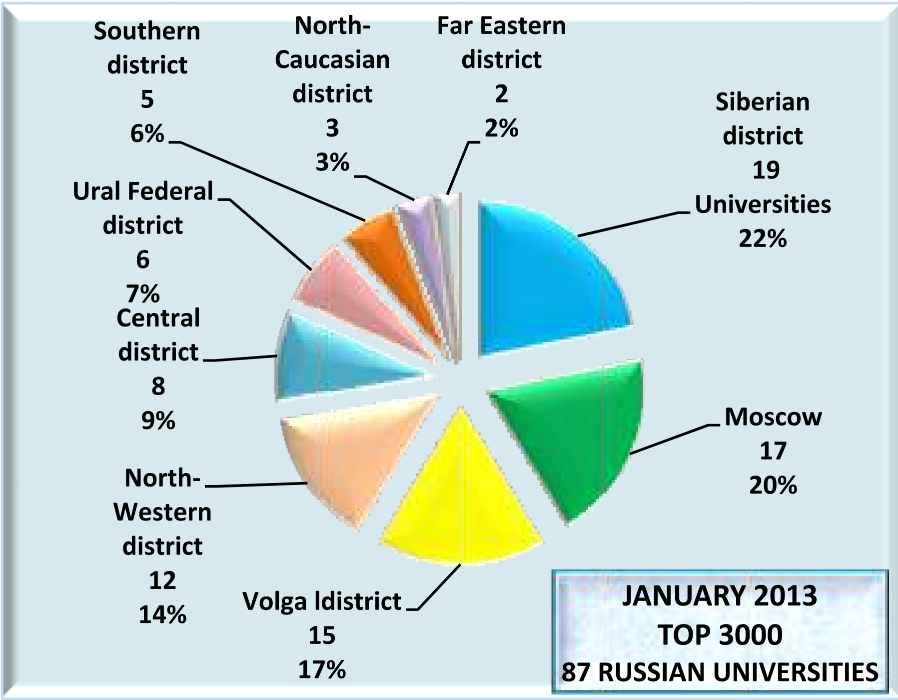


Fig.8. Distribution of 87 best Russian universities (top 3000)by Federal districts

Table 2 shows the data allowing to identify the characteristics of the network activity of Russia's best universities. The weakest link - insufficient quality of scientific research- Excellence Rank. Only two Russian universities (Lomonosov Moscow State University and Saint Petersburg State University) have relatively high rates.The main feature is a very high level of Openness Rank: the number of universities with the positions of this indicator 1-1000 is 5.5 times greater than the number of universities included into one thousandbest universities of the world.The number of universities with Excellence Rank 1-500 is 12 times greater than the number of universities with World Rank from 1 to 500.More than 80% of universities with such Excellence Rank are located in the Volga and Siberian Federal districts.Thus, an increasing number of Russian universities, particularly regional ones, are imbued with the ideas of Webometrics, of which the most attractive for Russia is the exchange of scientific information through online publications.High Presence Rank (the number of universities with the positions of this indicator 1-1000 double the number of universities with World Rank from 1 to 1000) also promotes the exchange of experience between the regions of the country.

Table 2

The number of universities with a high level of certain indicators

Indicator	Number of universities with the positions			
	from 1 to100	**from 1 to 200**	**from1 to 500**	**from 1 to1000**
Presence Rank The total number of webpages hosted in the main webdomain (including all the subdomains and directories) of the university as indexed by the largest commercial search engine (Google). It counts every webpage, including all the formats recognized individually by Google, both static and dynamic pages and other rich files.	2	5	18	43
Impact Rank The quality of the contents is evaluated through a "virtual referendum", counting all the external inlinks that the university webdomain receives from third parties. The link visibility data is collected from the two most important providers of this information: majestic seo and ahrefs	1	0	3	10
Openness Rank The global effort to set up institutional research repositories is explicitly recognized in this indicator that takes into account the number of rich files (pdf, doc, docx, ppt) published in dedicated websites according to the academic search engine Google Scholar the objective is to consider recent publications that now are those published between 2008 and 2012 (new period).	4	6	24	66
Excellence Rank The academic papers published in high impact international journals. The indicator is restricted to only those excellent publications, i.e. the university scientific output being part of the 10% most cited papers in their respective scientific fields. Although this is a measure of high quality output of research institutions, the data provider scimago group supplied non-zero values for more than 5200 universities (period 2003-2010).	0	0	1	2
World Rank	**1**	**1**	**2**	**12**

During the economic crisis, complicating the full-time exchange of experience between regions, the growth of the network activity of universities and especially Excellence Rank and Presence Rank, plays a crucial role for the intellectual development of the regions.

Borlikov, Herman M., Elista

Regional education in a poly-cultural society

At present the knowledge, competence, information, perhaps, are the basic economic categories, surpassing in the importance even the material resource base. The modern education system in our country, unfortunately, is far from perfect and not always meets requirements of its citizens. The aspiration to full unification of this system, restriction of quantity of educational institutions can lead to reducing a process of retranslation of knowledge to the population which occurs within the schools, colleges (technical schools) and higher schools. If as a result of the reforms conducted in the country the centre of gravity in preparation of the future experts is displaced to the industrially developed centers, to the detriment of the regions possessing of powerful ethnic cultural roots, feeding and enriching the all-Russian culture it can occur irreparable. Russia can lose the richest potential of the generation of the new knowledge, consisting in poly-ethnic, poly-cultural structure of the population. Today it seems to be very actual the support and the help from the side of the state in development of regional education systems which are conductors in the course of interaction of various cultures and development of national Russian culture.

It is quite natural that universities being and functioning on the concrete territories, in their activity should consider the developing real conditions, to promote development of local economy. Thus, they make also a direct impact on the occurrence and character of a course of many socio-cultural processes in a society.

In this connection it is raised the interest of regions in development of a regional education system for more effective preparation of qualified personnel, from one hand and from the other hand, it is raised the role of universities in the decision of the actual problems connected not only with personnel, but also scientific personnel put before the higher school new political, economic and social conditions of development of a region and the country as a whole. The main idea of regionalization of higher education consists in that each republic, the area and region should bear responsibility not only for realization of a constitutional right of Russians on getting education, but also for effective functioning of an education system in the territory, providing an increase of a degree of quality of a life of the population by granting of more and more wide circle of professional-educational and cultural-educational services.

The university education should promote to socialization and a universalization of ethnic groups, inclusion in the general context of the Russian and world culture. In this context it seems to be ideal a creation of the universal educational systems containing not only a national-regional component, but also the invariant block of Russian and European educational standards. The interaction of various levels of poly-cultural education in the conditions of university allows synthesize a variety of unity of cultures of an international society.

The orientation of the educational process and youth education on ethno-cultural and universal values brings the results: the republic lives in peace and consent. Today Kalmykia has a considerable scientific and technical potential, qualified personnel and experts in all branches of national economy, the large group of intelligences of a native nationality. Here we see a great contribution of a collective of professors and teachers of Kalmyk University that has turned to the basic centre of education, sciences and cultures in the republic. The University from the very beginning created and acquired a definite orientation as a backbone kernel of our multinational region and Kalmyk ethnos. 33 thousand of experts – graduates of the Kalmykia's university prepared for 37 years of its activity, bring their powerful contribution to the economics of Kalmykia and other regions of Russia.

During the last years the Kalmykia State University has been formed as the higher educational institution combining a professional training on humanitarian, natural, pedagogical, social, economic and technical specializations and focused on the innovative development. For years of work the Kalmykia's University has turned to the real centre of education, science and culture of the people of Kalmykia, at 32 chairs of the University there are 500 teachers, among them : 70 doctors of sciences, professors, more than 300 candidates of sciences, senior lecturers, 13 academicians and corresponding members of various Academies of Russia, 34 honored workers of science of the Russian Federation, Republic of Kalmykia, branches of the economy of the republic, the esteemed teachers and workers of culture. Now at the university on 30 specializations of natural-scientific, philological, pedagogical, legal, agrarian, engineering profiles studies more than 8 thousand students.

For the last 5 years at the university has been opened more than 10 new specializations and directions (nature protection arrangement of territories, jurisprudence, management, "the know-how" and processing of agricultural products, building, technology and business, region's studying, finance and credit, etc.) The list of specializations for pedagogical specializations is expanded. The priority attention is given to preparation of experts of the top qualification both for republic branches, and for university. There has been extended a list of specializations in the postgraduate study opened in 1991. At this moment under the direction of skilled doctors of sciences it is trained more than 130 post-graduate students and competitors on 27 specializations, only for the last 5 years there were protected 28 doctor's and more than 130 master's theses, there were presented to consideration in ВАК the documents on opening of 2 doctor's dissertational councils and 8 incorporated regional dissertational councils together with high schools of Astrakhan, Volgograd, Moscow, Saratov, Stavropol whose activity will promote the growth of a qualitative level of scientific personnel and decisions of actual problems of regional development.

The university takes part in the performance of the state scientific and technical programs “the Federal-regional policy in science and education”, “the State support of a regional scientific and technical policy of the higher school and development of its scientific potential”, “the Russian state scientific fund”, “the Russian fund of basic researches”, the Federal target program "Russian language", "Integration" and others. The Kalmykia University takes part in the International Projects of programs: Tempus-Tasis, DAAD, “the Agriculture and ecological equilibrium with countries of Eastern Europe (Germany)", "Holistic management” (USA) etc. The most perspective complex directions in our higher school today — research of problems of Kalmyk ethnos, ethno-pedagogic, Mongol-studying, astrophysics (Sun studying), archeology, ecosystems of Prikaspija, Russian functioning in the poly-ethnic environment, restoration of traditional breeds of native animals..

In the Kalmykia University it is developed and successfully realized under the direction of the academician of the Russian Academy of Education Erdniev P.M. the perspective technology of enlarging of didactic units. The first experience of market tests testifies that without sufficient development of an industrial infrastructure, without development of own social base the higher school can not survive, and more over cannot develop. Realizing it, the university took an accurate course on development of skilled-experimental and a part-time farm, the decision of social problems of many thousands collective. The created agro-industrial infrastructure already now starts to bring a notable mite in the budget of the university and provide a modern industrial base of practices for preparation of agrarian, biological, engineering specializations, the most demanded by the agrarian sector of economics of the republic.

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An employed nanny as an agent of socialization of preschool children (the results of a survey of students of pedagogical university).

Annotation: This article illustrates the features of preschool age and an influence of employed nanny on socialization of preschool child. Also the results of the survey of students of the Moscow State Pedagogical University are considered.

Keywords: socialization, the agents of socialization, nanny, preschool upbringing, family, preschool age.

Preschool age is a fairly long period of a child's life. Mainly during this period an individual is getting a self-image; an active process of development of social roles, norms, values, ideals is taking place. So, the child begins to go through the process of socialization.

In the preschool age child is formed as a person, preschooler becomes the subject of conscious activity [see: 1, p. 23].

Success of a socialization of a child is determined mainly by its surroundings. «The socialization process includes not only those who are trained and acquire new knowledges, values, customs and norms. The socialization process includes not only those who are trained and acquire new knowledge, values, customs and norms. An important component of this process are the ones who influence the learning process and generates it to a great extent» [2].

Therefore, it is important to pay attention to the agents of socialization in the very first stages of a child's life. Typically, the occurrence of preschool age children in the social environment takes place in the home and in kindergarten. However, nowadays in Russia, the practice of hiring a nanny for a child of preschool age is becoming widespread. According to researches, carried out in 2004, 11% of Moscow households used the baby-sitting services. [see: 3, p. 11].

In the view of E.A. Zdravomyslova, there are several reasons for modern parents have to seek the services of child care:1) the difficulty of combining work and child care (especially for women); 2) for some families, where a "bourgeois lifestyle, when the husband provides the family and the wife serves as a housewife", is formed, using the services of nannies and other domestic staff has become the norm, "part of the lifestyle and the prestige factor"; 3) «modification of "grandmothers Institute"» (as many grandparents, having retired, prefer to continue working because of what they do not have enough free time to raise grandchildren or they may not pay much attention to their grandchildren just for health reasons); 4) «deficit of public care» (that is, the lack of a welfare state policies, the lack of public facilities to meet the needs of young families, as well as various types of pre-schools that meet the needs of different types of families) [see:4].

When the child spends the most time with the nanny, respectively, he takes over the values, behaviors, speech features of the nurse. Consequently, the nanny has a direct impact on the socialization of the child.

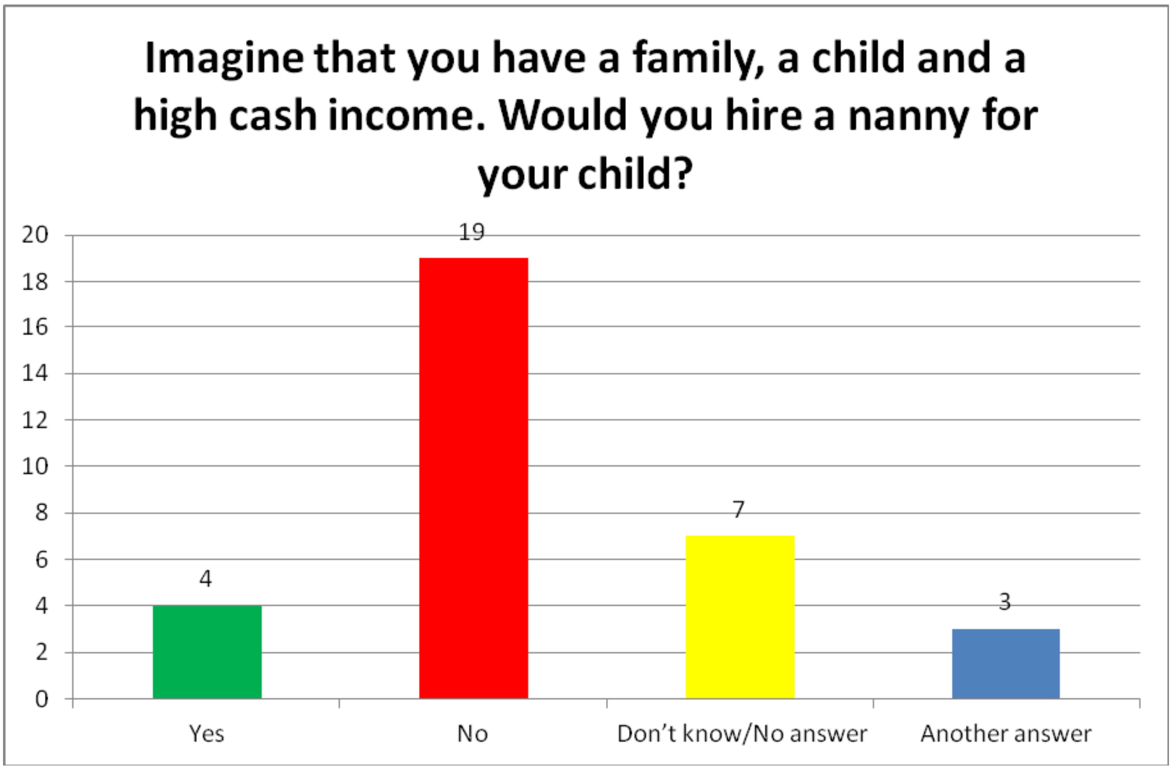
Thus, a new agent of socialization appears in a child's life - a hired nanny. What is the impact the presence of a nanny in your family has on the socialization of a child under school age? And how effective is this method of education, in the opinion of students-educators?

To answer these questions, there was conducted the research at the Moscow State Pedagogical University. The sample consisted of students of the extramural studies at the age of 20 years to 51 years. For this research was chosen expert group of students (who already have children of their own) who studies for educators, as they are competent to issue of the best way of raising children.

Students were asked a series of questions about the advantages and disadvantages of raising a child by nanny. As a result, the following data were obtained.

More than half of respondents (19 of 33 persons) have a negative attitude to hiring a nanny for their child. Only 4 respondents expressed a desire to hire a nanny under high cash income.

Figure 1



Respondents were asked to compare the effectiveness of different ways of raising a child, depending on age. Respondents gave preference to public education (public kindergarten, children's circles and sections) by selecting it as the most effective between the ages of 3 and 7 years. Up to 3 years old child socialization, according to students-educators, must take place in the family, and the parents should be the main agents of socialization. Also, 15 of the 33 respondents mentioned the benefits of the child attends of the groups for brief stay at the age of 1.5 to 3 years. Respondents also suggested to combine raising a child by nanny and by parents.

Figure 2

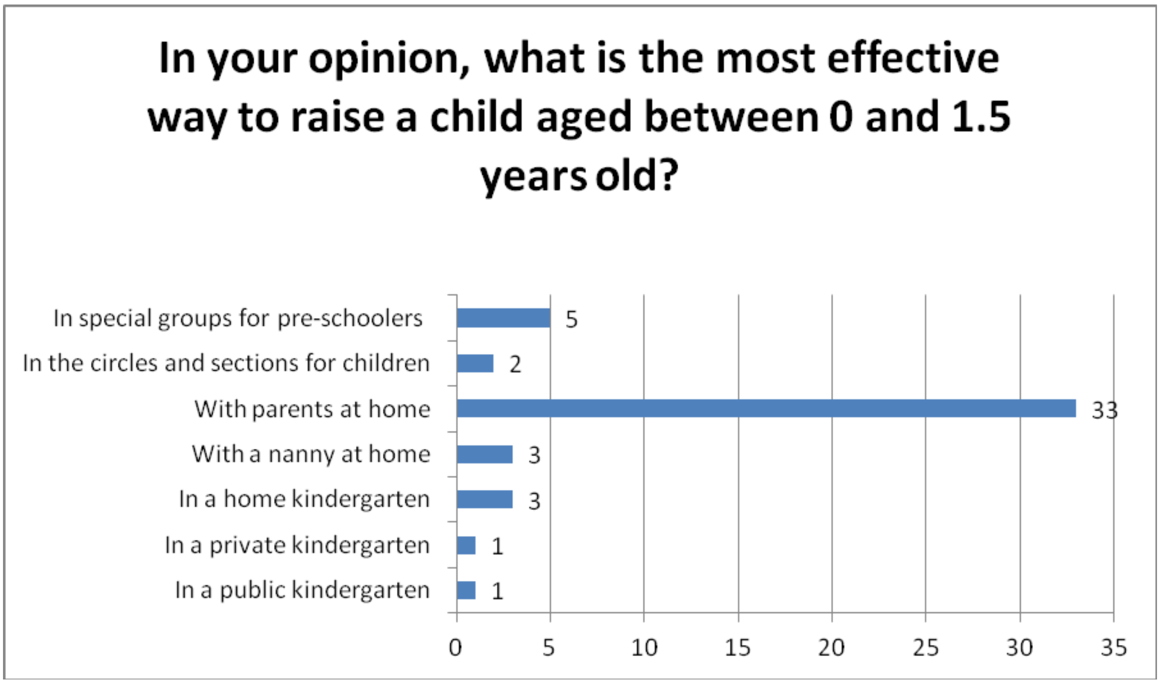


Figure 3

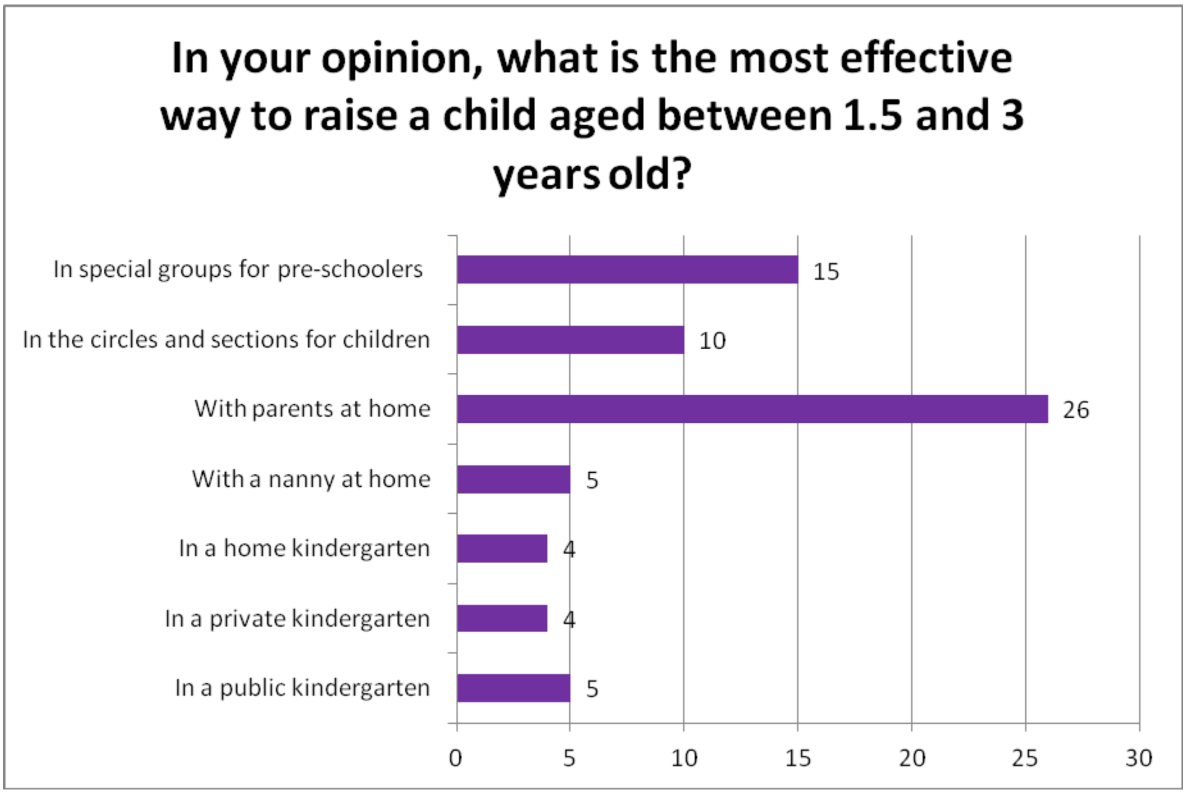


Figure 4

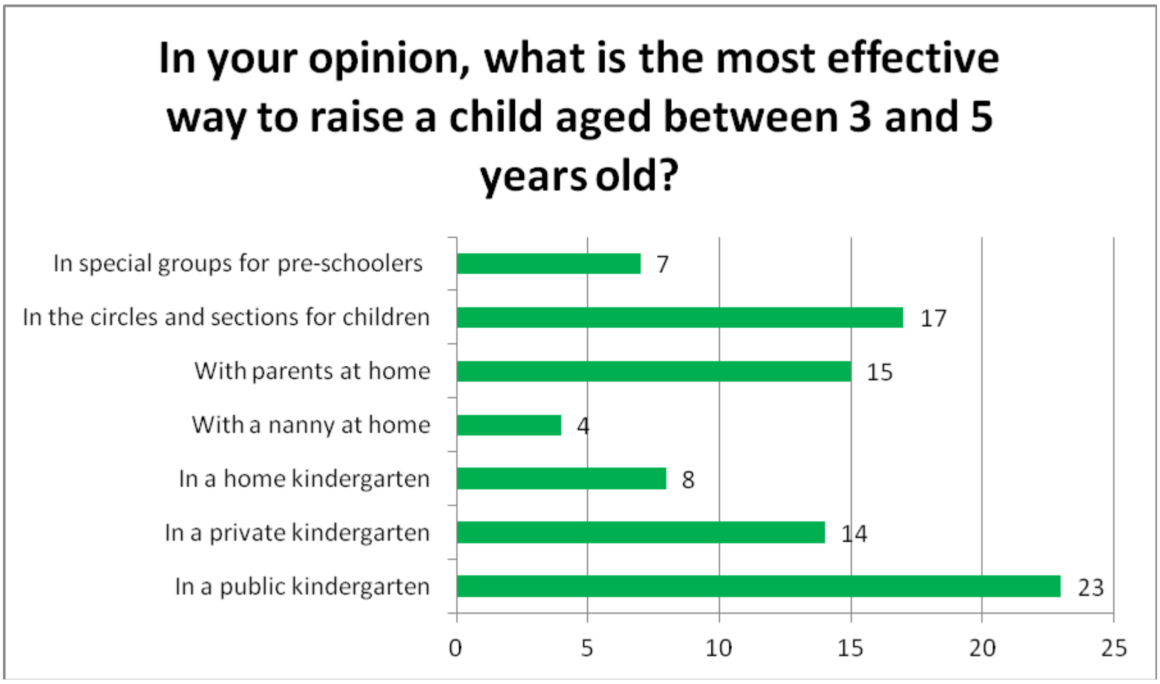
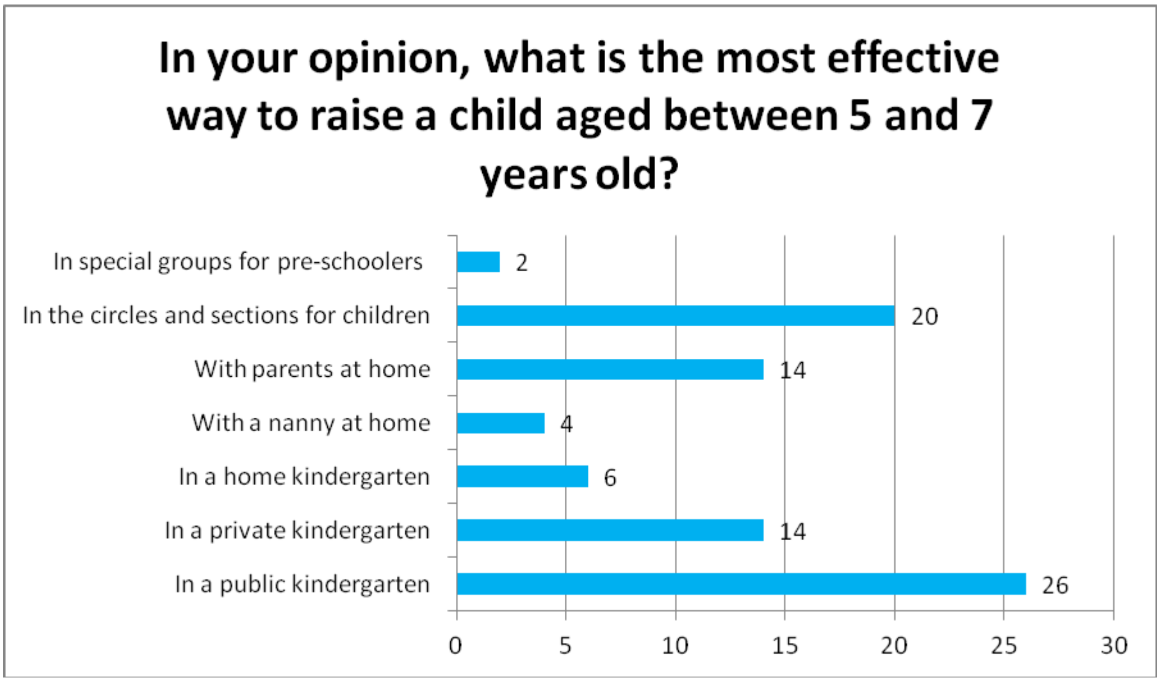


Figure 5



As for the disadvantages of raising a child by nanny about one third of the respondents said that a child who was brought up with a nanny spends little time with his equals in age. Thus, the students - educators emphasize the importance of the child's communication with peers in the preschool years, which, in the opinion of a third of respondents could not be provided by nanny.

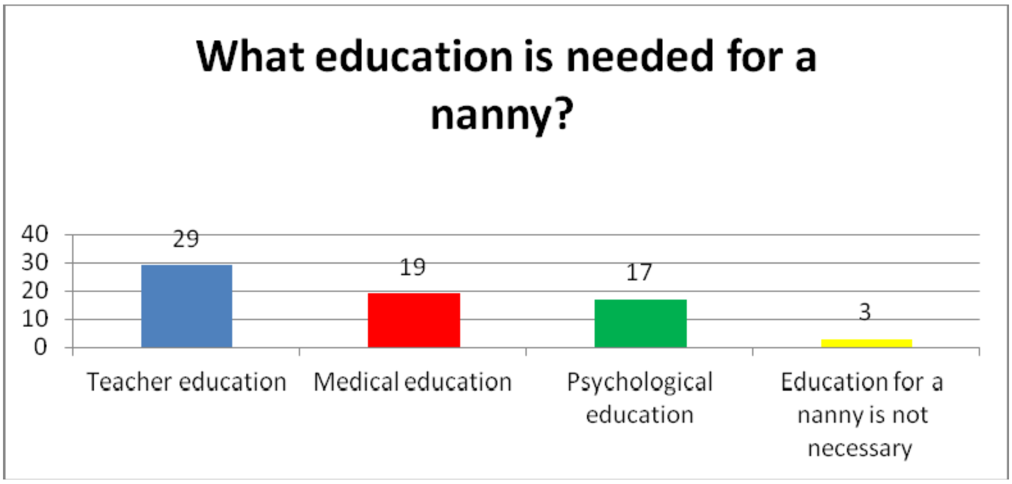
There are also some benefits received by a child raised by a nanny. According to the answers of the most of the respondents the benefit is that a child is able to visit more circles and sections for children.

Consequently, a nanny as an agent of socialization can affect the development of the child’s personality in a good way in the sense that she enables parents to give the child a greater number of sections and groups.

Respondents also noted that nanny should possess such qualities as general erudition and awareness (32 respondents of 33), also nanny should have a higher education (26 from 33). So, for a successful socialization of a child being brought up by a nanny, she must be well educated, erudite and be able to share her knowledge.

In response to the question about a nanny's education most of the students (29 from 33) answered that nanny must have psychological education, 19 respondents added that medical education is also needed and 17 respondents mentioned the benefits of psychological education.

Figure 6



Mostly respondents prefer teacher education for a nanny. So it's important that she be able to educate a child for the sake of his normal socialization.

According to the research, students of teacher training school don't consider a nanny as a good agent of socialization for children of preschool age. Parents and public institutes of education for preschoolers are able to provide more successful socialization. However, if a nanny is well educated and has all the necessary professional qualities, she is able to affect a child's socialization in a positive way.

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Tolerance, Intolerance, Identity, Migration: simple math models of cross-cultural interaction

Mathematical and Humanitarian Analysis of Complex Processes and Systems

The following terminology was proposed by academician N.N. Moiseev and corresponding member of RAS Y.N. Pavlovsky. We shall call "simple" the systems (processes, phenomena) for which there are generally accepted adequate mathematical models. Those systems for which there are no appropriate mathematical models, however their adequate prognoses may be done by the specialists-experts, will be called "complex". Methods (non-mathematical) used by experts to predict the behavior of complex systems, will be called "humanitarian".

The discussion of the problems of development and deployment of the technology that integrate the mathematical and humanitarian methods in the study of complex systems was the subject of the work [Belotelov et al., 2009]. It proposed one of the ways of such a union. It is to produce a mathematical model of a simplified system from the class of systems interesting to us, to perform the prediction and analysis of the properties of the simplified system by mathematical means, and then to perform the humanitarian analysis of the class of systems to which the modeled system belongs. And that humanitarian analysis may use the resulting concepts and ideas, arising in the process of mathematical modeling. This allows getting beyond the capabilities of mathematical modeling, i.e. to forecast the development of the system and its properties, which cannot be obtained by mathematical means. In addition, the class of systems that can be analyzed in such a way expands. However, conclusions about predicted characteristics and properties of the analyzed systems are becoming more "vague," "approximate," "tentative".

Let's try to explain some of the used terms. These explanations will be of a humanitarian character. However, the interpretation of the content of the terms explained will be narrower than it is in the ordinary discourse. In these explanations new terms may occur, which also are to be clarified. Clarifying these new terms, we may use the earlier introduced terms. So there a certain linguistic environment appears.

If someone correctly predicts the properties, characteristics of a system (process, phenomenon) and this fact is fairly set, it means that he possessed a (adequate in some aspects) model of the system. The form, in which there are realized adequate models, may be different. Mathematical modeling is one form that lets you create an adequate model.

All mathematical models, which are further developed and studied, are collections of equations between the characteristics of the studied system (process, phenomenon). Characteristics that are present in the model (i.e., in its equations), divided into two parts: the external and internal. Internal characteristics – those in the prediction of which with the help of modeling we are interested. External characteristics – those that affect the internal, but the inverse is not true, within the model accuracy. The model has the property to give the forecast of the internal characteristics, if knowing its external ones; we can calculate the internal, using the model equations. Such models are called "closed".

The proposed above division of the systems into simple and complex is not exhaustive. There are systems (processes, phenomena) that cannot be adequately predicted neither by math nor by humanitarian means. In addition, the border line between "simple" and "complex" systems is not fixed: the case of "invasion" of the mathematical tools in history, economics, sociology, medicine is clear. For the mathematical modeling which improves its tools, much more accurate prediction of much more complex systems becomes available, i.e., within the above meaning of the terms "simple" and "complex" systems, those that were previously unavailable. You can say that: the development of mathematical modeling turns "difficult" to "simple", of course, in the sense of those terms as defined above.

Less obvious, in some sense, is a reverse process: the invasion of humanitarian methods of analysis and prognosis in math. The more complex is the system under consideration – the better should be the initial presentation of it (i.e., its understanding), in order to the developed simplified mathematical model was adequate. This understanding, of course, is "humanitarian". Note that the term "humanitarian" thus endowed with another shade of content, not quite identical with that was told above (as the ability to give correct forecast of the development of processes without using mathematical tools).

Apparently, between the mathematical and humanitarian means of analysis and prediction of the systems, processes, and phenomena there are relations of duality. In other words, mathematical and humanitarian means of analysis and forecast of the systems, processes, and phenomena do not exist without each other and provide each other.

Modeling of Cross-Cultural Interaction by Competition Equations

It is hardly necessary to repeat once again that due to globalization and the expansion of contacts of people and cultures in today's world increases the relevance of studies of intercultural interaction. In what ways can help mathematics in such a study? Mathematics has accumulated vast experience in creating and studying models of different phenomena, which is based on the study of quantitative relationships between the various values characterizing the phenomenon and on reveal the laws of changing the characteristics of the phenomenon, based on mentioned relations. However, for the successful application of mathematical modeling methods, the subject area of study has to be greatly simplified by abstracting from many inherent specific details.

For example, we can't describe by the differential equations such a complicated phenomenon, as interaction of cultures in all its variety. However we shall try to simplify the problem, having excluded from reviewing the upper stratum of the concept of culture, as on this stratum there usually happens mutual enrichment of cultures, instead of conflicts. It is possible to be limited to reviewing of culture at its "household" level where it is a set of the standard answers acquired from the childhood on the standard inquiries of the environment. By the way this is the level where all the mentioned above conflicts exist. Considering the "household" level of the culture as a specific for the given culture package of standard answers on standard inquiries of an environment, which an individual gets by the moment of a social maturity, it is possible to notice that it is functionally similar to the operational systems of computers solving the same problems. So the "household" level of the culture, hence, can be the object of investigations from the computer science positions. At any case, this view of the "household" level of the culture does not cause rejections of some recognized cultural studies experts [Triandis G.C. 1994].

The computer science for the last 30 years has saved up the great and positive experience of integration without conflicts of heterogeneous platforms and nets in the uniform Internet. It is not excluded, that the decomposition of intercultural interactions in spirit of hierarchical model of interaction of the open systems ISO-OSI [Tanenbaum, Wetherall, 2010], modeling and development of corresponding protocols and interfaces, could appear useful in the complicated matter of study and perfecting of cultural interacting.

In this study from all aspects of such complex phenomenon as a culture, we shall choose only one - attitude to other culture. Under the proposed abstraction, we'll describe the interaction between two cultures by competition equations. Note that although the studies of various types of equilibrium of two-dimensional competitive systems are known from the times of A. Lotka and V. Volterra [Volterra, 1931], in the social systems, in contrast to biological ones, inevitably a question about the stability of the equilibrium relatively to the reflective influences of the populations is added to the usual question of finding stable points of the system. In accordance with the principle of rational expectations [Muth, 1961] (the assumption that all the active agents are armed with the theory developed by the model, and in accordance with it do their best), it is natural to expect from the competing populations attempts to improve their situation by changing the model parameters available to them. As will be seen later, the principle of rational expectations can make unstable the steady node of the system of differential equations, and on the contrary, turn to a point of stable equilibrium the point of the phase plane, which originally was not even stationary.

Now let us consider the equations of competitive interaction of two populations, with numbers N and M correspondingly.

$$\frac{dN}{dt} = \alpha N(1 - \frac{N}{N^*} - m\frac{M}{M^*}),$$
$$\frac{dM}{dt} = \beta M(1 - \frac{M}{M^*} - n\frac{N}{N^*}). \tag{1}$$

The numbers N^* and M^* are usually named capacities of an environment in relation to corresponding populations. They have sense of limiting population numbers which the environment is still capable "to support" or "to withstand". The excess of this limiting number leads to the fast decrease of the corresponding population. Numbers α and β - are breeding coefficients. The coefficients of intolerance n and m show how many times the competition with a foreign population is more, or conversely, less than the competition within the population itself.

So, the range of variation of coefficients of intolerance from $-\infty$ to ∞ will be divided into the following areas:

$(-\infty,0)$	$[0,1)$	1	$(1,\infty)$
super tolerance	tolerance	attitude without prejudices and preferences	intolerance

Now we explain the proposed titles of areas:

- Super tolerance means that instead of competition, one population helps to gain the other (because of the negative coefficient of the corresponding term instead of subtracting is added to the derivative).
- Tolerance means that the competition with a foreign population is weaker than within the own.
- Attitude without prejudices and preferences means the same competition within their own populations, and with a foreign.
- Finally, intolerance means stronger competition with foreign populations, than within the own.

It turns out that the behavior of the system (1) depends mainly on the relation between the coefficients of intolerance. In [Brodsky, 2011] this model has been investigated in detail. It’s qualitatively different behaviors are determined by combinations of intolerance coefficients supplied by outlined above ranges. For example, if a culture is tolerant, and the other is intolerant – no matter the initial conditions – there will remain intolerant culture, and tolerant will disappear.

One of the main humanitarian findings of this mathematical study is that even such a simple model turns out that it is impossible and wrong to measure and estimate a culture with another culture yardstick. For example, the fact that the competition with the foreign culture is stronger than its inner competition does not necessarily mean intolerance to that culture. As well as the less competition with strangers than that is customary among them, does not necessarily mean tolerance to them. The only true measure of the culture is it itself. Within this model it is the only fruitful and a sensible comparison of the strength of competition with strangers with the force of competition among the compatriots. So, the starting point is the commandment: "Love thy neighbor as thyself" (Matt. 22:39; Mar. 12:31; Luc. 10:27).

Mutual super tolerance ($0 > n, m$) – is the only way to achieve unlimited growth of both populations (when $nm \geq 1$). This combination of strategies is stable regarding the attempts of the parties to increase their ultimate numbers, which in this case exceed the relevant capacity of the environment (when $nm < 1$ their limit numbers are finite).

A combination of the strategies super tolerance - tolerance, can be considered as an interim step to the mutual super tolerance. To the side that outgoes into the area of super tolerance from the area of tolerance this step is connected with the victim in the limit number of the population, however, this victim puts the rival in the condition, when, first of all, he immediately receives a prize, that is greater then his capacity of the environment, that can't be obtained by any of his own strategies, and secondly, it becomes profitable for him to increase his tolerance. In connection with the above, a well-founded hope arises, first of all, play back the victim and, secondly, to obtain the additional gain, when the partner also will go to the state of the super tolerance, which becomes attractive to him.

Mutual tolerance ($0 \leq n, m < 1$) – is unstable state with respect to the desire of the parties to increase their limit sizes. For each of the parties, at a given tolerance on the other side, it is advantageous to reduce their tolerance up to intolerance, which can give the limit number of intolerant side equal to the environment capacity for it (unless, of course, the other party does not go as well to a sufficiently strong intolerance). The way out of this instability – either both parties will leave the area of tolerance, or one of them will offer to the other a gambit victim – the output into the area of super tolerance that promises to both of the them prizes greater than their environment capacities.

A combination of the strategies tolerance – intolerance, and even tolerance – attitude without prejudices and preferences – is an inadmissible carelessness on the part of a tolerant partner, leading to its total disappearance at the limit. The worst that can happen with the tolerant culture – is its collision with an intolerant one!

Mutual relation without prejudices – is a sustainable state in relation to the bias into the area of tolerance. As mentioned above, the withdrawal of one of the partners into the area of tolerance, promises disappearance to him. Withdraw from this stable state could transition of one of the partners to the super tolerance area, because the other immediately felt the benefit to increase his tolerance. However, such a step, although is possible, but very risky: not increasing his tolerance, the second partner receives also a very good limit number – his capacity of the environment, and that who has dared – disappears completely. About the bias into the area of intolerance, this state is unstable: moving into this area, intolerant partner receives the limit number equal to the capacity of the environment for him, but keeping the attitude without prejudices – disappears. To make a mutual attitude without prejudices and preferences stable against biases into the area of intolerance, can only external mechanism, for example, described in [Brodsky, 2011]. Note that in the relations defining the limit sizes of populations in this case, there is a certain idea of justice: «deal with strangers as well as with compatriots, and no one will be offended - ultimate populations numbers will depend on the primary ones, on the breeding speed and the environment capacities». Not without the reason, the strategy of mutual relations without prejudices and preferences is declared in the New Testament (Matt. 22:39; Mar. 12:31; Luc. 10:27), as the commandment, moreover, many Bible scholars believe that, in the context of the culture of that time and the other New Testament stories (for example, Luc. 10, 25-37), it, first of all, relates specifically to the peoples but not to individuals.

Under the mutual intolerance only one, the most intolerant population survives. Here we need reservations. Firstly, there are the initial conditions, under which at the infinity remain both of the populations, but the measure of points of such initial numbers in the first quadrant of the phase plane is equal to zero. In addition, the least deviation, without which there could be no real life, takes any of such special paths to one of the stable nodes – a survival situation for only one side. Secondly, the most intolerant in this context, means not a literal comparison between the values of the coefficients of intolerance, – the value of the coefficient of intolerance, sufficient, to stay alive, in conditions of mutual intolerance, will depend on the partner’s coefficient of intolerance, the initial numbers and rates of growth, – but indicates a trend, which consists in the fact that, for any positive initial population sizes, rates of growth and a fixed coefficient of intolerance of the one side, the other party may choose such a large coefficient of intolerance, which will remain namely it at infinity.

Increasing mutual intolerance, as noted above, is unlikely to be fruitful, so it may well be limited by some treaties, or existing cultural traditions. So the interest arises to the "politically correct" (without increasing of the intolerance coefficients) solutions for improving the situation of the population in conditions of mutual intolerance. Such a solution would be to increase competition within the population (reduction of the capacity of the environment) in combination with the reduction in the coefficient of growth. In terms of human reality, this method can be likened to replacement of the inveighing against the alien culture, by the increasing in the own of the amount of Nobel Prize winners and Olympic champions. Reducing the capacity of the environment, the limit number of the population of course, is also reduced, but the main thing under the mutual intolerance – is to survive.

Interesting is also the conclusion, that under the conditions of mutual intolerance, it is not profitable for the population to hold on the fact that once upon a time it was a "great " one, i.e. on the large environment capacity, while the current population in comparison with that capacity because of whatever reasons has become quite small. The memory about the high environment capacity is an application to gain greater prize in the competitive struggle, but it is much more practical to survive in that struggle with any kind of prize, than to disappear together with the high demands. Therefore, the claims should be brought into line with the reality. These claims (environment capacity), it is better to be less than $N\frac{mn-1}{m-1}$, where N – current population size; n and m – intolerance coefficients. (By the way, not a small number compared to N, under sufficiently strong intolerance to M !)

Another interesting conclusion – as shown in [Brodsky, 2011] – under mutual intolerance, often a large growth rate is not an advantage in the competition. Take a look at our virtual world from the position of the party N. It turns out that the role of the factor of growth depends on the number of its rivals M :

- For small amounts of opponents, $M < M^*\frac{n-1}{nm-1}$, indeed, the greater is the growth rate α, the more profitable it is for N.
- For the large amounts $M > M^*\frac{n-1}{nm-1}$ – vise versa, it is profitable for N to have a zero growth factor $\alpha = 0$, until the number of the rivals does not decrease to $M < M^*\frac{n-1}{nm-1}$.

A consequence of the above will be the following "politically correct" behavior algorithm of the side N, in conditions of mutual intolerance:

1. To verify the above-mentioned condition $N^* < N\frac{mn-1}{m-1}$. If it fails, then to reduce N^* thus, that the inequality begins to run.

2. If $M < M^* \frac{n-1}{nm-1}$, in principle you may do nothing else – the winning to the side N, with the limit population number N^*, has already provided. To speed it up - you can maximize the growth rate α, and to increase the maximum number – N^* can be increased from time to time but so, that there always runs the inequality of the paragraph 1.
3. If $M > M^* \frac{n-1}{nm-1}$ – it is necessary to stabilize the population by putting up $\alpha = 0$, until $M < M^* \frac{n-1}{nm-1}$ starts to run, then go to the paragraph 2.

Note that if we apply to our model the principle of rational expectations [Muth, 1961], then firstly, the system trajectory always will be in the following area of the phase plane:

$$N > N^* \frac{m-1}{nm-1},\ M > M^* \frac{n-1}{nm-1},$$

and, secondly, will be stable at one of the points of this area, because of the rationality of choosing in that area of zero growth rates $\alpha = 0$, $\beta = 0$.

Finally, perhaps the most important conclusion is that in order to achieve the gaming purposes (for example, for survival in the environment of intolerance, the increase of the ultimate number and etc.) it is necessary to change the established cultural stereotypes, to bring them into conformity with the actual game situation.

The Origin and the Development of the Identity

Wikipedia defines the term identity as follows: “Identity is an umbrella term used throughout the social sciences to describe a person's conception and expression of their individuality or group affiliations (such as national identity and cultural identity)”. The culture is still regarded as its "domestic" level – as proven by the group in question technology of standard answers to the standard requests of the environment. As for our simplified model (1), in its framework the culture and identity, as was mentioned – are above all a pair of observable quantities $\frac{N}{N^*}, n\frac{N}{N^*}$ and $\frac{M}{M^*}, m\frac{M}{M^*}$, that characterize the competitive pressures on the tribesmen and foreigners and how they differ from each other.

Following J. Swift, the author believes that the identity can occur even out of nothing, as it did in the case of "Big-Endians" and "Little-Endians" from the "Gulliver's Travels":

"It (the war ‘for six and thirty Moons past’) began upon the following occasion. It is allowed on all hands, that the primitive way of breaking eggs, before we eat them, was upon the larger end; but his present majesty's grandfather, while he was a boy, going to eat an egg, and breaking it according to the ancient practice, happened to cut one of his fingers. Whereupon the emperor his father published an edict, commanding all his subjects, upon great penalties, to break the smaller end of their eggs. The people so highly resented this law, that our histories tell us, there have been six rebellions raised on that account; wherein one emperor lost his life, and another his crown".

We'll see in terms of our model, how the identity, once originated, can develop. Suppose that a certain population developed by the logistic law:

$$\frac{dP}{dt} = \alpha P\left(1 - \frac{P}{P^*}\right) \tag{2}$$

We now single out a certain part of it, which we call N, and the remaining – M. Obviously $P = N + M$. Consider the system:

$$\begin{aligned} \frac{dN}{dt} &= \alpha N\left(1 - \frac{N}{P^*} - \frac{M}{P^*}\right), \\ \frac{dM}{dt} &= \alpha M\left(1 - \frac{N}{P^*} - \frac{M}{P^*}\right). \end{aligned} \tag{3}$$

Obviously, any solution of (3) gives a solution of (2) by $P = N + M$. The numbers of N and M grow in proportion – as mentioned above, in the analysis of mutual relations without prejudices and preferences, $\frac{N}{M} = \frac{N_0}{M_0}$ – first integral of (3).

Suppose now, that the part which we denote as N, recognizing their community, and is beginning to compete less with each other. For example, as calls Bulat Okudzhava's song “A wish for my friends” (the poetry translated in English by Alec Vagapov):

Let's shout and rejoice,
Admire one another.
About high-flown words
We do not need to bother.

Let's live in mutual praise,
Make complimentary comments
For these are, after all,
Love's great and happy moments.

. . .

Let's get along indulging
And pleasing one another
For life is very short,
There won't be any other.

Let our distinguished group N has reduced the competition within itself n times, $n > 1$, but outwards it that does not manifest any changes, and its pressure on the rest M remains the same – $\frac{N}{P^*}$. Then (3) becomes:

$$\frac{dN}{dt} = \alpha N\left(1 - \frac{N}{nP^*} - \frac{M}{P^*}\right),$$
$$\frac{dM}{dt} = \alpha M\left(1 - \frac{N}{P^*} - \frac{M}{P^*}\right). \tag{4}$$

In terms of the above classification – this is the attitude without preferences or prejudices from the part of M, and intolerance – from the part of N. So, the point $(nP^*,0)$ – is a stable node of the system (4), and therefore, the population N received a competitive advantage by acquiring the identity inside P.

Among others, this fact justifies a general dislike of the various secret societies, especially if their members are much better relate to each other than to all externals. For example, Tertullian, in his "Apology," describes the attitude of the Romans to the Christians of the early centuries: “The love that they fed to each other seemed a dangerous conspiracy”.

Assume now that M became aware of the existence of the community N, and the above-mentioned dislike of secret societies emerged in the appropriate coefficient of intolerance $m > 1$, so we obtain from (4):

$$\frac{dN}{dt} = \alpha N\left(1 - \frac{N}{nP^*} - m\frac{M}{P^*}\right),$$
$$\frac{dM}{dt} = \alpha M\left(1 - \frac{N}{P^*} - \frac{M}{P^*}\right). \tag{5}$$

The system (5) – is an example of mutual intolerance. In this case it is easy to see that the side M has greater space for maneuver, it can infinitely increase its pressure on N. Party N, in the given model can only completely remove the intra-competition. Therefore, most likely, "unmasked secret society" will eventually be forced to leave the scene.

You can equalize the chances of the parties, permitting to the side N to change the sign of the coefficient n. In the subject area, this would mean the replacement of intra-population competition by mutual assistance. Perhaps that is how it was with the Christians of the early centuries, experiencing severe persecution by the Roman Empire, and, nevertheless, survived this empire. In any case, many sources of that time speak about the extraordinary love linking the members of the Christians’ community: “And all that believed were together, and had all things common; and they sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all, according as any man had need”. “And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and soul: and not one of them said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common.” “For neither was there among them any that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold and laid them at the apostles' feet…" "…and believers were the more added to the Lord, multitudes both of them and women…" Acts 2:44-45; 4:32,34,35; 5:14.

Study of Migration

Let's try to look at the processes, connected with migration of the population, with the positions of the simplest mathematical model of interaction of cultures on the basis of the equations of competition P. Verhulst, as well as A. Lotka and V. Volterra.

Assume that at the initial state of our system there are two countries, and their populations N and M without consideration of the interaction between them, change according the logistic law:

$$\frac{dN}{dt} = \alpha N(1 - \frac{N}{N^*}) ,$$

$$\frac{dM}{dt} = \beta M(1 - \frac{M}{M^*}) .$$

Where N and M – population numbers, N^* and M^* capacities of an environment, α and β - breeding coefficients.

Suppose that the competitive pressure among M is higher than among N : $\frac{M}{M^*} > \frac{N}{N^*}$. In the subject area of our model, this inequality can be interpreted as the fact that in the environment of N life is easier, than among M .

Suppose that a certain part of the population M , is aware of this fact and decides to look for the best conditions of life among N. Perhaps in this case, the migrants do not face the attitude to them, which is accepted in the environment of N themselves, but with a certain attitude towards the «strangers», which is adjusted by coefficient of intolerance – $n\frac{N}{N^*}$.

So, we get:

$$\frac{dN}{dt} = \alpha N(1 - \frac{N}{N^*} - m\frac{\tilde{M}}{M^*}),$$
$$\frac{d\tilde{M}}{dt} = \beta\tilde{M}(1 - \frac{\tilde{M}}{M^*} - n\frac{N}{N^*}) , \qquad (6)$$

where $\tilde{M}$ - is formed in the country N migrant Diaspora from the country M . In this case we still assume the inequality $\frac{M}{M^*} > n\frac{N}{N^*}$, which is the cause of migration. So, in the first approximation we assume that the number of migrants is proportional with some coefficient $\delta > 0$ to the number of M , as well as to the difference in the living conditions of migrants among N , and within the culture of M itself:

$$\delta M\,(\frac{M}{M^*}-n\frac{N}{N^*})$$

Suppose then, that some of migrants $0\le\xi\le 1$ are integrated into N, becoming thus a full-fledged part of that culture. The remaining part $0\le 1-\xi\le 1$ forms a Diaspora $\tilde{M}$ in the culture N.

Apparently, ξ depends on the coefficient of intolerance n, and this dependency is direct: the more is intolerance to the «strangers» the better is to integrate into N and not be a subjected of this intolerance. Of course, this relationship is nonlinear, if only because $0\le\xi\le 1$. It is natural to assume that if $n\le 1$, the coefficient ξ is close to zero – there is no sense in integration, if the «aliens» are not worse, than the «compatriots». If $n\to\infty$, obviously, $\xi\to 1$ – when there is absolutely intolerance, a great desire arises to avoid the disappearance at any cost. Let's try to model this dependence on the interval $[1,\infty)$ of n changing by logistic curve:

$$\xi(n)=\frac{2e^{\gamma(n-1)}}{1+e^{\gamma(n-1)}}-1\,.$$

The parameter $\gamma>0$ here determines the rate of growth of the curve $\xi(n)$ from 0 to 1.

The interaction of N and $\tilde{M}$ we still will describe by two-dimensional equations of competition (1), at the same time believing that their «culture», i.e. in the framework of our simplest model - external variables β and M^* migrants bring with them, i.e., inherit them from their «parent» culture of M. So, assumptions made are enough to write the dynamics of all three components of our model:

$$\frac{dM}{dt}=\beta M\,(1-\frac{M}{M^*})-\delta M\,(\frac{M}{M^*}-n\frac{N}{N^*})\,,$$

$$\frac{d\tilde{M}}{dt}=\beta\tilde{M}\,(1-\frac{\tilde{M}}{M^*}-n\frac{N}{N^*})+\delta(1-\xi(n))M\,(\frac{M}{M^*}-n\frac{N}{N^*})\,,$$

$$\frac{dN}{dt}=\alpha N\,(1-\frac{N}{N^*}-m\frac{\tilde{M}}{M^*})+\delta\xi(n)M\,(\frac{M}{M^*}-n\frac{N}{N^*})\,.$$

We got the three-dimensional nonlinear system, significantly more complex than, for example, the three-dimensional competitive system. Nevertheless, the experience got from the competitive model can suggest some trends of the system behavior, which further was tested with the help of numerical experiments.

For example, if a culture N is tolerant to $\tilde{M}$, it may disappear completely – total replacement of N by $\tilde{M}$. By the way, the history of even the twentieth century knows such examples. The following figure 1 illustrates this situation:

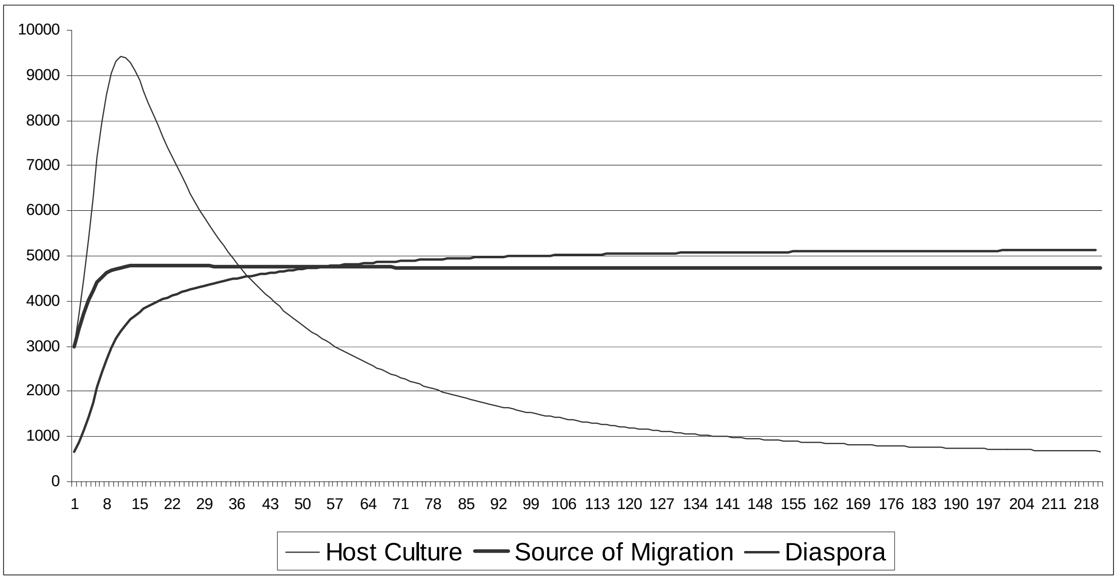

Figure 1. The host culture is tolerant to migrants.

The host culture can easily avoid the sad fate described above, increasing its coefficient of intolerance n, so, that $\frac{M}{M^*} \le n\frac{N}{N^*}$ – this inequality guarantee the total absence of migration.

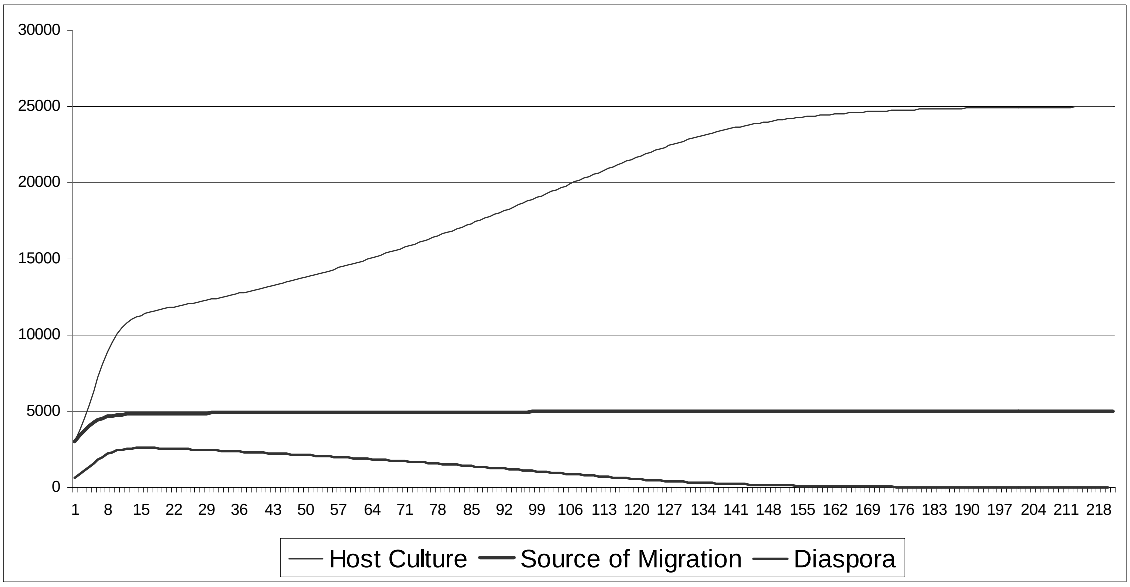

Figure 2. The host culture is intolerant to migrants.

Nevertheless, even in the case of the inequality $\frac{M}{M^*} > n\frac{N}{N^*}$ in the beginning of the process, when the number of N is far from saturation, and strong enough intolerance from N, the culture $\widetilde{M}$ may disappear completely (partly, at the expense of integration). The figure 2 illustrates the situation.

If for some reason the migration is vital for the host culture – the best for it is the tactic of «gentle intolerance» – maintenance of its coefficient of intolerance at such a level which provides the required number of migrants.

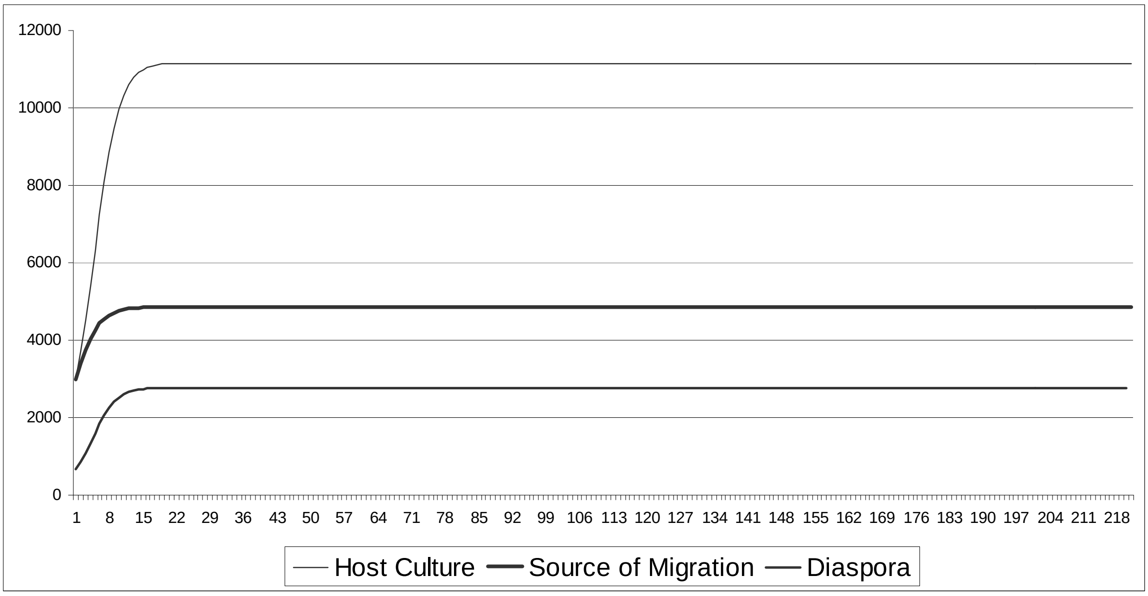

Figure 3. The maintenance of a balance in the system with migration.

The results of a numerical experiment in figure 3 show that the latter it is also quite possible in our model.

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The use of new designer drugs among Russian students

According to The United Nations Organization (World Drug Report 2011-2012), during the last five-years the international markets of heroin, cocaine and cannabis were either decreasing or remaining stable, but were markedby the rapid growth of new synthetic ("designer") unforbidden drugs [9, 10].

The term "Designer drugs" ("Legal highs", "analog drugs") is used to describe substances - analogs or derivatives of existing drugs,created to avoid the resolutions of existing drug laws by modifying their chemical structure, or less commonly by finding drugs with entirely different chemical structures that produce similar subjective effects to illegal recreational drugs.

"Designer drugs"were first seriously discussed in the 80s in the United States (synthetic opioids). Since then, the world has witnessed several waves of synthetic drugs.Most of the "new drugs" sold in the world during the period of the late 90's - early 2000's were positioned for drug consumers as "research chemicals", substances for "scientific research". There were mostly hallucinogens and had a chemical resemblance to drugs such as psilocybin and mescaline. They were consumed to facilitate spiritual processes (empathogens), mental reflection (psychedelics) or recreation (stimulants, euphoriants).

The period from 2005 to the present time is characterized by a broadening of the range of compounds sold as designer drugs.Especially rapid development occurred at 2009 - 2011 years and continues to this day.

New designer drugs are such a recent and latent phenomenon that there is no reliable statisticson the prevalence of these substances yet. In some European countries, the number of consumers of new synthetic drugs is greater than the number of heroin and cocaine consumers. According to expert estimatesof physiciansthere is four-fold increase in the incidence of people getting to the hospital after consuming synthetic drugs for the period 2003-2008 in the Netherlands. In the UK legal highsare the fourth most commonly used drug among nightclubgoers after cannabis, MDMA and cocaine. In the USA federal agencies such as the National Institute on Drug Abuse and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) are just beginning to collect data about them.

So, the American Association of Poison Control Centers received more than 6,138 calls about "bath salt" drugs (new synthetic substances that simulate sensations as cocaine or MDMA) in 2011 — up from just 304 the year before.There were 1,656 calls in 2012, by June 2013 - more than 450.As for the synthetic cannabinoids, the number of appeals has increased from 2,906 in 2010 to 6,960 in 2011.In 2012 the number of complaints was 5205, and by June 2013-

1190[7].An analysis of adults who sought treatment in emergency rooms found that men and women abused bath salts in nearly equal numbers, and that they ranged in age from 20 to 55 (the average age was 28).Nearly 70% of users said they had abused other drugs in the past, and nearly half had some type of mental disorder, such as bipolar disorder, depression, or schizophrenia[4].

A similar situation is beginning to emerge in Russia. The problem of the rapid spread of various "new" substances for Russia is quite new, and information about these substances, due to the specifics of their production and marketing, comes to controlling institutions with a long delay and quickly becomes outdated. It is known that if in 2007 the new drugs were used in 19 subjects of the Russian Federation, in 2009 already 60. There are practically no sociological researches on the subjectin modern Russia.There are no reliable statistics, no police or medical registrationof the abuse and its consequences. A new trend in the drug situation has no analogues in the study of modern drug addiction. In this regard, scientists of The Institute of Sociology of The Russian Academy of Science (The Department of Sociology of deviant behavior) initiatethe comprehensive study of the situation with the "new" drugs in Russia, requiring the development of new research techniques (the study was conducted with the financial support of RFBR № 12-06-00117a).

There are several generations of "designer drugs", which are available in Russia to-day.

1. "Spice", herbal (smoking) mixes (designer cannabinoids).Designer drugs in Russia are usually associated with so-called smoking mixes sold as legal alternatives to marijuana and produced mainly in China.They appeared on the Russian black market with numerous brandsin 2005 and reached its peak in 2007.Drug producers stated that the effect of Smoking mixtures was caused by natural components - motherwort, red clover, salvia etc, however in 2008 it was found that the active component of mixes were synthetic cannabinoids.2009 was the year of the beginning of wide state company for the prohibition of synthetic cannabinoids in Russia, continuing to this day. Blue Lotus, sage predictors, Hawaiian rose, JWH-018 and a number of other synthetic cannabinoids were added to the List of prohibited narcotic and psychotropic substances in December 2009.However, the production of synthetic mixtures was not stopped, and the market presented a new JWH-250, which became popular very quickly among drug users, despite the very short time effect (15-20 minutes). JWH-250 remained the main legal cannabinoid in Russia until 2011, when most of well-known synthetic cannabinoids series JWH, RCS-4, RCS-8 and their derivatives were forbidden.Government Resolution № 1215 of 23.11.2012 completed the List of banned substances even newer synthetic cannabinoids, but the sellers of designer drugs, in turn, were ready for that.Thus,new designer substances, outwitting this prohibition, have appeared on the market before the ban. At present, despite the prohibition,

more and more cannabinoids are synthesized rapidly. In addition, distributors began to give names to new «mixes» which included new synthetic unforbidden compounds by themselves.

2. Powders, tablets, pills (empathogens-entactogens, stimulants, euphoriants etc, sold under the guise of «bath salts», «plant food»and other). Since 2008 Russian market of legal drugs was starting to get all kinds of designer drugs such types as stimulants and empathogens. Despite a plenty of different brands a composition of new designer drugs of Chinese and European productiontypically containedsuch substances as mephedrone, methylone, methylenedioxypyrovalerone (MDPV) etc., mixed in various proportions with adjuvants and providing a number of powerful effects typical of ecstasy, amphetamines and cocaine.

The "bath salts" received its name due to the similarity (white crystals) with legal products such as Epsom salt, etc., but were chemically disparate from actual bath salts. "Bath salts"are often states "Not for human consumption", in an attempt to avoid the prohibition of drugs. Like any designer drug, the exact composition of each batch can vary widely and in this case the drug can be smoked, snorted or injected. "Salts" have proliferated in the Russian Federation in 2009-2010 as a legitimate alternative to some of psychoactive substances; their distribution was accompanied by alarming surge in cases of serious health negative effects among consumers.

The third generation of designer drugs was a response to a number of banning orders of 2010, when almost all of designer drugs, including such substances as mephedrone, methylone and MDPV being in circulation, were included to the List of forbidden narcotic, psychotropic substances.

Having lost the status, mephedrone, naturally, didn’t disappear from the markets of substance.However, through the efforts of dealers it was carefully masked by the addition of different sorts of impurities, which in itself was fraught with unforeseen consequences. According to the Federal Drug Control Service, about 40 new designer drugs appeared in Russia in 2010 (and about 50 in 2012), which did not fall under the federal ban.

Drug trafficking organizations have shown an extraordinary degree of flexibility in adapting their manufacturing strategies to avoid detection. Some of these strategies include the use of substitute chemicals, the extraction of precursors from pharmaceutical preparations and, most recently, the masking of precursors and development of alternative methods of synthesis. Thus, the "fourth" and the "fifth" generation of "new drugs" followed after legislative decrees of 2011-2012s.

The peculiarity of modern stage of legal substances on the market is the tendency to conceal the actual formulas for new substances. There is a constant uncontrolled change in the composition of products.

The distribution of these substances is carried out under numerous frequently changing names. Today, manufacturers and sellers almost have completely departed from the practice of brand naming – more and more of new substances had only conditional code-names, such as A9, E2, MD, GR-01, NZT-50 PM-28 CHM-1000F, F-16, W001F, etc. Couriers deliver the substance to consumers, leaving itat special hiding-places, for example in the porch behind the battery or in the subway under the bench etc. Such places are called in the jargon of "cache" or "laying" (originally: "zakladka").

The government has no time to limit their spread and to warn population about the dangers of their using because of extensive myths about the safety of "new drugs".

Pharmacy-drug addiction and non-medical use of prescription drugs, including tranquilizers, sedatives,are another 2 aggravating problems in Russia. Experienced drug addicts ("hard addiction", with a diagnosis) accommodate different medications to fit their needs. Thus, at last years highly explosive phenomena haverapidly spread in Russia: a) the usage of codeine drugs (medicines) for conversion intodesomorphine («Crocodile»), b) non-medical intravenous use of the tianeptine («Coaxil»), which was an antidepressant, c) misuse (conscious substantial overdose or intravenous use) of methylphenidate ("Ritalin").The government approved a number of decrees restricting the sale and distribution of these substances (N 648, 17.11.2004; № 486 30.06.2010; restricting the sale of medicinal codeine agents - 01.06.2012). However, since 2009 another "pharmacy" drug - "Tropicamide" (eye drops)- was starting to gain its popularity among drug users.Addicts using opiates dropped it into the eyes to widen pupils-contracted and to hide drug intoxication from others. Addicts didn’t follow the instructions in the dosage and just poured out the solution directly into the eyes. As a result of an overdose such effects as agitation, hallucinations appeared. The ingenuity of drug addicts has no limit, so addicts began experimenting with the substance. First, a few drops in a solution, then directly intravenously.

Since the summer of 2012 nitrous oxide, received the nickname «Laughing gas» due to the intoxicating effect, began to gain popularity among young people in Russia. The substance is used through inhalation, mainly using balloons filled with the gas. The substance is distributed mainly in nightclubs, but also it can be easily ordered online.

Over the past few decades, smartphones, tablets and Internet havebecome available to a growing share of the world population.Using Internet has increased rapidly, withthe number of people with Internet access skyrocketingfrom 2.6 million in 1990 to 6 billion by the end of 2011, corresponding to a global penetration of 86%[3, 8].

The Internet has exerted a major impact on the drugbusiness. For traffickers, it is now far easier to understandthe price levels in various markets obtain precursor chemicalsand hide drug-related profits. With the development of social networks the channels of getting information about drugs have also changed: the Internet has become to take the first place to obtain information about drugs (according to surveys of The Institute of Sociology, 39% of Russian university-students have known/have heard about "new drugs" from the Internet, 21% from friends/acquaintances, and 9% from consumers).Drug consumers havestarted to use the Internet as a means of exchanging informationabout the use of various substances and on thebest opportunities to acquire more potent drugs cheaply.Moreover, new designer drugs which haven't come under international controlyet (such as those sold under the brand name Spice) have beensuccessfully marketed via the Internet.

A reconnaissance online survey (pilotage) was conducted among university-students in autumn 2012 in the largest European social network "Vkontakte" (literally "in contact").The study was carried out in five of the most known and stable student groups, ranging from 60 thousand to 800 thousand people ("Medical Student", "History Student", "Law Student", "Who was not a student would not go" and "Cheery student"). The questionnaire was sent out to 500 students. In order to heighten the response rate the Theme of the survey was denoted as "The Lifestyle of Modern Youth". The sample size was 178 of respondents therefore the response rate footed up to35.6%, which was a standard indicator in online polls without pay respondent. Respondents' age ranged from 17 to 24 years. The proportion of girls was 60%, boys - 40%, which corresponded to the composition of groups.

The main tasks of reconnaissance phase were to examine the degree of familiarity and prevalence of substance use and, in particular, the "new substances" - "legal drugs", "designer drugs" – among the students Internet users, to define their attitude to new drugs, as well as to determine the characteristics of subcultural groups using «new substances».

The Internet-based survey has its pros and cons. The theme of drug use is enough latent, but the anonymity allows to surmount it. However, there may be problems with the sample base due to spontaneous selection. Thus, we can talk about the representativeness of the sample only in relation to the student's online audience of social network.

Online survey showed that over then a third (32.5%) of university-students tried those or other drugs. These figures coincide with the data which has been repeatedly announced by Viktor Ivanov - the Director of the Federal Service for Drug Control (FDCS).According to our data, every fourth student tried drugs 1-2 times, 5% used rarely, not every month, and 2.5% noticed that periodically used any substance.

The structure of drug use shows that cannabis remains the most popular drug among students (25%).The second most commonly used drug among students is synthetic marijuana, hiding under such substances as "Spice" or herbal mixes (17%). Use of synthetic marijuana is alarmingly high. For reference according to data from the 2011 Monitoring the Future survey of youth, 11.4 percent of 12th graders used Spice or K2, also making it the second most popular drug among seniors [5].

The problem with the use of Spice is directly linked to the problem of marijuana use. Youth that already fond of pot (marihuana) turns to Spice because it's easier to get. Sellers perceive it as legal, and drug tests don't reveal them. Also it's easy to use and effects are faster and stronger. Most of consumers just smoke it in a pipe or joint, and some users even brew it up in a tea.

"Laughing gas" (nitrous oxide) and non-medical use of medicine take the third place in drug structure (10%).

About 7% of students noted that tried "magic mushrooms" (psilocybin).Recreational usage and attitudes toward psilocybin-containing hallucinogenic mushrooms among university-students are seldom explored.Figures of psilocybin-users vary from the research to research. For example according to The European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (EMCDDA) prevalence estimates for *last year* use of hallucinogenic mushrooms among young adults (15- to 34-year-olds) range between 0.0 % and 2.2 % in Europe [1].*Lifetime prevalence* for the use hallucinogenic mushrooms among 15- to 16-year-old school students ranged from 1% to 7 % in the 24 EU Member States and Norway with ESPAD surveys in 2011 with only the Czech Republic reporting a prevalence level of 7% [6]. On the contrary, a survey of hallucinogenic mushroom use, factors related to usage, and perceptions of use among college students in upstate New York (U.S.A.) showed that about 29.5% of students were using "magic mushrooms" for such purposes as "to achieve a mystical experience", and "introspection" [2].

The fifth place in drug structure takes such substances as amphetamine (5%) and new designer drugs –"bath salts" (powders, "legal highs") – 5%. The largest proportion of students who considered amphetamine was found in the UnitedStates (about 16% among 18-24 years old)by the survey, conducted by The National Institute on Drug Abuse[5]. In Europe lifetime prevalence of amphetamines use varies considerably between countries, from 0.1 % to 12.4 %, with a weighted European average of 5.5% [6]. Amphetamine in Russia also remains a popular drug among young people of all social groups in the age of 15-30 years. Moscow and Metropolitan police reported an increase in the use of amphetamine in 2013. The number of seizures of the drug three times exceeds the number of seized heroin.Active dissemination of amphetamine in the Moscow region is connected with the fact that this "club drug" is used as a stimulant. According to the police this drug is easier to hide, transport and sell. Since the beginning of 2013 the activity of the two major laboratories and five drug houses on the production and use of amphetamine was suppressed.

A study of drug addicts [11] has shown that the first intake of stimulants was carried out mainly at the age of 17-20 years. This is preceded by episodes of cannabinoid smoking, drinking alcohol without symptoms of dependence. The main motive of amphetamine and its derivatives consumption is often the imitation fashion.According to statistics the proportion of registered amphetamine addicts (with diagnosis) does not exceed 1%. However, according to our previous studies about 10% of high school students and university students have experience of using amphetamine. Amphetamines are usually consumed by youth as a stimulating and/or recreational substance in order to improve mental performance, stamina, creativity, physical strength, energy etc. Amphetamines are used when visiting night entertainment establishments - the so-called "club" drugs with empathogen action under the common slang term "speed". This is a large group of substances, including methyl derivative of amphetamine – methamphetamine. In addition, today under the guise of amphetamines or their analogues different substances with effects similar to amphetamine: (MDPV, mephedrone) are spread. Most of them distributed in the form of tablets (pills), but powders are not less popular, extending as "bath salts", "food for plants".

"Bath salts" have been given much attention in the press in the past two years, however, there has been very little scientific information about the prevalence of their use. The National Institute on Drug Abuse provides the first national survey data about the prevalence of their use in USA [5]. The research shows that the annual prevalence rates of bath salts in 2012 to be very low (about 1.3% among high students). Data on calls to the National Poison Control centers relating to bath salts suggest that use may have risen rapidly after 2010, peaked in the first half of 2011, but declined by half in the first half of 2012, and continued to decline since then [7]. So, estimates may well reflect prevalence after the peak rates of use. The situation in Russia is not so optimistic. About 5% of university students have noted that ever tried "legal highs"or"bath salts". In Russia, various drugs in the "bath salts" category have become a serious problem, easily available at on-line shops. Bath salts are cheap, innocent looking, easy to obtain, and many people think they’re legal, or at least know they’re unlikely to be caught and prosecuted for using them. Bath salts come in little packets with soothing names.

Cocaine, ecstasy (MDMA), methamphetamine follow and continue the row of stimulants, taking the sixth place in the drug structure (2%, 1.5% and 1.5% respectively). LSD, Ketamine, PCP and GHB (hydroxybutyrate) were mentioned by 1% of students. Another 1% has noticed that tried inhalants (except nitrous oxide).

Gender analysis has shown that drug usage was generally higher among males (36%) than among females (28%). Especially differences concern the use of spice, non-medical use of medicines and marijuana. In contrast, among consumers of relatively harmless "Laughing gas"females are 2 times more than males. Also females slightly ahead of boys in the usage of stimulants: amphetamine, methamphetamine and ecstasy (fig.1).

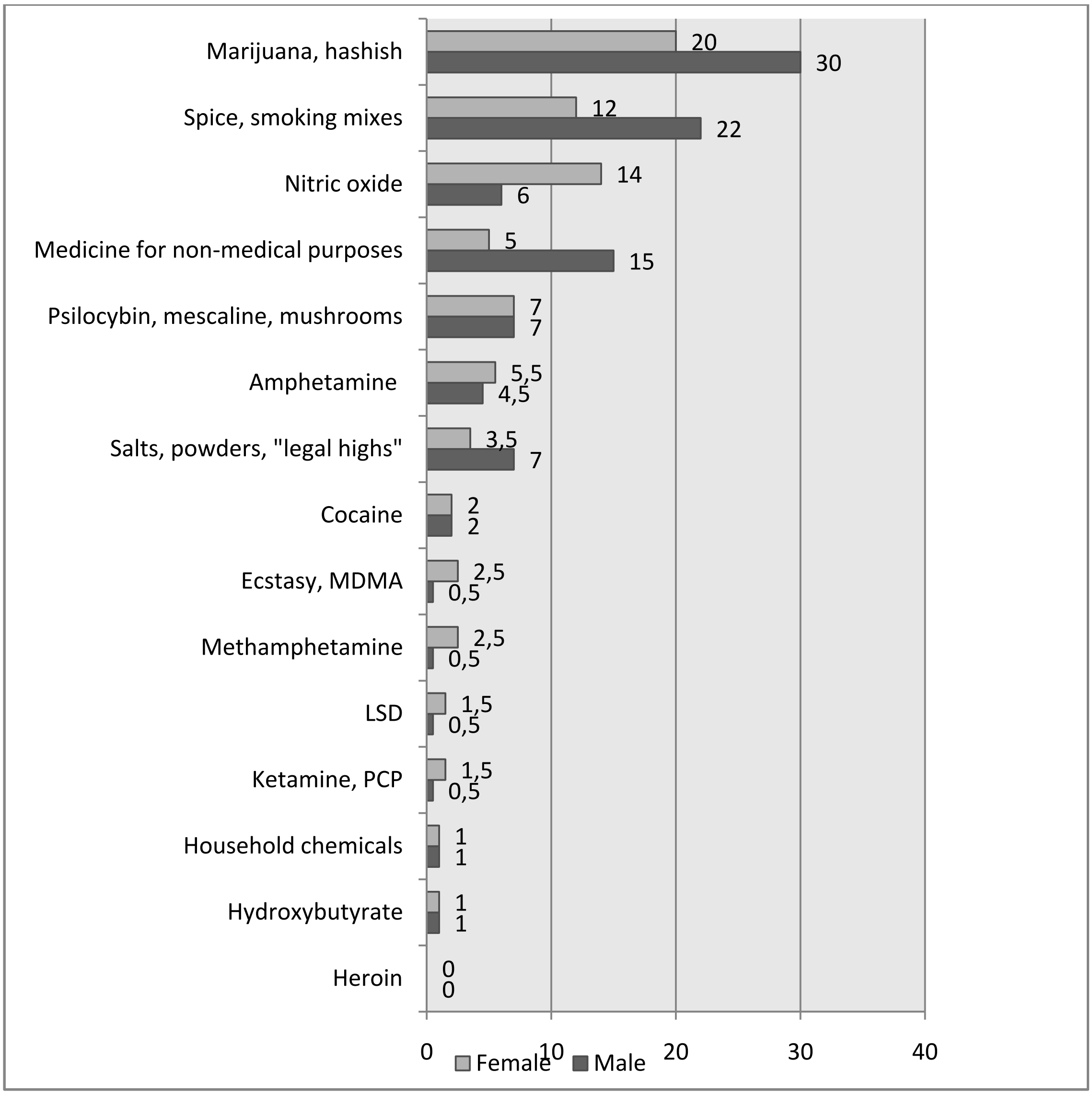

Fig.1. Gender differences in drug structure (%)

Totally on-line survey have shown that about 17% of university-students tried any new ("designed", "legal") drug other than nitrous oxide. Such significant numbers can be explained by the fact that the survey was conducted on-line among regular Internet users, and the Internet is an important channel of the distribution of "new drugs".

One of the most important goals of the pilot stage was to demonstrate the extent to which attitudes and beliefs about "new drugs" determine their use. The answers were analyzed only for those students who had noted that tried such substances as"Spice" (herbal mixes, synthetic cannabis), "bath salts" (powders, pills, etc.) and so called "legal highs". No one student using nitric oxide or medicine for not-medical purposes didn’t answer the question about motives of their consumption, apparently not considering them as drugs at all. It was possible to choose more than one alternatives, so the sum of the answers may exceed 100%.

Every second student - a new drug consumer - has noticed that took the new substance for the company (50%). Another significant motive is hedonistic reason – a sensation seeking (26%). Every fifth has marked that new drugs were easier to get, and every fourth that they were less harmful. No less important role plays the declared legality (17%) and the price (12%) of substances.Every tenth supposed that new drugs were less addictive.From 5% up to 10% of students have marked that new drugs were prestigious and fashionable, made the life brighter and gave power and energy.

Responses to the question about the danger of new drugs have shown that nearly a half of students, using "new drugs" (48%) considered them as dangerous as all other kinds of narcotics. Another quarter noticed that the use was risky, because of dubious quality. Almost every fifth pointed that "new drugs" were not harmful for such reasons as "substances corresponding to modern requirements of quality" (7%), "if taken correctly" ("not very often", or "in small doses") (11%).

Completing our short summary it is important to point that attempts to circumvent drug control by marketing unregulated substitutes are not new. What is new is the wide range of substances now being explored, the aggressive marketing of products that have been intentionally mislabelled, the growing use of the Internet, and the speed at which the market reacts to control measures. The feature of the current drug situation is characterized by participation of drug users who are concerned with the formation of such mechanisms of self-regulation in use that would allow them to be "socially intact" in the family,at work and in different parts of life. Russia is now entering a stage of mass hiddennarcotization - the so-called "gray area". The current situation applies to both "old" traditional drugs, and the "new" - "legal", "design", and "analog", etc. These "new" drugs, often called the "light" generate the ideology of safe drug abuse. Along with the "grassroots" drug use (hardaddiction, leading to the marginalization of status and role, and personal dysfunction) such "new" forms as: a) a status and b) of recreational drug use are becoming increasingly popular.

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Ethno national peculiarities of the formation of civil society in Russia: a regional aspect

Movement towards civil society is recognized by many researchers as a natural stage in the development of modern civilization. Not all of them follow the same look as on the nature of civil society, and the ways of its formation. The discussions of the last years confirms the relevance of this problem. Without entering into them, we only note that the scientific community agree that which way will the development of each state depends largely on the level of development of the civil society.

The subject of our research was the question of the state and mechanisms of formation of civil society in the Lipetsk region. The study was conducted on two samples: the experts and population.

As the results of our study, a clear understanding of the essence of civil society neither the population nor the experts have not formed. So, even among the experts, almost half confuses the concept of civil society and legal state (45,8%). The level of development of civil society in the Lipetsk region is estimated by the respondents highly enough. So, 46,7% of the respondents indicated that the level of development of civil society in the Lipetsk region is on par with the rest of Russia, and 16.7% of respondents are convinced that the level of development is higher than in other regions.

A set of behavioral indicators of the formation of civil society in the Lipetsk region includes the readiness and real participation of citizens in the activities of public associations. Willingness to participate in social activities is an indicator of social maturity and understanding of the significance of the idea of civil society. The results of our study show that 40% of the population are ready to take part in public activity, and half of this number, 21, 5% not ready and 38.3% were undecided. Apparently, their position ситуативна and depends on circumstances, conditions of participation. Those who were undecided pessimistic perceive their ability to somehow influence the improvement of the socio-economic situation in your city, district, village, etc. (38%).

This situation testifies about the presence of, first, still very noticeable impact installation of the Soviet period of the formalities, procedures, participation in elections and other civil initiatives. Secondly, that with the change of socio-political situation in the society there is still no understanding of the fact that citizens can and should influence the adoption of local decisions, they do not know how and do not believe in their ability to do so.

The Foundation of civil society - participation of citizens in public Affairs, public associations, non-governmental organizations, trade unions, religious organizations and independent mass media and other organizations. This is the main behavioural indicator. In our study, more than half of the respondents among the population do not participate in public activities (57,5%), and regularly participate only 11.3%.

Obviously, the formation of any social institution cannot go without difficulties and problems. Opinions of experts and the General public concerning the main problems of the functioning of the institutions of civil society are not the same. And although all respondents in the first place put the problems of material support of public organizations (experts - 34,2%, population - 36,0%); on the second place experts insufficient knowledge and experience in defending common interests (31,7%), population - lack of willingness to merge by the citizens (32,0%); the third place among experts, the absence of «strong» leader (17,5%), population - lack of knowledge and experience for the protection of common interests (29,3%).

The results of our study showed, that the Lipetsk region the formation of civil society has only just started. A slow and painful process of transition from этатистской model of society, which is characterized by the dominance of the state in all spheres of public life, the civil model in which the state and its institutions balanced system of Amateur and independent organizations is not easy. The population and experts lacks a clear idea of the essence of civil society and the mechanisms of its formation.

Difficulties in the development of civil society is largely due to the peculiarities of political and civic culture of the Russian population, for a long time were under the authority of the almost total regulation of the most important aspects of everyday human existence. The inertia of this experience, as shown by our study, is still very high. The bulk of the population is practically not involved in solving the issues of community development, although the level of readiness of the population to public activities of the above. Mainly young people with higher education, have passed the stage of formation in the post-Soviet time are ready to legitimize the idea of civil society.

There is no social environment, initiated by the Amateur associations of citizens, public organizations, promote the formation of civil society institutions. The level of awareness of the population about the existence of those or other public organizations sufficiently low, the activity of themselves small, affect the very narrow circle of persons. Not enough media and biased coverage of activities of civil society institutions. The efficiency of activity of institutions of civil society remains low.

Buzin,Valery N.,Moscow

The management of media space: a sociological look at the possibility of building a society of G.Orwell

Abstract. The article is devoted to the analysis of the Russian media space. The author tries to give answers to the questions about the structure of the Russian media space as an object of social control; on the specifics of the Russian media space in modern conditions; on the specifics of management taking place in the media space processes in the conditions of regional and national diversity in Russia; on the best information and management technologies providing socially responsible management of медиапространством.

Keywords: media space, system analysis, basic element analysis, activity approach.

Statement of the problem. Described by George Orwell in his novel anti-utopia «1984» company, completely denying the freedom and autonomy of the person, a society, which is characterized by: the mobilization of all forces for the implementation of the global goal; the concentration of power in the hands of one party, guided by the leader; wholehearted monopoly on the means of communication; full control over the public and private life; the brutal violence in relation to all dissidents and dissenters; constant search for enemies is unrelenting war will always be rejected healthy part of the society.

One of the main conditions of creation and existence of such a company is a monopoly, or at least, the dominant position of the leading elite in the media space of such a state.

The main objective of this work is to try to analyze the system of management of the Russian media space, but not for the sake of analysis as such, and in order to determine the possibility of total control over the media space and to determine the borders of its manageability.

In order to solve this task it is necessary first of all to some methodological basis reveal the structure of the studied object - Russian media space, its functional relations that describe how the basic methods of social control this медиапространством, and methods of monitoring the effectiveness of managerial decisions in the sphere of media space. And already on the basis of the analysis carried out to understand the existing limitations on the possible «the totality of the control».

Media space as the object of a social and managerial activities. In my opinion, development of conceptual bases of management studies медиапространством can most effectively be carried out on the basis of structural-functional approach T. Parsons, activity theory A. Leontiev and sociological ideas G. Zimmel of the formal structure of social space.

In this article I will not dwell on the justification of the provisions of accessories media space to the space of the social, that in Russian sociology is devoted to quite a few detailed studies [Fillippov, 2008; Yudina, 2005;Buzin, 2012]. It should only emphasize the line in researches of the social space, which has found continuation in the interpretation of Kant's idea of space And Melnik [Melnik, 1989], which develops the Kantian argument activity, the fundamental nature of space is that it is an activity. It is necessary to mention that comes from the P. Sorokin, and, in a certain sense, of the T. Parsons, the interpretation of the social space as a field of relations between agents, elements of social interaction. The concept of social interaction we find the P. Park and E. Burgess, [Park, Burgess, 1969] and it is around him they build in fact, the social space.

In sociological same discourse of the concept of media space was introduced in 1990. A. Appadurai in the framework of the discussion of the theories of globalization [Appadurai, 1990]. Based on his ideas M. Roger waters, certain adaptations of the classification of spaces of streams and specialized her on the concept of simulacres of. Jean Baudrillard. «Dimensions» of culture in the theory of M. Waters are: sacriscape, formed by the flow of simulacres religiosity; ethnoscape, formed by the flow of simulacres ethnic identity; econoscape, formed by the flow of simulacres value and capital; media space, formed by the flow of simulacres information; leisure - space, formed by the flow of simulacres entertainment and impressions of the [Waters, 2001].

Analysis of the basic research in the field of social space and media space as its integral part, leads to the need to allocate it is an active part of the nature of this category. One of the most important features of the media space becomes his communicative-activity basis. The concept of the interaction of a well-coordinated both with the theory of social action, as well as with the structural-functional approach in General. Interaction as a sociological category allows us to directly link the interacting in the process of communication social institutions, including the means of mass communication, and their audience. As well as use all the long-machine sociological theories of mass communication and social management information campaigns. So you can identify the media space as a complex of open social system, which is created in the process of a holistic communication of the following social objects: the audience of mass media, producers/authors content for mass communication, the content and the actual means of mass communication.

System-activity approach to the analysis of media space. The identification of an active nature of media space entails the idea of checking the effectiveness of the system approach to the analysis of media space. Among the methodological directions in the sociology, oriented to the study of systemic-structural objects is the most important structural-functional analysis. Its main idea began to form in the late 19th century, almost simultaneously with the system of ideas in Russia, but in the form of a well-developed methodology, it was formulated only by the middle of the 20th century. The most influential theoretical concept of structural functionalism in sociology became the concept of T. Parsons [Parsons, 2000]. To a systems approach came and the latter P. Sorokin, who believed that the place of many of the theories in sociology should take methodological pluralism and system approach [Sorokin, 2008]. Combining research traditions of predecessors, T. Parsons in the 30-ies of the built analytical theory of social action. Already in this early period T. Parsons said not only about the structure of social action, but also on the General theory of action, which, in his view, should become a methodological and theoretical grounds of the Humanities and social Sciences [Parsons, 2000]. The basis of the concept T. Parsons was the question of the correlation between the structure and function. The result of his work, as laid out in the form of cross-tables, became the known scheme of four functions of the AGIL. It is the structural-functional analysis in sociology identified two main principle: the allocation of the structure of the object as some invariants describing the principles of building of this object and functional description of the structure.

A number of modern researchers, speaking about the system approach in sociology, describe his condition as poor [Volkov, 2009], although the development of the system of ideas in Russia has a rather long history. Assessing the overall status of the system approach, one can agree with G. P. Shchedrovitsky, which introduced the concept of «the movement» [Shchedrovitsky, 1995], in which all the existing approaches - «system analysis», «system approach», «General system theory», etc. - are viewed as elements of a holistic education - systemic movement. This concept remains relevant and at the present time.

Despite all the differences in understanding of a system approach, it should, in my view, be based on two key points: the allocation of basic element - system Configurator, and the identification and analysis of functional interconnect functional relations of the base element with the structural elements of the system. And the underscore the role of a principle of activity in a number of approaches to systemic analysis allows you to connect the system formulation of the problem with nonspecific nonsystem theories and attract activity theory to the analysis of the process of management of the Russian media space.

Development of operational theory is a significant trend of development of the scientific knowledge not only in sociology. In Russia the General theory of the activities developed by researchers, who is United in 1958, around the Commission on the psychology of thinking and logic of the all-Union society of psychologists, and since 1962 around seminar «Structure and system in science and technology» philosophy section of the Council on Cybernetics Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Discussion of the problems of localization of activities focused on the problem of correlation of the activity and the individual. In the framework of this approach argued that the activity is not a homogeneous polystructure, bringing together a lot of different and divergent processes, proceeding with a different pace and in different times. Activity theory in the framework of this concept, combining a number of different scientific disciplines, and each of them was characterized by its special units of activity. This provision goes beyond the many approaches in the study of the activities, and in particular the approach, which develops T. Parsons, and opens up interesting prospects of development of the activity approach as in sociology, as well as in other Sciences. Most in detail the activity approach was developed in the Moscow psychological school A. Leontiev. In the framework of the same school at the faculty of psychology of Moscow state University is working well-known sociologist, the founder of the Department of social psychology of the G. M. Andreeva [Andreeva, 1970]. The Leontiev theory of activity is obviously structural - functional character and in this plan does not contradict Parson’s approach, but goes further, raising their concerns in the framework of the objective reality.

In the framework of the structural and behavioural theories of media space, if you use Parsons’ terminology, is a product of the two systems, cultural and social fulfilling its role in ensuring balance and internal homeostasis of the system. In relation to the social environment media space gives opportunity to adapt to it, to reach the goals set before thee tasks, integrate, i.e. unite with the other individuals, to reproduce already found social structures, remove himself from arising nervous and physical strain. On the relation of the same to the second system, cultural, devoid of biological causation, media space acts as a repository and place of production of a complex system of symbols and the standards. Media space is important regulator of the company with its нормативностью and with symbolism.

Reveal the structure of media space is possible on the basis of the theory of social action T. Parsons, which is the most developed theoretical basis for the decisions of this type of tasks. Within this approach the media space, as well as any part of the social system, should be able to adapt, integrate, and achieve the set goals and keep culture. An analysis of any social subsystem must from the point of view of the theory of social action should be based on four basic functions: adaptation, integration, goal attainment, cultural reproduction.

What T. Parsons called «adaptation» is a combination of external and instrumental orientation (quadrant A). For the media space of a function of the media, which are responsible for the distribution and delivery of information. It is the media vehicles have become the foundation for social information, the tool of communication between society and social institutions (fig 1).

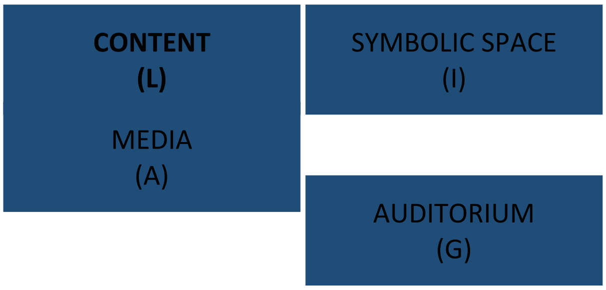

Figure 1. Media Space Structure

Quadrant G - a combination of external relations and the implementation of the consummatory values. Under consummatory condition there is a view of achievement of the objectives: action must lead to a satisfactory result. In the sphere of media space of this function is performed by the audience. The audience has the ability to reach satisfactory conditions in the process of activity for the consumption of content and correlating it with the normative component of this process. The essence of the audience is that it reflects the relationship between people, society as a whole in the process of mass communication. The audience of the mass media through the interaction of isolated individuals with your device with the mediation of the media is included in the process of social communication at the macro level and acquiring features of a social community based on the convergence of social and cultural experience, which individuals acquire as a result of this interaction, which bears the character of regular social practices, included in the daily lives of people. One of the Parsons' «satisfactory conditions», which can reach the audience in the framework of homeostasis - a state of public consent and political consensus in the process of media cosumption as a specific type of activity.

Further we will consider the combination of consummatory and internal. T. Parsons calls this a process of integration of (I): the system integrates the actions and actors, providing them the opportunity to satisfactory combinations. In theoretical analysis of the T. Parsons this concept remains rather unclear and has been criticized, which concerned mainly the names of the cells. In the structure of media space, we denote the cell as a symbolic space (samples, public opinion), or patterns, as each system when certain conditions are in the present time this state, which must be internally implemented and acceptable as a present. In the works of N. Berger, T. Lukman, and. D. Touraine, M. Foucault [Touraine, 1998; Foucault, 2005; Berger, Lukman, 1995] and other shows its use in order to macrosocial programming. Particularly singled out the designation of social groups as one of the effective mechanisms of control of mass Item. Bourdieu [Bourdieu, 1993]. Means of mass communication because of their large number and diversity of the standing behind them social institutions and social groups are different interpretation of social reality, justifying sufficiently variable structure «objectified meanings» of the society. Such action takes place in two ways: through the appropriation of the status of social phenomena and through the adoption of social standards [Lazarsfeld and Merton. 1980]. Giving certain types of information in a certain amount and a certain interpretation of social phenomena, the media make us see the social world and our place in it a certain way. Realization of the social function and the influence of the media on society is only possible by means of the audience.

Looking at a couple of instrumental - internally T. Parsons uses the name of «maintaining the latent sample». That is, these structures should be available for a long time, however they are not updated constantly. These structures should be inherent to the system and be instrumental, that is to ensure the availability in the future. In the structure of the media space of the function of keeping the latent sample performs content, that is, the content of which is fixed in the form of video, radio, print and other forms of fixing products of human intellectual and creative activity. Back in 1934, in the article «Anthropology and the abnormal» P. Benedict said that the criterion of normality is to meet the views of the social environment that surrounds the individual [Benedict, 1934], and M. Herskovits, based on the research of R. Benedict, suggested the term «inculturation» [Herskovits, 1955]. By this term he understands the occurrence of an individual in a specific cultural environment, which subsequently determines thinking, behavior and perception of reality. And the entrance to the cultural environment in the modern world is largely effected through the content of mass media.

Basic element of the system analysis. The main task of this stage of the research - identification of the baseline system element, or, in the interpretation of V. A. Lefebvre Configurator, system of methodological tools, which would be a real structural component of media space and which would have been expressed by various types of relationships that are specific to the structure of media space. Therefore, at the second stage of the analysis of media space to re-create its structure must enter a specially developed for the media space of the base system element system analysis, with the help of which you can get a different image of media space, link the different parts of it together, and which is specially made to integrate and explain the existing knowledge about the media space.

An analog of this basic system elements other Sciences is Marx's concept of the goods and the Darwinian concept of biological species. It is expected that this scheduled in the framework of the interaction of an element that should be inherent in the internal activity, therefore, when the system analysis of media space, we should be talking about the element of the current.

For the media space of the element will be the notion of contact in the various specific types of media space. Operational concepts of contact within the framework of the subject-object interactions, characteristic actually for the media of communication, from a quantitative point of view is provided by sociological media research and built on the basis of their specific media indicators.

Contact as the basic concept of the analysis of media space is space-organized process of reception and transmission of information at the moment of physical contact of an individual with the means of mass communication. The contact is compressed in time dynamic process, which is characterized by the activity of the subject, which can be deployed in the activity analysis of the processes of perception and processing of the information and involving the active state of the object that is the source of information. In the media space of the object side of the contact is a means of mass communication, and the subjective side, the audience of mass media. In the process of mass communication contact is characterized by one orientation.

Contact provides the correlation allocated in the system Rives four main components of the media: media, audience, content and symbolic space. This relationship arises and is realized in the process of the activities on the creation, preservation, transmission, normatization and perception of the content.

Multilevel media space. On the basis of selected basic element of the analysis of media space, you can perform a detailed analysis of the structure of media space. «Stratification» of the Russian media space, what is happening on the background of the dynamic processes of globalization, демассификации and fragmentation of the audience of mass media leads to the formation of multi-level structure of a media space. Level structure of media space, defined by the national-territorial jurisdiction of the means of mass communication, you can organize so, as it is described below, that seems quite logical from the point of view of an opportunity of management of information flows in the media space.

Such a structure allows to clearly provide possible tools of impact on the spread in mass communication content and determine the size of the potential audience, which will be with the content in contact.

The global media space. With the beginning of perestroika Russian viewers became available some media vehicles, producers of content which are international companies. As an example, the television channel of Euronews. Having appeared on our television screens in 2002, the TV channel had an average daily audience of less than 1%, but now it daily coverage increased to 4%, that is 4 times.

On July 2011 on the territory of the Russian Federation population was broadcasts are available more than 100 global media. Total coverage of global content through international TV channels according to TNS for the first half of 2011 was 49%. This means that the processes of globalization of media space began to affect the television audience of mass communication.

As the calculations show, carried out on the basis of the data of the research company TNS, more than a half - 62.3% of the urban population in Russia - read the Russian-language versions of foreign international publications. That is, for a printed mass communication trend of globalization of the Russian media space is being implemented in full. As noted by B. Bagdikian, global media space belongs to a limited number of players, media policy which is reflected in the choice of themes for discussion and invited to the Studio guests [Bagdikian, 2004: 25], and the main goal - the creation of markets for multinational corporations. Global media successfully carry out the task of McDonaldization of society not only in third world countries, but in the developed countries [Ritzer, 2004].

National media space. National TV channels have a much higher rates of average daily audience coverage in comparison with the global. So, each of the three national TV channels (Russia 1, the First, NTV) are working every day with 40-50% of Russian urban audience, and the accumulated annual audience of each of these channels is 96-98%. A group of network of all-Russian TV channels (CTC, REN-TV, TNT) has indicators smaller, but still significantly higher than the indicators of TV channels, relating to the global медиапространству. Daily coverage of the urban population in Russia varies from them within the limits of 30%. Accrued same the scope of these channels are at the level of the 88 - 90%. With regard to the press, the total audience of the leading national Newspapers in Russia is 50% of the urban population, if we add here the weekly publications, then this figure will increase to 78%, and taking into account the Russian monthly periodicals she will be 80%. This is above the audience publications referred us to the global media almost by one third. The above facts allow us to assert that national media in the Russian media space currently dominate the global, which provides information to companies held in the national media absolute priority.

Regional media space. If to speak about the television component, then in the regions broadcast both national and strictly local TV channels. In 29 large and medium cities of Russia at the beginning of 2010 was talking to 198 regional TV companies, i.e. more than 6 TV stations in the city on average. Of these, only 17 are independent channels «full day», which broadcast from 18 to 24 hours a day. The rest of TV companies, small regional, broadcast in partnership with major network partners provide their own content in the air in an average of 1-3 hours a day. A total coverage of local channels reaches up to 99%, that is practically comparable to the coverage of the national TV channels. The only major difference in the use of local TV channels consists in the fact that in order to achieve the coverage of the urban population in the whole territory of Russia, it is necessary to use all of the several hundred local TV channels. The number of regional, covering the city and the region of publications varies on the average on Russia from hundreds up to several hundred. So, for example, the number of registered mass media in the city of Orel and the Orel region - 97, the Republic of Karelia - 375, in Vologda and the Vologda region - 536, Yekaterinburg and the Sverdlovsk region - 669, in the Altay territory - 1000, city of Voronezh and the Voronezh region - 1085, Chelyabinsk and Chelyabinsk region, 2067 of the registered 119724 mass media in Russia as a whole. Thus, the regional level of contact with the mass audience allows you to work with virtually the whole audience of the region distribution of local media. And the levels of coverage of regional mass media is quite able to compete with the national.

Enclave level. In the Soviet period a great deal of attention was paid to information promotion of the languages of the peoples of the USSR. At the present time the ethnic (enclave) TV channels are present in the national media space in a limited number. The exact record of them is problematic, because the company supplying the market media research sociological information, in view of the limited size of the audience of TV channels, radio stations and published in the languages of the peoples of Russia, they are not measured. As of Affairs in July 2011 on the territory of Russia has 549 licenses issued by the Federal service for supervision in the sphere of communications, information technology and mass communications (ROSKOMNADZOR) for mass media in the languages of the peoples of Russia.

Limit the impact. Introduced by us in sociological discourse structure of the modern media space allows you to describe the limitations on the process of management of media space. Each level represents a monopoly on information, because is managed and owned by various elites. Within each of these levels has its own differentiation in медианосителям.

The basic and the most powerful structure in the offered scheme is the national media space. National media space is first of all the media. That is formed by four major means of mass communication: TV, press, radio, Internet.

Currently, the basis of the Russian media space can be considered as television (national essential TV channels). In the segment of air currently operates some 20 national channels with the level of the all-Russian coverage of the urban population from 99% to 36%. As a rule, the national TV channels are divided into three groups: Federal (First, Russia 1, NTV), the basic network channels (STS, TNT, REN-TV, the Fifth); specialized the subject matter or the audience of TV channels (TVTs, To Russia (Culture), Home, Russia 2 (Sport), Yu (MUZ TV), MTV, TV3, Pepper (DTV), Russia 24 (Lead), 2x2, the Star, Disney (7TV). Distribution of a television signal in Russia is organized in five broadcasting orbits. The broadcasting organization is conditioned by the geographical position of Russia - the television signal is received in 9 different time zones and the local time of the output of programs, must match for the whole of

Russia. Number of orbits ranging from two to five. Multiple channels using direct broadcasting, and the audience, living in different time zones, see simultaneously in one and the same «image» regardless of the local time. On the whole Russia has 15922 essential transmitter, each of which covers a particular geographical area. Coverage of essential transmitters is very non-uniform and is rather selective. At the present time, there is not any consolidated source of information allowing to build a coverage map of Russia broadcasting. In the second television segment, неэфирном, works much larger number of channels than in the ether segment. Non-air channels are distributed almost exclusively in the networks of operators of cable, satellite TV and IPTV. The number of non-air television channels is constantly changing, at the present moment there are about 230. But most of these television channels belong to the global media, which we in our work separately do not cover. Of the 117 Russian primary among non-air, that is, with coverage of the urban audience from 1.5 to 3.9%, are: Ru.TV, TV 1000 Russkoe Kino, cinema House, My planet, RBC TV, the World, Shanson-TV, Children's, Hunting and fishing, A-One. The peculiarity of non-air television channels is their narrow thematic specialization and significantly slower than that of broadcast TV channels, the size of audience. Non brodcast TV when all the numbers included in this segment of the TV channels and large enough aggregate share of TV watching these channels (5-10%) does not give an opportunity to actors of media space distribute informational messages at the same time large enough audience.

The second important means of mass communication is the press. Among 190 publications, spread on the whole territory of Russia about half can be attributed to global media (this is mainly monthly magazines), and half to the national. Comprehensive coverage of 92 all-Russian editions is 68% of the urban population of Russia at the age of 16 years and older.

According to the poll, conducted in may 2010, the radio is listened to about 60% of the Russians. Radio listeners are more often residents of big cities (68% against 55-56% among residents of small cities and villages)and men (65% vs. 56% among women), and respondents under 45 years of age (65-66% against 50% among the elderly), highly educated respondents (67% vs. 41% among the under-educated). Most often, Russians listen to the radio house (65%). At least - in the private transport (27%), to work and study (22%). Significantly less than those who prefer to listen to the radio in public transport (11%), in the country (6%), on the street (4%), guest (3%), in cafes, clubs (2%) [Radio Broadcasting, 2011: 49]. The situation with радиослушанием in Russia is characterized by a clear predominance of network broadcasting on the territory of the regions of broadcasting in the FM range, the relatively small volume of local broadcasting, lack of capacity for the reception of radio stations in small settlements. Global media use the reduction in the volume of intra-Russian broadcasting in the range of LW, MW and KV, and at the present time on the territory of Russia broadcast more than 50 foreign radio companies with a total volume of Russian-language broadcasting more than 170 hours a day. Thus, significantly reduced the coverage of the public broadcasting of the population in the North-West of the Russian Federation, on the borders with the countries of the CIS and the far East, and their place in the air of the occupied foreign radio stations broadcasting in the Russian language. In 2010, the aggregate average daily audience share of Federal government stations of Russia was in the cities of 100 000+ less than 15%. For comparison: in Germany in 2009, the total share of public radio (ARD) amounted to 57.5%and in the UK (BBC) - 54,5%, in France (Radio France) - 22,2%. And although the «Radio of Russia» until maintained its leadership in the average daily share of the audience (9,6%), it seems that the trend of lowering the audience will continue further on [Radio Broadcasting, 2011].

The Internet, appeared relatively recently, has become one of the most dynamically developing phenomena of the modern society. The Internet is a means of mass communication and meets the definition of a mass communication only in the part when using the Internet is spreading of mass information, dispersed, anonymizational audience. In spite of the fact that the Internet is the global media, it consists of a large number of national Internet-spaces. Dynamics of development of the national domain space - one of the key indicators characterizing the level of development of Internet in the country as a whole. In terms of the level of penetration of domain names (per 1 000 users in Russia accounted for 82 domain name (67 in the domain RU and 15 in the domain of the Russian Federation) Russia is close to the most advanced countries [Internet, 2011]. As for the Russian national media space, according to a study Public opinion Foundation monthly audience of Runet (Russian Internet) over 18 years of age amounted to 50 million people, and 31% of Russians are coming online every day. Already more than a third of Internet users reside in small towns and villages. Over the past two years, the number of monthly Internet audience grew by 8%, while the number of active users, published in the Internet at least once per day, increased by 14%, which reflects a General tendency of development of the Internet: an increase in the number of active users of the network on the background of moderate growth rate of the total number of users. According to the forecasts of the analysts of the end of 2014 the number of Internet users will amount to about 80 million people, or 71% of the population over 18 years [Internet, 2011]. One of the key tendencies of the development of the Internet is also an active growth of the share of users among the older age groups. The Internet in Russia is in the same business as and other media. According to expert estimations of the market of electronic Commerce in Runet in 2010 amounted to 180-220 billion rubles. According to the Association of Communication Agencies of Russia, the market of online media advertising in Runet in 2010 amounted to about 9.8 billion rubles, and the market of contextual advertising -

16.9 billion rubles. The total online advertising market amounted to 26,7 billion rubles, that is 10.7% of the total Russian advertising market.

Universal web-sites of comparable with the press so the Internet can be used mainly as a source of additional information influence, additional means of mass communication, participating in the formation of the Russian media space. The concept of freedom of information in the Internet is rather conditional. Despite the illusion of freedom of placement of content on the Internet, access to this content, in contrast to traditional media, is limited to: find, for example, the entry in the blog, not knowing that it is there, it is practically impossible. While television «imposes» the audience even the information which he considers unnecessary.

The point of managerial impacts. Analysis of the structure of media, media and content of the national of the Russian media space allows us to allocate a point of managerial impacts on the national level media space. First of all the state, in awareness-raising and educational purposes may encourage Russian content producers to create as artistic, educational, social-oriented programs that meet the highest aesthetic and moral criteria. In addition to the impact on the content producers may stimulate the owners of the media on placement of high-quality content in the most высокорейтинговое time - Prime-time - regardless of his social values and orientation, as the analysis of the functioning of the mass media and formation of the information space N. Luman showed that the true interests of the mass media in a very limited range. «The problem therefore lies not in the truth, and in the inevitable, but at the same time desirable and controlled selectivity» [Luman, 2005: 47]. The main media in Russia, enabling simultaneous access to the majority of the population of Russia are Federal and network TV channels and they should first of all be the object of social control медиапространством. The rest of the media, including the Internet, as was shown above, despite their importance, there remain additional information and entertainment resources.

Regional and enclave levels. In recent years, more and more attention of sociologists attract the problems associated with the existence of regional societies that led to the development of separate directions in the sociology - sociology regions. One of the most important concepts in this industry is the notion of territorial behaviour [Avanesova, Astafyeva, 2004]. Territorial behavior permeates all forms of social behavior of individuals and communities. Media space is one of the reflections of the territorial society and we can describe the following two levels of media space, allocated in the process of systemic and activity analysis of: regional and анклавного. They are much less studied, the existing media meter considerably less attention to the regional and анклавным media. Russia has, perhaps, the most complicated in the world of spatial organization of broadcasting, which is associated with the geography of our country, as well as its settlement structure (presence of large territories with low density of population) and a huge linguistic diversity. These features predetermined the peculiarities of the television broadcasting, in particular, the diversity of the organization of television broadcasting in the regions. Socio-economic differentiation of territories acquires the character of the increasing socio-economic and demographic inequalities rare points of relative well-being and vast territories of almost all of the subjects of the Federation, deprived of the signs of this well-being» [Leksin, 2009: 33]. A number of sociologists - V. Yadov, S. Kravchenko raised the problem of enclavization Russia. Enclavization vast country is a consequence of the fact that the way of life living in the Outback is completely different from the image of the life of big cities. The space of the Russian media is subject to the same processes that and territorial - economic and social space. Management of this part of the Russian media space because of the huge amount of media in each of the existing media is extremely difficult. Nevertheless, the fact of the existence of regional and enclave media spaces should be taken into account when planning information campaigns.

Conglomeration media. Conglomeration media is the increasing concentration of ownership of the means of mass communication. If several years ago the experts analyzed the trend mainly to the West, now we can observe the formation of media empires in the Russian media space. Essentially, the Russian media market is divided between a few large media holdings. The power of the media holding is determined by the possibility of access to the population, that is the size of his audience. The complexity in the analysis of the ownership structure of the regional TV channels is due to the high dynamics of the processes of the change of owners. But also on the regional markets of the public television can be identified formulated control of the organization. Among them should be allocated «the Baltic media group», which in the person of LLC «Volna» control Petersburg LLC «TV dome», and also is a minority shareholder of OJSC «television and Radio company Petersburg». In Yekaterinburg «Regional media group» is the owner of the key local broadcaster - LLC «TV company, channel 4». In Rostov-on-don CJSC «media group South Region» controls the broadcasters «28 channel» and «channel 43» (network partners RBC TV and «Sport», respectively). The summarized data on regional TV companies are presented in the table 1.

On the whole, the analysis of ownership structure, we identify a few major categories of supplies of national, regional and enclave media: state structures, the foreign companies; big Russian business; the administration, such as the oblast, and the city, which can use its information resources for solving tactical and strategic objectives; and a large all-Russian business, having interest in the region, to which its own information resources including help to influence the local authorities; the local businesses, for the same purpose, and that big, but in a more local scale; public and national organizations. This ownership structure coincides with the division of media space at the global, national, regional and enclave.

The management of media space through the media holdings is much easier.. As an object of influence here can act managing media holding business structure, its owners. And although formally traces of owners often go to offshore zones, their names or the names of governors on their behalf structures are known. The benefits of control actions on the media holdings are still in the fact that in these media holdings often come and content producers. Thus, it can be stated that the socially responsible management of media space should primarily take place through these structures.

Systematic activityprinciples on the effective control of the Russian media space. On the basis of analysis of existing technologies of management of advertising information campaigns we have tried to develop schemes of effective management of media space. As an operational management instrumentation медиапространством considered by the media indicators.

The initial treatment of social indicators as a tool for the diagnosis of well-being of the society or its part has evolved to understand them as the object of the routine planning-statistical activities. As the borders between the indicators, which initially fall under the classic definition of social indicators and indicators of social or economic statistics is specified, then all of the indicators established for the conduct of regular social observations, we have every right to be attributed to the social indicators [also, Aivazian, 2006]. It is to these social indicators include the media and indicators. The emergence of media of indicators, which characterize the behavior of the audience of mass media connected with the appearance of the advertising industry in Russia and the development of applied sociology of media.

Set media metric indicators is built on the basis of the following criteria: the selectivity of the audience, the potential audience coverage, speed of accumulation of the audience, geographical flexibility of the media. As media indicators the following indicators are used: the rating media TVR (5 types of indicators for television); coverage of Reach (current and accumulated for the various periods); the frequency of contact with the information message Frequency (average and accumulated); the total rating of the information campaign of the GRP; the index of the conformity of the media one or another social group Affinity; economic performance of the media to a certain social group CPT and the CPP. More details on this issue is considered in the literature [Buzin, 2012; Buzin, 2010]. There are restrictions on the use of media indicators at each of the levels of the Russian media space. These restrictions are connected first of all with the size of the regional and enclave of the samples. The quality of the media indicators in the Internet in the first place affected by the problems of methodology of measurements (user-centric and site-centric). However, the use of media indicators allows you to build a model of management and preliminary assessment of the results of informational campaigns. This is partly implemented in the management models for the part of the media space, which is formed by the advertising content. The main disadvantage of such models is weak accounting for the effects highlighted in our study of the structure of media space and functional relations of the structural elements.

In accordance with the analysis of the structure of media space there are three levels of administrative influence on the media space: the content, media and the audience. These management impact can be reduced in the structure shown below.

Such management impact are made at all levels of the media space: global, national, local and enclave. In General, to paraphrase Z. Bauman, we can say that the main actors of media space represent the interests of large industrial and financial corporations and follows the logic of the totalitarian implementation of their interests in all spheres of life [Bauman, 2004: 96].

Thus the system-activity approach to building management impact on media space and to solve the basic tasks that are common to most systems of control: stabilization of media space, excretion of media space of a specified level, monitoring the status of media space, extremal management of media space, optimize media space.

Monitoring the effectiveness of management decisions in the case of media space also includes three basic stages: elaboration of criteria, which are subject to control, measurement and analysis of changing media space on the basis of these criteria, the correction of managerial impacts on the basis of this analysis. Since the management of media space involves management impact on the content, the media vehicles audience, and control system efficiency inevitably includes the control of these three types of managerial impacts.

Control over conduction of information campaigns of various directions allows you to adjust the management impact on the media space on the three described above levels: content, media and audience. Control of the content and media in respect of administrative decisions is carried out by authorities, if we talk about the violations of the legislation, as well as other interested actors media space with the use of data monitoring companies and the results of special investigations.

The communicative situation in Russia is characterized by the underestimation of the importance of conscious technological management information campaigns in solving social and economic various level. But in the conditions of the communicative impact of management (organized and organizing) the structure of the media space coming to the fore during the implementation of the strategic and tactical tasks in the implementation of the state policy of the bodies of state power.

A detailed analysis of existing models of planning of informational influence, which is used in the management of auditorium parameters of the media shows that the management of information influence on an audience of the most developed and elaborated in the framework of such specific information as advertising, but these principles and models may be applicable to all types of disseminated in the mass media of information.

The most popular and effective method of modeling is to establish a mathematical relationship between accompanying the media space of the information effort, determined by such media indicator of how the total rating of the information campaign, and the response of the audience, measured other media indicator, the number of people seeing about it this information as a result of the applied information efforts, that is, the level of awareness.

Conclusion. The conclusion from all the above, rather discouraging: the Russian media space control. To ensure that the process management has become pervasive, it is necessary to perform external to the media space conditions - creation of the vertical of power, which will combine the information policy of the state means of mass communication with the policy of the mass media, owned by the regional political and business elites. Control the appearance of the complex, and a media environment is facilitated by the existence of media holdings, accumulating various types of media, including Internet sites.

Features background information totalitarianism is very limited, but they are there. This is a small number of the remaining independent media in the regions and remaining still uncontrollable zone of the Internet. Unfortunately, the weight of information campaigns in the independent media is small, and the independent national practically absent.

It is the allocation of communicative - pragmatic nature of the media space, selection of the concept of the contact as the unit of analysis of media space, allowed to build a unified theory of media space while providing a coherent picture of its functioning. Revealed by the sociological structure of the media space consists of four structural elements: media, audience, content and symbolic space. Multilevel structure of the Russian media space, installed in the analysis of processes of globalization, demassification and fragmentation of the audience of the media, taking place in this space, is a four levels - global, national, local and enclave. These levels are inherent in each structural element of the media space. Formation of media space is in the process of interaction of four main structural elements of the media, audience, content, symbolic space - at the moment of contact, which arises and is realized in the process of the activities on the creation, preservation, transmission, normatizationof the content.

Social management of such a complex open system as the Russian media space is only possible in the presence of knowledge about the structure of this space and the functions of each constituent element of a media space. The process of management of media space requires a special technologies, as well as accounting of the dynamics of its components - the means of mass communication, audience, media content and constructed their media reality, the symbolic space. Monitoring the effectiveness of management decisions on the impact of the media space is carried out through: performance management at the level of content and implies a content analysis of the programming policy of the media and the change of this policy after the managerial impacts; monitoring the effectiveness of taken in respect of media management decisions is carried out mainly in the framework of the existing legislation of the state authorized bodies and on the basis of the use of media monitoring by independent companies. The most comprehensive system of control exists on the level of the audience: in the framework of the information - advertising campaigns, in which the impact on the audience is defined as the level of popularity of a particular information campaign, and the benchmarks are calculated on the basis of sociological media measurement. The impact of information messages on the audience, is concerned with the study of perception and understanding of data messages to the target audience, is carried out on the basis of special studies on the results of which adjustments are made in the previously adopted managerial decisions.

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The Research of Processes of Modernization of a Rural Family at the Terms of Carrying out of Socio-economic Reforms in the Russian society (on the example of Republic of Buryatia)

The presented project is devoted to the research of processes of modernization of a rural family at the terms of carrying out of socio-economic reforms in the Russian society (on the example of Republic of Buryatia). It is the first time in the regional sociology when an attempt to newly cover several aspects of a modern rural family has been made: conditions, level of life, social health, its adaptation to the changing realities of a modern day. On the basis of empiric materials, which have been collected during field researches at the rural districts – type-representatives of the Buryat Republic, the results revealed how the social changes focused in the research reflected in the minds of villagers, how these changes affected their self-identification in the changed society, the level of life today, cost-of- living index, self-employment, household of rural families.

The basic results of the research are as follows: the evaluation of socio-economic situation in the village has been made from the viewpoint of a village dweller and experts – the scientists and patricians; the necessity for the development of family economy has been reasoned out. The latter is regarded as a factor of adaptation of a rural family to new socio-economic conditions. On the basis of analysis the dynamics of life level and social health of a rural family in Buryatia have been revealed; the socio-demographic profile of a rural family has been outlined; the socio-cultural and psychological aspects of a rural family's life in the changing society have been disclosed.

It has been established that a rural family as a social institute provides brings not only stability and sustainability to rural community but develops with it and adapts to innovations and changes. In the situation of increasing of destructive tendencies the family institute has managed to preserve one of the key roles in the hierarchy of values of a modern man. Moreover, being plunged into the social systematic destruction, the family appeared to be more mobile and flexible than expected. It has managed to adapt to the general reduce in cost of living and moral values and to preserve its social essence.

The results of the analysis of empiric materials allowed defining key socio-economic and socio-cultural factors which determine modern development of rural communities and families, the analysis reasoned out their diversity and outlined the fundamentals for perspectives of their development.

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Wastepickers: global trends and situation in Russia

The article tells about the specific risk niche as waste pickers in the world and in Russia. The Russian situation, according to the results of the author's observation and statistics date, differs acutely from world trends, actually from trends in developing counties. Nowadays, despite of the extremely social and environmental conditions, there are cooperations of waste pickers, which promote changes their quality of life and rising of social status in the society. We analyze the main reasons of the problem and examine prospects and risks, associated with this social niche.

Wastepickers around the world belong to the poorest strata of the population with low and risk living conditions. Historically they have a status of exploited and discriminated group towards the state and population. According the data of *World Bank* in 2008 the ratio of waste pickers in the world is about 1-2 % of all population. As confirmed by a number of studies of Martin Medina [Medina, 1990], David Pellow [Pellow, 2002] Anna Davies [Davies, 2008], Teresa Gowan [Gowan, 2010], David McGovern [McGovern, 1995], their existence is necessary for stabilization the structure of society, especially in developing countries. They have jobs, rejected by the population, they involved in recycling in recycling of raw materials and complex industry of garbage utilization, but their labour status is semi-formal or informal.

Urbanization in poor countries is due to the expansion of slum areas and squatters‘ settlements, located in ecologically untenable areas and unorganized. [Medina, 1997, p. 35]. The circulation of waste and excreta has not been established, and there are many illegal dumps, because most cities can‘t collect all the garbage (for technical and economic reasons) that had produced by squatters. Slum dwellers pollute the environment, therefore it is difficult to develop a unified program for waste utilization. The average of waste pickers, as calculated by M. Medina and David Pellow is about 39 years with high infant mortality, while the average of middle citizen is about 67 years. In addiction, we can detect up over 35 diseases in scavengers populations [Medina, 1997, p. 46].

Collection or primary sorting of any waste is unsafe for health, as usually there are a number of technological and environmental requirements, and in special cases workers need in specialized equipment. Experience shows that in many areas (China, Guatemala, India, Brazil, in many African countries), independent work with toxic waste accompanied by a number of dangerous violations to human life and the ecology, but the waste delivered to them under the guise of charity [Davies, 2008, p. 236]. We have increasing the number of women and children-watepickers, but their income is generally lower because they can’t do hard work.

There is a split by type of material, places of gathering, operations management (sorting, processing, transportation, composting), standard of living, depending on the combination or separation of living space with work. Sorting, according to M. Medina research, is most common in Mexico, Colombia, Thailand and the Philippines, and in China there are settlements that work with hazardous industrial waste, in Egypt and Latin America scavenger employed in the service to the citizens for using their garbage to sale.

In the 80 - years of the twentieth century informal organizations of wastepckeres begun spread in countries of the third world. Based on the data of Global Alliance Of Wastepickers network, there are more than 30 united organizations in the world and 20 million of wastepckers. The most well-known are the *City Socredad Cooperativa de Seleccionadores de Materiales* in Mexico , *Bilo Horizono* in Brazil*; Recife, Niteroi Salvador, Collector's Association of Bogotá* in Colombia, *The Movement of Excluded Workers in Argentina SEWA* in Asia, *All India Kabari Mazdoor Mahasang in India*, *Zabaleen* in Egypt, *Women's Balikatan Movement* in the Philippines.

In 2011 was held the third World Congress of waste pickers , where they discussed their social rights, the need to enter into a formal economic sector, to find the necessary technological tools to improve their work and living conditions. Many organizations arose in the course of the struggle with the state or municipal authorities for the right to collect the garbage and sell raw materials, but now many of them have the status of independent public organizations. However, the cooperation not always influences on their well-being. Low pay scavengers due to low value waste and the desire to save money on the informal sector of the market.

The economy tends to a monopoly on waste policy, presenting a number of requirements: efficiency, fast and long-distance transport of waste, recycling of complex-recyclable materials. But as scavengers are unable to cope with such tasks in full force, they remain low-paid category of informal workers, stigmatized by their origin and working with trash.

M. Medina and A. Davis consider that if the organization scavengers were official, then it would be possible regulate their activities and stop the lawlessness, that takes place in the system of waste disposal. Referring to the many efficiency metrics collection and sorting that provided by scavenger (in different regions from 50 to 90%, according to various sources in developing countries), we can assume that if there was the minimum contribution (technical, educational or economic) from the state or the private market in the sector of waste pickers, then today we would have a strong specialized and effective cooperatives.

Indices of recycling rises when scavengers interact with people on the method of door-to-door. Scavengers do not always make more money than saving for the state, but if there are coopertives, the possibility of income increasing become more expected. In Bangkok, Jakarta, Kappure, Karachi and Manila we can see the highest wages and profits for the state for millions of dollars. Only in the decree of President Suharto of Indonesia was stated that waste pickers should be funded as the private sector, which should be formally involved in the economy and the environment. In other cases the waste pickers is a semi-legal group, if making its percentage in the disposal and collection of waste, or illegal, if these cooperatives in the State strongly stigmatized. Then we see a point at which waste pickers becomes a criminal offense (specific repression there are in Dakar, Senegal, Bamako, Mali, Katopu). In fact, society perceives them as a social group that produces the risks, spreading contamination and illness in their community. Only their cleaning function let them to safe their cooperation.

Regarding waste management Socioeconomic situation in third world countries is markedly different from the industrialized countries. Come to think of it, in terms of level waste management Russia can be attributed to developing countries, but with a number of differences.

We have observations from the Khimki, Domodedovo, Tula, Yaroslavl, Chemodanovskogo (Penza) landfills and common date of waste recycling registration. We observed the following trends:

1) There is no universally accepted system of waste management in the state: each municipal sector can regulate the collection and sorting at its discretion, leveraging private and black market

2) Migrants and homeless people are the main labor force that used at landfills. The excluding waste, as well as manpower in most cases, is not fixed officially. In the case of Russia these data are not recorded for saving the existing landfill from various intervention (police, ecological organizations, municipal structure). Therefore, in contrast to developing countries, with the improving performance of processing, in Russia the situation wastepickers are "under the glass ceiling" initially and destabilize the recycling system. In Russia this activity began to develop only after the collapse of the Soviet Union, so it is a lagging position in relation to developing countries, where waste picking history goes back at least several decades.

3) In the Russian lanfills served by small groups of migrants and the homeless, (depending on the scale ranges of landfill it includes from 10 to 40 people, without the participation managers and official workers with higher status), with a tendency of increasing quantity of migrants. In third world countries at each landfill we can find for hundreds and more waste scavengers, it depends from the level of poverty in the region: in poorest regions more people are involved in the recycling process [2, p. 267].

4) The system of waste pickers settlements in the landfill is a relatively ordered social structure. As in any group, there formed social links, and a leader who carries for coordination between the members of the "community" and plays the role of team leader.

5) However, it necessary to say that the relationship between the dump residents rather weak and one-step, there is high alcohol abuse among the homeless. Unlike the countries of the third world, there are many generations of waste pickers, in Russia this activity is situational, not constant, due to the loss of previous social status and money. As a result of the Russian climate during the life of homeless lasts several years. As in Colombia, India, Mexico, Russian scavengers receive 5% of the price of the entire collection and processing of the all waste cycle.

Temporary segments through the scavengers' organization created tell about changing of social status of waste pickers in the developing countries. They could represent their activities as a necessary value and they ready transform into professional area.

Their next step is an attempt to make a decent status in the official state economy, or to develop their own private sector to supranational state or charity sponsors. For example, the organization CEMPRE produced a training program for waste pickers, now they are supported by companies such as Coca - Cola, Mercedes, Nestle, etc.

Similar programs appeared in Costa Rica, Mexico and Uruguay. similar events held major supranational organizations as the UN. Wastepicking is an important survival strategy for the poorest segments of the population and developing countries but in the Russian marginal operating landfills are invisible, and deliberately ignored by the authorities, while the gaps in the legislative and policy benefit municipal system and the private market, and while improvement in the utilization of the indicators is not possible at the state level because of economic reasons.

But it must be recognized that the existing employment potential of outsiders (Roma, migrants, the homeless) in unadjusted for work environment and untrained to handle the waste (pollution is not conscious) creates a lot of risk for themselves and for the environment. The observed landfills had high level of social anomie, which is not typical for co-operatives in developing countries, and, most of all, the situation in Russia should be regulated at the macro level, taking into account the needs of workers at the site in the first place.

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The influence of theater on the formation of social and cultural patterns[1]

Key words: semio-socio-psychology paradigm, intention, communicative act, the method of intentions-oriented analysis, theater, socio-cultural models.

Modern culture encourages personal autonomy of people in terms of expanding the scope of individual search and responsibility in the selection and implementation of life. One of the problems associated with the art of self-determination, humanitarian personality, its adequate orientation in the world.

The cultural interaction is a communicative act. So this act it means that has a person who sends a message, a channel along which the message is translated in space and time, and certainly, a person , why accepts ideas. This person realizes these ideas, remembers and then uses in its mind.

Theatre develops the model a society, forms definite ideas of interests, needs, socio-cultural patterns. The quality of these patterns may be different: both primitive and highly artistic; selfish and humane. All of these patterns are considered to be social important. They root in people mind, influence their actions and form their representation of reality or «world view».

The question arises about the importance of those socio-cultural patterns that are produced in theatrical works. Is it possible to predict social consequences of the meeting of theatrical spectators with these socio-cultural patterns? Can we develop the recommendations on the forming of healthy socio-cultural environment?

Fundamentally new possibilities of using semio-socio-psychology paradigm for the analysis of social processes, initiated the modern theater. Its use will intensify the search for new ways to engage in a dialogue with the theatrical audience, make more efficient function of the integrator of public relations, explore socially significant consequences of Theatre Arts (theater), motivation and target particular socio-cultural models offered in theatrical works. These patterns can be of different quality: the primitive, and highly artistic, and selfish, and vysokogumannymi.

The use of semio-socio-psychology paradigm will help to answer the high mentioned questions. This theory will also allow to analyze the important socio-cultural consequences of theatrical performances.

The opportunity to differentiate an audience on a level of communicative skills (so-called

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social-mental groups) is given in the frames of semio-socio-psychology paradigm developed by Russian scientist Tamara Dridze. In the basis of this paradigm - representation about an opportunity of allocation in any whole and finished communicative act the structure of cognitive programs which are united by author's intention. Specifically, semio-socio-psychology uses the notion of communicative intention understood as resultant force of motives and goals of communication. Within the framework of the approach under discussion intentions-oriented analysis of text-messages was worked out. This method makes it possible to view any communication act as a structure of communicative-cognitive programs which are unites by the author's intention. By employing this method one can study the structure of any theater and the perception of this theater by the audience and then can compare the results of these two procedures. The complex of special research procedures allows to study, how the consciousness of the person interprets the author's intention, what degree of understanding it (the question is understanding only).

The subject of analysis here are holistic, complete communicative acts that are implemented in any symbolic system (this may be, for example, articles, films, poems, novels, transmission, oral presentations, drama, games, etc.), and the desired reference point (the one with respect to which the understanding) - the author's intentionality. Ability of the person to understand communicative intention of the author adequately, we connect with a high level of his communicative skills.

The use of the intention-oriented method allows to figure out the influence of socio-cultural patterns on the forming of «world view». It permits theatres to correct their repertoire in accordance with spectators' desires and preferences.

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The Problem of Tolerance Limits in the Context of Its Correlation with Suicide Terrorism and Violence

The pivotal role in the problem of tolerance, which is so pressing at present, belongs to definition of its limits set by the possibility of its implementation. In the context of war on terror as the manifestation of political, religious and ethnic intolerance, the necessity of addressing this problem becomes obvious. The current situation in the world, being characterized by an increased threat of terrorism, on the one hand, and the tolerance being turned into a stake when interests of different groups clash, on the other hand, brings the tolerance and violence kinship to the level of essence.

The article compares the willingness to sacrifice, which underlies tolerance, with the commitment to be victimized (due to religious or ideological motives), which is typical of suicide bombers. It is necessary to understand the controversial, often opportunistic nature of the tolerance concept, to be able to see the duality, even moral ambiguity of “the golden rule” of morality (the rule that is the cornerstone of tolerance), which, in fact, legitimizes the right to violence towards others, vesting it in “martyrs”, who, in their martyrdom for faith and revolution, are always ready to suffer violence themselves. This similarity between tolerance and terrorism of suicide bombers can result in substitution of concepts – in the unjustified identification of a kamikaze’s “self-renunciation” with an act of courage, thus relativizing the notion of “terrorism”, promoting a sympathetic approval of suicide bombers’ actions by the public and some mass media.

Tolerance impliestolerant attitude towardsother people’s interests and readinessto give up one’s own interests for the sake of keeping peace and harmony of relationships. However,suchrecognition of importance of another person must be equivalent in nature, for each party has the right to expectreciprocalrespect and acknowledgement of its interests. Otherwise,the oblivion of this underlying principle of tolerance – its*equivalent nature* – may discreditthe very idea of tolerance. Without reciprocity and equality in relations, it turns into conformism or degenerates into intolerance.

Equalization of one’s own life with the lives of others, being the foundation stone of the tolerance concept, is substantiated by amilitary or religious deed, but at the same time it becomes the central threat to the world, which has at its disposal all the means to reconcile all the beings in not-being equal to everyone.Although only half a century ago, the military and diplomats could not imagineeven in a nightmare that a private group or organization would be able to try its power and influence on world affairs against leading countries.It seemed to be impossible not only in practice, but also in theory. Having today's technologies or the access to national security systems, people do not need to have the power of God to equate the existence of the whole world tothe life of an insignificant being. This proves in practice that the existence of the world is equal tothe life of a bug, because both of them are easy to squash.

Tolerance as reconciliation must becomethe basis for relationships with other people and with oneself, but not asnullification, reconciliation in death, instead of life and for life.Sacrifice, i.e.readiness to give up one's own interests and even oneself, which underlies tolerance, also exists in the ideology of terrorism. A terrorist, a"kamikaze",equals his lifeto the lives of victims; thus, while *eliminating*by his death, he equalshis action to a feat, where a hero *saves*byhis death.Violence gives death an overtone of a ritual victim, turning agony into evidence. When death becomes the benchmark fordedication to a noble deed, even victims turn into copartners inthe actof violence,unintentionally contributing to its peculiar legitimacy.Terror has an appeal, first of all, due to itsdistinct romanticglamour. Therefore, despite the fact that terror is alwaysintertwined with violence, death and destruction, it is often approved and welcomed by people.

Such"renunciation"on the part of a"self-martyr" -terroristmakes some people (not only those who are on the same side of the fence with him, which would be, at least, understandable) experience compassion or sympathetic approval. After all,thecause, the idea, or theideal that makepeople commit consciousself-destruction cannot be insignificant,wrong, or, at least,self-justified. During the first Chechen War, public expressed sympathy not to the federal troops, and even not to the victims of terrorists, but to terrorists as heroes of the national liberation war. One could think that the Russian population was affected by the "Stockholm syndrome".

The opinion is that what is bought at such a high and non-recoverable price as human life cannot but be worth of it. Having paid such anenormous price, the payer increases the value of the paid.But is it true? Wouldn't it be more fair to admit that by paying the price ofhisown life or the lives of othersfor the interests, thesoundness of which he protects in his own way, thesuicide terrorist does not increase their importance, but, on the contrary, degrades human lives and his own interests to null, the non-existence of which is sought by any destruction (and self-destruction). So, theinter-equalizing, reconciling position justifies not only martyrs and heroes who"sacrificed their lives for the sake of their fellow mates", but also bandits and terrorists. The civilization will never do without"a tear of a pitiablechild", which exceeds the price of the social progress (according to F.M. Dostoevsky) andevokes sympathy of humanists of any type, - it is an impossible requirement. However, there willalways be people who opt for the"kamikaze" approach, because it is easier to degrade the highest values to the lowest ones, to equalize everything in the common nothingness.Therising of the lowest values to the highest ones, their inter-equalization in the Absolute remains an unreachable ideal.

Tolerance as amoraluniversalis based on theso-called“golden rule’of morality.In itspositive statement(“Do untoothers as youwould have them do unto you”),it is fundamental for themoral,ethical andreligiousnorms, and in itsnegative statement(“Do notdo untoothers as youwould not have them do untoyou”), it serves as the underlying principle forrules of law. Strangely enough, the“golden rule”being applied to“kamikazes”turns intoan excuse,eveninto a justification for theiractions.Thus, thewillingness orevendesireto undergotorments andexecutionsfor their beliefs,whichwas commanded bythe Christianapproachto martyrdom and self-martyrdom,was easilytransformed by populists intothe appropriated right to executeothers.Religiously orideologicallyjustifiedsacrificeis the foundationof modern terrorism,historicallytransformed from“hunting’for individual officialsinto thethreatof a mass war against the most defenselesslayer,the population.

This“golden rule’ of morality allows making a step, which not everyone can make,- the step from self-violence to violence against others, turning the readiness to violence to oneself into a moral right, which justifies the legitimacy of violence against others. Thesubjectof self-violence has a privilegedposition:the formal and negativesanctions, which use legalviolenceto fight against illegal forms ofviolence, are completely powerlessin the face ofvoluntary andsacrificialand self-destructive self-violence, with all their arsenal ofdeterrenttools.This explains thelow efficiencyof the governmentcounter-terrorand the international“forcepeace fob off”:the threat towell-being and security of livecanbe effectiveonlytothose whotreasure these values.Moreover, enforcement measures, which affectnotonly(and often-not so much)terrorists, but alsothe civilian population, contribute to erosion of the borderlinesbetweencounterterrorismandterrorism.

The requirementto respectother people'sinterests andnatural inalienable rights,first of all-the right forthe most importantvalue,whichis an irreversibleloss - the life -hangsin the air whenapplied to thosewho do not respecttheir own interestsand benefits (as a“manfromthe underground” by F.M.Dostoevsky). This requirement is also meaningless to those who arenotable tobuildmoralrelationshipwith their own self,i.e.according to Kant,to seein yourselfa goal, nota means ofexternal interests,forwhichyou are readyto become a“living bomb”. Ideologists andspiritual leadersof terrorism of suicide bombers are strongly cultivating theattitudethat makes people see themselves asmere instruments ofrighteous and wisedivinepredestination. Turning to theMuslim faithinpredestinationof human life, dependenceof any eventin the worldonAllah's permission, they tryto create a systemof theologicalargumentation, which releases a suicide bomberfrom moral responsibility notonly for the actualresultsof terrorist operations, but also forhis own death. This deprivesthe“self sacrifice event” of the self-murderous nature, which is strictly forbidden in Islam.

Dmitry Olshanskybelievesthat thisaspiration forovercompensationthroughcomplete self-sacrifice is the psychological core ofthe“kamikaze syndrome”. In his opinion,a normal,self-confident personvalues hislife,seeing it as acertain value. Ifhehappens to beamong terrorists, hewill never become asuicide bomber.The“kamikazesyndrome”isa subconsciousrecognition of one’s ownincapacity.To give your own life forsomethingmeans to acknowledgethat its value islower thanthis“something”, andthat youdo not deserveexperiencing the resultsof theaccomplishmentof this“something”.

Moreover,the problem of creatingan effective globalstrategy in war on terrorismis aggravatedby the fact thatthere is no clear relationship between the conceptsof national liberation struggle and terrorism,thusmakingthese concepts relative. The dualassessmentof terrorismhas a long history.Asa set of methodsof violence,aimed at achievingof a certaingoal, terrorismis pragmatically divided into“ours”(helpful, aimed at theenemies)and“notours”(harmful,aimed againstusby our enemies).The infamous“dual standard”applied in the terrorism assessment stems out of this utilitarian logic.

Undoubtedly, International Covenantsof Human Rightsstipulate the right ofpeople for self-determination,but this rightshould notbeprotected at the expense ofandin conflictwith other fundamentalrights specified in the samecovenants,and,first of all,withthe rightsto life, integrityandfreedom of the personality. The problem isthat terrorists often putthemselves outside the legal space,while thestate always, at least outwardly,has to adhere generally accepted international legal norms and regulations of commonplacemorality.This seriouslycomplicates, disables and defeatsany attempts tomove tolong-term agreements, let aloneto reconciliation.

Tolerancecannot and must not be applicableto thosewho consider themselvesentitled to dispose ofnotonlytheir lives, but also -against the wishesand desires –lives of other people.No wonder that most of thenationsremovethisrightfrom the scopeof its powers, abolishing thedeath penaltyorestablishing amoratoriumon it. *Toleranceendsat the border where ourindulgency to others threatens to turn(andturns) intointolerance of others to us,* and what is even worse-endangerslife and health.The requirementto abolishany limits oftoleranceis fraught with the risk of degeneratinginto support for those whoneglects its principles. Even the nobility of motives and justifiability of goals pursued by terrorists in their religious, nationalist or revolutionary struggle do not justify the terrorist methods that bring sufferings, first of all, to the civil population. The borderline, where tolerance to terrorists evolves into their support, becomes the divide line between tolerance and intolerance.

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Transformation processes in Russian society. Changes in socio-class structure of society

1. Main trends of change in Russian society could not be evaluated without considering current global trends in the world. General trends and factors are taking place though one can notice some specific features. Paradox of the end of the XX century is that the most economically developed countries being in a state of “shock at the face of the future” are actively implementing civilizational processes of integration, cooperation and solidarity and the transforming post-socialist societies living through the syndrome of “shock from the past” try to change their own present and it leads to an increase of disintegration.

2. The XX century witnessed drastic changes in social structure of all societies that modified the boundaries and criteria of class and social division and considerably enlarged middle layers. Changed configuration of differentiation, opened new possibilities for social mobility. Step by step as socio-economic structure becomes more complicated the scope of middle classes (middle class, old middle – independent businessmen and petty and middle property owners) enlarges. New middle class appeared; managers, lawyers, officials, bureaucrats, etc. At the first stages of development of capitalist societies independent petty and middle property owners and businessmen constituted approximately 80% then today in most economically developed countries nearly 75% of active population are hired workers. And share of middle class constitutes approximately 55-75%.

3. The process of formation of new social structure and its composition follows three routes:

A) The first – emergence of new social communities based on pluralistic property forms: here we speak about specific layers of workers and engineers and technicians employed in different branches of national economy, at state enterprises, at private and at mixed property ones.

B) The second route – due to transformation of state form of property- changes in the position of traditional class-group communities (workers, peasants, intelligencia); their boundaries, characteristics of quality /quantity, emergence of marginal layers.

C)The third route – emergence of layers-strata on the basis of different property forms, managers - a new administrative layer, new elite, middle classes, unemployed, marginals.

4. At the beginning of the 90-s in XX century majority of Russian researchers of social structure changed their research paradigm, passing from Marxism to theories of social stratification. The society started to be looked at as multi-dimensional. Hierarchically organized social space within which social groups and layers differ by the degree of property ownership, power and status. The main criteria of stratification are economic, professional, authoritarian and also the degree of adaptation to transformational processes and self identification. Still the urgent issue remains the problem of integral criterion of differentiation of society. Different researches analyse different number of layers: numbering three (higher, middle, low) to ten depending on the purposes and tasks of research.

5. In Russian society today many social layers are amorphous though one can notice definite tendency towards the formation of already put into shape groups and layers. But nearly in all social groups one can definitely see only the nucleus and periphery (not all indicators are present). The scope, trends, depth and peculiarities of transformational processes of social structure. Its complexity is due to a number of factors: a) structural changes in economics (different forms of property – state, joint-stock, private, with foreign investors) and its crisis; b) drastic changes connected with the reformation of the employment system (the system of planned formation, distribution and use of labour force gives way to not simply free but “wild” market of labour force, that has led to unemployment, change of criteria of social differentiation, restructuring of labour motivation, deepening of social inequality, sharp differentiation in wages of different categories of workers); c)reduction of standard of living for the majority of population; d) social anomie (deterioration of value-normative system and not fully developed another one); and social deprivation (deprivation of material or spiritual resources, possibilities necessary for satisfaction of the main vital demands of persons and groups). Complex processes, connected with transformation of all relations in Russian society put forward problems of social integration and disintegration, agreement and conflict which constitute key problems of classical sociological theory and the main sphere of sociological analysis. Transformational processes changed the previous configuration of socio-class structure of society, correlation of workers, employers, intelligencia, peasants and their role. Fundamentally have changed principles of social stratification of society, the society started to be structured being based on new for Russia principles.

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Analysis of the problems of socialization of pre-school children in the educational complex[1].

Today's children live and develop in a completely new socio-cultural conditions. Extremely busy parents, the generation gap, the disappearance of "communities in the yard", technologization of children's subculture, isolation child in the family have a negative impact on the socialization of children today. The increase in negative trends in adolescent and youth (increased aggression, lack of humane behavior, alienation and isolation, etc.) are highlighting the problem of development of personal qualities of a child, as a basic condition of confrontation these negative tendency. Social psychology argued that in the modern world children, even at a young age, in a given situation will largely determine the own strategy of behavior.

However, in pre-school institutions clearly preferred the cognitive development of preschool children to the detriment of social and personal. This is due on the one hand the increased requirements of the school to the intellectual level of first-graders, and the insufficient development of the other methods of social and personal development of pre-school children, as well as over-organization of the pedagogical process

. It is known that in the high school age lays the prerequisites of becoming a person. It starts with the development of self-regulation of behavior.

The development of self-regulation is one of the main lines of development of preschool children. The variety of activities that develops a preschooler, have one thing in common – they formed the critical lump this age personality – an arbitrary regulation of conduct and capacity for self-control. If you analyze the life situation of the modern preschooler, then, according to a number of socio-psychological research, the time of free communication of children is only 10% to 20%.Typically, this occurs in a designated regime moments (a walk, a free game). This situation can not effectively develop certain personal characteristics, which are formed in different situations and different forms of activity, when children are given the opportunity to match their behavior with the exigencies of the situation, the expectations of other people, i.e. to mainstream psychological reserves.

The question is how to create such a situation in which these qualities are developed more successfully to the accumulation of life experience and self-determination took place in a most appropriate for this age conditions.

For this it is necessary to define the concept of "social development" for the preschooler, while taking into account the age characteristics of children, problems of a particular group of children, the philosophical foundation of human life, the problems of familiarizing the child to

[1] The material was prepared with the support of the Russian Foundation for the Humanities (grant 12-03-00490/13)

the world culture. Child to become a cultural, social and personal development, to develop versatile. I - as a person, I - as a member of the team, I - as a member of the family, I - as a resident of the city, I - as a part of nature, I - as a citizen, I - as a resident of Earth, I - as a particle of the universe.

To implement this idea was created educational technology "The situation of the month." The structure of the situation must include the month of diagnosis and knowledge of children's behavior at the beginning of the situation, the saturation of children visual material (videos, illustrations, pictures, trips, etc.), activation of the past experiences of children in different forms (conversations, dramatization, etc. izodeyatelnost), creating the problem of pedagogical situations (PPP), the creation of collective projects that use the theme of the situation in all the pre-school specialists. Mandatory participation of parents (interviews with children at home, writing fairy tales, children's utterances, drawing, singing, making costumes, gifts, meals, participation in festivals and writing scripts in the festival). Organizing for the end of the situation with the display of what the children have learned during the month. Output diagnostics in various forms ("magic phone", questioning, observation, creation of problematic pedagogical situations, a survey of parents, etc.).

The advantages of this technology is that the child learns independently acquire knowledge at a pace and in a manner that is characteristic of his personality. It forms in the reflexes of conscious moral and social position becomes emotionally positive experience of living in different roles, ages, situations, learning self, peers, adults, and parents.

Testing of educational technology "The situation of the Month" was held in the framework of an innovative platform Southwestern District of the city of Moscow in 2012-2013. Scientific Project Manager - Grishaeva Natalia Petrovna.

Monitoring of the site in 2012-2013. showed that this technology leads to the accumulation of a child of a certain social experience, self-determination in socially important situations - and thus to the development of self-regulation of children's behavior and development of their initial ideas about social roles.

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The Language of the Crisis – The Crisis of the Language

One of the peculiarities of the time is a growth of communicative-activeness need for a human being, although stimulating active speech communication factors are far to be homogeneous: from getting a mobile phone to participating in a electioneering. On the labor market mostly communicability, communication skills are required. On the whole, the attitude to the language is being changed deeply, but … into the consumerism.

Training a member of a community stereotype speech reactions in typical communicative situations meets the demand of the modern “networking society”, which has retaken its consideration from the subjects of the communication to its means, but it does not present the problem of a deep discovering of a person in the verbal action. A crisis language appeal firstly to the informative nature of money and especially pragmatic functions. Lingual philosophical significance as a unique social-historical phenomenon, a spiritual culture factor stays aside. But language, anthropocentric due to its nature, has a huge potential for forming each member of the society as one of the means of individualizing a person in the world.

Forming a harmonious personality, according to scholars, happens by means of including a person into a culture in three fields of the latter: in the field of cognition (system of concepts), in the field of ethics (ability of a responsible action) and in the field of aesthetics (ability of holistic perception or creating something: from the world on the whole (an image, a picture) to any specific object created by nature or a human being). “The characteristic feature of cultural spheres, as M. Bakhtin noted, is that they lack an inner territory, culture lives on the borderline of the spheres” [Bahtin M.M, 1975, p. 67]. Indeed, it is hard to say about a culture of a person who has a thorough knowledge, but sees no esthetic wholeness of an object; the artistic perception of the world is insolvent without a person’s comprehension of responsibility; the degree of responsibility for a deed one may judge only knowing the motives which initiate an action.

The full representation of the three culture fields in their interaction is the condition of human being’s survival in the situation of a total crisis, when all cultural coordinates are dislocated. “Life, as I. Peshkov noted, in principle is a crisis and constantly putting us in the situation demanding energetic perception… and nonstandard speech action… If there is a crisis in the communication then there is a need to call speech”. [Peshkov I.V., 1987, p. 267]. Speech anomie is not just grievous but dangerous. In the world there is a set proportional dependence between speech activity and intelligence advancement, between speech reality and social dynamics. As known, the Japanese began launching their economic breakthrough from developing speech relations and have created their rhetorical study – “a people’s lingual existence”.

The modern speech situation is one of the most urgent and interesting problems. On the one hand, in Sorbonne since September 2001 there has been entered a course of “professional letter writing”, since linguists are worried about the indications that the young generation is losing the “high” written form of the French language, accustomed to e-mails and SMS-messages. On the other hand, according to Voice of America, on 14 July 2010 The Appellate Court of State New York quashed a ban on foul language on the air, calling it unconstitutional. The justices unanimously ruled that it contradicted the first amendment to the Constitution of the USA guaranteeing freedom of speech. As well, in the Russian mass media there is a serious discussion about legalizing foul language.

Within Perestroika years Russia experienced a sharp speech anomie. The deterioration of communicative speech quality has become ubiquitous; standard speech has practically disappeared from usage. Theater, cinema, mass media and fiction not just are losing the role of creators and keepers of exemplary speech traditions, but, on the contrary, replicate and consolidate numerous mistakes and incorrectness in the mass consciousness, i.e. imposing primitive forms of thinking, promoting not just brisk impurity of the speech with jargons, vulgarisms, needless foreign vocabulary, but a growth of speech aggression and popular “live” programs, and phenomenon of social networking.

It is the state that has put up a defense for the language. On 1 June 2005 there was adopted a law “On the State Language of the Russian Federation”. On 26 October 2012 The State Duma initiated a law obliging migrants who work for public utility and other spheres of services should know the Russian language.

And science, too, tries to defend high standards of the language. The anthropocentric disciplines’ turn to the language in the beginning of Perestroika, and linguistics’ turn to personality have led to integrated conception “linguistic identity”. Interesting “shifts” occur directly in linguistics. There appear new positions of considering its arsenal, capable of organizing separate disciplines as specialized (for example, legilinguistics) as well as integrated (ecolinguistics and linguaecology).

Thus, some measures are taken to bring the language out of the crisis, to prevent language regression firstly in the context of saving its expressive resources. Nevertheless, the forecast is highly unpromising, if not to change the situation radically. A big control of the state is needed. France may be an example, where is linguistic police. It is necessary that standard speech should be defended by all authoritative players on the communication field.

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Demographic processes in the Republic of Tatarstan: crisis, tendencies and prospective

DemographicprocessesintheRepublicofTatarstanwhichisperceivedasoneofthemost developed and prosperous regions of Russia are analyzed in this article on the basis of statistical data. Thecomparativestrategyisusedintheresearch, suchasthefollowing: the data of the modern demographic situation is compared to the data of the demographic situation at the beginning of XXI century. Thefinalaimistofindoutforthetendenciesofthedevelopmentofregional community, their specifics, degree of correlation with Russian demographic development.

DemographicsituationinRussiainthepasttwodecadesischaracterizedbydepopulation, suchasthefollowing: fromthemiddleof 1990estothemiddleof 2000-esaverageannualnatural population loss was near 850000 of people. Fromthebeginningof 2000esthenumberofbornisprogressivelyincreasingandthenumberofdeathisprogressivelydecresing, however, thebirth rate is still low, and death rate is rather high ("European birth rate and African death rate" on behalf of one of the Russian researches of this problem).

Overallpopulationgrowthin 313000 peoplewasregisteredin 2012, including 5000 peopleof natural population growth and 308000 of migration population growth (Demografia Rossii, 2013). HoweverdifferentregionsofRussianFederationhavetheir own specificities, such as the following: the stabilization of demographic processes is taking place in the prosperous regionsand continuous crisis is taking place in lagging regions. TheRepublicofTatarstan[1]isperceivedasoneofthemost dynamic andfavorableregions of Russian Federation intermsof economical, social and demographic development. Informationofresolvingofdemographicalcrisisis transmitted to the Tatarstancommunityinthepast 2-3 years in the following way, such as: presenting of statisticaldataofincreasingof fertility in particular cities and rural areas, the beginning of birth-rate decreasing, and natural population

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[1]The Republic of Tatarstan is situated in the middle of Russian Federation, in the East-European plain, at the confluence of Volga and Kama rivers. It covers 67836 square kilometers. The capital is Kazan. The region has the administrative and territorial division, such as the following: 43 municipal areas and 2 city districts Kazan and Naberezhnye Chelny. The number of population in the Republic of tatartsan is 3803.2 thousand people (2012), including 53,2% of Tatars and 39,7% of Russians (2010 census of enumeration). Regarding economy, Gross Regional Product of the Republic of Tatarstan is 1415.0 billion rubles (2012 which is 105,5% to 2011.

growth. Our aim is to find out whethertherearegroundsfortheoptimism, whether there are changes in reproduction processes on the regional level and what is character of these changes, whether population policy methods inputted in every-day life are really effective, and what is the overall image of the Tatarstan citizen at the beginning of XXI century?

Sex-agestructure.AsgenerallyinRussiathereisgenderimbalanceintheRepublicofTatarstanwhichispresentedinthe following way: there is 53,8% of women and 46,2% of men in the whole population of the republic (Okonchatelnye itogi Vserossiiskoy perepisi, 2013), which shows specific Russian problem. The continuous gender imbalance over the past decades can beexplained by the number of reasons, such as the consequences of the World War 2, men loss in the more recent wars in frontiers. However, eveninthepeacetimethehighlevelofthedeath-rateoftheworkagemencanbeobserved. Thisiscausedbythenumberofreasons, suchasoccupationonthehazardousanddangerousproductions, alcoholism and drug addiction. Moreover, genderimbalancecanbeexplainedbythelower life expectancy for men than for women, and it’s a steady trend.

Populationpyramid. PopulationdistributionintheRepublicofTatarstan (accordingtothemodelperceivedinRussianstatistics 0-14 years – children, 15-59 years – adults, 60 andmoreyears – elderpeople) isthefollowing: 16% ofchildren, 66% ofadultsand 18% ofelderpeopleinJanuary,1 2012 (Estestvennoe dvizhenie naselenia, 2013)AccordingtothescaleofthepopulationageingelaboratedbyG.Boge-Garnier and E.Rosset, the number of people aged from 60 years and more is minimum 12% intheoldpopulation. Agepyramidofoldpopulationhasnarrowbase (numberofchildren) andextendedvertex (number of elder people), that shows that there are less children than older people. InthepopulationofTatarstanthepartofthe “thirdgroup”-elderpeopleexcess old ageboundaryin 1,5 times (18%) what gives the evidence of regressive type of age structure and high level of population ageing, and consequently about the population loss. Thecombinationofsmallproportionofchildrenwithsubstantial proportion of elder people in the age distribution points the high level of population ageing.

Thedynamicsofreproductionprocesses.IntheRepublicofTatarstanthedeath-rate exceed the birth-rate since 1993. Sincethensteadytrend of natural public loss is observed in the republic. Themaximumlosseswerebetweentheyears 1999 and 2006, theseyearstherepublicwas losing from 11 to 14 thousand of people every year. Onlyin 2011 naturalpopulationincreasingtookplaceintherepublicaftertheyearof 1993 the population increased to 4253 people and natural population increase in 2012 was 9426 people (Statisticheskie pokazateli raboty organov ZAGS za 2012).

VitalratesofthepopulationoftheRepublicofTatarstanduringthefirstdecadeofXXIcenturyrem ainedalmostthesamewithlowbirth-rate (9,4 permillein2000) and high death-rate (13,2 per mille)with the natural population loss varied between 3,8 per mille in 2000 to 0,2 per mille in 2010 (Estestvennoe dvizhenie naselenia, 2013).

Birthrateshasbeenvaryinginthefollowingway: theincreasingofbirth-ratetosomeextenttookplacein2004, after that the decreasing up to the previous low level was observed and the increasing of the birth rate that took place in 2007 finally reached 14,5 per mille in 2012. Thedecreasingofthedeath-ratetookplaceonly in 2012 and was 12,4 per mille.Currently,Kazan, thecapitalofTatarstan, is going ahead therepublic in terms of population-rates, so in 2012 overall coefficient of birth-rate was 17,7 per mille in Kazan and only 14,5 in the Republic of Tatarstan; and the death rate is little bit lower in Kazan than in the republic (11,6 per mille in Kazan to 12,2 per mille in Tatarstan) (Estestvennoe dvizhenie naselenia, 2013). Thus, the coefficient of natural population increasing in Kazan was 6,1 per mille which is almost three times more than in the Republic of Tatarstan (2,3 per mille). Besidestheoverallcoefficientofnaturalpopulationgrowth, cumulativebirth-rate (whichcanbefoundasaveragenumberofchildrenwhichwerebornbyawomanduringherlife) is also informative measure. ThestatisticaldatashowstheincreasingofcumulativebirthrateintheRepublicofTatarstan, aswellasinRussia. Thedynamicsof cumulative birthratehavedifferentspecificsindifferenttypesofsettlements. So, the cumulative birth rate has increased from 1,382 in 2007 to 1,652 in2011inwholerepublic, including the increasing of the rate from 1,29 to 1,53 in city population and from 1,770 to 1,887 in rural population. The higher level of cumulative birth rate is also not enough for providing simple reproduction of population (Socialno-economicheskoe polozhenie Respubliki Tatarstan, 2013). Regarding Russia, the cumulative birth rate is increasing, so it was 1,16 children for one woman in 2007 to 1,7 children to one woman in 2012. Accordingtothisdata Russia is included in the top ten European countries with the high level of birth rate(Demografia Rossii, 2013).Ifthecumulativebirthrateis 1,8 theconstrictedmodeofreproduction, the simple reproduction is characterized by the cumulative birth rate of 2.

The death rate in the Republic of Tatarstan. Regarding the overall death rate Russia can be found at the same level as some African countries. Thedynamicsofoverallcoefficientofdeathratefrom 2000 to 2010 shows the low level of variability, so in 2000 there were 15,3 per mille, in 2010 14,2 per mille with the maximum fluctuation of 1,9 per mille.In the Republic of Tatarstan the overall coefficient of the death rate is a little bit lower than in Russia, so it’s 13,2 per mille in 2000 and 13,1 in 2010, however they are still higher than the overall birth rates. Atthesametimethegenderdifferentiation can be observed in the following way: the death rate of men is higher than the death rate of women. Thedynamicsofoverallcoefficientsofmortalityinthegenderprospectivefor 1000 people(Estestvennoe dvizhenie naselenia, 2013)shows that there is a low level of variation with some decreasing after 2010. however, the death rates remain high, so the overall coefficient of the men death rate was 14,9 per mille in 2007 and 14,1 per mille in 2010; and the overall women death rate was lower, as 11,4 per mille in 2007 and 11,0 per mille in 2010. Differentiation of the death rate according to the type of settlement can also be observed, so the level of the death rate is higher in rural area than in the city area. Generallyitwascausedbythehighlevelofstarting (1990) deathrateintherepublic, 13,7 per mille in rural area and 8,5 per mille in city area.

Evident and implicit causes of the death rate. Osomecausesareclearandevident, othersare hidden in the roots of social life. Thefollowingreasonscanbementionedaboveevidentcauses, suchas: stress-producing as the consequent of socio-economical and political crisis, breakdown of habitual way of life in 1990s. Atthattimethedeathrateofworkingagemen is particularly high, what is Russian peculiarity. Regardingtheimplicitreasons, deepstratificationaccordingtotheeconomicposition, marginalizationofconsiderable part of society, that was particularly harmful for men, many of them have targeted to descending social mobility. Genderdifferentiationofdeathandsicknessrates determined by the differences of social roles which are undertaken by men and women in the society. Menaremoreorientedtothesociallifeandparticipationthanwomen;that’swhythey (men) aremore sensitive to radical social changes, it’s more difficult to adapt themselves to the new life consequences.

Genderdifferentiationofsicknessanddeathratesisalsocausedbybehavioralpracticesofmenandwomen, byfollowingorbreakingregulations of healthy life-style (the lack of physical exercises, smoking, alcohol drinking and drug consumption etc. are more spread among men).Thefollowing reasons, such as: the difficultieswithmeetinglifegoals, limitationofopportunitiesforselfrealization, unemployment of some part of the population, and need to adapt in the difficult life situations, can be mentioned as implicit reasons of sickness and death rates.

ThedeathratestructureofRussiansociety. Firstly, circulatorydeceasescanbenoted. Everyyear 1,3 millionRussiansare dying from cardiovascular diseases, this is 56% of the whole number of registered deaths. The other wide spread reason of deaths is oncologic disease, so every year 300 thousand of Russians are dying because of that. ThesadstatisticsshowsthateverythirdRussian dies before the pension age. OnbehalfofacademicE.Chazov, cardiodiseases are caused by the hard psycho-social conditions, such as crisis in economics, politics (Po urovnu smetnosti Rossia nakhoditsya na urovne nekotoryh afrikanskih stran, 2013).

The processes occurring in the population of the Republic of Tatarstan are generally similar to the Russian. Trends in death rate caused by the two most common causes, such as cardiovascular diseases and cancer, shows the variability of these processes, which is generally low. The number of the death caused by cardiovascular disease was accounted for 62% in 2007 and 59% in 2011; as for the death from cancer their account was 13,5% in 2007 and 14,5% in 2011(Socialno-economicheskoe polozhenie respubliki Tatarstan).

The analysis of the statistical data obtained during the All-Russian population census in the Republic of Tatarstan as well as the analysis of current statistical data in dynamics, shows that the main causes of death rate in the republic is death from circulatory diseases, and this is a stable trend, the death rate caused by these reasons remains high for many years. At the same time, 30% of deaths from diseases of the circulatory system accounted for the residents of the city of Kazan. Another common disease is cancer, claiming the lives of about 15% of the population. Thesestarkstatisticsshowthatthedeclineinmortalityfromthesediseasesisproblematic.

The effectiveness of the demographic policy measures. Presidential Decree dated October 9, 2007 N1351 adopted the concept of demographic policy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025, which includes measures of economic support for young families and childbearing. Probably, the first results of these measures have affect to the demographic behavior of the population of the republic.

The situation in the republic in terms of population relatively favorable - its growth is observed in the general population, but the dynamics of the population is ambiguous in some localities there is an increase of the population, in others - the decline. In general, the population of Tatarstan is increasing in the following ways, such as: firstly, due to migrants: an increase of 7.2 thousand for the inter-census period (2002 to 2010) and then, beginning from 2011natural increase of population was also observed. The apparent change of the configuration of "Russian Cross" (“Russkiy crest”) can be observed only in some localities of the republic such as the following ones: in the urban districts of Kazan and Naberezhnye Chelny, and also in the following municipal areas, Almetyevsk, Baltasi, Elabuzhsky, Kukmorsky, Nizhnekamsk, Sabinsky Tukaevsk. By the end of 2012, the structure of the newborn in the republic is the following: there is 47% of the first-born, 40% - the second child, 10% - third, 3% - the fourth and more. If we compare with 2007, the date of the commencement of the concept of the demographic development of the Republic of Tatarstan, including government programs of support for families with two and more children, the number of families with two and more children increased in almost a third more than in the beginning (Statisticheskie pokazateli raboty organov ZAGS za 2012).These data demonstrate the effectiveness of the population policy in the republic.

The population of the Republic of Tatarstan is getting older as well as the whole Russia, so the average age of the population of the republic in 2010 is 38.6 years, Russian Federation - 39 years, in 2002 the inhabitants of Tatarstan and Russia were younger so it was -37.1 and 37.7 years respectively. The pace of population ageing is less intense n Tatarstan than in Russia. At the same time, the ageing is feminizing, so among the oldest people of the republic (those over 90 years) there is five times more women than men. There more women long liver in the city (five times more than men) as well as in the village (seven times more than men). The gender imbalance remains, at the same time the sex ratio has changed, so there was 1000 men for 1661 women in 2002, and 1000 men for 1166 women in 2010. Tatarstan increasingly urbanizing (currently, 75.4% of the urban population, the city residents growth was 2.3%- compared to 2002). Tatarstan is becoming more literate (there were 144 people to 1000 people with high education in 2002, and 224 to 1000 in 2010). Tatarstan is becoming more multiethnic and multilingual (there appear other nations in addition to the Tatars and Russian), that is caused by the intensification of migration from countries near and far abroad (Ob okonchatelnyh itogah Vserossiiskoy perepisi naseleniya 2010 po Respublike Tatarstan, 2013).

Analyzing the statistical data it can be stated that the demographic crisis in the Republic of Tatarstan, as well as in Russia continues. Overall death rates are a little bit lower on the Republic of Tatarstan than in Russia, however the death rates are higher than the birth rates in the whole period under review and only from 2011 the birth rate is higher than the death rate. These data in complex approach characterize the narrowed mode of reproduction. Ambiguity and instability of positive dynamics in the Republic of Tatarstan, as well as in Russia as a whole, is largely determined by the unstable socio-economic situation, depressed position of some settlements, the remaining low level of life of a particular segment of the population, unemployment, lack of opportunities of self-realization, and finally, the inefficiency of many social programs. Thus, even if there are some positive trends in birth and death rates and rates of natural population growth, it’s too early to state the breakdown. The time will show whether it’s sustainable trend or no.

Regarding the possible "disappearance Russia", being optimistic we hope that the Russian nation has the potential for self-preservation. Prospects for further demographic development of the republic, as well as the country as a whole, and the total overcoming of the crisis largely depend on the complexity and consistency of the reforming the social sphere, and on the availability, accessibility and effectiveness of programs directed at improving the quality of physical, mental and social health of the population.

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Pre-school education: integration and inclusion, problems and prospects.[1]

The Russian system of pre-school institutions for children with special educational needs is in anticipation of significant change now. These changes are associated with the active promotion of ideas of inclusive education. UNESCO and the United Nations over the past 20 years have taken a number of documents in which one of the determining factors of construction a civil society of the construction of a civil society proclaimed the promotion of inclusive education [Vsemirnaja…, 1994; Konvencija OON…, 2006]. Inclusive practice assumes ensuring equal access to a particular type of education for all children, without exception, regardless of their individual characteristics, educational achievements, language, culture, religious preferences, mental and physical capabilities. The most important segment of inclusive education is ensuring equal access to education for children with disabilities.

Presidential Decree of 1 June 2012 number 761 was approved by the National Strategy for Action on Children in 2012 - 2017. [Ukaz Prezidenta…, 2012] The Decree establishes a number of planned measures aimed at ensuring the availability and quality of education, including:

"Legislative strengthening of legal mechanisms of realization of the rights of children with disabilities and children with special health needs in order to ensure of integration in existing system of preschool education, ... (the right to an inclusive education) ... "

Create a unified system of early help services for children with disabilities and children with special health needs, which include medical, rehabilitation, correctional and educational assistance to the child, socio-psychological and consultative assistance to parents; ensuring the continuity of early intervention and care in preschool age, the development of inclusive preschool education, providing extensive training of a disabled child and a child with disabilities for education in school...

Legislative consolidation of ensuring equal access of children with disabilities and children with special health needs to quality education at all levels, guaranteed the exercise of their right to inclusive education at the place of residence, as well as

Observance of the rights of parents to choose the educational institution and the form of education for the child… "

Preschool education, which is the first step in the socialization of children, is becoming the most important testing ground for tolerance education. Not only children but also parents, teachers, who involved in the process of inclusion, are changing. From pre-school institutions are

[1] The material was prepared with the support of the Russian Foundation for the Humanities (grant 12-03-00490/13)

diverging waves of a new inclusive approach to education and waves of a new social consciousness.

Despite the fact, in the documents regulated the activities of educational institutions, ensuring equal access to education of all children, without exception, regardless of their individual characteristics, referred to as "inclusion", in the professional community of educators and psychologists there are principled debates on the use of the term "inclusion" and "integration". In the literature, these two concepts are regarded as synonymous, or the integration is characterized as a less developed form of inclusion, its first stage. Integration (from Lat. Integratio that’s mean is connection) - the process of development, the result of which is to achieve unity and integrity in the system based on the interdependence of certain specialized cells. Inclusion (tracing paper with English) Inclusion) is adding, addition, accession. So integration is a two-way process, symmetrical; inclusion is a one-way process, asymmetrical. There are major aspects of integration in education: is the educational route properly padded for a specific child and the build of successively sophisticated (communicative–cognitive) environments in the conditions of simultaneous training of children with special needs and the other children. [Dimenshtejn, 2010] Fifteen years ago in Russia created the first integrative preschool. The lack of support at the legislative level, the lack of facilities, the lack of professionals who knew the methods of integration in education, inefficient funding mechanisms, the lack of proper operation with parents and teachers, the boycott of community of specialists in the score of defectology – resulted in the idea of integration in Russia has been discredited. Although, to date, integrative kindergartens successfully work in tackling common tasks of education and health improvement of children of pre-school age with special educational needs, together with special or correctional institutions (for children with speech disorders, hearing, vision, musculoskeletal system, intelligence, mental retardation) and with inclusive kindergartens.

In order to replace the traditional system of pre-school education of inclusive system of pre-school education are required systematic approach to the analysis and identification of both positive and negative, humanitarian and educational implications, risk assessment and the necessary legal, informational, educational, advocacy, etc. the actions necessary to create a favorable environment for the implementation of the objectives and goals of inclusive education.

By foreign countries with half a century of experience in inclusive education developed criteria for assessing the development of integration processes. These criteria are recognized as countries with developed system integration. Here are just a few of these criteria, which, in our opinion, are fundamental:

1. Availability and performance of the relevant legislation in the country, according to which possible or recommended integrative (inclusive) education;

2. Provision economic basis of this legislation;

3. Preserving functional status of the existing institutions of special education and the improvement of conditions for special education students in these institutions, children with special needs;

4.Defferentiation of educational difficulties of students as the basis for the organization of their training, which includes a careful selection of individual and educational environment for the prevention of secondary abnormalities in the child's development and needs to be isolated learning;

5. There are social and educational conditions for the life of a disabled child in the family and the full participation of the family in the child's upbringing;

6. The parents of children with disabilities shall have the right to freely choose or inclusive education, or training in a special educational institution, the availability of economic support for the implementation of this law;

7. Ensuring the availability of inclusive education (transport, housing and social relations, architecture and the proximity of the educational institution, etc.)[Nazarova, 2009, p. 8-18].

The above criteria are very clearly formulated demands not only to the education system, and not so much education, but for the system of social - economic conditions for prosperous life of children with special educational needs. This approach makes the process of global, structural, and humanitarian.

In recent years, a number of regions of Russia made significant steps to improve the inclusive space. Much has been done in the area of legislation, in the area of methodological support, operation of institutional mechanisms and financing, creating a barrier-free environment, personnel training, scientific discussion of information, cultural events and activities, the establishment of associations of parents of children with special educational needs, the creation of the communities of professionals and other.

"Those at the top" understand that inclusion - it is a necessary future and it is - is inevitable. However, the expansion of inclusive space requires continuous monitoring of the degree of readiness of society to inclusive education. Must take into account the presence of conflicts of interest, among which are the following: the parents of children with special educational needs - the parents ordinary children; children with special needs - normal children; children with special needs - teachers, tutors; teachers of special and remedial pre-schools - pre-school administrators from education, etc.

To confirm the presence of the ambiguous attitude of the society to the processes of integration in education, August 12, 2012 Public Opinion Foundation (FOM) conducted a survey among the Russians regarding inclusive education. [Ezhenedel'nyj opros…, 2012] The survey involved 1,500 respondents from 43 subjects of the Russian Federation. According to the survey: 45% of Russians believe that disabled children should learn together with normal children; against co-education are the 35% of the respondents, 19% of respondents are undecided on this issue. About not comfortable learning ordinary children together with disabled children claim 39 percent of those polled. 52 percent that participated in survey were convinced that for disabled children would not learn comfortably together with normal children. On the received answers to a minor extent influenced the political views of the respondent, gender, age, education, income. So in Moscow, where the level of preparedness for widespread adoption of an inclusive education system is much higher than the Russian average, the lowest percentage (40%) of the respondents support the idea of co-education of disabled children and normal children, and the highest percentage of respondents (28%), undecided in their attitude to the problem.

An indicator of the level of readiness of society to inclusion can serve such a fact as the use of the term "children with disabilities" in official documents and public opinion polls.

The term invalid in the West is not used, instead is used the terms: a person with special needs, the «disabled people» and children with disabilities. Russian variant of the name of the UN Convention is "On the Rights of Invalids", although in English it sounds like The UN Convention «ON the rights of persons with disabilities". The above-mentioned survey Public Opinion Foundation, The questions had been formulated with using the term "children invalids" instead of "children with special needs" or "special children" and many such examples.

The level of readiness of our educational community to inclusive education is not high. According to the data of the sociological poll «The attitude of the population of the city of Surgut to inclusive education of children with disabilities» [Bogataja,2012] most revealing is the data obtained from the survey of teachers. 47% of teachers had never communicated with disabled children. 30% of teachers of educational institutions are not familiar with the term "inclusive education”. Only 8% of the teachers know special scientific literature. One-third (35%) of teachers opposed the inclusive education. Twenty-seven percent of teachers said they are not familiar with the characteristics of children with different disabilities. 41% of teachers believed that do not have the expertise to work with this category of children. 30% of teachers believe that the presence of a class of children with disabilities is obvious negative factor that may affect the achievement of the common school education. Against this background, promising are the 76% of teachers who have expressed a desire to improve their skills in the area for Special Education and Special Psychology.

The aim of inclusion is not only organizational actions, pedagogical process of inclusive education a child with special needs within the regular groups with ordinary children, the construction of ramps and the emergence in a groups of kindergarten tutors. Inclusion - is the creation of conditions for the social, emotional, and spiritual health of society, on the one hand, and physical rehabilitation - on the other. On can`t but to agree with the replica on the Internet [Otroshhenko, 2012]: "What we call "inclusive education" is not relation to inclusion has not. In the United States are considered to be resistant to correction of 8% of autistic children, and 92% of autistics will be curable and will be enhanced theirs functioning to varying degrees of viability (either full or partial). But in Russia, everything is exactly the opposite - to 10% of autistics will be among the lucky ones, and 90% of autistics - are human trash for special educational institutes... Inclusive education it is "not all in the same pit," it is altered pedagogical consciousness. Consciousness, which does not allow even the thought that the reason for failure of pedagogical practice may be in the baby… The inclusive education it is when all teachers gathering together. If it is necessary, professional community invites the supervisor, and, if the case is very complex, invites the professor. And then all specialists are sitting and are deciding that did we do wrong, that's the boy still not well adapted. Here’s what inclusion. And this whole circus is –between to healthy babies one queer is reeling - this is not inclusion. "

Let`s formulate, the main problems which will be solved in the way of transformation the traditional education system to inclusion.

1. There is no systematic approach to solving the problems of inclusion.

2. The level of tolerance towards people with disabilities in the country is low. In addition, "medical" approach to people with special needs prevails at any level (national, regional, household).

3. There is no confidence in the full and speedy financial support to the process of inclusion, building the necessary special education environment, barrier-free environment.

4. Pedagogical community is not ready to fully accept and follow to the processes of inclusion. It is not the technology of preparation of teacher to work in an inclusive space. The shortage of specialists leads to a distortion of the idea of inclusion and leads to the simulation of the processes of integration.

5. Raise concern beginning of process of closing institutions of special education and correctional education that is based on the need of saving money.

6. Per capita funding of preschools institutions will may lead to the substitution of the humanitarian component of inclusive education to market component.

7. For the majority of kindergartens the problem of inclusion does not exist. This leads to the fact that the process will can return to the traditional system of correctional educational

institutes against a background of a huge queue to kindergartens and increasing query families with children with disabilities.

8. Not there is a succession of preschool and school inclusive education

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Factors influencing the economic efficiency of training educational centers of distance-teaching university.

The UNESCO World Report of 2010 emphasizes that inequities due to geographical location is often closely associated with social and economic inequality, the differences in living conditions in urban and rural areas,with ethnic and linguistic affiliation. In the period of economic crisis the problems of territorial disparities become more acute, especially for countries with a large territory and uneven population density.

The influence of geographical factors on access to quality education is one of the main causes of inequality in Russian education. For all thatinequality in higher education starts with the lack of quality of school training in remote areas and sparsely populated settlements [Konstantinovskij D.L, 2011]. Indicators of territorial disparities in obtaining of a complete general education include: the type of settlement, distance from the residence to the school, accessible transport, number of schools within the reach, the level of urbanization.

Information and telecommunications educational technology, developed and implemented in the ModernUniversity for the Humanities (MUH) – distance-teaching mega-university with geographically separated structures – allows to receive education directly at the place of residence [Karpenko O.M, 2010, 2011]. MUH experience suggests the possibility of solving the most important issues of strategy and tactics of development of the system of education at all levels for any remote or sparsely populated territory.

In the work [Karpenko O.M, Luk'janova A.V.,2011] the authors describe a model of partnership cooperation of the regions with the so-called distributed university. On the example of the Far Eastern federal district it is shown the total costs of implementation and operation of the information-telecommunication educational technologies.Regional authorities provide funding and coordination of organizational issues, as well as ensuring the educational process with the necessary equipment. The distributed university incurs the development of the educational content, the delivery of this content to the training educational centers by means of telecommunication technologies,academic administration and training of the personnel of school educational centers.

Calculations have shown that taking into account the regional norms of per capita funding, the technologies which MUH uses during the implementation of school educational programmes in rural areasprovide economic benefits in all regions where there are sparsely populated settlements. Creation of a network of distributed education on the basis of ICT will give the possibility to receive continuing education in the place of residence for all levels - from high school to post-graduate.

Geographically isolated institutions of the distance-teaching University are in different conditions that influence the effectiveness of their activities.Among the factors that may have an impact on the income and the balance of such structures there should be mentioned: the population size,thepopulation density and the number of competing universities in the relevant geographic area. Investigation of the influence of these factors on the economic efficiency of commercial structures of the distance-teaching University is made on the basis of data obtained for 154 training educational centersof MUH, located in various regions of Russia.Each of the investigated characteristics of the geographic area is divided into 5 categories, which correspond to the 5 groups of educational centers: group 1 - centers with very low values of an indicator; group 2 - with low values; group 3 - with the average values; group 4 - with high values and group 5 - with very high values.Characteristics of the groups are presented in table 1.

Table 1

Characteristics of groups of training educational centers of the distributed university

Indicators of geographical areas	Groups of training centers	Values of the indicators	Number of training centers
A. Population size	1a	lessthan 0.25 mln.	28
	2a	from 0,25 to 0,4mln.	31
	3a	from 0,41 to 0,7 mln.	38
	4a	from 0,71 to 1,4 mln.	32
	5a	over1,4mln.	25
B. Population density	1b	less than 3 person/km^2	22
	2b	from 3,1 to 20 person/km^2	30
	3b	from 20,1to 40person/km^2	38
	4b	from 40,1to 60 person/km^2	28
	5b	over 60 person/km^2	34
C. Number of competing universities	1c	0 - 1	22
	2c	from 2 to 4	32
	3c	from 5 to 9	34
	4c	from 10 to 19	33
	5c	over 19	28

Within each group there was not revealed the dependence of economic indicators of training centers (annual income and annual balance) from the characteristics of the geographic area in which the centre is located (population size, population density, number of competing universities). At the same time the comparison of profitability of training centers with different characteristics of geographical zones indicates a tendency to increase or decrease of the profitability depending on these characteristics. These trends are illustrated by the graphs shown in Fig. 1-3.

Figure 1 shows the balance of the training centers, included in the three groups with adifferent population in their respective areas. As we can see, the balance of structures located in areas with very high population (group 5a - more than 1.4 million people.) on average is much higher than in the structures of group 3a with an average population in the zone of influence 0,41- 0,7 million people. On average the lowest economic indicators were observedin the training centers of group 1a (very low population - less than 0.25 million).At the same time Figure 1 shows that in each of these groups there are centers with very low and very high economic performance.

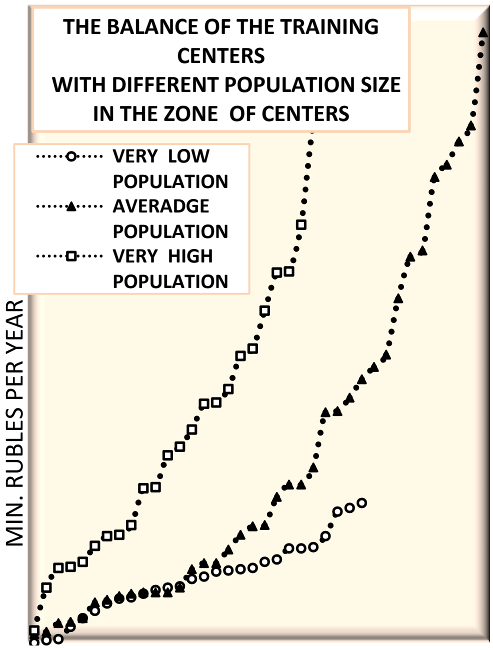

Figure 1. The annual balance of training centers with very low, medium and very high population size in the zone of influence: the centers of group 1a (number less than 0.25 million), group 3a (0,41-0,7 million) and group 5a (more than 1.4 million).

The dramatic difference in the effectiveness of training centers takes place in all five groups, at the same time within the same group it is observed more than tenfold difference in income and balance.Obviously, in each case, in varying degrees, there are some other factors, which have a greater effect than the objective conditions of the geographical area, in which the center is situated.

Similar findings were obtained on the impact of population density on the efficiency of the training centers (figure 2) and the number of competing universities (figure 3) - at simultaneous action of much more powerful factors

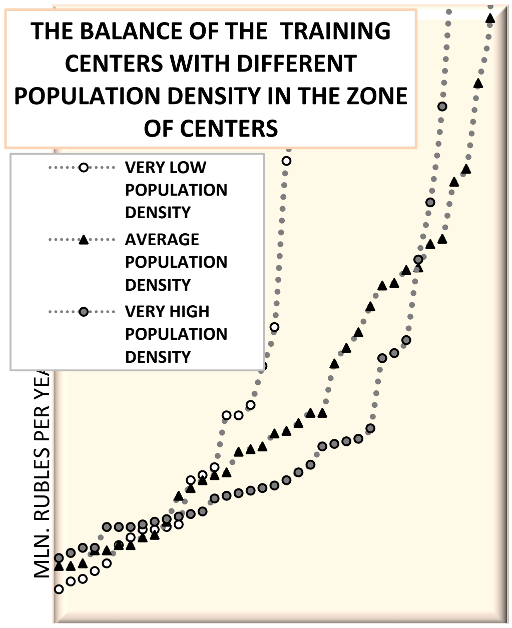

Figure 2. The annual balance of training centers with different population density in the zone of influence: very low population density - less than 3 person/km^2 (group1b); the average population density – from 20, 1 to 40 person/km^2 (group 3b); very high population density - over 60 person/km^2 (group 5b).

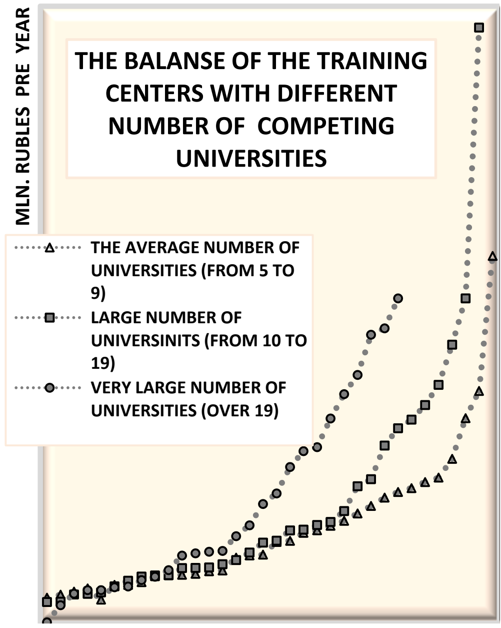

Figure 3. The annual balance of training centers with medium, high and very high number of competing universities in the zone of influence of the center: the average number of competing universities - from 5 to 9 (group 3c), the high number of competing universities - from 10 to 19 (group 4 c), a very high number of competing universities - more than 19 (group 5c).

Even more unexpected conclusion follows from the comparison of groups of training centers located in the areas with different number of competing universities. Economic indicators in groups of training centers with a very high number of competing universities in the zone of influence (group 5c), strange as it is, on average significantly higher than in other groups, including groups with far fewer competing universities.The latter refers to the groups of 1c and 2c, which coincides by indicators with the group of 3c shown in Figure 3. Apparently, it is affected by the high demand for higher education in areas with a large number of universities, and the specificity of distance education, provided by a distributed university, reduces the effects of competition.

Thus, the objective conditions of the geographical area in which the training centers of distance-teaching university are situated, may have some impact on the economic efficiency of its activities. However, this impact is often suppressed by the influence of more powerful factors. These factors are obviously related with the peculiarities of the management of the center and, first of all, the personality of the Director of the Center. According to the article [Davydov D.G., Karpenko O.M., 2011], the criterion for the success of a leader in complex competitive environment of the education market is vigorousness characterizing human energy, the ability to transform the surrounding material and social environment, to overcome the unfavorable conditions, to set and achieve high goals. The diagnosis of vigorousness of the directors of training centers of the distributed universities and experimental confirmation of its role in increasing the efficiency of the organization is a topic for another study, which will be based on the results of this work.

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Kerimi, Kira M., Saratov

Formation of professional identity of specialist in tourism within the city social space (for example, Saratov, Russia)

Since the second half of the XXth century tourism as the local social and economic practice has become a global phenomenon. At the moment of formation of the need for specialists in the Russian tourism, employment of graduates was provided by the state and professional activity took place, as usual, within the one organization. Since the 1990s, citizens living in the former Soviet Union space have been in a difficult situation of professional disorientation, which was associated with the transition from a planned economy to a market one.

Nowadays, it is observed educational institutions' orientation not on the real demand of regional labor markets but on customer needs of citizens, resulting to difficulties of employment of graduates in the professional sphere. The exponential error in the interaction between labor market and education has led to the spontaneous movement of human resources in social and labor sphere, to reducing the professional level and the prestige of professional education.

Forming of new professions in the Russian tourism such as animator, transfer man causes of ambiguous notions of specialists about building their professional careers. Transformation of status positions of professional groups in a market economy and detected contradictions sharpen the need to review the categories of professional activities, career and education for determining and building of model of career in tourism, as well as developing the practical recommendations of its successful realization in the conditions and reality of a changing world.

The process of formation of professional identity in the tourism is largely due to the nature of the tourism industry as a service activity, which is reflected in the requirements for specialist. Personality's parameters often play a dominant role in career advancement. There is formation of additional features in the selection of individual educational and professional strategies, which requires a reorientation of the specialist to maximize the use as their own human capital so resources of the social space. Thus, the aim of the research is to study the social space resources of specialist in tourism as an example of a regional center Saratov.

Developing the idea of a complex determination of formation of professional identity of specialist in tourism, as part of V. Yadov's activity-activist approach [Yadov, 2006], P. Bourdieu's theories of social space [Bourdieu, 2005], and A. Giddens' structuration theory [Giddens, 2005], we propose to consider the environmental factors influencing on its formation. A set of external factors is represented by social space of the actor, which can be defined as "a set of possible actions" [Levada, 1993, p.35], with its inherent resources. The formation of professional identity of specialist in tourism can be attributed by, according to I. Zorin [Zorin, 2005, p.327], the interaction of three types of fields such as educational, professional and tourism.

The study of the education field was carried out by content analysis of information about educational exhibition "Education. Career. Employment", published on website of exhibition center "Sophit Expo" [9]. Purposes of the exhibition are the dissemination of information about job vacancies and employment advices, and presentation of the latest achievements within education industry [Bulgakova, 2004, p.40]. Exhibition "Education + Career", organized in Saratov, held annually since 2007. During the analysis, we noted a positive shift in favor of increasing the range of educational services that meet the needs of a wide range of potential customers both by age and diversity of sought areas of knowledge. The main reason of problem situation in the education market of social and cultural services and tourism is still a lack of evidence-based needs and social demand for such specialists [Kerimi, 2007, p.311]. Development of industry personnel requirements should take into account both quantitative and qualitative parameters, which is the basis for professional development of human resources.

In Saratov region professional tourism education is represented by three institutions of higher education. They are Saratov State Technical University named after Yu. Gagarin, Department of “Tourism Management”, Saratov State University named after N. Chernyshevsky, Department of “Tourism and Cultural Heritage”, Saratov Social and Economic Institute (branch) of the Russian Economic University named after G. Plekhanov, Department of "Hospitality and Tourism Business". Each institution within the state educational standard implements its own approach to the tourism training. However, the lack of a common vision and a common strategy for the development of the region as a tourist destination affects the vision of the qualitative and quantitative nature of the training the specialists in social and cultural sphere and tourism.

Projects and initiatives undertaken at national and regional levels and aimed for tourism developing form the professional space of specialist in tourism. Content analysis of announcements of upcoming events in tourism presented on the official website of the Ministry of Policy for Youth, Sports and Tourism of Saratov region, advertised for the period from February 21, 2006 (when website was started) to October 1, 2012 makes it possible to objectively investigate and make opinion on the qualitative and quantitative content of the resources of professional space of specialist in tourism by the example of Saratov region. So, we can see such results as “Exhibition” (17), “Seminar” (8), “Press Tour (including info-tour)” (8), “Meeting (Expert Council)” (5), “Forum” (14), “Contest” (17), “Festival” (5), “Conference” (15). Thus, the consumption, through participation, by specialist in tourism identified resources influences the formation of their professional identity.

Monitoring the initiative practices that form the tourist field of specialist in tourism, it should be noted the national all-Russian project "City of Russia. National Choice" aimed at selecting the most significant and symbolic city by a vote of Internet users. The purpose of the project is the establishment and strengthening of national values, the revival of interest in the history and sights of Russian cities, the formation of pride and respect for the cultural heritage of Russia, the consequence of which, according to developers, will be promoting and enhancing the image of the city (region) at national and international levels. An effective tool for this is geobrending, the creation of brand of city or region. So, for example, by a vote in 2012 Saratov ranked the 13th position of 81. Renewed vote in 2013, according to 01.03.2013 identified Saratov in the top ten of Russian cities with the highest number of votes [11]. These data can be regarded as an indicator of interest in the city among the population.

The results of another ongoing project, creating a theme park "Russia", were obtained by open vote (in the poll was attended by about 3,000 people), and the results were announced at the end of 2012. It was selected seven of the most important objects, ranked according to popularity among the population of Saratov region, which will be included in the exhibit area in the park "Russia". They are the road bridge between the Saratov and Engels, the landing place of Yuriy Gagarin, Saratov Conservatory named after L. Sobinov, Victory Park, Stepan Razin cliff, Saratov Art Museum named after A. Radishchev, Saratov City Park. The project is implemented by the initiative of the Russian Geographical Society and the Government of the Moscow Region with the support of the President of the Russian Federation. Park with 1,000 hectares area will be located in the Moscow region, in the urban district Domodedovo. As a landscape recreation complex on the basis of natural, architectural and historical monuments, as well as the cultural, scientific and technological achievements of Russia, in the park will be collected attractions of the country in a reduced form [10]. It should be noted that this project has no analogues in the world.

The Ministry of Policy for Youth, Sports and Tourism of Saratov region implements local measures aimed at maintaining and promoting tourism in the region. So, in 2012, it was held the first regional tourist exhibition "Travel round Saratov Region", dedicated to the celebration of World Tourism Day. Within event it was presented the activities of travel agencies, Saratov universities, museums, hotels and souvenir businesses, as well as a meeting of the advisory council on tourism. The Ministry has resumed the practice of press tours conducted in cooperation with tour agencies of the city and aimed at familiarizing the local population with tourism and travel. It is difficult to overstate the importance of tourism for the Saratov region, because the rich historical and cultural heritage, favorable climatic conditions create a foundation for the maintenance of cultural, cruise, medical and recreational, business and event-trigger, ecological and adventure, agriculture types of tourism and development, according to O. Lysikova, such perspective types as industrial tourism and birdwatching [Lysikova, 2012].

So, professional identity of specialist in tourism is a complicated complex, which concentrates all aspects of the relationship of the actor with the resources of the social space, represented by a tourist, educational and professional fields, as well as the basic categories of the professional tourist actor’s activity, the basis of his successful career and a prerequisite for the realization of human capital in the context of the social space. The results of empirical research reflect the contemporary situation of social space resources of specialist in tourism in Saratov.

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Khaknazarov, Saidmurod, Kh., Khanty-Mansiysk.

Results of Industrial Mining of Ugra Depths: Sociological Analysis

Khanty-Mansiysk autonomous okrug - Ugra is strategic base of oil extracting in the Russian Federation. Perspective resources are about 18 % of total Russian resources, potential resources are 47,0 %. The district much more surpasses all other regions of the Russian Federation in the explored reserves. The explored initial total resources are 46,1 %. In the district 504 deposits of hydrocarbon raw materials, including 429 oil deposits, are explored [Poleznye iskopaemye…, 2012].

For the reason, that the existing system of natural resources development is basically aimed at the obtaining of economic benefits without the regard for ecological and socio-economic aspects, situation of indigenous small people of the North (further - indigenous people of the North) have a tendency to deterioration that causes special anxiety in society. This problem is particularly relevant during the North natural resources development as the landscapes of northern regions are distinguished by weak stability to technogenic influences.

Preservation of the environment and socio-economic development of indigenous people of the North under current conditions are the important problem for the state and society as a whole. Without solving this problem transition of Ugra to the path of steady economic development is impossible.

Note, that unlimited and uncontrolled growth of consumption of mineral raw materials (especially hydrocarbon) without taking into account the ecological restrictions and development of high technology can lead in the near future to global ecological crisis.

In turn, industrial development of hydrocarbon raw materials (oil and gas) affects the interests of indigenous people of the North. This is due to the fact, that the basic deposits of hydrocarbon raw materials satisfying the industrial needs, are concentrated basically on the territories of natural resource use (further - territory), belonging to the North people.

The most negative influence on environment is rendered by accidents on industrial facilities and first of all on interfiled and magisterial pipelines (oil and gas pipelines).

The work deals with the results of industrial developments of hydrocarbon raw materials on an example of Kondinsky area of Ugra in a context of sociological researches. The article analyzes the opinions of inhabitants of the area on the existing problems occurring as a result of industrial mining.

Short characteristic of the study area. Geographically, Kondinsky area of Ugra is located within the Western-Siberian lowland. The total area of the territory is 54,63 thousand $км^2$. The area consists of 28 settlements, were 34,3 thousand people live. Among them, more than 5537 are the representatives of indigenous people of the North. Among them: 1408 - Khanty, 4104 - Mansi, 25 - Nenets, that is 16,1% of the total population. [Kondinskij rajon…, 2012].

According to the information of the former Department of indigenous people of the North of Ugra [Prirodopol'zovanie…, 2010], there are 41 territories of natural resource use (tribal lands, communities) of indigenous people of the North (10 families - 31 persons) on the territory, by total area of 188632 hectares (28 territories of natural resource use are on borders of licensed sites, by total area of 88000 hectares). The area has the status of territory of compact residing of indigenous people of the North. In 1995 (XX century) the area centre was transferred to settlement Mezhdurechensky.

On the territory of the area about 30 oil and gas deposits are under develop.

The atmosphere pollution on the territory of Kondinsky area is defined by mainly local sources and, in a less degree, by atmospheric transfers from other areas. The main causes of air pollution of the area are: industrial emissions from the factories, gas flaring, evaporation of light fractions of hydrocarbons from surface of emergency oil spills and others.

According to the information of the former Department environment protection and ecological safety of Ugra for 2008 [Informacionnyj…, 2008] on the territory of Kondinsky area 53,52 million $м^3$ of gas were flared, there were 4 accidents on oil pipelines. During the accidents 41,94 ton of polluting substances got to environment. Thus total area of the polluted lands due to industrial accidents came to 25,8 hectares. The volume of air emissions to atmosphere was 14885,3 ton.

In 2006 and 2008 years for the purpose of studying of a modern ecological and socio-economic condition of indigenous people of North the researches of Ob-Ugrian institute of applied researches and developments (Khanty-Mansiysk) conducted the ethno sociological researches on the territory of Kondinsky area of Ugra. The researches were conducted in questionnaire form[1].

During the researches we wanted to find out the attitude of respondents to industrial mining on the territory. Answering a question *«What do you think about resource mining in our region?»*, the majority of respondents of Kondinsky area (67,63 % and 56,13 % accordingly by years) generally have a positive attitude to the exploitation of mineral deposits on the territory of the okrug,

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[1] *Number of participants in the researches:*
- in 2006 - 139 respondent, of which: men - 25,18%, women - 74,82%. Representatives of indigenous people of the North (Khanty, Mansi): men – 30,86%, women – 69,14%. Experts: men – 17,24%, women – 82,76%;
- in 2008 - 173 respondents, of which: men - 29,48%, women - 70,52%. Representatives of indigenous people of the North: (Khanty, Mansi) – 98,27%. Experts - 1,73%.

as well as inhabitants of other areas of the okrug. At the same time, opposed 2006, in 2008 the number of respondents with positive attitude to the mining was down by 11 %. The number of respondents with negative attitude to industrial mining has increased (from 19,42 % in 2006 to 27,15 % in 2008).

To find out the reason of positive attitude of respondents to industrial mining, we have asked the following question: *«If positive, why?»*. The majority of respondents (39,57 % and 43,13 % as a whole accordingly by years) hold the opinion, that mining of natural recourses helps to provide employment opportunities. Narrow majority of the respondents (29,5 % and 23,74 % as a whole and accordingly by years) thinks, that, it is advantageous for the economy of the okrug (29,5 % and 23,74 % as a whole and accordingly by years). Significant minority of respondents have supported idea that the results of industrial mining, in some degree contributes to improvement and development of social infrastructure of the region.

In the context of the current issue the estimation of an ecological condition of the region by respondents is important. The considerable majority of respondents from among representatives of indigenous people of the North and experts of Kondinsky area believes, that due to industrial mining there is a deterioration of ecological condition of the region (61,15 % and 65,05 % as a whole by massive and accordingly by years). The surveys, conducted in 2008 have shown, that the number of respondents, who consider, that due to industrial mining there is replacement of indigenous population from territory of their residing and degradation of their culture, has increased (24,64 % as a whole by massive).

It is to be noted, that on the results of the previous surveys conducted by us in the areas of Ugra [Haknazarov, 2005; 2006], 81% of the respondents of Kondinsky, 74% of Khanty-Mansiysk and 56 % of October areas have expressed an opinion, that as a result of industrial mining however there is a deterioration of ecological state of the region. As we see, this opinion of the majority of respondents. A part of respondent noticed, that there is a replacement of indigenous population from the territory of their residing and degradation of their culture (31 % in Kondinsky, 41 % in October and 47 % in Khanty-Mansiysk areas).

Answering the question *«How do you assess an ecological condition of the region now?»*, the relative majority of representatives of indigenous people of the North and experts noted unsatisfactory ecological state of the region (51,80 % as a whole by massive). According to the results of the survey of 2008 year, opposed 2006 year, considerable part of representatives of indigenous people of the North and experts assess the ecological state of the region as satisfactory

(68,74 %). However the majority of respondents in other investigated areas (65,74 %), only 32,2 % respondents assess the ecological state of the region as satisfactory.

Answering the question, *«In your opinion, what measures can be took in order to preserve environment?»*, respondents, noted the following: clearing (treatment facilities) - 9,62 % (11,76), to protect the nature - 4,49 % (0,00), penalties - 3,85 % (11,76), to organize reserved areas - 1,28 % (0,00), to pay attention to ecological issues - 0,64 % (0,00).

Summing up our researches, we note, that nevertheless, due to the industrial mining there is a deterioration of ecological state of the region and replacement of indigenous population from territory of their residing and degradation of their traditional culture, as evidenced by the presented above analytical data.

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Kharchenko, Irina I., Novosibirsk.

Needs and Motives of Senior Students in Further Education, Training and Retraining in the Context of Developing Market of Educational Services [1]

The end of the 20th century was characterized in Russia by several systematic changes in the economy and society connected with the formation of market relations and developing democracy in all spheres of life. In fact, university and college students (being discussed in the present paper) were getting their professional education and being socialized not only in new but permanently changing conditions. So, in the period from the mid-1990s up to now the accelerated development of higher education has been observed, per contra, the subsystems of secondary (colleges) and primary professional education (professional schools) have been taking less important positions. In the same period the system of supplementary professional education (SPE), which includes professional training, retraining and other forms - courses/programs has been seen to be developing rather significantly. Rather shortly after the crisis experienced at the beginning of market reforms when the soviet system of staff training and retraining based on industry principles stopped existing in its former way, the development of a new SPE system was stimulated by the market of paid educational services, and it is constantly growing. Its large segment is presented by SPE structures in institutions of formal education (higher, secondary and primary professional). They work either as departments of these institutions or as courses/special programs (usually being commercial).The same segment includes the second higher education referring to SPE according to the approved statistical methodology. Another part of SPE market covers “renewed” industry structures, many being the successors of the soviet retraining system (for example, in education, health care, security, etc.). Corporate structures formed or reorganized by business for its own needs comprise one more segment of SPE. They carry out both licensed and non-licensed activities, for instance training workshops for their staff. There were about 3 thousand institutions and departments of SPE (including in-house training in production) in the country by 1.01.2002 [Programma razvitija…, 2005]. In the last decade the segment of “business” and training educational services has been developing most actively [Malahov, 2010], they were mainly offered by independent private providers: firms, courses, “schools”, recruiting and consulting agencies, business-schools working on MBA programs and others.

In the present period, the domestic market of SPE is still in the process of its formation and development. Its main segments shown in Figure1.

[1] The paper was prepared within the framework of the Program of Fundamental Studies of Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences № 35 "Economics and sociology of science and education" (Project "Social and economic investment in Siberian science and education as a condition of modernization") (coordinators Z.I.Kalugina, G.A.Untura).

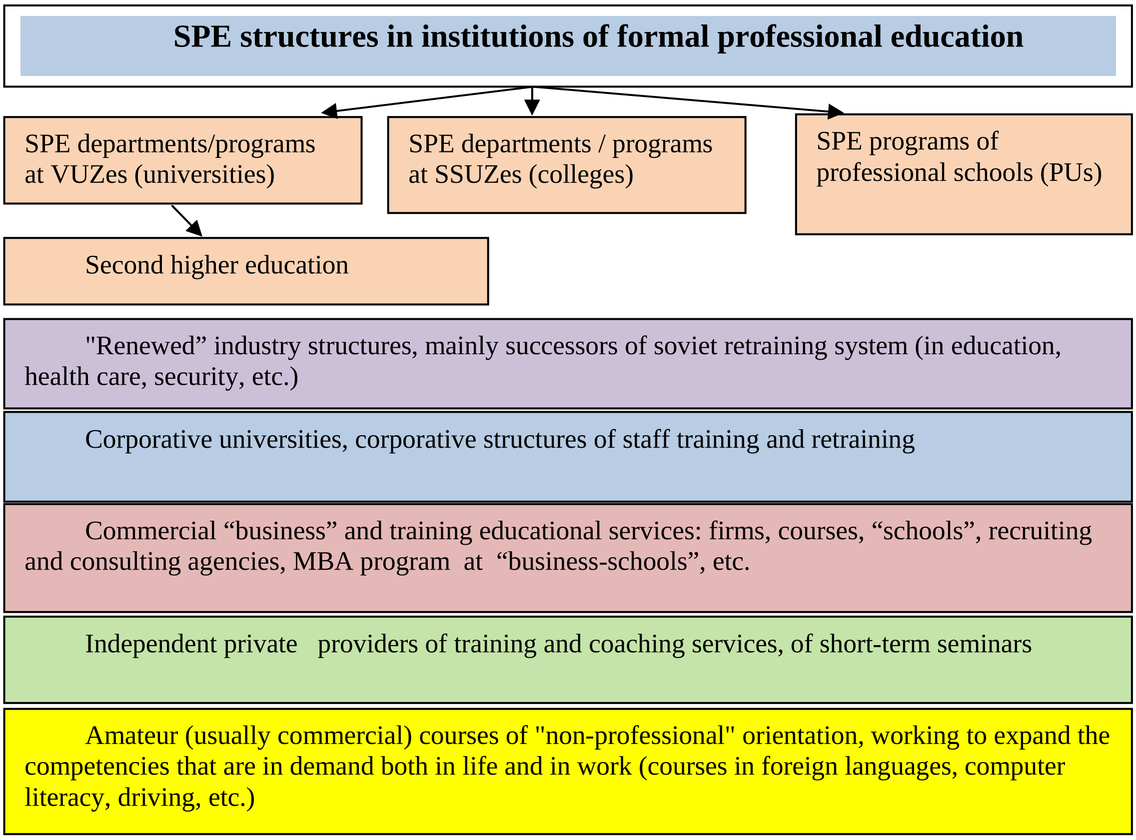
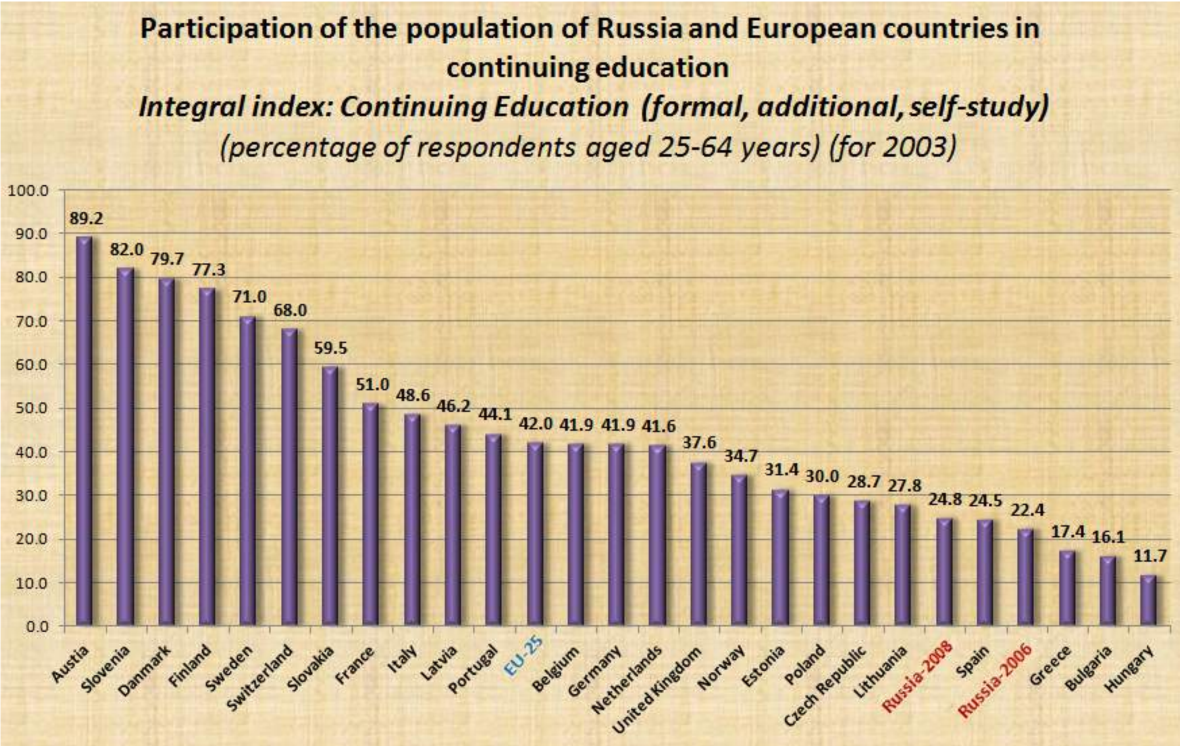


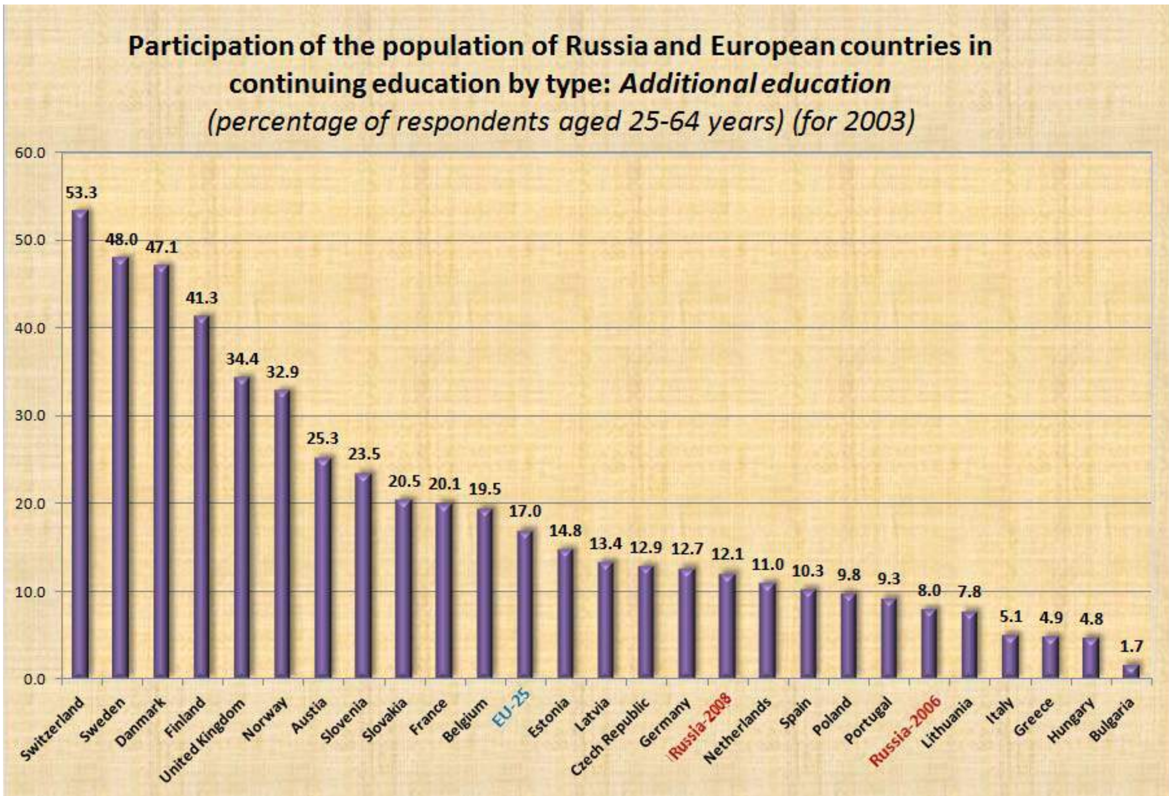
Figure 1.The structure of the establishing system of supplementary professional education (SPE) in Russia

At the same time it is necessary to note, although SPE service market is getting more diversified with time, the quantitative coverage of the population particularly engaged in economy gives way to its analogue of the soviet period. Thus, in soviet period in 1987 the annual quantity of people learning a profession at work and improving their professional skills was 20.3 mln in Russia (this index dropped up to 7.4 mln people by 1992). In accordance with nationwide polls performed in 2009 about 5 mln people were generally involved into SPE in Russia [Kljucharev, 2010, p. 83]. According to another selective interrogation of people aged from 25 to 64 made in 2008, organized SPE (courses, lectures, seminars, trainings, second higher education, MBA, etc.) covered 12.1% of respondents during the year, while this level was 3-4 times higher in some other countries. (Fig. 2,3. *Data source:* The diagrams on the indicators of continuing education provided by Eurostat data on European countries for 2003 (http://epp.eurostat.europa.eu , research "Lifelong learning"), in Russia - research results, "Continuing Education", conducted by the HSE in 2006 and 2008 on the All-Russian representative sample (interviewed 1600 people aged 18 and older subsample of respondents aged 25-64 years were 1,138 people in 2006 and 1,135 people in 2008), the sampling error does not exceed 1.5%. [Obrazovanie …, 2010, p. 458–459]).



Source: The data of research "Lifelong learning", Eurostat ,2003; The data of research "Continuing education", Russia, Higher School of Economics, 2006, 2008.

Figure 2. Participation of the population of Russia and European countries in continuing education



Source: The data of research "Lifelong learning", Eurostat, 2003; The data of research "Continuing education", Russia, Higher School of Economics, 2006, 2008.

Figure 3.Participation of the population of Russia and European countries in continuing education by type: Additional (supplementary) education

Accordingly, the perspectives of SPE system greatly depend on forming a developed need in continuing education among economically active people. In this respect college and university students present quite a perspective social group.

The aim of the paper is to illustrate such characteristic feature of contemporary Russian students as their high need in further education (including supplementary profession) as well as to consider the motivation of this social behavior using sociological data.

Research methods and empirical base

We believe that Novosibirsk Oblast (region) is a good ground for sociological research of processes in all system and subsystems of education. This region is a large educational and scientific center in Asian part of Russia. As its empirical base [2] the paper uses the data of 3

[2] The research was conducted by Institute of Economics & Industrial Engineering Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IEIE SB RAS) with the financial support of Russian Foundation for Humanities in alliance with Administration of Novosibirsk Oblast - Project №08-03-65301 a/t "Requests of regional labor market

sociological observations carried out by IEIE SB RAS in the subsystems of higher, secondary and primary professional education of Novosibirsk Oblast, which includes: 1) the arrays of questionnaires performed on students at full-time departments of graduate and undergraduate courses in universities and their branches (1947 people, 2007/08 academic year), secondary special and professional schools (1748 people, 2008/09 academic year), also the materials of “basic” observation with the comparable methodology and sampling were used for comparison (2470 students of universities, secondary special and professional schools were interrogated in 2001). The sampling in all observations was representative, quota and industrial (quoted by basic groups of specialties in educational institutions); in all surveys the comparable methodology and questionnaires were used; 2) the materials of semi-formalized interviews with experts being the representatives of institutions included into surveys.

To begin with, in their overwhelming majority the interrogated graduates reveal a positive attitude to the possibility to become a member of SPE programs in future. Thus, according to the latest observation every second respondent considers the perspectives of further training and supplementary education as a compulsory requirement at their future jobs (the answer “compulsory” was 49% in higher institutions, 55% in secondary special schools and 50% in professional schools). Those who regard the given possibility as a favorable one dominate among the rest part of the interrogated (the answer “desirable” was given by 47%, 37% and 35%, respectively). It should be noted that the possibilities connected with further training, retraining or other form of supplementary education were among five most significant requirements claimed by graduates of all three groups to their future jobs together with such items as good payment, good staff, good working conditions and perspectives of position and career growth.

The work according to the specialty lags a bit behind in the given list: it is considered compulsory by 25% of higher institution graduates, 36% and 46% by secondary special and professional school graduates, respectively. Accordingly, the other graduates could find some employment disregarding their specialties if an offer were very tempting. However, it is favorable that many graduates are originally planning to be employed according to their specialties (regardless of the circumstances): the share of those who answered positively (was “absolutely sure”) to the question about their intentions to work in the profession received was 49% in higher institutions, 44% in secondary special schools and 45% in professional schools.

A lot of future specialists and workers feel like continuing their education in the nearest time. Three fourth of secondary special school graduates, about two thirds of university graduates

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to competences of graduates of the system of professional education” and Expedition Project of Presidium SB RAS in 2007/08 and 2008/09 (both headed by I.I.Kharchenko). In 2001 IEIE SB RAS conducted “basic” research: there were collected students’ questionnaires and expert interviews with universities’ representatives. All research devoted to educational behavior of students and to processes in the (formal) system of professional education.

and half of professional school graduates intend to study further (full-time or part-time in institutions or on courses) after completing the given stage of their formal education (table 1, fig. 4).

As it is seen, the formal education programs (mainly for getting higher education) are basically required in the group of secondary special school graduates, such an orientation becoming much more marked in the given period. The most mass orientation to supplementary professional education is noted among higher institution graduates. This group of respondents considers the second higher education as the most demanded (this trend was increasing), the second position is taken by refresher courses or retraining. Within the given period students at the primary level of professional education somehow lowered their orientation in regard to nearly all types of education, nevertheless, professional courses are still an important stage (for the nearest 1-2 years) for 17% of professional school graduates so that to adapt to their future jobs adequately.

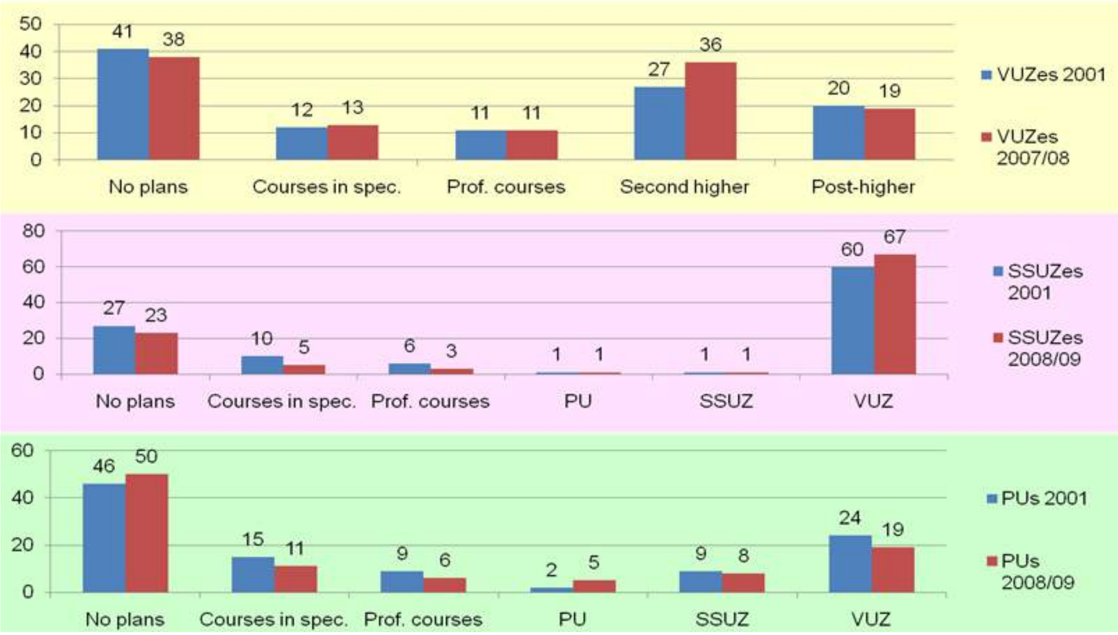
Table 1

The share of respondents who were planning to continue their studies in the nearest 1-2 years after completing the given stage of education and receiving a diploma (% to sample)*

<table>
<tr><th rowspan="2"></th><th colspan="2">Higher institutions (VUZes)</th><th colspan="2">Secondary special schools (SSUZes)</th><th colspan="2">Professional schools (PUs)</th></tr>
<tr><th>2001</th><th>2007/08</th><th>2001</th><th>2008/09</th><th>2001</th><th>2008/09</th></tr>
<tr><td>No, I am not planning yet</td><td>41</td><td>38</td><td>27</td><td>23</td><td>46</td><td>50</td></tr>
<tr><td>On refresher courses in my specialty</td><td>12</td><td>13</td><td>10</td><td>5</td><td>15</td><td>11</td></tr>
<tr><td>On professional courses, retraining courses in another specialty</td><td>11</td><td>11</td><td>6</td><td>3</td><td>9</td><td>6</td></tr>
<tr><td>At a professional school</td><td>0,3</td><td>-</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>5</td></tr>
<tr><td>At secondary special institutions (colleges, technical schools)</td><td>0,2</td><td>-</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>9</td><td>8</td></tr>
<tr><td>In a higher institution (university, academy, institute, second higher education)</td><td>27</td><td>36</td><td>60</td><td>67</td><td>24</td><td>19</td></tr>
<tr><td>Taking a master’s course</td><td rowspan="2">20</td><td>9</td><td>-</td><td>-</td><td>-</td><td>-</td></tr>
<tr><td>Taking a post graduate course</td><td>10</td><td>-</td><td>-</td><td>-</td><td>-</td></tr>
<tr><td>Other (on my own, internship, etc.)</td><td>8</td><td>6</td><td>2</td><td>2</td><td>4</td><td>4</td></tr>
</table>

*Hereinafter all comparisons were made between weighted data arrays.

Figure 4. Dynamics of needs in further education among students of senior grades in Novosibirsk region (answers on the question " Are you planning to continue your studies in the nearest 1-2 years after completing the given stage of education and receiving a diploma?" (% to respondents)



As for university students refresher courses are more demanded by respondents acquiring professions in such spheres as health care (31%), economics, management and law (15%), transport and communication (15%). Retraining courses in another specialty are needed by those acquiring professions in education (15%). The second higher education is oftener required by students of the following professional groups: education (45%), industry (43%), economics, management and law (36%), science (39%), transport and communication (34%) and construction (34%). The orientation to the professions connected with economics, management and law (66%) is prevailing among those students who were planning to continue their education in the nearest 1-2 years. Such plans are dominating in almost all professional groups of graduates, except from medicine graduates who prefer to master their basic specialty more profoundly. The second place with respect to their popularity is taken by humanitarian and social specialties (17%), the third is for construction, design and land-survey (cadastre) (7%). Every tenth (9%) is oriented to a narrow specialization in their specialty, and it is peculiar characteristic of medicine graduates (67%).

As for secondary special school students refresher courses are most demanded among future medical workers (17%). Students of such specialties as economics, management and law (83%), construction (83%) and medicine (70%) are more oriented to getting higher education. Planning to get their second profession in the formal system of education the overwhelming majority chooses specialties in economics, management and law (50%); the second popular group includes humanitarian and social ones (19%), the third one is for professions in power structures (7%) and the fourth one is for culture and art (6%).

As for professional school students the plans for supplementary education in the nearest future are as follows. The students having professions in trade and service (16%), construction and transport (15% each) are more oriented to refresher courses. Students of industrial occupations (12%) oftener prefer to continue their education in technical schools, but students of trade and servicing professions (25%), transport (19%), industry (19%) and agriculture (17%) prefer to get higher education. Professions that professional school students would consider as their second specialty represent a much more varied list than that of respondents from other types of educational institutions. This list includes professions in economics, management and law (23%), in humanitarian and social sphere (13%), also in transport (18%), services (12%), computer science (10%), culture and art (10%), industry (9%) and construction (6%).

It should be noted that there is a possibility to provide successful employment even being a student. Wherever possible the educational institutions facilitate (usually on a commercial base) their students in acquiring additional professions (except from allied ones as teaching them is embedded in educational standards). Thus, 11% of respondents at universities (34% among future teachers), 15% of college ones (40% among future teachers) and 14% of their mates at professional schools (19% among future builders) studied at departments or courses offering additional professions. Additional knowledge and skills in their basic specialty, computer skills, foreign languages and communication skills were considered by students of secondary special schools as an important aspect in increasing their chances to get employment. Professional schools students regard additional knowledge and skills in their basic or any other profession, the possibility to get higher education in their basic profession and computer skills as important aspects in getting better chances for employment.

When answering the question “What do you need to start your career successfully?” university students singled out three most significant aspects connected with enlarging their professional competence: constant self-education (33%), special training (37%) and the possibility to get experience at work (50%). Other important aspects mentioned were: work in the specialty (41%), highly paid job (43%) and their own industriousness and efficiency.

Supplementary professional education services are mainly provided on a commercial base. Whose means do graduates count on? Not too few young people are principally willing to invest own money in continuing their education: 57% among students of higher schools, 61% among students of secondary special schools and 45% among students of professional schools. However, if it is necessary to provide a young specialist with specific knowledge and competence required for fulfilling concrete duties/functions, the willingness to invest their own means in this process is minimal. In particular, most university students think that an employer should take on the expenses on supplementary education necessary to adapt a young specialist to work (57%). The others consider that these expenses should be taken by the state (14%), higher institution (1%), young specialists themselves (4%) or it could depend on a specific situation (28%). Students of medicine (22%), agriculture (22%), education (19%) and industry (18%) oftener thought the state to be responsible for this process.

The other data obtained during interrogations showed that there was quite a long distance between knowledge and skills gained during studies and their practical implementation (even if it is a theoretical one). In addition to the problem of using knowledge and skills obtained in practical work there is another serious problem, namely, insufficient computer literacy of most interviewed students from secondary special and professional schools. In modern economy computer background ceased to be the prerogative of specialists having higher education, additionally, information technologies are penetrating in all the spheres of our life, and students are quite aware of that fact. Some institutions lack facilities of using information technologies in teaching according to the modern requirements. Also, students noted some other problems and drawbacks of teaching including: the necessity of changing education programs in the direction of their greater focus on practical needs and market demand, the necessity of enlarging the share of interactive teaching methods, necessary changes in organizing practice (to get real work experience in specialties, to increase chances to get employed etc.), the necessity of improving material and technical facilities of teaching (computers, video, laboratory and workshop equipment, etc.), the necessity of increasing the availability of educational, science, reference literature and periodicals as well as the more responsible attitude of students to their studies. Thereafter, it is quite evident that SPE could play an important role in eliminating formal education drawbacks.

In conclusion we can say that in the last 10-15 years and at present supplementary education is getting more demanded among young people even during period of their study in the institutions of formal education (universities, colleges, professional schools). This is due to both internal and external causes. Our research conducted as long-term observations permits us to reveal main influential factors of such demand. Let’s enumerate them:

- constantly increasing information, communication and innovation component in many specialties and jobs;
- the ambition to strengthen one’s positions in labor market; the awareness of the fact that basic (formal) education is “too far” from real production requirements, and the need to obtain specific practical skills;
- the ambition to enlarge one’s own human capital by acquiring additional specialties or competence;
- the ambition to fill in “gaps” in the education received or being received (arisen both due to the drawbacks in the learning process and one’s own faults);

- the inability of some young people to enter labor market before getting a diploma of a desirable level (for example, a diploma of higher education, which is so characteristic of secondary special school students);
- the implementation of continuing educational trajectories closely connected with career ambitions;
- the unwillingness of some young people to work in the received profession and their search for possibilities to master another profession quickly; their readiness to be trained on their employer's demand.

Thus, graduates of professional institutions, young specialists and workers are potential and partly real consumers of SPE services. Students of secondary special schools comprise a bigger part of those oriented to continue their studies in a formal system of education, whereas students of higher institutions are more oriented towards supplementary professional education (including the second higher education). A high demand for additional (also short-received) competence has been revealed, the competence in information technologies being among especially required. The mass orientation towards economic, managerial and law specialties as additional ones to the basic education has been noted. SPE is considered by the majority of young specialists as an important factor for their professional qualifications and successful career. Also SPE courses/programs are required by students as the essential component of a modern workplace.

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The Concept of Filter in Information and Communication Investigations

Abstract. The article analyzes the problem of information-communication barriers in the management of that manifest themselves through systematic failures that lead to dysfunction of the information and analytical support to government bodies. Authors at the base of the barrier allocate infrastructure, functional and subjective factors, which are understood as a stable set of conditions, which hinders or facilitates the effective use of information. It is proposed to use a filter – the socio-technological mechanism to facilitate the identification, evaluation of the expression of the (dysfunctional effects) information-communication barrier and minimize it.

Key words: an information field, communication, information-communication factor, information-communication barrier, filter, management, reflexive regulation.

Globalization and development of information and communication technologies create large document files which pass from actors to information users via all kinds of communication with different means of communication making firm information flow. This phenomenon creates critical social system status in its turn where a person has to take, process and identify himself in accordance with «pervasive» information. Solving of information overload which people have currently is a task for a certain individual as well as the main task for the society management system.

Management decisions are constantly taken and implemented at all levels of the system at the bottom of which information processes lie (gathering, storage, processing, using of information). Quality and efficiency of production, decisions implementation, control over their results are one of the determining factors of a stable existence and management system development. Development and implementation of management decisions assist in increase of information field. Formation of information field of management subject happens under the influence of three main kinds of communication [Pushkareva, 2009, p. 130]:

– communications, with which information about the society or its separate segments comes to people making decision;

– communications, which allow to agree positions of interested parties and produce mutually acceptable solutions;

– communications, providing following of state policy, providing the executors with the content of decisions, getting feedback.

These communications in relation to the subject of management are revealed in term of communicative action. According to J. Habermas communicative action is determined as interaction of minimum two subjects able to speak and act, entering interpersonal relations under condition of achievement of understanding for coordination of their actions. «Participants are not oriented first of all at their individual success in communicative action, they are aimed at their individual targets on the assumption that they can coordinate their action plans based on general definition of situation» [Habermas, 1984, p. 286].

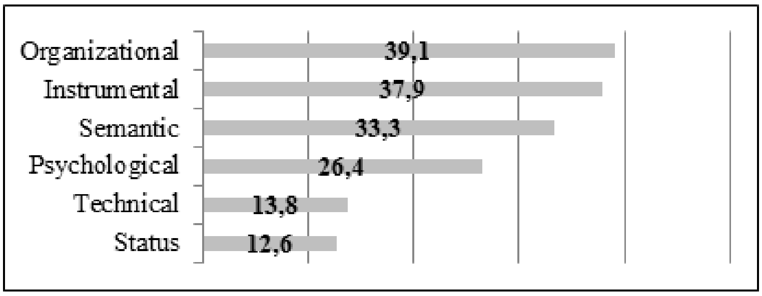
Information field of the actor (subject) of the management process forms «life world» of the subject of management. «Life world», – as J. Habermas says, – «is not changing but instinctively accompanying (us) horizon of experience. It is the background of our personal, arising from historic situation, external and communicatory socialized day to day existence» [Habermas, 2009]. In the context of life world we exist/find ourselves in three modalities at the same time: «like living subjects, included into organic, living processes, also subjects socialized, i.e. included into social relationships and subjects acting, fitting the world» [Habermas, 2009].

In case if there are any breaches at the «life world» level of subjects of management (the interaction process is not optimized, is not arranged in a proper way, communicative contacts do not exist or do not work) then break in the system of management happens. Systematic failures leading to dysfunction of the information and analytical support in bodies of authority and management tell about existence of information-communication barriers.

Existence of information-communication barriers (hereinafter referred to as ICB) is confirmed by results of social research of executive authorities of Belgorod region (november-december, 2010). The purpose of expert questionary (N=30) was the assessment of the state of information and analytical support of state administration. Based on expert data we established priority in impact of ICB on the region government system (see table 1):

Table 1

Information and communication barriers in region government system[1], %



Information-communication barrier is a firm barrier having dysfunctional impact on optimal flowing of information and communication processes in organization.

[1] organizational (absence or imperfection of organizational mechanisms providing activity of management system); instrumental (nonuse of necessary technologies because of lack of professionalism); semantic barrier (discrepancy in codes of information transfer); psychological (subjective perception of information because emotions, stereotypes, settings); status (absence or imperfection of organization mechanisms providing management system); technical (failures in technique and/or its insufficient use).

It is justified to see in the basis of ICB more detailed demonstration of social reality of management practice which we will identify with succinct and estimative-neutral term “factors”. Information and communication factor is a firm set of conditions which have an impact on the researched process in a certain way, in our case it makes difficult or easy the effective use of information. Based on main components of life world in accordance with conception of J. Habermas, there are stated three main factors underlying appearance of information and communication barriers in management system: infrastructural, subjective and functional.

Infrastructural factor is revealed in demonstration of organizational and status information-communication barriers. The principle of the factor is in specificity of organizational structure of state authorities departments determining the direction of informational flow. Effect of the factor is connected with the fact that in the state administration there is a definite division of authorization power and competence in vertical and horizontal dimensions of state management structure which is determined by both formal powers of officials and in greater degree by its informal relationships with others who has necessary information.

Subjective factor is characterized by demonstration of psychological and semantic information-communication barriers. Effect of the factor: «prejudice», convictions, values, emotional experience of subject of management, intellectual and cultural traditions influence management decision. So, these are subjective peculiarities of perception and information processing common to any person, which change a bit within the time and mostly depend on cultural and historic, national and psychological, social and psychological factors. Subjective factor is a source of risk for quality of decisions: adequacy, reliability, security, certainty.

Functional factor is characterized by determination of technical and instrumental information-communication barriers. Unlike infrastructural and subjective factors which act indirectly uncertainty and risk level of made decision become higher because of influence (direct influence) of functional factor. This factor is like a complex of technological, organizational procedures and individual or collective intellectual resources of subjects of management. Functional factor like any other method in scientific practice or theory is first of all «objective, informative, and «full of facts». «At the same time it is subjective but not like pure outrage, «boundless subjectivity», it is like continuation and accomplishment of objectivity from which it «grows». Subjective aspect of the factor «is expressed not only in formulation of definite principles, rules, regulations based on objective side (known factors of reality). Study of subjective side of this factor reveals «in the sense that its «bearer» is a certain individuum, subject for which this method is assigned» [Kuznecov, 2006, p. 20].

Creation of ICB under influence of correspondent factors is represented by specific social process. As such ICB are inevitable secondary effect of management activity which is consciously and rationally focused on maximum effective production, storage, distribution and use of information. In this connection ICB effect is like a shady side of operation of information and communication mechanisms and technologies. That is why development of correspondent algorithms, managing procedures which consider negative effect of ICB and are focused on improving of information and analytical activity of management system is necessary. Management technology applied to use of information and communication factor becomes a filter which helps to minimize correspondent barriers.

The filter is not a technical (mechanic) mean which can separate incoming information in accordance with the specified criteria and it is not a management subject (member of structural subdivision of the system) whose duties are redirection of information flows.

Filter is a socially-technological mechanism which helps to identify, estimate the intensity (dysfunctional influence) of information and communication barrier and minimize it.

Minimization is a process of decrease of negative effect of ICB from identified level to its minimum value so that to achieve positive effect of use in management.

Use of filter should not be of intuitive nature only, it should be based on identification of ICB and estimation of the level of their effects. Estimation of ICB impact on management communication is done in following way: level of barrier effect is determined (low, middle, high) and in accordance with this the level of impact on the system (optimal, possible, critical) is found. Absence of barrier or low degree of its manifestation is characterized as optimal condition for management system functioning. In practice optimal state means that the barriers remain but their dysfunctional impact is not critical. At critical level meaning high degree of barrier quick response of senior manager (of department) and organization impact on barrier are required. Possible level is a middle degree of barrier with which its dysfunctional consequences do not prevent the work of system in general but have an impact on separate elements.

Basic methods of collection of information about ICB are sociologic: examination, inquiry (questionnaire and interviewing employees), inquiry of experts. Runtime diagnostics in executive authorities is done via test task technology which suggests description of task for employees, and this task is aimed at revealing of ICB.

Use of «filter» technology should be based on reflexive ability of the employee. «As self-correction mechanism reflection is an essential part of any professionalism and especially of a management one. It makes people discover their abilities, behavior themselves. Professional management perception and self-consciousness are based on reflection self-attitude, creation of knowledge about yourself as a source producing modes of action, estimation of action and arranging action in creation of management decision, in management activity, communication and thinking. Development of reflection, learning its cultural and significant form are main condition of achievement of management mastership, intellectual and communication mastership of operation and taking management decision» [Savchenko, 2010]. Therefore development of reflexive component of management process is necessary for successful fulfillment of «filter» technology.

According to Y.A. Zubok reflexive ability is «ability of social subjects of management to realize and keep constant theoretical understanding of principles or reasons of their activity, respond to environmental changes in adequate manner» [Zubok, 2010, p. 104]. E. Giddens says that reflexive regulation is necessary due to the fact that "individual action and structure are combined in one process, they are not different as there exist a base for their union, that is repeated social practice» [Gorin, 2001].

Modern information society requires significant intellectual efforts and orientation at new scientific knowledge from management subjects to avoid critical situations of information overloading. Use of «filter» and study of information-communication barriers will allow to gain understanding between management subjects at communication, that will allow to increase effectiveness and productivity of management decisions and society management system.

In conclusion we would like to tell that as a management technology «filter» considers adjustment of diagnostics system, informing management subject about appearance of information-communication barriers, their further minimization. Main condition for use of this technology lies in fact that development and use of «filter» can be possible after forming of data base which should include overall details about ICB, possible situations and consequences of their appearance.

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Professional Employment as a «Social Lift»

Professional employment, being an important social characteristic of a person, differs from his or her other characteristics, *for example* if the age cannot be changed, professional skills and education, though they possess some inertness, nevertheless change at the individual level and as we will see further, they do so quickly enough being a means of adaptation of a person to market requirements and a new reality. In so doing both education and professional employment represent the conscientious choice made by the person, and such choice can change time and again during a lifetime, and thus the social status changes as well. My research of employment and unemployment, formal and informal employment, their consideration through the prism of education, testify to the fact that professional employment plays the central role in the stabilization of social life, in overcoming troubles connected with the socialization of a person.

In the following analysis I will proceed from the understanding of the term “profession” accepted in the Institute of sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. It is seen as a “significant social role of an individual” which defines:

1) participation (place) of the person in the division of labor in a society;

2) style of life (which I narrow to the 'quality of life');

3) status, or prestige of the profession.

I intend to consider some new possibilities and features of the forming of “the social role of an individual” which have occurred since Peterim Sorokin developed the concept of the “social lift”.

1. *Participation of a person in division of labor in a society*

The analysis of labor (interprofessional) mobility of people in a socio-historical context allows us to consider external conditions as a turning point in the formation of a new social framework. The phenomenon of the decline of old professions and occurrence of new ones in the balance of employment is observed as the general tendency in the world. However during the periods of social shocks as, for example, in Russia during the 1990s such changes occurred extremely quickly and showed very well the following:

- Firstly, an extremely high level of the capacity to adapt, particularly among those people who have professional (in addition to the secondary general) education;

- Secondly, the readiness to neglect the status - as a matter of fact for the sake of quality of life which is a characteristic of mainly young, educated men, that is those who can be qualified as "strong" - from the social point of view.

As to the first argument, it is evident that the existing economic base of the country forms the structure of professional employment. In so doing the economy is a mechanism of the activation of the capabilities of separate professional groups which this economy needs and in which it is interested, whereas unemployment may be perceived as the deactivation of those who are not in demand, which was the case in 1990s in Russia. The government took no adequate actions to support separate professional groups. The process was spontaneous; spontaneous destruction of human potential occurred in science and in highly technological areas where the number of young specialists plummeted and even now there are few people of middle age. At the same time professions that were new to Russia came up, and there was a flow of excessive labor force; those people often did not get the status of unemployed.

“Professional adaptation” of the unemployed was a highly interesting phenomenon of the 1990s in Russia. Profession incorporates many social characteristics; therefore a professional snapshot is rather interesting for studying the social structure because when changing the profession one usually changes the social environment, values, etc. Many people changed professions then, not only the unemployed. Those who remained and worked in their profession were also retrained. As a result, dramatic changes took place both in the financial situation and in consciousness of wide strata of the Russian society.

Many researchers noticed that, despite an unprecedented depth of the transformational crisis, throughout the whole transition period unemployment was kept on a disproportionately low level. The adaptation by way of changing profession which took place in those years may serve as some kind of a key to the understanding of this phenomenon.

In the 1990s a large group of professions, whose very existence had been predetermined by the socialist system, was going down; those were professions somehow connected with the ideology of the Soviet state and its management.

The deindustrialization of the economy which resulted from the fall of the Soviet Union and the appearance of a new market economy dictated absolutely new demands in terms of professions. The economy was making up for the lack in services, owing to which many mass industrial professions (in mechanical engineering, in metallurgy, etc.) reduced in absolute numbers. Many professions were forced out by import and shuttle commerce. It was especially tough on the light and the food-processing industry. The 'professions' snapshot of the social structure allows us to observe transformation of the active population since professional skills and education changed at the individual level. Such changes were really fast, they meant the adaptation of a person to the new reality. In so doing for some it was a chance to survive in a time of crisis, while for others this was a chance to get a new occupation and a corresponding social status.

As to the second argument (readiness to neglect the status), I used the professional snapshot of the informal employment to describe the nature of the phenomenon which takes place not only in crises but also after them, during the economic stabilization and revival. The obvious conclusion is the following: it is not only the aspiration to "survive" in a crisis that compels people to informal employment. Though informal employment means voluntarily giving up social advantages which accompany formal employment, the phenomenon of informal employment "flourishes" and tends to grow.

The activity of the non-formally employed is not regulated by the labor legislation, and they are not protected by it. So they cannot safely use the property rights, which deprives them for example of access to credit. It is difficult for them to address the legal and judicial system to achieve observance of contracts, they have limited or no access to public infrastructure and privileges which those who are occupied in the formal sector of the economy can use, they are excluded from the social security sphere.

This, in my opinion, is very important, because new views on the prestige of a profession, and, hence, on its social status are being formed.

The Value of time, freedom and, of course, the possibility to receive a bigger wage (which can provide a better “quality of life”) becomes more important, it is a question of postindustrial type of values. “New” professions, which are in greater demand in the market economy turn out to be more attractive for the informally occupied.

This tendency of growing numbers of the non-formally employed (NFE) in separate professions is most visible when we compare the professional structure of the NFE and the formally employed (FE). The dynamics of the numbers of the occupied in various professional groups show the inflow of the NFE in some professions and outflow from others, which remain hidden if one operates only with the general indicators about redistribution of a manpower between formal and informal employment.

2. The quality of life

But a crisis is also a renewal and partly the preservation of a former condition; therefore the social structure is becoming more complex. The coexistence of various levels of development of manufacture and economic activities - from industrial level to the level of global information - causes coexistence of different social standards of living. The distinctions between these are symbolic since the economic base and institutional architecture of each of these levels determine the functioning of an absolutely special, and sometimes totally different social environment. So at one and the same time a complex configuration of the social environment is created. Each social environment creates its own opportunities which differ a lot. Thus, in the global information society there is a variety of possibilities. The possibility of using information and communication technologies, transfer and sale of a product of the work by means of electronic communication in the absence of direct personal contact lead to remote employment which is very often informal.

Its scale is large. For example, the Ukrainian and Indian export of IT services and the number of specialists with diplomas participating in it in 2006 were as follows:

Table 1

	Ukraine	India
Export IT of services	310 mln US dollars	31 bln US dollars
Number of the diploma specialists	12 thousand	89 thousand

Poor quality of life in the country leads to migration and remote employment which rise quickly. Information distribution contributes to people seeing how people live in other countries. Under the influence of this information a person can declare his or her place in the society by means of choosing a certain style of life.

The Change of needs and possibilities of people determine the dominating value of the quality of life, therefore social and status relations in their traditional meaning are not always crucial, and it's the quality of life that occupies the first place and is ensured by professional employment.

3. Social status

Thus having the status benefits or “qualities” of life, access to which or the possibility to get them (public health services, education and so forth) defines such a position of the person, that is his or her social status.

Interprofessional distinctions are of course closely connected with the change of the social status. Those living in inferior social conditions often agree to lower their social status connected with professional employment for the sake of those benefits which they thus find. We know cases when specialists and even PhDs prefer to work as security guards in companies in the oil and gas industry.

This is a free choice which allows a person to educate children, to have access to medical services of a better quality, that is to create better conditions of life, though at the expense of a decrease of the status of work (that is labor functions carried out by the person), when the quality of life increasingly becomes a dominant factor.

The social lift in *traditional understanding* continues to exist as:

- educating children from needy families at the expense of the state (in India). As a rule, such children are educated in those fields where children from the well-to-do families are not ready to go.

- migration in a global context,

- the international recognition of diplomas,

- the Unified State Examination.

In Europe the matters of vertical mobility within the limits of the selected profession are studied widely and profoundly, however, the crisis that has shaken Europe will raise the problem of interprofessional shifts, which will become one of the main issues. Horizontal interprofessional shifts have kept Russia in 1990s from a catastrophic decrease in the employment rate.

Today, when the quality of life becomes a dominant factor of social choice and the social structure becomes increasingly complex, the matters of horizontal mobility fit in very well in the concept of the “social lift” as a component of the social status of a person.

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Librarians and teenagers within blogosphere: sociological analysis

The main factors influencing the activity of a modern library over the last decade were calls related to the needs of users, their personal characteristics, and mostly the actual changes in the communications process.

There are lots of changes in socio-economic status of library users and their knowledge in the field of information technologies. The main goal of librarians, then, is to understand the new expectations and needs of different groups of users, moving forward with them, constantly changing and adapting. If libraries do not respond effectively to changes in the environment, they may simply disappear [Bibliotechnoe delo mira, 2010, 124].

Nowadays Internet opens wide ability to quick communication and to obtain different information easy. A variety of online systems allow the user to access the information without consulting librarian. However, the digital information environment is too large and complex, resources of the Internet are poorly organized and they lack the reliability and stability. All it means is that users will be hard to do without the help of librarians who are still intermediaries between users and information resources.

Undeniable the fact that the Internet is a great way to communicate: it is relatively easy to find people with similar interests and views, and it is believed that start communicating online psychologically easier than in real life. In this regard, it’s important to consider such a thing as an online community.

Online community is a group of people with similar interests who communicate with each other primarily through the Internet. The examples of online communities are the wiki, forums, chat rooms, social networks, multiplayer online games, etc. The prevalence of online communities due to the fact that the technology of these communities is extremely simple to install and do not require the use of special computer skills, and today everyone can organize any community himself.

During the study, conducted in 2011-2012., using the method of content-analysis was analyzed 50 professional librarians blogs maintained by library staff from across the country.

The analysis revealed a range of main topics discussed, such as: acquisition of the fund, information resources, book sites, discussion of articles in the press, polls and discussion of various literary topics (favorite authors, the choice of the best / worst books, the film adaptation of literary works, literature future, etc.). Also among those themes were restricted professional topics such as "The reasons that would lead the reader to the library" and "Wishes to the future of libraries."

Among the most popular topics discussed in library blogs, identified the following groups:

– news and information on the activities of the library - announcements, photo-reports, press- and post-releases;

– media publications on various topics, articles of bloggers and recommendations of books;

– links to useful and interesting sites that allow for more productive work on the Internet.

Thus, we came to the conclusion that bloggers believe the primary function of their resources - information, which includes advertising library services. The following are tips and articles in the press, bloggers materials, indicating that there is interest between readers and bloggers to exchange views. However, it should be noted that most of the studied blogs reviewed professional articles on library themes [Gubanova, 2012, p. 81].

Adults, as companions and advisers on reading especially needed by adolescents, as it turns out, that this age group is based on the opinions and advice peers and do not always choose the best. The study of adolescent reading in the real and digital environment has shown that 59% of adolescents are more or less regularly review the various communities to interesting and relevant topics for this age group [Chtenie moskovskih podrostkov, 2012, p.144]. Less than a third indicated that they view of any community, in principle, is not interesting for them. The study of varieties of these communities provides a broad palette of places where young people can learn new things, first of all, according to their own individual interests. And they are actively using it.

Table 1

Themes of communities

Community (in % of number of respondents)

What communities do you usually attend?	**Sex**		**Total, % N=1141**
	boy	girl	
about new movies and cartoons	33	33	33
about computer games	54	12	32
musical community	18	32	25
about sport	34	9	21
about computer design	18	13	15
community about books and literature	10	14	12
text role playing	12	6	9
community of artists	3	12	8

community of young writers (poets)	2	5	4
community such as "City of Masters"	2	2	2
about animals	0	1	1
about anime	0	1	1
Not interesting	22	31	27

We would like to emphasize the existence of communities of literary and artistic direction among those that named teenagers: community about books and literature - 12%, text role-playing games - 9%, community of artists - 8% and the community of young poets and writers - 4%, which demonstrates the interest of pupils to self-development and reading, literary culture in general, and certain areas of culture, in particular.

The study identified the sources of information about books and reading, which is recognized as meaningful to adolescents (Chart 2). 27% of teens surveyed indicated that they have seen on the forums information about the books, in blogs - 23%, 14% on library sites and recommendation sites like Imhonet and LiveLib.ru - 11%. Basically, these are the areas where they can meet library staff and teens. We believe that such bidirectional action of both groups will give good results in the mutual influence and interaction of librarians and adolescents in the development and maintenance of reading culture of the younger generation.

Table 2

Sources of information about books and reading

Sources	**Sex**		**Total, % (N = 1141)**
	Boy	Girl	
The forums	28	27	27
On publishers web-sites	23	23	23
In the blogs	17	22	19
On web-sites for teens, young adults	11	22	17
On libraries web-sites	15	13	14
On the recommendation sites (Imhonet, LiveLib.ru)	10	13	11
Yandex, Rambler, Google	4	3	4
On communities web-sites	10	10	10
On other web- sites	3	1	2
Wikipedia	1	1	1

Teens also mentioned a lot of those communities in which they prefer to communicate mainly with friends, acquaintances, and other peers. Most often, communication in the community, it’s a contact with friends (or with those with whom they soon become familiar), and whose preferences and interests shared by members of this community. Thus, a significant portion of the community can be seen as a kind of subculture, and it's usually admired by youngsters. Among them there are communities where you can learn about and discuss the book, as well as the "network texts" (fan-fiction that preferred to read some of the girls). We think it is important that library staff also mastered this kind of interactive services, in order to communicate to the youth-sites and learn to find common language with them.

Thus, we can note that today there are already specific site / interactive platforms intersecting interests of adolescents and library staff. In particular, these are various library and other types of blogs. Librarians and teens are actively pouring into the information space, explore it, communicate, interact with other such Internet users, share tips, information on various topics, discuss books and websites. It is also important that librarians, understanding the specifics of a teenage audience, use the blogosphere to promote reading.

On the other hand, some services are not yet fully mastered by teenagers and librarians for the purpose of general interaction and exchange. So communities of teens often gather peers, acquaintances and friends, but not experts, whose opinion would be interesting to the younger generation, and also useful from the point of view of their professional functions as a library and other cultural workers.

Today there is a clear trend of development of interactive services on the interaction of librarians and readers. The library staff are beginning to develop a virtual space and use it to attract new readers, as well as distribution and support of literary culture, which, as our research shows is not alien to modern teenagers, they want it to navigate and develop.

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Genesis of system of social insurance in Russia:
retrospective analysis and development prospects

Insurance approach to preservation of wellbeing of the person underlies systems of social insurance of the majority of the states, playing a key role economy stabilization, especially - in the conditions of crisis and/or transformational changes. Formation and development of institute of social insurance in Russia was determined by specifics of sociohistorical conditions, sequence of political transformations and influence of global economic factors.

Initially, the idea of social insurance was created at the end of the XVIII century along with development of the social and labor relations in reply to high professional risk and need of increase of social security of workers and their families. Are at the same time laid the foundation for systems of social security of the majority of the European countries, thus the state acts as the guarantor of granting to citizens of work for providing funds for existence and the minimum help in a form of public contempt. The understanding of responsibility of businessmen for occupational accidents is at the same time formed, and the system of social insurance constructed on the principles of the accounting of professional risk starts being put.

The Russian system of social insurance at a stage of formation was formed under the influence of experience of foreign countries, however specifics of socio-political way of the Russian Empire, caused by a prevalence in national economy of agrarian sector and more modest (in comparison with the western analogs) scales of industrial productions caused explainable lag in formation of mechanisms of social insurance. [Roik V.D., 2007, p. 82]

Start of formation of the Russian system of social insurance contacts acceptance in 1861 of the law "About Obligatory Establishment of Auxiliary Associations at State Mountain Plants" which regulated equal participation of workers and employers in accumulation and payment of insurance means to victims at the enterprise and to members of their families. It is interesting that in 1889 in the State Council the bill on responsibility of owners of the industrial enterprises for a mutilation and death of the workers, however not got approvals is submitted. Only in 1903 the all-Russian Law "About Remuneration of the Workers Who Have Injured owing to Accidents and Employees, and Equally in Members of Their Families, in the Enterprises of the Factory, Mining and Mining Industry" fixing obligatory social insurance of working specified branches in the insurance companies independent of the enterprises and establishments is adopted, and also the concept of "professional risk" starts being applied. [Roik V.D., 2013]

The base of modern system of social insurance of Russia is put with acceptance in 1912 of a package of the insurance laws "About the Adoption of Presence for Insurance of Workers", "About the Statement of Council for Affairs of Insurance of Workers", "About Providing Workers on an Illness Case", "About Insurance of Workers upon Occupational Accidents" which regulated social insurance of the working enterprises of the raised risk level (work with electricity, cars, etc.) the numbering more than 20 people.

The created system of social insurance during this period was focused on the German model of a mutual insurance (associations), but unlike Germany, worked by the principle of territorial associations, instead of professional associations. Despite restriction of field of activity of laws, they had the high public importance and seriously increased security of workers. It is important that they provided gradation of contributions on social insurance of the enterprises depending on a risk level, and fixed possibility of decrease in tariff rates on social insurance in case of essential decrease in number of occupational accidents that promoted improvement of working conditions and a wide circulation of measures for prevention of accidents.

So, the principle of equal economic interest of the worker and the employer was put in a basis of social insurance during the period till 1917 in preservation of health of experts whereas the state determined a legal landscape of management by insurance processes.

The postrevolutionary period in Russia was marked by structural changes in the main social institutes. Improvement of quality of life of citizens, conditions of their work, protection of the rights of working class and wellbeing of a family as the social institute, proclaimed priorities of a state policy, caused formation of new approach to social insurance. The national commissariat of work in 1918 issued the Decree about introduction of full social insurance and the Provision on social security of workers which regulated transition from social insurance to social security. Social security extended on all workers and guaranteed providing with temporary disability benefits, pregnancies and childbirth, unemployment and a disability pension. At the same time, in difficult postrevolutionary economic and socio-political conditions of payment were made in the form of a food and ware allowance.

However in 1921 according to the Decree of Council of People's Commissars "About social insurance of the persons occupied with wage labor", there was a return from full state social security to system of social insurance. Since 1922 social insurance was transferred to the jurisdiction of bodies of the National commissariat of social security which provided activity of social insurance funds and insurance cash desks, regulated collecting and payment of insurance means according to single tariffs. [Isakov V.V, 2005, C. 68-78] Besides, at the expense of means of social insurance measures for prevention of incidence of workers and their families were provided, the network of sanatorium and improving establishments for workers and members of their families was created. Important milestone was the edition Council of People's Commissars in 1925 of the approved list of occupational diseases.

In 1929 the state social insurance passes to the uniform budget for all types of insurance, thus insurance payments since 1931 are carried out by insurance cash desks at the enterprises. The methodical base of social insurance is gradually developed, the scale of charges of insurance payments taking into account length of service, branches of economy, intensity of work is formed, and also criteria of an assessment of risk are defined. At the same time, the system of social security created during this period differed unbalance, complexity of control of addressing helped and payments, financial insolvency.

After 1933 in Russia the system of social insurance is transferred to management to labor unions, the system of the accounting of a risk level and differentiation of tariffs is cancelled, methodical bases of social insurance are leveled. The model socialist social insurance was created by the end of the 30th years, and worked till 1991. It is remarkable that the budget of system of social insurance was based on consolidation of insurance premiums of the enterprises and the state resources of the subsidized character which payments were carried out by uniform rules without branch features and an assessment of risks of working conditions. This model actually worked not on insurance, and to the social and security principles, carrying out function of distribution of means of the state budget on social needs by the residual principle.

Transformational processes of reorganization caused serious changes of way of life of Russians, thus for working citizens level of the social risk connected with employment considerably raised: work loss, salary nonpayment, dilapidation of material base and increase of risk of occupational accidents promoted deterioration and a standard of living, to decrease in indicators of health of the population. During this period the Russian government develops legislative base of social insurance, the fixed state off-budget social assets are created: Pension fund, federal and regional funds of obligatory medical insurance, Social insurance fund and the State fund of employment which in the conditions of economic and social instability provided providing the help to separate categories of the population (for example, to pensioners) and promoted prevention of total poverty of the population and decrease in social tension in society.

At the moment the system of obligatory social insurance of the Russian Federation includes some directions of insurance: pension insurance working on an old age, disability and loss of the supporter (the insurer – the Pension fund); insurance of temporary disability and obligatory social insurance upon occupational accidents and occupational diseases (the insurer – the Social Insurance Fund); obligatory medical insurance (insurers – federal and the compulsory health insurances regional funds). [O reformirovanii sistemy, 2003]

Today the main priorities of the state in the sphere of work and employment of the population is work on transition from compensation model of insurance payments to introduction on production of mechanisms of management by professional risks, and also stimulation of employers to identification and an assessment of risks, improvement of working conditions and protection of the rights of economically active population. In this regard the state strengthens control of execution of requirements of labor protection by means of carrying out regular state examinations of working conditions, and also defines an order of regular medical examinations of separate categories working.

Thus, modernization of system of social insurance is aimed at ensuring social security of workers and members of their families, providing favorable working conditions, efficiency increase at simultaneous expansion of opportunities of safe realization of labor tasks that will promote preservation of personnel potential and national economy strengthening.

However it is necessary to recognize that the system of the state social insurance of Russia existing today not quite answers present calls, rates of its development often lag behind dynamics of public changes of a demographic, economic, socio-political order on a labor market, and, besides, the legal basis of system of insurance demands completion and the accounting of a risk level in different branches of employment. So, among the main shortcomings of modern Russian system social insurance – undeveloped infrastructure of system of social insurance, lack of an assessment of risk of working conditions and an individual approach to formation of tariffs of insurance assignments of the enterprises, inconsistency of standards (tariffs) of insurance payments to insurance risks, lack of effective mechanisms of motivation of Russians to participation in questions of own insurance, low interest of the population to voluntary social insurance.

Thus, in view of what exactly a manpower acts as a national economy basis, the need for search of new social and economic ways, development of methodical approaches to an assessment of professional risk, efficiency in the sphere of providing insurance services acts into the forefront of social policy in the work and employment sphere.

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Theoretical Problems of State-Market Interaction in Karl Polanyi's Works

Introduction

Theoretical problems of state institutions and their interference in economic life of society refer to most important themes of both contemporary economics and political philosophy. In many respects it is connected with ideological implications of multiple discussions concerning this question, and the adherence to certain tradition of political thought contributes to choice of particular perspective in this problem's consideration. Conceptual frameworks of problems of state interference quite often become an obstacle for understanding of complex processes of state-market interaction. Historical development of conceptions concerning this interaction in Western economic thought has been strongly influenced by the ideology of classical liberalism which is embodied in *laissez-faire* doctrine with its aversion to state regulation and its ideal type of minimal state. Self-regulating market which is free from state intervention has been conceptualized by representatives of classical liberalism as the only possible variant of economic subsystem development in Western societies, and theoretical model of free market, in their opinion, is a fundamental element of Western socio-political system. However, within both economic thought and political philosophy there exists and continues its reproduction a view which in many respects differs from traditional liberal conception and which is based upon the consideration of state as a stimulator of market development and catalyst for market processes. This view is embodied in works written by Karl Polanyi, who made an attempt to review classical conceptions of state role in economy and to work out the conception of state-market interaction.

Theoretical reflection of K. Polanyi as an overcoming of classical liberalism

Polanyi's conception is founded upon an argument that views on market nature of representatives of classical economic thought are baseless. As it has been noted earlier, model of self-regulating market has become the ideological core of the latter. This model was pictured by founding fathers of political economy as an external manifestation of inner essence of economic life which consists in spontaneous market emergence by virtue of immanent causes, economic subsystem's independence from outer regulation, its self-institutionalization, self-reproduction and transformation into the dominant sphere of social system. This view also implies that changes in economic subsystem inevitably entail changes in other spheres of social life. History of modern capitalism, according to classical doctrine, originates from emergence of internal markets in Western countries which derive the resource of its reproduction in the system of economic relations. State was treated as an external force that forcibly influences market processes and counteracts free development of market. Complete overcoming of state interference in economy was viewed by first economists as a consequence of laws of market development.

Conception of market history in Western countries which was offered by K. Polanyi radically differs from traditional conception. According to Polanyi, the fundamental transformation that led to the emergence of contemporary Western market was preceded by institutions and ideals of XIX century civilization. The balance-of-power system, international gold standard, self-regulating market and liberal state were referred by Polanyi to institutions whose breakdown has been influencing contemporary political and economic constitution of developed Western countries[Polanyi, 2002, p. 13]. The constitutive institution which had formed XIX century civilization was the model of self-regulating market. Polanyi emphasized a utopian character of this model which is based upon incorrect notions of social exchange, and he viewed contemporary history of Western countries as a sequence of attempts of resistance to this model and self-defense from its destructive consequences. This process is reflected in *double movement* conception which was offered by Polanyi and which implies that market subsystem in Western countries obtrudes its imperatives on social system, and the latter tries to elaborate defensive mechanisms from the conversion to an appendage of market [Bugra, 2007].

However, this resistance to self-regulating market model carries considerable contradictions, because, according to representatives of classical liberalism, it undermines the foundations of human freedom in modern society. But reproduction of this model ultimately brought about failure of classical doctrines which had postulated the necessity of market exchange free from any state interference. An aspiration for profit which replaced the traditionalist motive of livelihood and which, according to Polanyi, generated a utopia of market self-regulation placed all the characteristics of social system into direct relation with its economic characteristics, declaring that the former are derivative and secondary characteristics.

It is in economic determinismthat, according to Polanyi, the cause of large-scale crisis which took place in the beginning of XX century is hidden. This crisis developed into two world wars and radical change of correlation of forces in world politics. Economic determinism is a feature of contemporary economic thought which has been cultivated by the ideal of self-regulating market. Market economy introduced not only negative attitude towards state regulation, but also an impossibility to overcome the whole complex of industrial civilization problems because of economic determinism [Polanyi, 2010b, p. 23]. The human nature in this variant of determinism is dualistic: in his production activity man follows economic motives which have the materialist origin, but the sphere of daily interaction of individuals is governed by idealistic motives [ibid, p. 29]. The human being in economic determinism is torn apart between the sphere of production which commodifies his labor, and the sphere of his social interaction. An overcoming of his nature's break is possible only through an overcoming of deterministic conceptions of social system. Self-referential character of market economy also appears in an idea that materialistic motives and interests of humans are dominant due to economic nature of production. However, in reality this image of activity incentives is bounded by spatial and temporal frameworks, and the sphere of its application does not extend outside the epoch of market economy which has hypostatized and absolutized its internal foundations, attributing them to non-market societies and those historical epochs which were not marked by dominance of market civilization ideas [ibid, p. 24]. Polanyi made an attempt to reconstruct the primordial integrity which was peculiar to structure of activity incentives before the triumph of market ideology. This attempt is connected with a return to substantive meaning of concept of "economic" that eliminates exceptionally materialistic interpretations which were produced by market thinking [Polanyi, et al., 2010, p. 84].

In his works Polanyi adhered to methodological position which was expressed in a statement that only composite analysis of interdependence between social institutions is able to overcome various deterministic conceptions that give central significance to any one institution. Radical anti-determinism and anti-reductionism of Polanyi was combined with his concept of society as an integral system, in which none of its constituent subsystem can hold a dominant position.

The origin of economic determinism and self-regulating market model, according to Polanyi, hides in *homo economicus* model which became an impulse that put in action the mechanisms of marketself-regulation. Though this model has obvious disadvantages in explaining the past, it turns out to be right in predicting the future [Polanyi, 2002, p. 55]. The cause of this phenomenon is that *homo economicus* model advocates rationalist egoism and independence of atomized market agents from any outer influence. This model strengthened not only in self-regulating market conception, but also in classical notion of competition in which social-Darwinist views upon the nature of market interaction are embodied.

In the epoch of their original development markets represented the external to given economic system trade centers which were geographically distant from the system. Foreign trade was not based upon exchange principles, it was a venturesome undertaking which was close to travel or piracy. A similarity between characteristic features of original Western entrepreneurship development and various reckless schemes was emphasized by W. Sombartwho noted that these characteristics are inseparably linked with the phenomenon which he identified as “entrepreneurial spirit” [Sombart, 2005]. Subsequently, foreign trade began to acquire market characteristics, but that did not mean that market mechanisms were functioning upon the basis of competition principle. Polanyi noted that understanding of competition as a universal principle of trading activity came into existence with the emergence of internal markets [Polanyi, 2002, p. 73]. Besides theoretical conceptualization of peculiarities of capital accumulation by economic agents in the epoch of early capitalism, Polanyi in his works made an attempt to rethink the genesis of Western capitalism and role of state in this process.

State and interventionism against the background of the renaissance of market fundamentalism

The revival of market self-regulation model in contemporary market fundamentalism cannot avoid the question of state participation in market processes. This question has been put forth and developed in K. Polanyi’s works. *Laissez-faire* ideology, according to Polanyi, made a negative influence upon Western market societies promoting the fact that labor and land were perceived as objects of purchase and sale and thus commodifying natural and human foundations of society [Polanyi, 2010a, p. 34]. Self-regulating market ideal had emerged in Great Britain, but the consequences of its expansion were felt mainly by continental states, especially those in which fascism arose and developed. Polanyi viewed as the motives which underlie the conception of market self-regulation the fear of being caught short of material resources and the aspiration for realizing a profit [ibid]. The bearer of first motive was class of employees, and the second motive influenced the activity of entrepreneurs who used wage labor. Originally, none of internal markets which emerged in the epoch of mercantilism formed independently, and the development of each of these markets was supported by state institutions. But economic thought of the end of XVIII century, while creating an ideal of market self-regulation, also implemented a fundamental ideological transformation through shift of emphasis from state support of economic life to processes of self-organization of atomized individual agents. Thus regulated market became a self-regulating system in the notions of classical scholars of economic theory.

Self-regulating market does not represent the consequence of immanent causes of development. On the contrary, Polanyi understood self-regulating market as a product of epoch of isolated markets’ consolidation into an integral system [ibid, p. 33]. State became an origin of this consolidation, promoting not only hypostatized position of market subsystem, but also creation of utopian notion of market autonomy. A “market coercion” thesis which is based upon Polanyi’s ideas is defended in contemporary Russia in B. Kagarlitsky’s works [Kagarlitsky, 2010]. A further development of Polanyi's theoretical reflection has been conducted in contemporary sociology of markets. Within this sociological middle-range theory there has been used a metaphor "markets as politics" which is offered by N. Fligstein [Fligstein, 2004]. This method of markets' understanding is based upon the assertion that market formation is an element of state construction which, in its turn, creates institutional arrangements for stable market functioning. State intervention in economy that has as its object the containment of competition represents one of the ways of stable markets' construction. Conclusion offered by Fligstein testifies that trajectories of political and market subsystems' development are not parallel but interconnected, and that fact determines the relations of mutual stipulation between these two subsystems.

Classical economic thought is based upon emphasizing the economic subsystem of society and providing it with self-dependent existence. It is upon this basis that concept of self-regulating market had arisen that subsequently generated the dichotomy of political and economic spheres. Polanyi declared that this dichotomy does not find its confirmation in reality as well as acknowledgement of independence of economic sphere. On the contrary, economic subsystem of society represents a function of its social institutions [Polanyi, 2002, p. 85]. A conversion of market into the all-sufficient system was a result of the fact that the embeddedness of economic system in social relations was artificially replaced by the embeddedness of social relations in economic system [Polanyi, 2010b, p. 27]. According to Polanyi, the way out of this situation can be found in theoretical reorientation of economic theory towards taking into account of social conditionality of economic life and the embeddedness of economy in a broader social space.

Theoretical problems of *embeddedness* in contemporary economic sociology become central for M. Granovetter who raises a hypothesis that any goal-instrumental action of market agent which is based upon his personal motives and interests is embedded in stable systems of social relations, in the social milieu which represents a substratum and a background for his individual activity [Granovetter, 2004, p. 137]. The embeddedness conception proclaims that systems of social relations directly influence the process of market institutionalization.

Embeddedness as a theoretical category is linked in Polanyi's works with a category of interventionism. Contemporary investigations of theoretical problems of embeddedness register consequences of a long process whose beginning refers to the creation of both theoretical model and institution of self-regulating market. Polanyi was a witness of epoch in which economic subsystem of Western market societies was experiencing the phenomenon of *disembeddedness*. This phenomenon consisted in economy's going out of institutional space where it had been equal to other social institutions, proclaimingits independent and dominant position [Bugra, 2007, p. 174]. The phenomenon of disembeddednesswas a direct consequence of state politics that aimed at creation of institutional and ideological foundations of self-regulating market. This type of interventionism which led to market autonomization after the World War II has been replaced by interventionism which aimed at overcoming of isolated and hypostatized economy's position and restitution of its subordinate position within social system. In these two cases state has appeared as an agent of social transformations. The leitmotif for economy's reintegration into the space of social institutions is a phenomenon of *re-embeddedness* that represents the mechanism of market's return to society as its constituent part. It is this complex phenomenon that becomes at the present time the object of M. Granovetter's study. Polanyi considered as an inevitable consequence of this reintegration the reconstruction of integrity of human activity motives which had been broken down by the ideology of classical liberalism [Polanyi, 2010a, p. 43]. Interventionism which was defended by Polanyi in a sense is similar to theoretical conclusion of Keynesianism [Keynes, 2001]that show groundlessness of classical liberal doctrine as well as to scientific attainments of neo-institutionalist economic theory, particularly to the "stationary bandit" model that explicates the peculiarities of state institutions' genesis [Auzan, 2005, p. 189–190].

It can be fruitful to compare K. Polanyi's conception of market history with theoretical views of F. Hayek who was one of the main prophets of classical liberalism in XX century. In Polanyi's works he disputed with Hayek. Polanyi's views cannot be characterized as a strict opposition to theoretical views of Hayek who proclaimed that the sphere of economy is constituted spontaneously, without any external influence, by virtue of immanent causes. This theoretical position naturally eliminates any influence of state institutions [Hayek, 2005]. Such views on market autarchy which are based upon self-regulating market model as well as minimal state conceptions (which are embodied in subsequent R. Nozick's works [Nozick, 2008]) were criticized by Polanyi. But the opposite position of complete governmentalization of economy does not find its embodiment in his works. This fact can be confirmed due to Polanyi's concept of state as an indispensable subject of market processes, but, as it follows from his historical analytics, Polanyi made a distinction between two types of interventionism. The first type that can be historically referred to the epoch of transformation of traditionalist economic structures into capitalist ones represented a creation by state of internal markets in Western countries with posterior extraction of state from economic life and realization of market self-regulation model. But the XX century crisis that questioned the idealistic foundations of preceding economic order and led to the catastrophes of the first half of XX century meant the emergence of the second type of interventionism. The latter aimed at an overcoming of market fundamentalism, and it supported the reintegration (*re-embeddedness*) of economy into the social system. Polanyi did not think that the retrieval of state as a regulator of economic interactions was one of the forms of state expansion and absolutization of state control functions.

Thereby one can affirm that positions of Polanyi and Hayek are not diametrically opposed, because Polanyi, lungingthe ideology of classical liberalism, defended a thesis that state interventionism is a measure of market's return to social system that supports the "embeddedness" phenomenon. Hayek's logic in his explanation of Western capitalistic development is based upon a thought that elimination of market self-regulation inevitably leads to loss of fundamental freedoms which are usually associated with market economy. Polanyi polemized with that, arguing that this view is a consequence of extrapolation of theoretical views legitimized by market economy over non-market economies and non-market stages of Western civilization's development [Polanyi, 2010b, p. 30]. Thus, "the road to serfdom", in Hayek's terms, for Polanyi was an organic consequence of preceding trajectory of market development in Western countries with intrinsic features of economic determinism. An overcoming of economic determinism was considered by him as a most significant task, and prerogative of this task's solving in social system is given to state institutions.

Theoretical problems of great transformation which became a central category in Polanyi's conception of market history at the present time acquire importance due to incompleteness of this process. Polanyi was a shining analyst of the first great transformation which was marked by the transition from traditionalism to capitalism. But he was also a historical witness of the second great transformation that took place in post-war Europe and was based upon an overcoming of imperatives of XIX century civilization and posterior crisis. The outline of this second transformation was not clear, and that could not let Polanyi give a conceptualization of this process. The end of XX century was marked by the breakdown of communist regimes in Eastern and Central Europe, the emergence of non-Western capitalistic economies and the globalization of capitalism, and these phenomena let contemporary investigators discuss about the third great transformation that has been occurring nowadays [Fedotova, et al., 2008]. Thereafter, it is possible to say about transformation of state functions in transforming economic system.

The notions of state as an agent of economic politics represented in Polanyi's works are significant not only in contemporary Western societies, but also acquire particular heuristic importance in post-communist countries. There emerge fruitful attempts to apply Polanyi's theoretical reflection to modern Russia [Burawoy, 2010]. M. Burawoy, one of the most influential Western sociologists, implementing an understanding of Russian capitalism in Polanyi's terms, argues that Russian transition to capitalism was accomplished according to neither revolutionary neo-liberalist scenario nor evolutionary model of neo-institutionalists. The specificity of Russian transition to market is connected with involution, i.e. economic changes without actual changes in the sphere of political administration. Russian capitalism is described by Burawoy as "the transition without transformation" [ibid, p. 21].

But besides this Western conceptualization of Russian transition in Russian sociology there has emerged an approach which is founded upon the category of "institutional matrix" mentioned in Polanyi's works. The elaboration of conceptual framework for this theory is implemented by S. Kirdina [Kirdina, 2001]. Institutional matrix is defined as a totality of basic and complementary institutions. The classical triad of structural functionalism (economic, political and ideological spheres of society) is taken as a foundation for social subsystems' analysis. Kirdina introduces a dichotomy of institutional matrices that consists of Western (Y-matrix) and Eastern (X-matrix) matrices. Y-matrix is characterized by institutions of market economy, institutions of federative political order and institutions of the ideology of subsidiarity. On the contrary, X-matrix is characterized by redistribution economy institutions, institutions of unitary political order and institutions of the ideology of communitarism [ibid, p. 65]. According to Kirdina, Russian society demonstrates characteristic features of X-matrix that is connected with Russian historical past that foreordained a centralized character of governance, mediated and redistributive influence of the Center over the processes of economic interactions as well as lasting dominance of collectivist values in consciousness of Russians. As for institutions of Y-matrix, they are complementary for Russian society, according to institutional matrices theory, and that is why they are considered as quasi-market ones, and this phenomenon is determined by the peculiarities of economic subsystem of Russian society. Thus, neo-institutionalist concept of "*path dependence*" is a fundamental factor of anysocial system's development in institutional matrices theory. However, such interpretation of Russian history and contemporary condition of Russian society is founded upon the ideological postulate that Russia has its own way to develop, and this postulate eliminates possibility of constructive borrowings from other countries' development experience.

Conclusion

The central idea for Polanyi is a notion that society represents a result of interaction of personalities [Polanyi, 2010c, p. 199].In this notion there hides not only his aversion to etatization of social life but also root of his socialistic views. Researchers note that socialism of Polanyi was a variant of corporate socialism rather than state socialism [Rozinskaya, 2010, p. 11]. Evidence of utopism of self-regulating market project in Polanyi's works did not become a foundation for apologia of state institutions, especially in their forms in both fascist regimes and

Soviet planned economy. An impossibility to realize the conception of social justice in socialistic society evidently comes into conflict with understanding of state institutions by founders of Marxism. According to Marxist theorists, in socialistic society the state function is understood as an overcoming of social injustice that, in its turn, is considered as a consequence of market allocation of resources. Primarily, state was considered in Marxism as an institution that would be unnecessary after the abolition of private property, because control over economic activity would belong directly to economic agents. But the practice of Marxist regimes proved that state cannot be eliminated from socialist economy. On the contrary, state machinery in socialist regimes is characterized by peculiar power, because it was the state that turned out to be the institution that can guarantee stable functioning and defense of socialist system [Block, 2004, p. 577–578]. The Marxist conception of "withering away of the state" was criticized by Polanyi as an eclectic mixture of liberal utopia and indifferent attitude to institutional freedoms [Polanyi, 2010a, p. 43]. Thus, neither statism nor liberalism becomes theoretical and ideological basis for Polanyi's research. In their extreme forms these diametrically opposed variants of political system's development are not acceptable for Polanyi. According to Polanyi, it is in reasonable combination of economic agents' interaction and state guaranteeing of institutional foundations of this interaction that can be found possibilities of harmonization in political and economic spheres as well as overcoming of crises of both unilateral state control and spontaneous unregulated economic interaction.

The reconstruction of state institutions in Russia in the beginning of XXI century and the expansion of state in Russian market[1] can be viewed as processes which were predicted by K. Polanyi and which consist in gradual overcoming of market fundamentalism. The main theoretical conclusion of Polanyi's works can be expressed in an assertion that the optimal balance of forces between state and market is necessary. This balance does not allow triumphingof both paternalist strategies that put obstacles in the way of entrepreneurial potential realization and deterministic ideas of market functions in which market is endowed with independent and dominant position in social system. Extremes of these two variants bring about crises which do not only take place in the sphere of state-market interaction, but also have a character of integral crises of social system.

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Main Approaches to Entrepreneurship in Western Sociology and Economic Theory: Genesis of Theoretical Ideas

Theoretical foundations for investigation of economic action and rationality: homo economicus model

Formation of ideas concerning the essence of entrepreneurial activity and entrepreneurial function for all the time of neoclassical economic thought existence has been strongly influenced by conception of *homo economicus*. Regardless of the fact that, whether economists admit heuristic importance of this model or consider it to be a useless analytical instrument, an implicit influence of this conception is appreciable in their works. Furthermore, “economic imperialism” has led to the expansion of homo economicus model, which has been borrowed from philosophy of utilitarianism, over not only economic theory but also the other social sciences. This fact gave to R. Collins an opportunity to define the rational choice theory which is founded upon this model as a special rational-utilitarian tradition in sociology[Collins, 2009].

Originally, this conception which was formulated by economists of neoclassical epoch considered a man as an independent egoistic actor who singly makes decisions for the purpose of maximization of his profit, rationally acts on basis of his preferences and has at his disposal information about the ways of his needs’ satisfaction [Radaev, 2005, p. 19–20].It is notable that as far back as the XIX century the model of homo economicus was harshly criticized by the German historical school of economics. The representatives of the latter proclaimed the specificity of economic life of different nations and at the different times and considered as the main subject of economic development not a single individual who maximizes utility, but the nation as a specific historical totality that possesses peculiar characteristics [ibid, p. 39].

Subsequently, this model was significantly changed. In contemporary economic thought it is customary to consider resources that are at the disposal of economic agent to be limited, and that fact determines the necessity of choice. The choice is influenced not only by preferences of an individual that reflect his subjective needs but also by limitations that reflect his objective possibilities. Information which is used by an individual is not also unlimited, and decisions are taken quite often in conditions of informational deficiency. Maximization of objective function of economic man occurs as a result of his choice, and he chooses the variant which is coordinated with his preferences rather than the variant which seems to be rational to an external observer [Avtonomov, 1998, p. 10–12].

However,despite the correction of homo economicus model, it still raises debate in professional community of economists. Some of them note that if one attaches an absolute importance to any model of rationality in a science, that will inevitably lead to irrationalization of its applications. Besides, it is necessary to take into account an antinomious character of the consciousness of rational activity subject: he is characterized by both normative-criterial rationality and critical-reflective rationality. The former allows him to act on basis of any set of criteria, and the latter promotes reconsideration of the original prerequisites for rationality [Verkhovin, Zubkov, 2005, p. 97]. Purposes of rational agent's behavior lie beyond the sphere of behavior, and they sort with ideals and attitudes. It is the presence of well-known situation that allows an agent to act strictly rationally [ibid, p. 99]. The boundedness of rational choice model is connected with the fact that human behavior which lies in its foundation cannot be subjected to thorough scientific analysis per sample of natural-science laboratory research, and in this connection an economist who takes the logic of this model as a foundation for his investigation uses it as a normative principle [ibid, p. 115].

The abstract homo economicus model that had been originally created for the purpose of emphasis of the main motive for economic behavior gradually transformed into the fundamental analytical instrument for Western economic thought. That led to the reduction of complex economic reality to this model that significantly limits the sphere of goal setting and action of an economic agent [Radaev, 2005, p. 93]. The disclosure of the fact that behind an economic agent there stand certain social realities, value-normative and institutional systems belongs to economic sociologists. Instead of stating that economic agent follows his egoistic and quite often hedonistic interest, economic sociologists emphasize the influence of social norms and certain social institutions over his activity [ibid, p. 95–96]. The admission of multiplicity of rational action types as well as absence of priority of rational activity as compared with different irrational behavioral acts characterizes the position of sociologists [ibid, p. 104].

The logic of market interaction extends further the model of egoistic rationalizer who maximizes utility. Sociologists distinguish between three types of this logic – egoistic, utilitarian, and deontological ones. The essence of egoistic logic is a straightforward satisfaction of economic interest that does not assume taking into account of any normative limitation and consequences of economic action. Utilitarian logic is founded upon normative individualism that assumes not only short-term maximization of utility but also an anxiety about business reputation in long-term outlook. Deontological logic is oriented to normative codes of behavior that are based upon moral imperatives and altruistic considerations. If one compared these types of economic action logic with ideal types of economic agents, it would turn out that egoistic logic sorts with "pre-economic man", utilitarian logic represents the ideal type of "economic man", and deontological logic describes the model of "economic-sociological man", completing the development of notions about an economic agent [Radaev, 1998, p. 166–168].

M. Granovetter, one of the leading representatives of economic sociology, defends a thesis of "*embeddedness*" of economic action and economic institutions in a broader field of social relations [Granovetter, 2004]. An understanding of man both in economic and sociological theory is not without extremes: economists, considering a man, ascribe to him the features of an atomized individual who is guided by his own interests, and sociologists suppose that man takes as a basis for his action the surrounding social context. Granovetter calls the first viewpoint as "undersocialized" conception of human action, and the second notion is referred to as "oversocialized" conception [ibid, p. 133]. In classical economic theory it is social atomization that is considered to be the prerequisite for perfect competition. In contrast to this, the embeddedness conception proceeds from the affirmation that task-oriented action is embedded in stable systems of social relations that form a background for individual activity [ibid, p. 137].

However, economists admit that economic rationality is significantly limited, and this admission, which is expressed in *bounded rationality* conception, can also testify that the attitude of economists to homo economicus model has been changed. The "free rider problem" as well as the "prisoner's dilemma" can be the proof for this thesis [Collins, 2009, p. 165–171].

It is necessary to remember that homo economicus model is only an analytical abstraction, and its role originally was exceptionally epistemological, because it let to compare real economic action with an ideal type of this behavior. But transformation of this epistemological instrument into the mode economic action brought about the distortion of economic reality under study. It is worthy of notice that some prominent economists as far back as the time of "economic imperialism" (for instance, J. Schumpeter) had some doubt in heuristic possibilities of this model.

Let us trace the genesis of notions about an entrepreneur in both sociological and economic theory. Ideas of A. Smith are of great value for economics, because it was he who first emphasized the fundamental characteristics of human nature that are most peculiar to an entrepreneur. Among them there are disposition to exchange, ability to realize the profit, aspiration for making the most of division of labor system, and an aspiration for preservation and augmenting of economic benefits [Bezgodov, 1999, p. 14].

M. Weber's approach: religious and moral origins of entrepreneurial activity

The starting point for the discussion about entrepreneurship in sociology was the famous M. Weber's work "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism" [Weber, 1990]. According to Weber, an irrational aspiration for profits has no common with modern Western capitalism. The latter is founded upon the restraint of this aspiration. Capitalist economy is connected with expectation for profit as a result of peaceful acquisition. A thorough calculation of capital (*Kapitalrechnung*) is a peculiar indicator of rational aspiration for profits. The emergence of modern Western capitalism was closely related with rational capitalist organization of free labor, and this new type of capitalism differs from the preceding types in its orientation to rationalization of daily entrepreneurial activity rather than to acquisition as a result of conquest.The separation of an enterprise from a household and rational accounting were prerequisites for the new type of entrepreneurship which was based upon the particular type of practical and rational behavior.

The phenomenon that was named as “the spirit of capitalism” is connected with this rational behavior. Philosophy of capitalist entrepreneurs implies a high degree of well-doing and accuracy in business, punctuality and honesty in communication, and peculiar attitude to capital whose augmenting is considered to be an end in itself. The entrepreneurial ethos in the Middle Ages considered acquisition as the means of material needs’ satisfaction. But the existence of entrepreneur in Modern Europe is entirely oriented towards acquisition. An ostentatious luxury of medieval entrepreneur is alien to modern capitalist; on the contrary, the ideal type of the latter demonstrates a similarity to an ascetic mode of living. Richness, whose augmentation is the main goal of this new entrepreneur, gives him only irrational satisfaction of professional duty’s fulfillment and accomplishment of his calling. Virtues of an entrepreneur which were described by B. Franklin are considered by him to be a proper type of behavior, because they contribute to gaining of certain economic benefits.

The confrontation between “the spirit of capitalism” and “the spirit of traditionalism” occurs on basis of radical contraposition of entrepreneurial norms and practices. Intensification of labor, increase of productivity as a result of establishment of new entrepreneurial norms which is peculiar to capitalist ethos stands against traditional methods of transaction, traditional interrelationships between economic agents, and traditional mode of living on the whole. The break-off with the norms which had been typical for pre-capitalistic society is connected with the system of beliefs and religious views of new entrepreneurs. This system of views is founded upon the characteristic features of protestant faith. An inspiring principle for modern Western entrepreneurs is M. Luther’s conception of “calling” (*Beruf*). The meaning of this term before the Protestant Reformation had been close to designation of traditional duties of priest or state official, and the sacralization of these duties had consisted in the fact that the term “*Beruf*”, reflecting liturgical and bureaucratic establishments of the ancient world, had signified only those economic practices that were dedicated to God. But the religious figures of Reformation significantly corrected the meaning of this concept, and the latter now means a vocation entirely connected with mundane professional duties' accomplishment. A criticism of catholic dogmatics, which was implemented by Luther, consisted in fundamental change of labor practices' understanding. The medieval asceticism of Christian monks stops to play the role of sacral activity, and this role is transmitted to secular professional occupations. The "worldly asceticism" becomes a fundamental principle of capitalist economy. Autarkic spiritual practices of monks, which had been held in high respect in medieval society, lost their significance after the proclamation of protestant "*sola fide*". Daily professional activity, according to protestant doctrine, becomes the pledge of man's salvation and eternal beatitude as well as embodies the divine vocation that guides a man to his professional perfection. The process of "disenchantment of world" means the replacement of the former labor activities by the rationalized labor practices.

A peculiar "immanentization" of sacral labor practices expressed in protestant dogma inevitably influenced the process of formation of entrepreneur's ideal type. This process was also influenced by conception of predestination elaborated by J. Calvin. His doctrine consisted in a statement that before the creation of the world God had divided all the mankind into those who are predestinated to the eternal life, and those who will be accursed. This statement gave a religious ground for necessity of everyday diligent work, because man may possess confidence in the fact that he is a chosen one only as a result of accumulation of visible proof in the form of material wealth. Wealth is considered as means for accumulation of greater wealth rather than means for comfortable existence. Thus, in Weber's approach entrepreneur obtains material resources due to religious motivation.

An explanation model which was used by Weber in his analysis of interrelationships between religious norms of Protestantism and capitalist practices of entrepreneurs is far from natural-science determinism that explains the connected phenomena in terms of causality. Weber used for designation of these interrelationships the term "elective affinity" (*Wahlverwandschaft*). According to Weber, certain constellations of historical factors led to the reinforcement of capitalist economy by religious principles of Protestantism.

Entrepreneur in W. Sombart's works: syncretic character of the "spirit of capitalism"

However, Weberian model of historical process of capitalist development was questioned in the beginning of XX century. The main opponent to Weber in this question was W. Sombart who developed his views in the work "*Der Bourgeois*" ("The quintessence of capitalism") [Sombart, 2005]. According to Sombart, pre-capitalist economy was founded upon natural aspirations of economic man, and it was characterized by irrational attitude to richness and acquisition. Consciousness of pre-capitalist man, as well as his practices, rested upon the force of tradition and the force of habit. Economic activity was perceived by him as an obligatory but unloved occupation.

This traditionalist disposition was replaced by the "capitalist spirit". Sombart emphasized its syncretic character. Whereas Weber thought that spirit of capitalism consisted ofexceptionally ascetic practices, the main purpose of which is the accumulation of wealthas a sign of salvation, Sombartincluded in capitalist spirit, besides this aspect (which is referred to as "philistine spirit"), also the "entrepreneurial spirit". Entrepreneur, according to Sombart, acts in three hypostases: as a conqueror, as an organizer, and as a trader. Will, resoluteness, spiritual energy, and ability to accomplish plans are main characteristics of the entrepreneurial spirit. Its bearers are not similar to Weberian ideal type of entrepreneur; on the contrary, among the bearers of the entrepreneurial spirit Sombart mentioned robbers, feudal lords, bureaucrats, speculators, merchants, and craftsmen. It is possible to see that these representatives of Western capitalism are the embodiment of the "adventure capitalism" (the term belongs to Weber). The distinction between theoretical positions of Weber and Sombart consists in the fact that Weber hypostatized this type of entrepreneurship, whereas Sombart considered it to be immanent to capitalist spirit. "Philistine spirit", compared with Weber's term "worldly asceticism", was understood by Sombart as a totality of norms and practices of both inner constitution of economic activity and entrepreneur's relations with outer world.

The peculiarity of Sombart's research consists in his distinction between "old style bourgeois" and modern economic man. The old style bourgeois adhered to consideration of man as "the measure of all things"; richness was considered by him as means for conservation of life values, and he was far from the aspiration for regarding richness as an end in itself. His activity submitted to thoroughness, scrupulousness, and pedantry; it was regulated by strict moral principles. But this type of entrepreneur was replaced by "high capitalist man", and for him business and profits are much more important than the real man. Despite the fact that modern entrepreneur accomplishes the same labor practices as his historical predecessor (conquest, organization, bargaining, speculation, and calculation), the substance of these practices widens, becomes complicated and rationalized. Labor occupies the main position in life of modern entrepreneur.

In considering the foundations of modern Western capitalism, Sombart attributes to religious norms the less sphere of influence upon the formation of entrepreneurial practices than Weber. Moreover, he did not regard Protestantism as a system of beliefs which is specifically connected with the emergence of capitalism. According to Sombart, in religious norms of both

Catholicism and Judaism one can find almost identical prescription concerning the accomplishment of entrepreneurial practices. Furthermore, among the factors of entrepreneurship's emergence and development religion plays its role along with state influence, migration, and accelerating technical development of Western countries. Thus, Sombart's position can be defined not only as a correction of Weber's position, but also as a peculiar addition and widening of Weber's views upon the causes that called into being the modern capitalism and gave rise to the new type of entrepreneurship.

Entrepreneurial function in society: theoretical views of J. Schumpeter

An important contribution to economic theory of entrepreneurship was made by J. Schumpeter. In his work "The Theory of Economic Development" [Schumpeter, 1982]Schumpeter viewed economic subject as an individual who aspires for economy of forces and time by means of using of various opportunities. The totality of economic benefits which are used my man in his vital activity represents a hierarchy that consists of first order goods (consumer goods), second order goods, whose combinations produce consumer goods, and higher order goods that, in their turn, generate all the goods in this hierarchy. On the top of the hierarchy there are elements of production that, according to Schumpeter, consist of services of labor and land. The state of equilibrium in market creates an environment in which entrepreneur acts; and changes in his behavior come as a result of changes in external conditions, and that also implies the creation of certain equilibrium. Economic development is accomplished through changes, and the cause of the changes is the economic subsystem itself. Schumpeter rejected the possibility of development from outer origins or impulses.

This viewpoint generates Schumpeter's definition of "production". It means an accomplishment of combinations of things and forces that are at the disposal of economic subject. Innovative production, or production of new benefits, represents an accomplishment of other combinations from things and forces used. According to Schumpeter, innovation occurs only in discrete way, and that is why he did not use the term "innovation" with reference to those combinations that emerge as a result of accommodation of old combinations to changing external conditions. The accomplishment of new combinations includes a new good's production, an application of new type of production, developing of a new market for sale of goods produced, acquisition of new source of raw materials, reorganization of an enterprise for the purpose ofmonopoly creation or steps aimed at making difficulties to other enterprise's monopoly [ibid, p. 159]. Productive and commercial innovations at first coexist with old forms of production till they extrude the latter because of their ergonomic character.

Economic subject who accomplishes innovational production as a result of new combinations is defined by Schumpeter as an entrepreneur. It is possible to see that for Schumpeter the essence of entrepreneurial activity consists exactly in accomplishment of innovations. Entrepreneur is not always economically autonomous subject who implements innovational activity within free market; Schumpeter laid emphasis on the fact that even employee or subject who realizes innovational activity within planned economy may be an entrepreneur. However, the definition of an entrepreneur is limited by the fact that entrepreneur who neither obtains profits nor suffers losses is not considered by Schumpeter as an entrepreneur in original meaning of this term, because the fundamental function of entrepreneurship is not realized by such economic subject.

Schumpeter did not define entrepreneurial activity as professional activity, because the accomplishment of innovations cannot be accepted as profession. In reality it is possible to see that this main function of an entrepreneur mostly is combined with other forms of activity, and that explains a wide range of professional duties that lay upon an entrepreneur in the epoch of initial development of capitalism. It is, according to Schumpeter, that means an impossibility of extraction of the integral “class of entrepreneurs” in every society. But Schumpeter noted that at his time there emerged entrepreneurs whose innovative function was represented in a more pure form and whose main aspiration consisted in submission of their activity to an accomplishment of new productive innovations that, in their turn, replaced the other forms of activity. The intensification of rationalization that for Weber meant the strengthening of entrepreneurial function in society is considered by Schumpeter as a symptom of the reduction of entrepreneur’s significance who relies on irrational flair rather than on rational calculation. The rationality of an entrepreneur has a unique character: Schumpeter suggested that entrepreneur must possess a certain narrow-mindedness that is compensated by will and an ability to see certain aspects of reality in their actual essence. Detachment from traditions and peculiar revolutionism of thinking are the characteristics that let an entrepreneur to realize innovations. Homo economicus conception was criticized by Schumpeter, because rational agent who acts on the basis of hedonistic egoism can’t help being an object of influence from the broad social context; and acceptance of the undoubtful character of this influence lets to limit the sphere of rational and egoistic behavior of an economic agent.

Model of entrepreneurship and competition in I. Kirzner’s works

The model of entrepreneurial function’s realization offered by I. Kirzner is also of great interest [Kirzner, 2001]. The main point of his theoretical ideas consists in emphasizing of contemporary theory of market's imperfection. This theory is founded upon the concept of equilibrium, and this represents a cause of the fact that entrepreneur's role is eliminated from economic theory. Understanding of market as a *process* rather than as a *situation,* according to Kirzner, is able to overcome limitations of existing economic theory of market and entrepreneurship. Kirzner considers market as a totality of interacting decisions that belong to consumers, entrepreneurs, and owners of resources. Development of market system occurs as a result of changes in the network of market decisions [ibid, p. 19]. Formation of every market agent's decision directly depends on decisions expected of not only consumers and suppliers but also of those actors whose decisions are in competition with decisions of given market agent. Agents' lack of information gradually diminishes along with the development of system of interconnected market decisions, and this process contributes to competitive relationship between market agents. Competition and entrepreneurship are understood by Kirzner as two analytically inseparable concepts, as it follows from interdependence of these phenomena in the process of market development. The competitive character of market process is determined by freedom of purchase and sale.

Kirzner supposes that such feature as presence of entrepreneurial element is inherent in any human action, but the entrepreneurial element cannot be analyzed through application of traditional theory of economic rationality [ibid, p. 40]. Entrepreneur lives in a world of imperfect and dissipated knowledge, and he can withstand the influence of competitive environment only in case he possesses vigilance. This crucial term means the presence of an ability due to which an entrepreneur can provide the profit of enterprise through opening of possibilities of tangible assets' obtaining without any investments [ibid, p. 57]. It is more important for an efficiency of entrepreneurial activity to have an ability of searching for necessary market information (that forms entrepreneurial vigilance) rather than to possess greater knowledge of market.

The fundamental distinction between Kirzner's model of entrepreneur and Schumpeter's model consists in the fact that, according to Schumpeter, entrepreneur acts within market, breaking the existing market equilibrium by means of his innovational activity. Kirzner adheres to the opposite position: market sphere is characterized by various manifestations of dissonance between its elements that represents the consequence of market agents' lack of information. Entrepreneur is considered to be the market agent who contributes to equilibration of market structure, and it is his activity that is able to break the state of permanent market imbalance [ibid, p. 79–80]. Schumpeterian model, according to Kirzner, made a negative contribution to the formation of economic theory of market, because *a priori* consideration of equilibrium as a fundamental market's characteristic feature cannot let investigators understand the causes that bring about the equilibrium. That, in its turn, leads to elimination of entrepreneur's role from factors providing for market equilibrium.

Entrepreneurship and management: P. Drucker's conception

P. Drucker's views proceed from the assumption that nowadays such highly-developed economy as American economic system experiences a transition from a "managerial" to an "entrepreneurial" economy [Drucker, 1985, p. 1]. New technology that produces these radical changes in economic subsystem of American society is *entrepreneurial management*. Drucker criticizes the traditional economic view on entrepreneurship that considers it as "meta-economic" phenomenon, which exerts influence upon the economy, but whose causes lie beyond economic system. In Drucker's opinion, the transformation of American economy into an "entrepreneurial economy" has become possible due to general applications of management technology [ibid, p. 14]. If understood as technology, management is able not only to influence administrative principles in separate companies, but also to create the foundation for system innovations within the whole economic subsystem, transforming society into an "entrepreneurial society". Entrepreneurship that initiates this large-scale process of management technologies' transformation is considered by Drucker as a totality of particular principles and practices, as a new discipline whose scope should be adumbrated.

Innovation is a specific instrument by means of which entrepreneurship, according to Drucker, accomplishes its economic activity. In this statement Drucker follows traditional for economic theory Schumpeterian view upon the social function of an entrepreneur. Search for possibilities of successful innovation is not simply a task for an entrepreneur, but his specific need [ibid, p. 19]. Innovation is not necessarily an invention of a new product, it can also consist in an application of management concepts and techniques in production of already existing product; and these concepts and techniques can give profits to an entrepreneur. Entrepreneurship is not a peculiar characteristic of small enterprises; on the contrary, quite often it is an accomplishment of entrepreneurial innovationthat is able to prolong life of a big corporation and to enhance its efficiency. Entrepreneurial decision that gives birth to an innovation is taken in conditions of uncertainty. It is uncertainty of market situation that is a peculiar substratum for emergence of an entrepreneur's innovative activity. However, foundations of entrepreneurial action, according to Drucker, lie in the sphere of rational cognition and theory rather than in the sphere of intuition. At this point Drucker's position in a sense is opposed to Kirzner's position: whereas, according toKirzner, entrepreneurial activity is founded upon vigilance which can be viewed as a sort of irrational perception of market condition, Drucker emphasized the rational basis of any entrepreneurial strategy. Entrepreneurship is not a unique personality trait that distinguishes its bearer from other market agents; it is rather behavior style [ibid, p. 26]. Consequently, Drucker proclaims the possibility of training in entrepreneurship as a totality of rationally founded principles and practices. A necessity for systematic character, controllability, good organization, and purposefulness characterizes any entrepreneurial initiative, no matter what innovation is realized by an entrepreneur. Changes are of particular interest for an entrepreneur, because their usage within entrepreneurial activity may give profits.

Conclusion

Theoretical ideas stated above that compose the ideal type of an entrepreneur in sociology and economics may be supplemented with psychological characteristics that were expounded in D. McClelland's works [Chepurenko, 2007, p. 25–26]. Basing on the assertion that the fundamental motive that stimulates an entrepreneurial activity is a need for achievement, McClelland distinguished such personality traits of an entrepreneur as internal locus of control, preparedness for risk, ability to find proper decisions of problems, disposition to innovative activity, leadership, individualistic values, and preference to equality of chances rather than to equality in property [ibid].

As indicated in presented analysis of theoretical notions about entrepreneurship, originally in sociology entrepreneurial activity was inseparably linked with religious legitimation. The search for foundations of contemporary Western capitalism led M. Weber and W. Sombart to religious systems that questioned the dominant negative attitude to entrepreneurship and thus made it possible to develop this phenomenon. However, M. Weber noted that this close connection between spiritual regulations of protestant faith and entrepreneurship was peculiar to the period of original development of Western capitalism. Subsequently, the religious ethics of entrepreneurship was replaced by the secularized ethics, and entrepreneurial activity was detached from its religious roots. At the present time, entrepreneurship represents an autonomous system of ideological postulates and technical principles that independently maintains its reproduction.

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Crises of Ideology of Altruism of Medical Practitioners in Changing Russia

Professional altruism, taken as a social good at which the professional expertise is directed, was seen as an important characteristic of professionals by social researchers writing from various theoretical perspectives. Functionalist and trait writers saw professions as ethically positive embodiments of the 'central values' of the society. Critics felt that this approach reflected too closely the ideological image which professionals tried to convey of their own work. In our research, in accordance with neo-Weberian critiques, we have not denied the importance of the professional ideology of altruism, arguing that some of medical practitioners' actions may be self-enhancement, but the reverse side of the coin is still a service for their patients or clients. In the recent desk and qualitative research of Russian orthodox practitioners, the professional ideology was interpreted as a significant professional characteristic. The research picked up the discrepancy between the sense of reduced circumstances of medical practitioners and their rather positive estimations of the professional side of things. Medical practitioners proclaimed a greater commitment to 'doing good work' than to economic gain, and to quality rather than efficiency. Although a proclaimed ideology should not be mistaken for reality, it is worth noting that Russian doctors wish to be seen as supporting a professional ideology of altruism. The status of medicine as a career choice was also still significant to the respondents. Members of the profession were not willing to leave an occupation, and were likely to assert that they would choose the same work if they were to begin again.

The paper is in four parts. The first part of the paper provides an overview of the theoretical background. It gives a critical analysis of the interpretations of the term 'professional altruism' and 'professional ideology'. The second part introduces the social attitudes of medical practitioners towards the health care reforms. We analyse whether Russian physicians are still attached to the altruistic socialist-oriented priorities of easy access and equity in health care. It provides a foundation for better understanding of the attachment of Russian medical practitioners to the state sector and to the notion of socialised medicine. The third part of the paper outlines the attitudes of Russian doctors towards the issues of the value of professional expertise and professional altruism. The fourth part analyses the potential of medical practitioners to professionalise. It considers whether physicians strive for the protection of the positive image of medical profession.

Theoretical background

Functionalist researchers have seen the professions as centrally significant, very effective, and apolitical social institutions within society. This view was largely rooted in the classical works of Durkheim, who laid emphasis on the importance of professional ethics [Durkheim, 1933]. His view that the division of labour and occupational groups represented the moral basis for modern society led him to focus on the professions as entities which embodied all the social functions which he valued and which would act as intermediates between individuals and the state [Durkheim, 1933]. These Durkheim believed would save modern society from the breakdown in moral authority, which in his view threatened it. The development of this view was presented in the works of functionalist researchers in the twentieth century [Tawney, 1921; Carr-Saunders and Wilson, 1933; Parsons, 1951; Ben-David, 1964; Halmos, 1970].

Within this theoretical framework, professionals were seen as a specific structure within the social system and professional altruism was seen as a key defining aspect of ideal model of the profession. In the late 1950s-1960s, the functional approach to sociology became so dominant that the discipline of sociology and functionalism became more or less identical [Wallace and Wolf, 1995, p. 17]. Most social researchers of the time saw professional altruism as a social good at which professional expertise is directed, whereas allegiance of medical practitioners was expressed through a pledge to follow a code of conduct. More recent work has not denied the importance of altruism, but has given greater emphasis to the strategies actively deployed by medical practitioners to engender a position of power [Cant & Sharma, 1996, p. 6].

Following the functionalist and trait writers, professional competence had to correlate with the most important values of society. They argued that those work activities which have an immediate relation to the establishment and maintenance of the main values of the society, in a case they possess other required ‘professional’ characteristics, may be called professions [Barber, 1963]. Parsons claimed that ‘a full-fledged profession must have some institutional means of making sure that such competence will be put to socially responsible uses’ [Parsons, 1968, p. 545]. He argued that the most obvious ‘social responsible use’ of professional knowledge was in the sphere of its application to medical science. At the same time, he mentioned that the skills of teaching and of research in the ‘pure’ intellectual disciplines – the humanities, and the natural and social sciences – could also be included in to the sphere of professional activities. Most social researchers distinguished medicine (treatment of the body), divinity (salvation of the soul) and law (defence of the rights) [Dingwall and Lewis, 1983].

Thus, professionals were seen as primarily disposed to serve the community, as opposed to self-interest. The technical solutions which the professionals arrived at, were conceived as based on the needs of clients, not on the material interest and needs of the professional [Goode, 1969, p. 278]. Thus, the system of moral and material remuneration was seen as a fair reward of the profession by the state, not as a result of pursuing self-interested goals by the professionals. Some sociologists even viewed altruistic service as an inherent personal quality of the members of the profession [Barber, 1963]. Later in the century, Ritzer stressed that trait and functionalist writers have often confused studies of profession as collectivities and individual professional workers [Ritzer, 1973].

Following the functionalists and trait writers, professionals were supposed to see their work as a kind of mission or calling. Unlike people whose work was considered to be an occupation, and who were taken to lack the feeling of ‘commitment’ to their work-activity, professionals were assumed to remain committed to an area of work during their life span. At the same time, the rewards to professionals were higher and the period of adult socialisation was prolonged. Members of the profession were less willing to leave an occupation, and were more likely to assert that they would choose the same work if they were to begin again. The level of development of formal (written) and informal ethical codes for recruits to the profession were seen as an important indicator of professional altruism, and as one of the key concepts of whether an occupation could be called a profession [Hall, 1975, p. 74].

Ben-David (1960) argues in his trend report on professions in the class system that one of the most important distinguishing characteristics of the professional organisation and behaviour is the existence of a vocational subculture which comprises explicit or implicit codes of behaviour or generates an *esprit de corps* among members of the same profession. It also ensures them certain occupational advantages, such as an egalitarian rather than authoritarian type of supervision in bureaucratic structures and monopolistic privileges to perform certain types of work. Millerson wrote that an ethical code could be both formally and informally enforced, through censure, removal from the professional association, or professional ostracism from interaction within the group [Millerson, 1964]. He undertook an examination of over one hundred and thirty British qualifying associations, and found that about a quarter had formal written codes [Millerson, 1964, p. 28–29].

Later the idea of altruistic professional service was called into question. In the 1970s, views on the professions started to change. The general public was faced with examples of the inadequate levels of competence and professional corruption [Saks, 1995]. At the same time, a major shift occurred in social science from the structural functionalist orthodoxy to a much more pluralistic scene, in which sociological conflict theory and an action-based conceptualisation began to play an important role [Collins, 1990, p. 24]. Neo-Weberians and Marxists came to the foreground of social research. The change was important for the sociology of the professions, as up to that time, the professions had been considered ethically positive embodiments of the 'central values' of the society. Critics felt that this approach reflected too closely the ideological image which professionals tried to convey of their own work. The functionalist and trait writers started to be seen as ‘victims’ of an uncritical acceptance of the professional claims to such attributes as ethical behaviour, altruism and community service.

Thus, it has been claimed that the functionalist and trait writers confused ‘descriptive’ and ‘normative’ definitions of profession. A descriptive definition gave attributes that were essential for an occupation to be a profession and did not say anything about what professions ought to be like. Conversely, a normative definition gave the ideals that professionals ought to pursue and realise. But it was not always apparent whether a descriptive or normative type of definition was meant. As Grossman commented: ‘When we are told that those in a profession pledge themselves to promoting the well being and interests of their clients, is this given in the sense that a pledge does exist or in the sense that professionals ought to have such a pledge?’ [Grossman, 2004, p. 2]

By the mid-1970s, two new models of the profession and professionalisation appeared: the neo-Weberian model of 'the profession as a monopoly’ and the Marxist model based on the 'relations of production'. Despite all their differences, the followers of these approaches tended to focus on the analysis of professional power and managed to move away from a static functionalist definition of the profession as being apolitical and homogeneous communities of competent individuals. Within Marxist frame of reference, critiques were oriented toward revealing that the claims of altruism of the professions were nothing more than a mask for professional self-interest and their control and surveillance functions for the benefit of the dominant bourgeois class. Saks commented that the critical thrust of Marxists was mirrored in the depiction of the oppressive role of professions in Western capitalist countries [Saks, 1999a; 1999b].

Neo-Weberians have conceptualised professions as an institutionalised form of monopoly and/or power based on knowledge and skills maintained by particular relationships with the state and the market [Grossman, 2004, p. 2]. They viewed the rather high position of professions in the society as something that the professions had to work at, and once it was reached, wished to protect and enhance [Larson, 1990, p. 30]. The reinterpretation of the definition of ‘profession’ was accompanied by the change in the definition of the term ‘professional altruism’. Within the framework of the action-based approach, social scientists have emphasised that professional occupations surround their work with an ideological covering [Porter, 1995], whereas in the trait and functionalist works, the professions were viewed as a ‘calling’, not merely a job. The activity carried out from ‘high motives of altruism, of glory, or of moral, spiritual or aesthetic commitment rather than for mundane gain’ [Collins, 1990, p. 35].

Revisionists of the functionalist approach stress the fact that the high-status professions are occupations with high pay and power, which suggests that the idealisation of work is something additional to other rewards, and not a substitute or compensation for them [Freidson, 1994]. The point that the professions appeal to the moral status of their work in order to demand a ‘status appropriate wage’ and a justification for their high social position is well argued in the paper by Duman on the creation of professional ideology in the nineteenth century: ‘Central to this process was the formulation and diffusion of a unique ideology based on the concept of service as a moral imperative. This provided doctors, lawyers, clergymen and the members of an evergrowing number of other occupations with an article of faith with which to justify their claim to superior status and special privileges, such as self-discipline’ [Duman, 1979, p. 38].

Freidson (1994) has also examined the potential for producing an ideology possessed by a successful profession. He comes to the conclusion that the successful deployment of the professionals’ cognitive and normative aspects not only allows some occupations to establish their social status, it also provides the potential for defining social reality in the area in which members of the profession function. That is, the ideology gives the professions the opportunity to use their technical expertise as the basis for a claim to a universal validity for their public pronouncements. While they can in some circumstances extend this well beyond their particular domain, they typically use it to define the standards by which their competence will be judged and the extent to which the laity can enter their domain.

The understanding of Freidson of the professional ideology somewhat corresponds to the interpretation of the term ‘ideology’ by social constructionists, who interpret ideology as ‘knowledge deployed in the service of power’ [Burr, 1995, p. 82]. Burr claims that a version of events, or a way of representing a state of affairs, may be true or false. But it is ideological to the extent that it is used by relatively powerful groups in society to sustain their position [Burr, 1995]. Thus, ideas in themselves cannot be said to be ideological, only the uses to which they are put. The study of professional ideology is therefore the study of the ways in which meaning is mobilised in the social world in the interests of professional groups.

Moreover, the creation of professional ideology of the occupations striving for professionalisation is often oriented towards acquiring status honour expressed in ‘outward signs of respectability’ in their life-style. As Macdonald (1995, p. 189) argues there are status activities, which may be undertaken in ways that will be of significance for the evaluation of the occupation by others, or for the moral and self-image of the members, for example, such as the location of offices, the eating of lavish dinners or the granting of a coat of arms. Collins also stated that a professional ideology that produces an honorific status is largely based on the outward signs of respectability, and is generated by professionals who are ‘specialists in ritual’ [Collins, 1990, p. 37].

However, professionals cannot keep afloat only on pursuing interest-based occupational strategies aimed at gaining control of the market through the establishment of exclusionary closure [Macdonald, 1995; Saks, 2003]. As Macdonald argues, while there is no need to revert to the functionalist view, which takes professionals entirely at their own evaluation, professionals are providing the services that they claim to provide in relation to the life, health, property and other matters of crucial importance to their clients [Macdonald, 1995, p. 101]. Some of their actions may be concerned with self-enhancement, but the reverse side of the coin is that what they provide is still a service for their patients or clients. This approach echoes with Saks’ understanding of the dual nature of the professional behaviour, which, in his view, is akin to the mythical Minotaur – part human, part beast. The analogy drawn suggests that the ‘precise balance of the positive and negative features of the professions is not yet known and the nature of the contours of the profile need to be firmed up’ [Saks, 1999b, p. 21]. Saks argues that there is a need to develop an analytical framework for assessing the altruistic ideologies of professions.

This paper does not aim to assess the balance that is struck between self-interests and the public interest of physicians. However, here we try to adhere to a more stable interpretation, which acknowledges the dual aspect of professions which both attempt to protect their market position and promote public service. We believe that both these goals may be reached by Russian physicians through the formation of strong professional associations and collective activity. We do not deny the importance of the professional ideology of altruism, arguing that some of their actions may be self-enhancement, whereas others are still a service for their patients or clients [Saks, 1999a; 2003].

The social attitudes of professionals towards the privatisation of medicine

Before looking at the attitude towards health care reforms, it is first useful to reiterate that the system of health care that existed in the Soviet Union immediately prior the 1992 reforms was highly centralised. Until the end of the 1980s, health services were funded from taxation for service provided free at the point of use [Allsop, 1999]. The Ministry of Health at the centre dictated policy and determined resource allocation to the regions and districts in the Soviet Union [Davis, 1989]. This included setting prices for medicines and equipment and the salaries of health personnel. Capital expenditure was closely controlled, as was the training of health practitioners. Thus, in the former Soviet Union, medical practitioners could not operate as independent professionals. Soviet doctors differed from their Western colleagues in that they did not have an exclusive jurisdiction in a particular division of labour controlled by occupational negotiation. They did not either have a sheltered position in both external and internal labour markets based on qualifying credentials created by the professional association.

The Russian health care system has undergone a series of sweeping changes since the end of 1991. During the years of the post-Soviet transition, health reformers across Russia have tried to devise strategies that would maintain the best of the old system – universal access – while introducing market based incentives for providers and consumers alike that would improve the quality of care [Twigg, 2002]. In the Soviet Union extreme emphasis was placed on the socialist-oriented priorities of access and equity, sometimes at the expense of quality and efficiency. Despite sophisticated centres of excellence in major cities, Soviet official medicine in rural areas was starved of resources [Davis, 1989]. As part of the trend towards marketisation, there were also changes in the funding structure of the health system. Russia moved away from complete state budget financing of health care towards an employer-based national health insurance system with decision-making powers devolved to the regions and a system of contracting between the regions as funders and the medical institutions as providers [Field, 1995].

Indeed the manner of obtaining resources has changed, but not the principles of medical management. The whole reform process, for the moment, is taking place in the financial field only; but the very idea of medical insurance concerns many other issues, such as the organisation, management, and delivery of health care, and not only the payment mode [Rozenfeld, 1996]. The chosen model of the compulsory insurance system accepted recently in Russia essentially serves to simply transfer money from the insurance funds, through insurance companies, and ultimately to the medical facilities without regard to the actual volume of services rendered. The compulsory insurance system does not function as a true insurance system because market conditions are still absent. In this case, no real incentives are present, and despite the fact that the insurance law is couched in terms of free choice for patients of both hospitals and physicians, in practice there is still little choice [Allsop, 1999]. As a consequence of the chronically underfunded health care, the tendency towards centralised control has been preserved in Russia. There are still strong elements of price fixing and methods of payment which gives little incentive to use health facilities more efficiently [Field, 1995].

As the All-Russian questionnaire survey showed, the functioning of the medical insurance system was not transparent for medical practitioners [Sarkisyan & Zlodeeva, 2005]. In general, medical practitioners had mixed views on whether the introduction of compulsory medical insurance had had an impact on the state of affairs in their medical institutions. In the Institute of Sociology research, more than half said that compulsory medical insurance had either negatively affected or did not change at all the following things: the supply of technical equipment; medical and routine supplies; the level of doctors' wages; and the quality of patient care [Yurchenko, 2004]. Many medical practitioners (69.8%) complained that they had limited information on the future reforms of health care [Sarkisyan & Zlodeeva, 2005]. In 2005, there was a widespread sense that some characteristics of the system of state socialised medicine must be preserved. 87% of medical practitioners were apprehensive that there would be access restriction to a medical service free at the point of access [Sarkisyan & Zlodeeva, 2005].

In the INTAS questionnaire findings in 1998-2000, we obtained similar data that the value of altruism was widespread among medical practitioners [Yurchenko, 2004]. Despite the fact that more than a third of all the respondents said that they would prefer to work in the private sector, were they given a choice, the research indicated that many doctors thought that certain areas of practice, as well as certain groups in the population, should be exempt from payment. Overall 83% of doctors said that some groups in the population must be exempt from payment for health care. They gave priority to a service free at the point of access to handicapped, children, low-income families and medical practitioners themselves. The majority (60%) of doctors said that they supported a partial privatisation; 23% of the respondents did not support privatisation at all and just 15% supported the privatisation without reserve, even if there was some element of payment for health care. It was found that medical practitioners did not reject the idea of introduction of the fees-for-service within the state sector. However, their view was that fees for services should first be introduced for areas of health care not directly connected with the life and immediate well-being of the patient [Mansurov & Yurchenko, 2008].

The recent interviews showed that many medical practitioners were not ready for the market and privatisation as they remained attached to the notion of socialised medicine, which guaranteed certain social benefits to medical practitioners themselves and to their patients. Most doctors interviewed did not give up their job at a state medical institution, as this might lead to the loss of their social and welfare benefits. Another reason was the importance of retaining registration as an employee in a state medical institution in order to maintain their work record and to qualify for a pension. In the past, registration also provided access to a further range of social benefits such as free or subsidised housing. Nowadays, although this benefit had largely gone as housing construction for medical institutions had been cut back, some medical practitioners said that there was still a chance that new apartments could be sold to medical practitioners at reduced prices.

Also important was the finding that the Soviet work ethic, particularly among older people, still persisted. The interviews with head doctors brought out a few important social attitudes and stereotypes that remained from the past: (1) a priority was to remain employed in a permanent place of work, in which the person worked for many years. There was a high degree of attachment to the labour collective; (2) the ideal of Soviet socialised medicine was maintained although there was also partial support of the privatisation process. This finding corresponds to other research findings [Twigg, 2002] Soviet ethics 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. This corresponds to Clark's (2002) research showing that in Russia, the Soviet sense of the labour collective, shorn of its Communist rhetoric, continued.

Under economic and social conditions where the majority of the population, could not afford private medical services and medicaments, private practice did not fit well with professional ideals and values. In the interviews, some head doctors shared with us their concern that their active involvement in private practice could also lead to a loss of respect among their colleagues. Private practitioners were sometimes treated by their former colleagues and patients as people who had sacrificed professional and social values for private gain. Most doctors referred to their private practice as 'earning on the side' or as 'earning a little extra', even though their income from private practice might become the main source of income.

To summarise, the majority of medical practitioners (83%) said that they supported a *partial* privatisation or did not support privatisation at all. Although medical practitioners were frustrated and apprehensive about market-oriented reforms in the abstract, they were willing to overcome those apprehensions in favour of opportunities to earn more money (about similar research results see Twigg, 2002). Concerns expressed by these respondents about the privatisation of health care could indicate philosophical opposition to the notion of privatisation in general. Or it could simply reveal scepticism about how market reforms had actually operated, or might operate in the future, in Russia. As Twigg rightly argues, concrete observations of Russian citizens about the unpleasant results of market forces in their daily lives could easily give them cause to hesitate in supporting a market for medical services in practice, even if in principle they might be inclined to back the concept of market-oriented reform [Twigg, 2002].

Professional ideology of altruism

Professional altruism was seen as an important characteristic of professionals by social researchers writing from various theoretical perspectives. Following the functionalists and trait writers, professionals were supposed to see their work as a kind of mission or calling. Unlike people whose work was considered to be an occupation, and who were taken to lack the feeling of 'commitment' to their work-activity, professionals were assumed to remain committed to an area of work during their life span. The status of medicine as a career choice was also still significant to the INTAS questionnaire respondents [Yurchenko, 2004]. About one third of them (less in provinces, more in Moscow) were ready to advise their children or other close relatives to follow a career in medicine. Although in the provinces the proportion of those who would not give such advice to close people is larger, this reflects the greater opportunities that exist in Moscow, as can be seen in Table 1 below:

Table 1

Advice to follow a career in medicine

	Regions (%)			Total (%)
	Moscow	Komi	Kirov	
Ready to advise	44	30	18	35
Would not advise	34	50	63	45
DK	22	20	19	21
Total	100	100	100	100

As interviews with medical specialists showed, many were disappointed with the reforms of the state health care sector. However, they were not disappointed in their profession. Overall 69% of the respondents said that they were not disillusioned with medicine, despite the fact that 82% of them said that they were unhappy about their wage level [Yurchenko, 2004]. This proves that professionals tried to produce a positive image of the medical profession taken as commitment to a value to doing good work instead of economic gain. As shown in Table 2 below, satisfaction with the profession of medicine was high:

Table 2

Disillusionment with the profession

		Regions (%)			Total (%)
		Moscow	Komi	Kirov	
Disillusionment	Do not worry	74	66	62	67
	Somewhat worry	11	7	16	11
	Worry	7	16	12	12
	DK	8	11	10	10
	Total	100	100	100	100

Questions on the feelings of respondents towards their work showed that the profession itself supported professional values. Most respondents, almost two thirds, stated that their work motivation did not depend on income. They were committed regardless of income (see Table 3 below). Of course, a proclaimed ideology should not be mistaken for reality. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that regardless of the reforms, doctors still wished to be seen as supporting a professional ideology of altruism.

Table 3

Work motivation

	Regions (%)			Total (%)
	Moscow	Komi	Kirov	
My work is a contract: the more I am paid for, the more I do	11	11	10	11
My work does not depend on the income I earn. I do all I can regardless of income	62	61	59	61
My work is a necessity. If I had money from other sources, I would not work	11	13	12	12
I like my job, but my family (household duties, hobbies) matter most to me	11	9	10	10
DK	5	6	9	6
Total	100	100	100	100

Similar to Anglo-American medical specialists, Russian doctors see ‘professional expertise’ and ‘the professional ideology of altruism’ as important professional characteristics [Abbott, 1988; Cant & Sharma, 1996]. Despite the fact that most Russian doctors did not gain power in the economic and political dimensions, professional group identities had not been entirely ‘wiped out’. And the profession itself and professional values, despite all the shortcomings of the reforms, still were important. Medical practitioners did not directly connect the issue of the level of professional expertise and the quality of patient care with the worsened economic position. Our research picked up the discrepancy between the sense of unparalleled material shortcomings of medical practitioners and their rather positive estimations of the professional side of things [Mansurov & Yurchenko, 2008]. In general, medical practitioners rated the quality of clinical work of their medical colleagues at a rather high level: 7.2 at the average on the scale from 1 to 10. The respondents also gave the quality of patient care high marks: 7.8 – on the same scale [Yurchenko, 2004].

The questions on the level of qualification, the quality of medical help and the opportunities to use professional knowledge and experience showed a widespread sense among INTAS questionnaire respondents that despite all the difficulties, progress had been made in terms of the growth of what could be termed 'professional expertise'. Although if we look at the image of Russian doctors in the eyes of the population, it may be that high marks given to the growing level of professional expertise referred to by doctors can be somewhat overstated. Public acceptance of professional advice has been seen as crucial in determining whether an occupation can be called a profession [Saks, 1995]. In 2006, almost half of the respondents in All-Russian research (45%) said that the level of professional expertise and professional knowledge of Russian doctors was low [Fund of Public Opinion, 2006]. Even more respondents (56%) were discontented with the (careless) attitude of doctors towards patients. Only 34% of respondents were happy with the professional expertise of Russian doctors and 30% were contented with the attitude.

The unrealistic treatment of the level of professional expertise shown by many medical practitioners can be explained by an intrinsic desire of a professional community to protect the positive image of medical profession. Despite low income and low professional discretion, medical practitioners in Russia were considered to be a part of a prestigious social layer of the intelligentsia. Similar to Western doctors, their work remained to be a 'status' profession to a certain degree. 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 social mobility of outsiders. Russian doctors did not have the control over training procedures and the entry into medical professions. However, they presumed a special position in the labour force and professional ideology [Freidson, 2001]. Some possible strategies of professionalisation are considered in the next section.

Professionalisation of medical profession

The research found that Anglo-American approaches to the professions are weakly developed in relation to Russian medical practitioners to date, although they have been considered as a part of the prestigious group of 'the intelligentsia' in the labour force [Mansurov & Yurchenko, 2008]. As distinct from Western medical practitioners, Russian doctors have an inconsistent social standing. In the hierarchy of professional occupations, they have a low social position in the dimensions of income and power resources, whereas they occupy a relatively high position in the dimension of status and cultural authority over the client. Private medical practitioners, particularly in Moscow, have acquired greater control over the content of their work and their working conditions. They have also advanced in terms of income.

During the Soviet era, as was the case with many professional bodies, the few medical associations in existence were essentially coopted by the Soviet authorities [Schecter, 1992; 2000). Since then, most professional associations of medical practitioners have not represented an autonomous political voice. However, there has been an evident trend of the resurgence of professional associations and the corporate work of doctors for the redefinition of their rights and obligations. It may be argued that some newly organised professional associations may move beyond the Soviet-era status. As regards the Russian Medical Association (RMA), the largest union of doctors and other health workers all over the country, has proved to be an effective 'learned society' and 'representative' association [Burrage, 1990, p. 208]. As regards its functions as 'learned society', the RMA gives prime emphasis to the knowledge-base of the profession: it organises All-Russian congresses and discussion circles, publishes scientific literature and holds large-scale questionnaire surveys. It also acts as a 'representative association' which seeks to lobby behalf of the profession and to obtain some legislative relief or support.

As the analysis of the resolutions and other documents of the Pirogov congresses showed, the Russian Medical Association had severely criticised the state, first, for weakening state control of the health sector, while the non-state mechanisms of the regulations of public health had not yet developed [Komarov, 2001]. Second, the RMA had blamed the state for the substitution of the system of the state financing of the health sector with the insufficient system of compulsory medical insurance. When the members of the RMA talked about their own rights they mainly aspired for participation either in federal or in local departments of the Fund of Compulsory Medical Insurance. The doctors insisted that the members of the RMA were included in these departments and were drawn into the central and local legislative political bodies for (1) drawing up and adopting of the main legislative documents as regards the health care sector (programmes, laws, concepts); (2) working out the professional standards of practice and the main principles of the licensing and accreditation of the medical institutions and certification of doctors. However, the RMA insisted that their participation in the legislature and licensing procedures should go hand in hand with the reinforcement of the state control of the health sector [Sarkisyan, 2001].

It may be argued that the interaction of the RMA with the state is already very different from the strategy of trade unions, generally concerned with improvements in salary and working conditions. However, the members of the RMA have not yet attempted to introduce macro-changes such as an extension of private medicine or changes in health care funding through the insurance system. Rather, they have supported minor reforms which would improve the situation gradually, imposing the responsibility on the state. Private practitioners have searched for more radical changes. As the resolutions of the Russian Association of Private Medical Practitioners formed showed, goals and purposes of this association are more proactive than the aims of the Russian Medical Association. Among the main goals s of the association there have been the following: the introduction of a single register of private practitioners and participation of the members of the association in the accreditation procedure [Mansurov & Yurchenko, 2008].

In December 2009, several medical associations, including the above mentioned Russian Association of Private Medical Practitioners, were united in the National Medical Chamber [Kranopolskaya, 2010]. This new organisation has proclaimed that it plans to act as a ‘regulatory’ or a ‘qualifying’ association [Burrage, 1999, p. 208], which seeks to regulate the members of the medical profession, to examine them and certify and negotiate on behalf of their members. The members of the association insist on the introduction of a single register of all Russian medical practitioners. The local branches of the National Medical Chamber should be opened and should keep registers of medical practitioners as well as the information about their successes and failures – as indicated for example by medical negligence cases. The members of the National Medical Chamber plan to participate in the procedures of licensing and accreditation of state and private practitioners to protect doctors form arbitrary and unjust decisions by bureaucrats.

A larger participation of Russian medical practitioners in decision-making procedures may be considered advantageous to the profession and the wider public [Mansurov & Yurchenko, 2008]. However, if the state, hypothetically, grants the profession a legally underwritten monopoly in the market or in the state sector, it may entail negative consequences. To date medical professional associations are not yet ready to become self-regulatory for historical, cultural and organisational reasons. They lack experience in making political decisions. The Russian Medical Association has already criticised the state for the weakening of the state control over the health sector, while the non-state mechanisms for the regulation of public health have not yet developed. For many years, the activities of professional associations have been targeted at relatively small and narrow groups of elite professionals and at particular scientific and training issues. In addition, many state medical practitioners have adhered to the notion of centralised socialised medicine and do not aspire to self-regulatory powers and upward social mobility for their group. They look to private practice and working extra hours to enhance income, rather than seeking advancement through a collective professional project.

Nevertheless, co-operation between the state and medical profession could increase in a number of ways. Members of the National Medical Chamber could participate in the work of federal or local departments of the Compulsory Medical Insurance Fund and/or the Ministry of Health and Social Development as follows [Yurchenko, 2004]:

- Representatives of professional associations could share in drawing up and helping to implement the main legislative documents in the health care sector, from medical science and education to the scope of remuneration and social benefits. The ability to influence the scope of remuneration could be based on the estimations of the quantity and quality of work done and the setting in which it is done.
- Professional associations could participate in control over entry into the profession, determining training standards for medical entrants and main principles for licensing of medical practitioners and medical institutions. In addition, professionals could share with universities control over the content of examinations, the conditions and goals of training and education and the numbers of ‘recruits’.
- Professionals could have greater influence on the politics of the Ministry of Health and Social Development in relation to exit from the medical profession. The issue of the reduction of the state medical workforce and consequent dismissals should be discussed with the representatives of professional associations as it should arguably be a professional task to identify poorly performing doctors and if necessary, to exclude them from practice. In addition, associations should offer financial or legal assistance to their members in malpractice cases.
- Professional associations and the state medical authorities could determine conditions of work such as work plans and the pace of work and co-operate in working out quality standards. Decision-making in the sphere of diagnostics and medical treatment should be carried out mainly by professional workers themselves, rather than by functionaries of the state.

- Professional associations should ensure that the profession maintains an ethical code through adherence to the values of the Hippocratic Oath and professional values. As far as it is practically possible, the professional association should take steps to ensure that these are followed in day-to-day practice. The state should encourage initiatives of professional associations of private medical practitioners which hold voluntary registers with information about members' successes and failures – as indicated, for example, by medical negligence cases.

Favourable terms for cooperation between professional associations and the state can be created only through an improvement in the financial position of Russian doctors. The most important problem that is unresolved is the poor economic conditions of medical practitioners. To date some professional associations of Russian doctors strive for both dealing with a balance of power in the society to redefine their professional image and for reformation of the state of things in the health sector. Professionals with an active civil position live in any times, but in some periods their number may reduce, and in others – increase. To date when a civil society is being under formation in our country the process of increase of the number of doctors with an active civil position takes place. And the reaction of the Russian government is now likely to have the most critical influence on the expansion of the development of strong professional associations.

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Sociology of Professional Groups in Russia: History and Reality[1]

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 (Manning et al. 2000; Popova 2004; Abramov 2005; Shabanova 2006; Romanov, Yarskaya-Smirnova 2009).

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

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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 Table 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].

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 [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[2]. 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

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

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 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.[3]

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 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

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

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 Table 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.[4]
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.

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

A high proportion of women.	A low proportion of women.

The Russian Study of the Intelligentsia and of 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’).

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 and 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 Table 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	Professional practitioners as individuals.	Professional practitioners as members of a collegiate community.

(micro-level)	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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Adaptation of Students as a Social Problem

In various spheres of science great attention is given to the problem of adaptation of students. Our sociological research of long standing stated real conditions for an effective process of adaptation. Their contents are mainly of sociocultural character. Among the factors influencing these processes is the cultural type of the settlement which may tell differently on the whole process of adaptation and its results. Another important condition of adaptation is cultural and cognitive motivation, interest for chosen profession. Major factors are also: the general cultural atmosphere in which the student's individuality is formed, relations in the family, behavioral patterns, cultural interests, ability to perceive cultural images

The subsequent adaptation processes depend on intercommunicative and interpersonal connections in students' groups, on the relations between the student and the teacher. A great role here belongs to the cultural level and personality of the teacher. Corporative culture of the educational institution, its stability and motivational content are also of vital importance

The processes of adaptation are greatly influenced by sociocultural relations in the society, their effective correlation with the level of cultural achievements, development of culture and its real position in the society.

Very important are also gender and territorial aspects. Female students are quicker to adapt, are more mobile in accepting the cultural atmosphere in the students' group and the whole collective. Males are less dynamic in perceiving cultural patterns of behavior and in joining sociocultural activities. The analysis of the influence of small and big towns on the adaptation showed that though both groups were oriented mainly to the interest for future profession and their desire to master it, the cultural preferences of students from small towns or villages and big cities are different. The former aim at getting education for professional skills, the latter are mostly interested in general development.

Thus, the analysis of students' adaptational processes is characterized by considerable sociocultural factors. Their importance plays a specific role in conditions of multicultural state of the Russian society, territorial disunity of the Russian populaton and general degradation of Russian culture. It is improving of adaptational processes, increasing their efficiency in students' environment that will make it possible to solve many problems of cultural consolidation in the society through involving the young people into socioeconomic program of the social life.

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The Problem of a Language in Finno-Ugric World

The problem of a language in a Russian multicultural society is one of the most important and urgent ones. It is known that the language is one of the main features of historical communities – a family, a tribe, people and a nation. It is also a powerful instrument of the cultural progress of nations, a means of expressing thoughts, feelings, nature and traditions.

An important factor in the ethnic and cultural progress of the Finno-Ugric peoples living in Russia is the development of their national languages from simple forms of communication, such as a local dialect, a dialect, to complex, poly-structural linguistic phenomenon - a national literary language. It is known that spoken or literary languages are extremely complex in their structure, content, functions. Language as ethno-sociological, linguistic phenomenon is the subject of study in many social and humanitarian disciplines, for example in sociology.

Sociologists has started studying the linguistic behavior as the one of the categories and notions of sociology recently. According to them, linguistic behavior is a specific kind of social behavior, which is characteristic to people along with other kinds of social activity reproductive, demographic, moral, political, economic ones. In this case, acts of linguistic behavior include the choice of form of a language (literary, national, conversational, dialect) and content (grammar, vocabulary), the sphere where the native or non-native language will be used, the determination of a hierarchy of languages, the ability to switch from one language to another ("language code"), attitude to native speakers, to bilingual, poly-lingual speakers, the willingness to know more about native and non-native languages.

The language issue in a multicultural society, where more than hundred nations and nationalities, national and ethnic groups exist, is expressed in bilingualism. In this case bilingualism is a free development of national languages and the use of the Russian language as the language of international communication.

In the twentieth century socialism has provided conditions for a rapid progress for all peoples living in the USSR. More than 50 nationalities, which had no written language in their past, developed its written form. During the years of the Soviet power the Abkhazians, the Adyghe, the Altaiians, the Balkarians, the Dargins, the Ingush, the Kabardians, the Kalmyks, the Kara-kalpaks, the Karachays, the Kirghiz, Komi people, the Koryaks, the Lezghins, the Mordovians, the Nogais, the Khanty, the Circassians, the Chechens, the Chukchi and others nations acquired written language.

In today's multi-ethnic society national languages continue to fulfill important functions in all spheres of social life including industrial, political, cultural, family and household aspects of life. Pupils at schools are taught in their native languages; books, periodicals are published, TV and radio programs are broadcast.

The principle of objectivity requires noting *the importance of the Russian language* in a multicultural society. Distribution of the Russian language is a natural, objective and progressive process. Russian is becoming the language of international communication not by chance; its international role is determined by a number of objective factors. The Russian language is the language of the *people with great historical traditions and rich culture*. It facilitates the relationships between people of different nationalities engaged in manufacturing, government, education, etc. Competence in Russian allows people of other nationalities to get all the knowledge which was created by a mankind throughout the centuries of its historical, scientific and cultural development. The best works of literature and art of minorities are becoming the property of the international community (in most cases, they are translated into Russian, and then into other languages).

Thus, the Russian language at the same time performs several functions: 1) it is the national language of the Russians; 2) it is the language of international communication (the language of communication for more than a hundred peoples living in Russia; 3) it is an international language (one of the official languages in the United Nations). Despite the diversity of its functions, the Russian language has legally equal status among the other national languages in a multinational country.

Native languages of Finno-Ugric peoples living in Russia are official languages within the territory of their national republics. In particular, the official languages in the Republic of Mari El are Mari (Hill Mari and Meadow Mari) and Russian. Mari is practically used in all spheres of life.

What additional data in the development of Mari can sociological research give? It is quite clear Mari and Russian are widely used in industrial, spiritual and house life. The Mari language, like any other national language, performs communicative functions especially in a family. Studies have shown that family members speak Mari at home.

The meaning of bilingualism also increases in manufacturing. Bilingualism is widely spread in a cultural sphere (reading books, magazines, newspapers, listening to the radio and watching television). Bilingualism is also widely spread between the Mari intelligentsia. It should be mentioned that the Russian language becomes dominant in many spheres of their activity.

In most cases Mari intelligentsia speaks their native language in all spheres of social and public life. At the same time, they speak Russian fluently; they constantly use it in spiritual, occupational and social life. They studied Russian at universities, at high schools not only in Mari Republic, but also in Moscow, Kazan and other cities. In addition, Mari intelligentsia reads scientific and technical literature in Russian.

Linguistic state and behavior of the Finno-Ugric peoples of Russia has been studied by many researchers, including foreign ones. One of them is a well-known Hungarian linguist Janos Pusztay who has paid special attention to the certain aspects of the linguistic situation of Finno-Ugric peoples living in Russia.

In his opinion, a native language expresses national identity and the language is the main means of socialization of a child. The language environment plays a leading role in a linguistic behavior of a child because he or she cannot develop normally without being in a proper language environment. The linguistic situation, in which Finno-Ugric peoples of Russia are, the Hungarian scientist identifies as bilingual.

Today Finno-Ugric peoples living in Russia cannot speak their mother tongue very well, or they do not speak it at all. Among bilingual Finno-Ugric peoples, who speak native language and Russian, one can observe bilingualism with diglossia in favor of the Russian language. Russian is considered to be more prestigious and that is why it is used in everyday life and professional activities as a language of international communication.

Relating the language choice with its status in a community, J. Pusztay identifies factors which influence on the status of a language in a society. These factors include the number of an ethnic group, consciousness, administrative and political status; policy, in particular, the existence of a language law and its implementation, the development of a language. We cannot accept all arguments presented by a famous Hungarian scientist. We cannot agree with all his ideas concerning the further development of the native languages of the Finno-Ugric peoples in Russia either.

Throughout history, it clear that the only reliable source to save and develop a certain language is energy, willingness and desire of speakers. The main vector of linguistic efforts of the people and the intelligentsia should be directed towards the main line of development of any verbal means of communication: dialects – spoken language - literary language. Dialects and folklore should be studies not only to resuscitate and idealize the past, but mostly, they should be investigated in order to modernize ethnic and cultural heritage, to enrich the vocabulary of a native language.

The present language situation in the Republic of Mari El and other Finno-Ugric regions of the Russian Federation should not be regarded as the final one. Language exists and develops only if the speakers need it. And the first step towards the emergence of interest of the Finno-Ugric peoples to their native language can be understanding the necessity of it and the intense activity on creation and enrichment of a single national literary language. It is known that such a language is one of the most important attributes of an ethnically and culturally developed nation.

Meshkova,Yelena G., Moscow

Gender Parity and Gender Relations in the Labour Market

Russia is undergoing the period of modernisation, the dramatic change of value system and all groups of society and individuals are looking for better ways of adapting to these changes. This is a very complex process: it includes not only the choice of the role to pursue, fitting oneself into this role, conquering and mastering social space for one's existence under new conditions. The criteria for stratification of the present day situation in Russia might be the following as suggested by the respondents: income, education, social and cultural capital, family background, illegal activity, personal capacity/ talent, nationality.

Labour motivation and potential mobility show gender differences. For instance, in a southern republic of Adygeya men prevail among owners of enterprises: 20,8%; women – 10,1%. Hired employees are nearly equally balanced - 34,0 men and 34,8 women respectively. Labour relationship based on contract is characteristic for women twice as often as for men.

In society exists considerable personal reserve in defying a person's place in the social hierarchy. Social behavior aimed at destination of a higher status that became evident during perestroika and modernization is gaining pace.

The processes of modernisation have opened new possibilities for the self-realisation of women, but at the same time there has been a strengthening of neo-conservative tendencies In support of traditional gender roles. In Russia, gender inequality is well-entrenched and those who defend it argue that women are *a priori* «not real human beings», or they impute to women what are traditional male patterns of behavior.

It is known that during the Soviet period policies were adopted which sought to liquidate gender inequality by working out a compulsory ideology of state paternalism towards women. The driving force for the changes in gender roles was the will of the state, rather than being an organic social change brought about by education and experience. Society itself had not yet formed the objective and subjective prerequisites for unstallinga meaningful organic transformations of gender relations.

The author tests the hypohtesis that, in the conditions of the late-arriving and accelerated modernisation of Russian society, the majority of women see material self-sufficiency and well-being as their top priority, and assign a lower ranking to other factors, such as a rich cultural life, job satisfaction, and marriage and family. The most important factor in this values-determination process is unemployment, which currently has and for a long time has had a feminine face. Thus women's concerns about the threat of job insecurity and resultant deprivation have had the effect of worsening the asymmetry in the status of men vis-a-vis women which already existed in Soviet times.

Modern sociological researches demonstrate contradictions in establishing new gender relations. We may look, for example, at the most remarkable changes in gender status, which is observable on a global scale, and that is the elimination of sharp differences in gender contracts. While this wide spread change has penetrated all spheres of life, it has brought about until now mainly the spread of masculine behavior patterns only slightly modified when they are freely accepted by women. The main contradiction emerging in this connection is that while struggling for equality, women as a rule acquire masculine type of behavior and do not reveal their individual traits, which when realized, might bring beneficial results in a direction that is positive for women.

The article shows how and in what areas men and women during the twentieth century have in practice broken down the previous gender system and slowly forged a new one. At the same time, we will seek to show the causes and socio-cultural foundations for co-existence of traditional and egalitarian models of gender interrelation in present-day Russia.

In following the analysis of transformation period in Russia undertaken by V.Yadov I accept his conclusion that pyramid-like construction of Russian public sphere is a historic-cultural legacy and its influence will still be felt throughout the XXI century, even if a middle class emerges as the main element of a civil society. The top of this «pyramid» is very steep due to underdeveloped system of NGOs and this vertical societal / government construction is male dominated.

The successive steps of global change of gender relations implant masculine patterns of behavior and relations, and veil feminine principles *per se*. Understanding of this process may eventually help create a harmonious gender system, based on principles of genuine realisation of self and egalitarian interaction between men and women.

Modernist and neo-concervative tendencies in public's perceptions of women’s role in society still exist being supported by numerous groups jf the population, and seek to reduce the influence of a male-oriented subculture on the ethno-national self-identification of a person and his/her socialization.

Mishchenko,Alexander, S.,St.-Petersburg.
Klyushkin, ValentineI., St.-Petersburg.

Integrationof Russian specialists inwork cultureEurope: as a measure to overcome the crisis

The first aspect of understanding of measures to overcome the crisis: creative and innovative potential of the modern man is the core component of the formation of general and vocational-education culture, which is based on a developed system of personal values. Historically, and culturally it is determined by laws of formation of continental institutions of a socially oriented market economy, needs and interest of the European Community to counteract to the rise of «mosaic» of labor and vocational culture, in particular, to the extending alienation of the material world of economy and world-ethnic spiritual culture [Kozlovski, 1999, p. 13].The efficiency of the taken measures in this area depends on many factors, including total quality of vocational labor, cultural potential of the European labor force, from senior generations and education of contemporary youth. It determines need for sociological research, the subject of which are the real multidimensional trends, opportunities and processes of formation of a single professional working culture and the creative innovative potential of the citizens of modern European society.

The second aspect of understanding of measures to overcome the crisis can be formulated as follows: creativity of professionals as two-track mechanism of innovative potential realization and professional labor integration of individuals into a modern civil European Community is the most productive form of the realization of their ethno-cultural and labor competitive on its nature behavior in the sphere of public production. Because of its multi-dimensionality, this mechanism has a complicated structure, here it is a synthesis of culture, economy, trade, labor and creativity of a man as a worker - a specialist acquires sound from position of philosophy, history, cultural studies, economics, sociology and vocational education.

From a philosophical and historical point of view of economic and social processes of European integration through the creativity of a person concerns the deepest ontological foundation of its cultural essence of labor - the ability of human individuals to think systemically and produce accurate according to the measure of any subject of the objective world [Marks K., 1974, p. 94]. From historical point of view the genesis of professional working culture and creative and innovation potential of European communities (where we refer Russian specialists to) unites a range of factors. The development of creatively charged individual as «historically inevitable» ethno cultural needs of emerging and dynamically developing social community is open [Gumilev, 1990, p. 258].

From cultural point of view the ability of professionals to creativity, their willingness to integrate into a specific vocational and employment culture – it is a certain result, which expresses the real possibilities of individuals to adequately (in the exact accordance with the requirements of their specific device socium) to form and creatively transform the process of expansion deepen the professional knowledge, skills, civil and personal activity in the socio-political and cultural sphere of specific society.

Thus, we confirm that creativity and innovation potential as a core of professional labor culture of a specialist genetically connected with the culture. The opposite effect of culture to concrete individuals is determined by creative work. Labor activities of the individual - is the first ontological form of its «humanity» and «the sociality», - is a special phenomenon of objective and spiritual deployment of human wealth in the sphere of social production – it is subject expressed public form of organization and presentation of historical integrity of creative development of every person, both as a goal and essence of modern civil society.

It systemically expresses measure the whole process of social and professional formation of individuals, their essential power as subjects of a particular national, social and professional community. In this regard, all system of the principals of social formation of professional labor culture and creative and innovational potential of Russian specialists, which are implicitly aimed at the integration into European production systems should be based on ontological trends of development and interaction of social and cultural mechanisms of formation integrally unified continental institutions of market economy and civil society.

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

The approach to the creation of professionals from the point of view of sociology of vocational education «quite» concretizes its scientific analysis to complex study of the indirect impact of the integrated basic continental and national socio-economic factors on «conversion» by them the content of training people in vocational school at various levels, up to the refractive index via the identity specific individuals (as the special «prism») movement of the totality physical, social, economic and spiritual values foundations taking place in the world or a country of social, economic and political changes, forming their life content.

These processes, as shown by our analysis, result in all spheres of education to a new socio-cultural and logical semantic integration of vocational education content and its methods, as a principle of organization of social and cultural life of society and all its subsystems. These processes, as P. Sorokin has emphasized, serve as mechanisms of effective integration of complex phenomena of social and cultural universe and the sphere of professional labor culture in particular [Sorokin, 2006, p. 42, 47].

*The third aspect of understanding of measures to overcome the crisis. T*he system of vocational and labor integration of Russian workers in the European industrial structure should be based on the need for radical transformation of modern domestic productivity. Especially in part of its formation as particular valuable subject-substance «single» European professional culture of workers. The social cultural mechanism for the conservation of our «Eurasian code» must be implemented in these trends realization and our deepest national interest must be rooted. But, for it, as S.L. Frank pointed out, «... safeguarding should be directed not to the old, as they are, not to ready already embodied forms and relations, but to the continuity and sustainability of the creative development, the vital activity ... » of Russian citizens, especially youth [Frank, 1930, p. 270–271].

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

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Mukhanova, Maria N., Moscow

Productive activity and the types of rural households: the case of family farms

The article examines socio-structural processes which take place in the Russian countryside based on data from the Russian Longitudinal Monitoring Servey (RLMS) 1994–2010. The households whose members are involved in working activity in private farms represent the broad category of the self-employed in agriculture. The study reveals the differentiation of rural households in two types: consumer and commercial ones. This principle of classification of rural households is completed by their typology built on such criteria as the volume of agricultural production and income from their sale. The author traces the correlation between the volume of production and its income, depending on the size of a lot of land for rural households, type of family, social and occupational structure of the rural population and their age group.

Analysis of the material shows that as a result started 1990 agrarian reforms there reduces the number of rural households that produce agricultural products under private farming. Since the private sector is an important traditional institution of the peasant economy, its reduction in agricultural production means the gradual disappearance of the traditionalist segment.

Despite market reforms in rural areas, households do not become a full-fledged institution of commodity production. The distinct trend towards commercialization of agricultural production refers households that produce animal products and animal live weight. But there is a tendency to reduce marketability of large and medium-producing households. Level of marketability of small household actually has not changed significantly. Moreover, the number private households remain very low - no more than 15-20%. With about 80-85% of households are focused on consumption of own production and reciprocal exchange. The boundaries between different categories of rural households, as well as between product and consumer households are relative. Moreover, the distinction between "large" and "average" household producers also blurred by a relatively fast flow of "large" private households in the category of "medium" and vice versa. The conventional boundaries between different categories of households reveal fluid nature of this institution. The author concludes that, in spite of the vibrational population dynamics of commercial agricultural households, this self-employed segment of the rural population can hardly be regarded as long-term trend in social and structural processes in the Russian village.

In its current form, family farms are not the backbone of a market economy in rural areas. They are not the innovative agrarian manufacturer. The point is that the growth of diversification of sources of income of rural households causes to reduce the economic role of private households as the main source of income in most rural households.

The emergence of private economic activity affects the ratio of the collective and individual forms in the rural social areas. One can say some activation of goal-oriented rational action as treated by Max Weber appears. This is particularly evident in the social practices of young people with their choice of benefits of urban life. This upheaval leads to disruption of the continuity of generations in rural areas, which in turn affects the intergenerational mobility in the Russian agricultural community.

Mytil, Anna V.,Moscow

The barriers to the development of solidarity in the volunteer movement

During the last decade in Russia is the rapid development of the volunteer movement, emerged from the joint efforts of people to meet the common local issues. At the same time, as evidenced by the data of international and Russian studies, the potential for development of volunteerism in Russia is far from being exhausted. According to the results of the World Rating of Charity, which for three years already conducted by the Gallup within the research World View World Poll, annually 17-23% of Russians work in non-profit organizations as volunteers and 29-36% directly render free those who need help unknown people [Mirovojrejting …, 2012]. In 2012 Russia was on these indicators, respectively, at 67th and 129th place of 148 countries. The data of the World Rating consistents with the results of mega research conducted in 2009 inRussia by the StateUniversity «The Higher School of Economics» together with the Fund of Public Opinion. The results of this mega research follows that 33% of the Russians over the past 2-3 years were engaged in voluntary work for the benefit of unknown people (excluding family members and close relatives) [Potencialiputi …, 2010, p. 228].

The concept of «volunteerism» is not yet well established and generally accepted, although it is already possible to distinguish its essential features [Potencialiputi …, 2010, p. 222–227]. In this case we mean volunteering any form of mutual aid and self-help, social activism and civic participation that are made in good faith and without expectation of reward.

Both of these notions – volunteerism and solidarity – obviously seem to be interconnected, if after M. Hechter consider the solidarity as a *«precondition to all nonspontaneous collective action»* [Hechter, 2001, p. 14588]. Besides, according to O. Alekseeva, standing at the beginning of philanthropy in Russia, volunteering emerged on the basis of solidarity [Alekseeva O., 2008, p. 25–26]. At the same time solidarity is the key to the sustainability and development of the volunteer movement. Thus, the issue of solidarity is a crucial point to the study of volunteering.

The importance of the development of the volunteer movement is difficult to overestimate. On the one hand, this activity is directed on maintenance of stable relations in the society, the leveling of a range of social problems, intensification of development resources of the country. On the other hand, the practices of volunteering may lead to «qualitative changes» in the consciousness of Russians: to enhance the responsibility, mobility, activity, and greater attractiveness of pro-social behaviors. Given the social importance of volunteerism, as well as the key role of solidarity in this process, it is important to determine what factors hinder the development of solidarity in the volunteer community.

The empirical basis for this material is a project of a Public Opinion Foundation «Resource voluntary movement of the avant-garde groups for Russian modernization» taken place in April-May, 2012. There were several methodic of studies conducted in its framework. The first is the mass poll among the residents of the 10 Russian cities in the age of from 18 till 60 years (1,500 people). The second - interviews with leaders of public organizations (15 interviews). The third - materials 7-th focus groups conducted with the activists of volunteer groups, organizations and associations.

Also in preparation of materials considered the findings of the research «Institutional Charity in Russia», conducted in June-August 2011 by request of the Donors Forum. In the course of this study were interviewed (method of structured interviews) representatives of 107 Charity Founds, operating on the territory of the Russian Federation.

Problems of the volunteer community

As the research showed, the most substantial barrier to the development of solidarity in volunteering is the problems inherent in this community. The essence is that the volunteer movement is heterogeneous and fragmented way. As underlined by S. Klimova, not all so-called voluntary community are solitary in nature and not always the value of solidarity is the leading motive of the activity of volunteers [Klimova S.G., 2013].

Significantly that most problems both in the study volunteer movements as well as in research of solidarity [Hechter, 2001, p. 14590] arise from uncertainty concepts. As noted by one of the head of the public organization: *«No concept of who is a volunteer»*. The question arose after a collision with a request for volunteers from political organizations and experience of interaction with volunteers, aligned to host the 2014 Olympiad in Sochi. In the first case bewilderment author of the statement was associated with the proposal of the payment of the participation of volunteers in the second case, the reluctance of the Olympics volunteers to participate in any other charity events.

As have shown results of research, in the circle of representatives of non-profit organizations employing volunteers, are still relevant discussion on what work should be called volunteer. Most are debatable questions regarding regularity of work and conditions of compensation assistance. Also controversial was the question about the name of the individuals selflessly involved in helping other people.

In the course of the research proposed four names to refer to people who donated perform socially significant work: «public man» («obschestvennik»), «activist», «dobrovolec» (in this case, this concept is considered as a synonym of «volunteer») and actually «volunteer». Among the representatives of non-profit organizations was no agreement on the appropriate names for volunteering. The least rarely chose the name «public man» («obschestvennik») was interpreted and as a tribute to the Soviet past and as a designation of the people engaged in the decision of the local territorial issues. The concept of «activist» was not discussed and is rarely used and only as a synonym of the concepts of «dobrovolec» and «volunteer». Two latter concepts were used most frequently, and the difference between them was purely taste character. So, for some representatives of non-profit organizations is the preferred concept of « dobrovolec»: «I do not like the word volunteer is a foreign word». Others, on the contrary, preferred the concept of a «volunteer» because it was more conventional for them.

As for public opinion, in most cases (31%) Russians chose the concept of «activist» for the determination of people to volunteer to perform socially meaningful work. This term is also often (35%) elected by people who are not involved in the activity of public organizations, so-called unorganized volunteers. On the contrary, people involved in the work of non-profit organizations, in general, most often chose the concept of «volunteer» (34%). It is interesting that among the «organized», i.e. participating in the work of non-profit organizations, respondents also have a taste terminological preferences. Thus, the representatives of relief societies, self-help prefer to call themselves «dobrovolec» (33%). Russians engaged in voluntary problems of local self-government, consider themselves primarily «activists» (30%). And volunteers, involving in societies of protection of civil rights, as a rule, call themselves «volunteers» (37%).

Another considerable «internal» factor, a volunteer community is a difference in motivation for volunteering. It is one thing when it is about the natural adaptation to the interests of people, United by common interests - *«to each his own vision of how and what to do so complexities enough»*. And quite a different situation arises when in the same boat people seeking help and those for whom work is a form of pleasant pastime, or is seen as a springboard for building up personal resources to further their careers.

The data of the research allowed identifying the leading motives for volunteering. In the questionnaire of the mass survey contained a question that gives respondents the participation in organizations of a particular type, and were asked to choose any item from the list, containing 18 possible variants of the answer. As a result of factor analysis (Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis; Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization; the share of explained variance - 59,3%) stood out four factors.

The first factor can be called a springboard for career growth. Everything here revolves around work, and not that which is already there, but the one that will still be in the future. These included such variables as the «prospects of professional career», «experience of interesting work and socio-political activities», «new knowledge», «useful contacts, connections with the right people», «access to information».

The second factor is the time for leisure, a pleasant pastime, new and old friends. You can call him and friends, and hobbies, and fellowship, but similarly to the first career factor, stop for a hobby.

The third factor is very serious: here the focus of all normative judgments, and in concentrated form: the opportunity to improve life in the country, their city, the opportunity to help people. This is «mission». And immediately reminded of reasoning, one leader of a public organization, caring for the military-patriotic education of youth. He spoke about the *«sacrifice»* of the Russian people on the mental level. And about the *«Institute of social service, which includes charity and volunteering and has deep roots in Russian culture».*

The fourth factor is less pretentious than the third, and more down to earth, which incorporates the «protection of their rights», «the opportunity to improve the material situation», «promotion of their ideas».

Very interesting decomposed the factor loadings of the organized and unorganized volunteers. First of all, unorganized volunteers appreciate the protection of the rights (as follows from the results of the focus groups, solving ordinary territorial domestic problems). Secondly, they care about the carrying of the mission, which is also very much in tune with this group, in which the *«activity is laid in childhood»*. Organized volunteers relate to the object of their voluntary activity pragmatically: career and Hobbies. Characteristically, that the implementation of volunteer motivation is only possible in the form of organization. And implementation of the motives of unorganized volunteers requires only personal vivacity and health.

In conclusion of this paragraph can quote the head of one of the non-profit organizations relating to the characteristics of solidarity in the charity sector: «We are different». And this statement can bring some of the results achieved in the study of Institutional philanthropy. It is that a complex internal problem («disunity» of the charity community) has a greater influence on the formation of solidarity, than external factors (public opinion, the influence of the state) [Doklad o sostojanii …, 2011, p. 41].

Society's attitude towards volunteering

Society's attitude to any manifestations of civil activity creates a context for the development of this activity. In this respect, the central concept is the «basic trust». Giddens argued, that «basic trust is expressed as a bracketing-out of possible events or issues, which could, in certain circumstances, be cause for alarm» [Giddens, 1991, p. 127]. In other words, to discern a phenomenon, supporting or not supporting a potential threat. As shown by numerous sociological research, philanthropy, volunteering are not included in the circle of «basic trust» Russians [Dudchenko O., 2011, p. 394–395].Society still wary as to organized as well to individual voluntary initiatives help to others.

According to the volunteers and leaders of non-commercial organizations involving volunteers in their activities, mistrust of a society is based on a lack of information on volunteering, philanthropy: *«The majority does not understand what we do»*. Judging by the stories of the volunteers, most often, they face the question: why do you help unknown people without payment? Here's how it described the volunteer Yekaterinburg public movement «Drums for peace»: *«We believe some of the city freaks. Need arguments, why we do it. Obtained, as if explain myself that I want to do a good deed; I want everyone to have a common culture of leisure. And the result is such that I apologize that I'm in this thing»*.

The activities of public organizations associated with using, self-help to drug addicts, alcoholics, people with HIV infection, according to study participants, often evokes fear in others: *«People are afraid of us, because they are afraid to get into this issue»*. In principle wary detached attitude is typical in relation to all groups, which are «not such as all», including to the families raising children with disabilities, and to large families in general.

Another common reaction to the activities of volunteers to help people in difficult situations - distancing: *«Your problem - you figure»*.

The level of trust (or mistrust - after A. Kupreychenko [Kuprejchenko A., 2008]) can be attributed to the integral characteristics of the welfare of the society, as well as the necessary conditions for the development of solidarity. In this sense, revealing are the research data shows that 71% of Russians believe that in relations with people should be careful. And only a quarter of the respondents (24.7%) believes that most people can be trusted. Even more impressive is the fact that 29% of Russians prefers to be cautious even directly among the people around them. If we compare the respondents' answers to questions about trust in people in general and the confidence of the nearest circle of communication, it turns out that one third of the Russians (33%) is not inclined to trust anyone, and 43% trust only close people. This suggests that suspicion, suspicion are the basic qualities of Russians.

Characteristically, that Russians involved in voluntary work, to a greater extent than those who has no relation to it, tend to trust close people (respectively, 70% and 62%, Sig.$\leq$0,002). But the level of distrust of others remains broadly unchanged for volunteers, and for those who do not grant public benefit activities.

It can be assumed that volunteers occur solidarity is not only against each other, but to the people for whom they provide assistance [Klimova S., 2013]. But, as the results show, the volunteers do not always receive not that positive, but simply an adequate result from other people: *«The anger of the people, consumer sentiment in the society»*. This poses the question of «professional burnout» when volunteers are desperate to begin to doubt the sense of their activity.

The attitude of the government, local authorities

Recent years have been quite alarming for the volunteer movement, especially its organized part. According to the majority of the research participants, state regulation of the sphere of non-profit organizations (allocation of socially important organizations, «foreign agents») considerably complicated the activity of non-profit organizations. First, it led to the withdrawal of the Russian market of large foreign grant-making funds and, consequently, worsen the financial conditions of nonprofit organizations. Secondly, made the motive of demarcation in the ranks of volunteerism. As noted by the head of the public organization: *«The state goes everywhere, and civil society - in the first place. They want to participate in all processes, to control them»*.

In general, observed by all the intensification of state attention to volunteering is perceived with certain wariness. There was ambivalent attitude to the introduction of books volunteers. According to some volunteers and leaders of public organizations, documentation of «good deeds» discredits the very idea of volunteerism. Other believes that this measure will promote greater involvement in the volunteer movement active, ambitious young people.

Skeptical one was related to *«state volunteering»*, as the participants in the study called the youth attraction to free work at the Olympics in Sochi. As said by a representative of the public organizations, *«The State needs of the mass of free labor, the need to motivate people to such work, which in fact to volunteering is not always relevant. For example, all of these in Sochi.Or on lake Seliger.Where it needs people, boys, girls, students who will be free to do something. Money spent on staff do not need to migrant workers and so forth»*. The opinion was expressed that the promotion of *«the state of volunteerism»* can undermine not too much trust of the population to volunteer movement. A volunteer from Volgograd noted that *«The attitude of the population to volunteering depends on what purpose. If, for example, volunteers are preparing for the Olympics. It is clear that it is a public volunteering. Including there the money. And when on television looking at it as a normal citizen, sometimes we think - and it is my opinion that it is better to pensioners would give this money or something spent, to the social sphere. Such huge money»*.

Very often in the course of group discussions sounded saying that «barrier» between the third sector and the state is fueled by the unwillingness of the authorities to the dialogue with the NGOs. As said volunteer from Omsk, *«The main problem is the state... The eternal problem: money cannot give into force of the law. And other difficulties, which end in the various administrative barriers... The state, I would say, rather, not ready, don't want you helped him. Seriously!»*.

Besides representatives of the authorities, officials are still not ready to embrace representatives of public organizations as equal partners in addressing the many social problems. Thus, according to the volunteer of Kazan, *«Our state is self-sufficient, all the officials of the self-sufficient, they feel large quantities. And here are women in the street who form an organization, they are perceived as nobody... No systemic solutions, dialogue, officials today are not very interested in development of cooperation, joint promotion»*.

At the same time, according to study participants, local authorities are willing to use a resource for volunteering in their ways: in conducting election campaigns, mass actions. But this does not affect the change of their attitude towards the third sector. This is described as the situation research participants from Volgograd: *«If you need any mass events, if you need any event before the election here they are very interested! They are here to you and transport will account for, and anything. If now the official performs, say, some ongoing work and any tasks from top to organize something or something spend no, he can promise something. But absolutely nothing to do»*.

Conclusion

Despite rather short period of development of the volunteer movement in Russia, it has repeatedly had to face serious challenges affecting volunteering, making it the context of the less friendly. However, these calls are supported growth solidarity volunteer environment. For example, featured in its time, the public actions of the «Federation» foundation *«was hit in trust»*, but at the same time pushed organized by volunteering to further consolidation of it joint efforts and joint actions.

As the results show, the main barrier for the development of solidarity among the volunteers is the lack of formation and structuring of the volunteer community. This factor plays a more significant role than disparagingly-zealous attitude of the authorities, the low level of life and tolerance of the population, social apathy. But at the same time together with these internal resources are the most significant for the further development and solidarity of volunteerism.

Be aware that the volunteer community has significant internal resources. The first of them - the youth. According to the study, about half (49%) of respondents involved in voluntary work, young people aged up to 35 years. Among Russians, who are not volunteers, the share of this age group was below 40% (Sig.≤0,002). Not accidentally, that the vast majority of volunteers (83%) are actively and regularly (daily, weekly) use the Internet, while among non-volunteers there appeared to be less - 69% (Sig.≤0,025).

The second resource is the high level of education. The study showed that volunteers on average more educated than not volunteers. Among the first was 61% of people with incomplete higher and higher education, among non-volunteers - 51% (Sig.≤0,001). The third resource is the level of life and material wealth. The results of the study suggest that volunteers are recruited not from the poorest layers of society. There are twice as many wealthy people than among non-volunteers (17% and 8%, Sig.≤0,000).

It is also important that the volunteers compared with the Russians, not involved in voluntary work, in general, are more socially active and involved in the social life. 69% of them positioned themselves as enterprising people (among non-volunteers - 47%, Sig.≤0,000); 52% of them are interested in policy (among non-volunteers - 43%, Sig.≤0,000). Besides volunteers often than non-volunteers are ready to join with others to achieve a common goal (respectively, 65% and 45%, Sig.≤0,000).

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Sociological evaluation of neighbor countries' images: methodological issues

Despite the fact that public opinion has gained the status of a basic social institution and is quite capable of confirming such a status in the internal politics by active protest actions (this is why it is used by government institutions and political forces to mobilize the population for their own interests), it is clear that the public opinion potential in the sphere of foreign policy is insignificant or rather only nominally and declaratively high – as a 'pillar' for government decisions (political leaders and government officials tend to justify their 'unpretty' decisions by appealing to the 'citizens' desires and hopes').

This situation is quite logical in the sense that the social stereotypes about the neighboring countries are formed either spontaneously (e.g., as a result of mass tourism to the country which is geopolitically and/or economically a crucial partner for the state), or purposefully – when the state aims to get the neighboring country's support in the international arena. In the latter case stereotyping will be even more pronounced and unambiguous: the official and media discourses will form an image of the enemy in order to justify aggression, for example, or, on the contrary, an image of the friend to justify financial or other kinds of assistance to another country in the eyes of one's taxpayers. Most democratic countries (notably the U.S.) use the second mechanism to form the desired vector of social representations, thus "the legitimacy of military actions here is determined by public opinion" [Kolosov V].

In the last decade of Russian history, in contrast to the Soviet period, the first mechanism played a key role in the formation of the neighboring countries' images in the Russian public opinion due to the following reasons: the overall political indifference of contemporary life and phenomenal political indifference of our citizens in particular; the wide spread of modern information technologies allowing different organizations and individuals (such as popular bloggers) to form 'images' of various countries in social networks; today's freedom of geographical movement – we visit different locations and feverishly take pictures of the most 'exotic' elements of other countries' social landscapes.

In general the researchers acknowledge that in Russia, the USA and many other geopolitically successful countries (considered the major players in the global political arena despite the serious economic problems and unsuccessful military campaigns) public opinion has been traditionally concerned mainly with internal – social and economic – problems and its ordinary citizen rarely (if ever) cares about foreign policies – only at times of radical restructuring of the world architecture or in crisis situations (such as armed conflicts or another violent regime change in some ‘banana republics’), but only if they contradict his picture of the world or affect his personal interests (the Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not recommend him to travel to his beloved resort). Countries that are not geopolitically successful usually do not care about image issues for they focus on their own problems and pay attention to the international situation only if the scenario of its government populist solutions requires public opinion mobilization by appeals to some external threat, global conspiracy or overseas enemy.

That is why the geopolitical picture of the world spontaneously formed by the public opinion is usually very different from the real situation in the international arena. In today's world with its booming mass information and communication technologies and the travel and tourism industry, the quality of knowledge about foreign countries decreased and, respectively, the field for very superficial, stereotypical and even mythological representations has expanded not only among ordinary citizens, but public policy makers as well.

This situation gives ride to a number of problems. First, unfortunately, myths increasingly determine the mass perception of the world geopolitical order as legitimate or wrong. Second, as a result, public opinion becomes a subject to sharp fluctuations for even a single event that does not fit into the prevailing stereotypic image of a certain country can instantly and dramatically change the vector of its perception. Third, in sociological studies we are to ‘measure’ this stereotypical ‘noise’ in the public consciousness produced under the influence of the media and manipulative political techniques. Thus, if the images of some countries and international events are significantly different in some fairly major socio-demographic and/or ideological ‘segments’ of the social structure, our sociological instruments designed to identify only the general stereotypes will not be able to detect conflicting worldviews. However, we have to measure this ‘noise’ to assess the current state of public opinion and forecast its development in different foreign policy scenarios albeit in a simplified format to identify the core image of other countries – each of them will consist of different elements taking into account its ‘objective’ geopolitical status and relations with Russia in the past and present.

Such studies have been conducted in Russia since the late 1990s – early 2000s, for instance, a series of interviews carried out by the ‘Public Opinion’ Foundation under the title ‘Geoproekt’ (a list of countries consisted of about forty major powers and a few medium-sized and small countries which play a prominent role in world politics) [Kolosov V]. Through these surveys already in 2000-2001 it was recorded that the Russian public opinion about the leading world powers is rather monolithic and focuses on their core geopolitical characteristics, whereas the structure of representations of small countries is very diverse.

Over the past five years the Sociological Laboratory of the Peoples’ Friendship University of Russia together with the Beijing Youth and Children Research Center, State

University of Belgrade and the Serbian Academy of Education have been implementing a joint research project on the students' basic value orientations [Narbut N.P., Trocuk I.V., 2008; 2009]. In all the three countries representative samples of students were surveyed (each research team used their own criteria for the design and structuring of the sample on the basis of general population 'stratification'). The surveys were based on the same questionnaire, but its thematic units could vary slightly to meet the validity criteria.

In late 2010 – early 2011 we added a new thematic unit to the questionnaire to find out the images of the neighboring countries in the students' opinion. The additional set of questions was purposefully made very short not to overload the questionnaire, not to lengthen the survey procedure over the optimal time parameters and at the same time to identify the basic associations and stereotypes about other countries in non-sensitive methodical format.

In the development of the questionnaire we followed the conviction that the study of the images of other countries should take into account two important facts. First, the political rhetoric and the information 'noise' of mass media always form a certain stereotypical image of a country and its typical inhabitant. Second, once formed, such an image acquires a phenomenal stability as any social stereotype that simplifies our everyday life by saving our efforts while identifying unknown objects (often it is not what we do not want to know – rather we assess a real chance to meet them in real life as zero) and predefines our social perception of these objects.

As cooperation with our Chinese colleagues has a more stable long-term basis and the image of China should be well-established in the Russian public opinion (because of the 'embeddedness' of the country in Russian state discourse and media rhetoric), at first we tested a small thematic unit for the China image 'measurement'. It is quite obvious that the image of Serbia will be less clear in the minds of students for a variety of reasons: the small size of the country (and, hence, much less geopolitical role and 'status' in political and media discourse); rare and fixed on a number of predictable events actualization of the Serbian themes in the Russian media (usually they write not about Serbia itself, but about the behavior of the leading world powers in respect to it); and the general lack of scientific and journalistic interest in Eastern and Central Europe as a whole, not to mention the image of these countries in Russian society and drawing parallels in the analysis of the recent history of our countries, etc.

Thus, the questionnaire of our empirical study included the following issues: thematic section on the sources of information about China (seven closed questions in tabular form); a request to Russian students to write the names of three well-known Chinese public figures (open question); the question-menu where the respondents could choose up to 5 out of 21 characteristics of the typical Chinese mentality and behavior; a list of countries where the respondents had to choose three most positive in their opinion or write any other country not mentioned in the list; closed questions to assess the respondents' intention to make a trip to China and their perception of recent Russian-Chinese relations; a table of statements about the Chinese social development – with each the respondents had to express some extent of agreement or disagreement; a closed question to assess an interest in learning the Chinese language.

The questionnaire to identify basic components of the image of Serbia in the perception of Russian students was slightly modified and eventually included the following issues: the same thematic section on the sources of information about Serbia, but, due to the smaller information 'noise' about the country compared to China two answers were combined into one (obtaining information about Serbia from the printed media), the answer about a trip to the country was taken out of the list and became an independent question (Serbia is not an important tourist destination and visiting it could 'get lost' within other sources of information about the country), the answer about obtaining information from the movies was removed from the list (unlike the world-wide known Chinese cinematography, the Serbian cinema is unlikely to produce any associations in the Russian public opinion, and even if the respondents had watched any Serbian movies they are unlikely to remember them exactly as such); the question-menu where the respondents had to choose any number of associations with the word 'Serbia' (and/or write their own answers); and similar to the previous version of the questionnaire request to write the names of three well-known Serbian public figures (open question); the question-menu where the respondents could choose up to 5 out of 21 characteristics of the typical Serb mentality and behavior; a list of countries where the respondents had to choose three most positive features, in their own opinion, or write any other country not mentioned in the list (in each survey China appeared, but Serbia was added only here); closed questions to assess the respondents' perception of recent Russian-Serbian relations; the closed question to assess the respondents' own awareness of Serbia (on the scale from a 'specialist' on the country till absolutely unaware who does not understand what that country is and where it is situated – it is a quite urgent issue for small states, as the European map looks like a patchwork compared to China); the closed-questions to assess the respondents' interest in learning the Serbian language and an intention to make a trip to Serbia.

Quite predictably the image of Serbia in the youth perception is formed by the media (80% of Russian students seek information about the country in the media first of all), especially the Internet (54%). Only 11% of students visited Serbia at least once (although this is a very large figure given that a similar percentage has ever visited China – 15%, but such a figure is probably due to the transit through Serbia and regional tourism programs). The students assess their level of awareness about Serbia as extremely low, which quite objectively reflects the real state of affairs: one in three has no idea what country it is and where it is located (32%), every second has some general idea about the country (58%), i.e. our survey reveals the Russian youth's social stereotypes about Serbia. The low level of awareness determines that the primary association with the name ‘Serbia’ is geographical (country on the Balkan peninsula), the second most frequently mentioned group of associations are geopolitical statements that correspond to the dominant media discourse about Serbia (a country constantly involved in ethno-political conflicts with other former Yugoslavia states; its population is close to Russians by the Slavic origin and the Orthodox faith). The last group of associations chosen approximately by every fifth respondent is a set of geopolitical (the most friendly towards Russia European country with highly patriotic people) and travel (a good place to relax with beautiful nature) cliches.

The image of a typical Serb in the Russian public opinion is as follows: first and foremost, a patriot inclined to collectivism and a freedom-loving family man, honest and hard-working, at the same time war- and peace-loving, educated, disciplined, loyal and realist – obviously a positive, but somewhat controversial image. This controversy can be explained by the fact that the country is perceived by the Russian respondents, on the one hand, as quite traditional, agrarian and patriarchal, on the other hand – as constantly involved in the (armed) conflicts. Given all these positive associations and stereotypes Russian students assess the relations between our countries at the moment as rather friendly (42%), although almost every second person found it difficult to answer this question (46%), but most respondents believe that friendship with Serbia gives Russia more pluses than minuses (74%).

Understanding and recognizing the arbitrariness and schematic nature of the applied instruments and the resulting content constructions, we, nevertheless, believe that the suggested ‘measurement’ model may become a perfect basis in developing and implementing projects on a larger scale in terms of the questionnaire volume and sample stratification structure, the projects being aimed at the study of social representations and country-image comparisons.

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The transformation of value orientations in the popular consciousness of the Soviet and post-Soviet society

Trying to explain what happened to Russia over the past two decades, one focuses on the mistakes of government leaders, others see the cause of all ills in the Russian intrigues of enemies, others state the unpreparedness of the country and its citizens to begin the conversion. Despite the apparent reasonableness of these explanations, they appear to us to surface, giving a vague and sometimes distorted picture of the true, underlying causes of the crisis, which is going through Russia. Such explanations tend to leave aside all that is connected with the mass consciousness, mentality, values of Russians. The importance of understanding the value orientations as a phenomenon of social life consists in the fact that every person, group, social groups evaluate environmental public environment, determining their behavior and realize their potential through the lens of value orientations.

Starting a conversation about values, it is necessary to determine the meaning of the concept. Under the socially acceptable values are understood and shared by the majority of people ideas about what is good, justice, patriotism, love, friendship, etc. Values express the way to be the world works and how to be a man. They are not questioned, serve as a standard and ideal for all people. [Kravchenko, 2009, p. 340]

At first glance, it seems that the transition to democracy and the adaptation to the values of a modern market society for Russian citizens are not more complex than for the citizens of other post-communist countries, such as the states of Eastern Europe. Those who share this view, based on the fact that Russian society is urbanized, industrialized, and the value of the archaic, traditional society in the Soviet period have been destroyed along with the patriarchal way of life and the same estates. However, in the shadow of one important fact remains that represents the exclusive feature of Soviet society (absent even in the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe). We are talking about the depth of social destruction, when coupled with the archaic and the germs are destroyed self-consciousness, autonomous from the state, and on the cleared field thus formed is very special, in their own unique system of value orientations of the Soviet man. This system is significantly different from those of values, which prevailed in Western and Eastern Europe, were making more or less successful transition to democracy and the market. In contrast, consider the values that prevailed in the Soviet society, effectively blocked the formation processes of a modern civil society and market economy. Hence the transition to democracy and to a market economy in Russia was coupled with an extraordinarily complex, contradictory and somewhat unprecedented process in the value field.

Need objective impartiality and passionate assessment of the achievements of the Soviet period of Russian history. That shows, in particular, the eminent Russian-American sociologist XX century P.A. Sorokin. He notes that the Russian Revolution, freed from the bloody methods that she, like all great revolutions, applied to its destructive stage, had the effect that the Soviet Russia, led by the Russian nation, has become one of the two great empires and "this heroic achievement demonstrates the power, creativity, resourcefulness Russian and other peoples of Russia" [Sorokin, 1990, p. 477]. A.A. Zinoviev also outlined the effectiveness of the Soviet system in the management of the various spheres of social and political life in terms of the existence of an external threat, as well as in the ongoing processes of globalization. [Zinov'ev, 2002, p. 20]

Changes in the system of mass consciousness and the dominant values of the people has always played an important role in the transition from authoritarian and totalitarian regimes to democracy, but this transition has never ever happened at a time when the initial, dominant at the beginning of the transition system of values is so strikingly consistent with the ultimate objective of this transition. Therefore, the interim results of Russian reforms were a lot different than, for example, in Eastern European countries.

Let's start with the characteristics of the system of values of Soviet society, which became the starting point for the evolution of the value orientations of the overwhelming majority of modern Russia. Complete dominance of this kind of value system on the eve of perestroika and the democratic reforms in the Soviet Union due to the fact that the traditional culture of the pre-revolutionary Russian society (including noble, peasant, merchant, urban, middle-class subculture) in the Soviet period was almost completely shifted to the new system of social relations, a dominant position not only in ideology, but in the public mind occupied Soviet values, the Soviet "tradition".

It is important to emphasize that the values of the late Soviet society was not simply a replica of the official Communist ideology, in many ways they were the result of a specific trade-off between the real relationship that existed within the various strata of Soviet society, paternalistic attitudes and ideological consciousness, inherited from the old Russia, but were transformed into a kind of "religion of the total state". The real core of the Soviet system of values, as shown by domestic and Western studies [Levada 1995, p. 27], were not only the ideas of socialism and communism, and the idea of the state as the source of all social benefits, rights and duties of citizens. A distinctive feature of the Soviet mass consciousness was explicitly or implicitly expressed ideas about the state. Soviet central value in the mass consciousness of citizens, and under which adjust according to which all other values were modified, it was the "State" with a capital letter, which gives a broad sense of light and warmth, life and prosperity.

Love for the motherland, the inextricable link between man and the well-being and misery of his people, the desire to defend the independence of the country, their land, their home formed over centuries. Strengthening patriotism was caused by the fact that the majority of citizens formed a natural and legitimate to the early 40-ies of XX century socio-political system. Were visible and obvious entered into the life of the social achievements - free education, medical care, housing, unemployment, lack of, and respect for working people, their achievements and production, etc. People supported the party and government leaders, civil society organizations, who spent a great job of educating the Soviet people in the spirit of patriotism. And it came to fruition, which appeared in the heroism of the protection of their country and the victory in the Great Patriotic War [Filosofija osvobozhdenija, 2005, p. 28].

Very firmly rooted in the public mind and the value field of a large part of Soviet society a special kind of state paternalism was significantly different from the "classic" paternalism, known from the history of other countries. The peculiarity of the Soviet state paternalism - full spliced important social values with the concept of the state as the only force capable of ensuring the implementation of social rights. The flip side of the rule of state paternalism, as paradoxical as it may seem at first glance, it was an underlying formation of the so-called "self-interest of the consumer" or "consumer individualism" - a characteristic of the post-Soviet mass consciousness. This phenomenon is being developed to the extent that, as of press state coercion against the loyal Soviet citizens became weaker and comprehensive dependence of the average consumer of the state is still preserved. The Soviet state in its attempt to deal with these consumer individualism, hanging up on him the label of "middle class" and "consumerism", actively promoting the values of the "Soviet collectivism" and "labor enthusiasm". However, to the extent that, as a society become more complex and differentiated, it became urbanized, ideology, calculated on the weight of poorly educated immigrants from the country, more and more often did not fire. The official "collectivism" and the official "enthusiasm" weaker worked on the mass consciousness of the people, gradually turning into a myth of the heroic past.

In general, there are three main stages of evolution of the value of the mass consciousness of Russians in the 1990s, And for each of them characterized by their dominant processes in a given period. The first phase covers the period 1990 - 1993 years, the second phase corresponds to the period of about 1994 - 1997 years and the third stage - the period after 1997.

The period of 1989 - 1993 years, characterized by the fact that the mass consciousness has an active influence came to power, the liberal-democratic circles to decompose the system prevailing before the Soviet ideological values. This process was accompanied by deformation advances in a variety of ways, the most important of which was an attempt to emulate the system of values of liberal democracy, characteristic of modern Western society, the "traditional" values in their pochvennicheskoy interpretation, and finally, antisocial values appearing in the society of marginalized and lumpen layers. During this period, the splitting of a more or less uniform in value against the society and its transformation into a heterogeneous society, value heterogeneous. This period was characterized by relatively high politicization of the majority of Russians, exercise, particularly in the increased rating of values such as "freedom", "democracy", "human rights", on the contrary, the Soviet ideological values such as "internationalism", "collectivism", "enthusiasm" and the like, while rapidly losing its value and gone by the wayside.

During the second period of 1994 - 1997 years, the most important in the public mind began to accelerate the processes of their difference in values between the elite and corporate groups, as well as between young people and older people. At the same time, the mass strata of Russian society, to a large extent be felt themselves "homeless", the state abandoned to their fate, mastered quite different values, which is a complex mixture of "old" and "new", the result is a kind of adaptation of the old socio-political, paternalistic attitudes to reality, in which the state has withdrawn.

Research Fund "Public opinion" is carried out in this period, allowed to fix the main line of difference in values, post-Soviet society, extending between the "elitoobrazuyuschimi" (directors, owners, managers, farmers, etc.) and the "mass" (public sector workers, workers the rank and file employees of the village, retired, etc.) groups. The delimitation of massive and elitoobrazuyuschih group covers a wide range of basic values and, in most cases, is characterized by joint position of the latter.

However, in this period of Russian society, considered as a set of massive socio-demographic groups, far greater extent retained its homogeneity. Core of values of the mass consciousness, freed from ideological shell surface, demonstrated its strength. To some extent, it is opposed by the processes of erosion and polarization, evolutionarily transformed, but not destroyed. Value-polarization of society manifested itself primarily in the growing demarcation between "fathers" and "children" (between high - more than 55 years old - the age group and young people up to 25 years), as well as among people with higher education and poorly educated (having only schooling) Russians.

For most values, including such as "family", "security", "democracy", "wealth", "legality", "teamwork", significant differences in the public mind between the age groups were observed. This indicates that the lines of demarcation between the "fathers" and "children" were and still are on strictly defined positions. First of all, we are talking about the attitude towards work. For example, this value as "hard work" in its old sense of the mass consciousness of many young people exposed to devaluation and stored mainly in those groups where the traditional consciousness steadily resist change.

At the same time, the mass consciousness of the demarcation line between "fathers" and "children" touched on some well-defined values of a modern liberal society, such as "freedom", "dignity", "professional", "property", "money", but not such as "democracy", "legality", "guarantee political rights of the individual (speech, assembly, demonstration, participation in elections, etc.)".The fact is that in the context of the post-1993 disillusionment with politics young people preferred the liberal market, but not political or policy-related values.

According to the research team led by I.G.Dubova [Mental'nost' rossijan, 1997, p. 74–75], in the public mind between 1993 and 1995 among Russians significantly increased prevalence of such values as "honesty", there was an increase rankings of values such as "family", "success", "prosperity". It is interesting that all these values cannot be unambiguously attributed either to the Soviet nor Western, neither fully traditional nor completely modern, they seem to represent the concerns and needs from among the most important for the Russian people without regard to ideology and cultural type. At the same time, in the minds of a large part of the population there is a tendency to a significant decrease in the importance of ideologically colored demonstrated such values as "power", "prosperity", "power", "democracy", "order", "peace", "justice".

Finally, the third period after 1997 was marked by contradictory processes of consolidation of values and their difference in values within the very elite groups, as well as the recovery in the public mind sufficiently broad strata of the Russian population of values, related to state paternalism and a special version of Russian authoritarianism.

The most common trend characteristic of the evolution of values in the mass consciousness of Russian society throughout the 1990s, Is that dominated before the value system of Soviet society has undergone significant changes and diverse. This made it possible to drift value orientations in different directions - which resulted in a significant difference in values among Russians. On the basis of the emerging modern Russian society the various blocks and systems of values prevailing in different social groups, there are certain patterns of behavior, including socio-cultural types of Russian attitudes toward political and economic changes. On this same basis, in the public mind are formed and different, sometimes diametrically opposed assessments of the causes of the political and economic crisis in Russia of the 1990s.

Case studies can detect in the mass consciousness of the modern Russian society differentiating value (divide) and the value of integrating (combining) the various social groups.

The overall picture difference in values in the mass consciousness of society depends on the objective laws of life, forming a system of values, which makes it possible to figure out the direction and the specific content of the concept of life, including the life ideals and goals, ways to achieve them, the idea of happiness and the meaning of life, etc. That is, we are talking about the way of life, the content of which is to a certain system of values, attitudes and orientations to regulate social behavior.

In ordinary "average" person in modern Russia should be made to strengthen the role of values such as material prosperity and stability of life. For example, a survey conducted by the "Public Opinion" in April 1998, showed that in the mass consciousness of citizens in a series of values of individual life "material prosperity, comfortable housing, good living conditions" in second place (61%) after the "own health , health close" (76%) and "life stability, lack of shocks" - the third (33%) [Lapkin, 1998, p. 2–33]. As the deterioration of the material situation of the large number of Russian and increasing instability of their lives, these core values come to the fore, pushing the ideological values on the back of his mind. This does not mean that the Soviet or any other ideological values generally lost. They just moved to the second or third plan, are in a latent state. An acute political crisis could again lead to their activation in the minds of the population. Yet the majority of Russians are not yet inclined to put at the heart of the ideology and ideological values - neither liberal democratic nor conservative, neither communist nor any other.

Thus, from the above analysis it can be concluded that the study of the mass consciousness in the period a total transformation of society through the understanding of the value orientations shows - Russia is not moving to a culture of spiritual concentration, and comes in a very pragmatic streak veneration of the state and order. At the same time, we are not talking about Stalin or "OK" or on the order of Pinochet and not even on the order of a communist that assumes a one-party system, the ideological dictates of power. It is necessary to speak about a specific, post-Soviet "order" that is associated with nostalgia for the so-called period of "stagnation" and the very real social and political gains of the Soviet society.

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Osepyan, Anna K., Orenburg.

Experience of sociological research of Diasporas in Orenburg region

The paper analyzes the marginal status of Diasporas of Orenburg, and problems of identity crisis and the need for a cultural re-socialization of Diaspora representatives. The methodical part of the study describes the difficulties and peculiarities of work with Diaspora representatives (members) or as we call them “diasporant(s)”.

In the Orenburg region, undergoes socio-political and economic transformation, as well as all Russia, many Diasporas with its existence added the problems of the country, adding to the army of unemployed, the ranks of applicants for social assistance and jobs.

Their host country representatives of various Diasporas, because of their characteristics (cultural background, language), sharply distinguishing them from the natives tend to acquire the status of "minority" [11]:

- How immigrants, diasporants, represented not only by foreigners, but in the context of the ethnic conflict, and the "uninvited guests";
- Diasporants necessarily become competitors in the distribution of material resources.

In the Orenburg region, undergoes socio-political and economic transformation, as well as all Russia, many diasporants its existence to add to the problems of the country, adding to the army of unemployed, the ranks of applicants for social assistance and jobs. If we consider the housing crisis that broke out in Russia in general, and particularly in the Orenburg region after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the wave of privatization of the housing stock, the diasporants, in most cases find themselves in difficult situations in the future to purchase their own homes, also exacerbate the housing problem.

If we add the citizenship diasporants cases of uncertainty and in some cases the absence of registration, their marginality becomes apparent.

Diasporant itself is also experiencing persistent doubts in their identity. As the experience of case studies of different diasporas in the Orenburg region, diasporants problems are largely a continuation of it is the "identity crisis", which flows into the problematic nature of social roles, as the very identity in the long run - a product of role interactions person throughout his life [12]. Hence, the successful execution of vital importance to diasporant roles, especially in the difficult period of self-realization in the new society will self-actualization and, therefore, the strengthening and development of a sense of identity.

The success of the process of cultural re-socialization of a refugee in a new place is largely due to the social policy of the state. In the Orenburg region social policy in relation to the Diaspora in recent years has changed quite objectively and work on improving this social phenomenon. But, at the same time, a paradoxical situation: on the one hand part diasporant who have Russian citizenship, i.e. they are not Russians (not to be confused with the Russian national identity) are in the best sluchaerazreshenie temporary residence or some other form of registration (and there are cases when you do not have any official registrations), and on the other hand, the government implements new migration policy of attracting new illegals, not perfecting the laws governing the status of the previous ones. Thus, many diasporants held in marginal condition. At the same time, continues to operate the mechanism of social assistance to migrants, which also contributes to the preservation of marginal status in that it absorbs the negative side, encouraging the formation of parasitical plants.

If we proceed from the fact that social assistance is primarily intended for people who for subjective and objective reasons, are unable to provide for themselves (people with disabilities, the elderly, children), it can be argued that the Russian reality, they have become a means of compensating the state's inability to create jobs and allow diasporants themselves to earn a living without feeling dependent. That is, if diasporant in the legal aspect is somehow controlled by the state, the social - cultural and economic context remains outside the field view. Appears fear of the repeat of the European experience, where representatives of the developing or developed countries are moving to European countries and at the expense of the state payments living over the years and do not think about the status of a full legalization on the one hand and on the other are actively involved corruption circles, develop the underground economy, not adopts and / or do not integrate into European society. In these conditions, the study of problems diasporants becomes very relevant, raises the issue of control of the process of re-socialization diasporants through assimilation of socially important roles to change their immigration status and thus reduce the risk for this group ethnosocial.

Bicultural socialization model [8] causes the socialization of immigrants and diasporantos in the culture of their country of residence to the following factors:

1 near the homeland diasporantos cultures and their host country;

2 the presence of mediators and translators of the new culture;

3 The response of the "great culture" on attempts of individuals to reproduce normative patterns of behavior;

4 proximity of conceptual understanding of the reality of styles and skills of solving life's problems;

5 degree of bilingualism;

6 appearance (in the case of racial differences).

It is here, it is assumed and is the main role and function of Diaspora social groups in the Orenburg region underwent a process of institutionalization, and as a social institution of society can mediate many of the issues concerning diasporants Orenburg. When working with diasporants Orenburg need to consider:

1 near the crops - diasporant Orenburg, is a national minority, unofficially learned ethnic cultural patterns of conduct, as well representatives of Diaspora communities of different cultures are limited to household family traditions;

2 mismatch "world views" and the behavioral patterns of local residents and diasporants, which are exacerbated by historically conditioned and politically instigated mutual negative (example - attitude towards Caucasians or the Germans as to the natives of the countries in conflict);

3 lack of mediators and translators native national culture;

4 ignorance of the language and literature (especially for the new generation of immigrants from the former Soviet diasporants or other countries where they received education in their native language).

These negative for cultural re-socialization diasporants conditions were taken into account when we study the Armenian Diaspora in the Orenburg region. The basis of the program of study and re-socialization of cultural identity is put bicultural model Ch.A. Valentine [8], taking into account all aspects of the development of cultural and personal identity diasporants through conventional and interpersonal interaction. In the framework of this model was supposed to provide the main factors of cultural re-socialization diasporants, including the broadcast of the national culture, the convergence of conceptual styles and patterns of behavior, language training and, finally, acceptance diasporants a wider network of social relations. We are guided by the fact that the social scientist working with diasporants must take into account the possibility of saving diasporants cultural identity and values, operating successfully within the framework of the basic institutions of society.

The study was carried out using a combination of four methods of data collection: observation, group and individual interviews and expert survey. The aim of the study was to investigate the assimilation of new roles, which occurs as a result of interaction with representatives of the indigenous culture, describe the role of Diaspora communities in the process of cultural adaptation. Particular attention is paid to the study of one of the most important functions of the Diaspora community in the development diasporant’s sense of identity, compensation marginal status and re-socialization of cultural achievement.

Interview: interview questionnaire was constructed to meet the challenges that are common to all persons [10] and contained clusters of issues concerning citizenship, housing, health, education, cultural activities, social and family status, acquisition of new friends, separation from family members.

During the group interview questions were studied communication, social well-being and identity.

While working with diasporants clearly outlined the following steps:

- Primary: familiarity, performance problems, setting group goals;
- Threshold (critical): polarization, the struggle for leadership, intolerance of differences between them, the acquisition of confidence in the safety and support in the group;
- Stabilization: the establishment of mutual trust and goodwill, the emergence of group norms and sanctions, testing social skills;
- Performing, or the stage of the joint solutions of selected problems;
- End: performance assessment.

The biggest difficulty was the first stage of introduction of some members of the group among themselves and overcome the already established relationship between the two styles. This required additional efforts to: the rest of the group was not isolated and conflicts flaring up between "friends" group is not involved in destructive communication. Often there is a "focal" conflicts when discussing the problem posed by excessive emotional reactions from some participants, pointing to another problem of personal stories panelists.

In a self-respondents, self-characterization prevailed identification with family roles ("I am a mother," "I'm the father," "I’m sister/brother"), and only 4% of respondents from all involved have presented themselves through professional role. In 90% of respondents identified themselves with their sex and characterological qualities ("I-cheerful", "I-kind", "I-discreet").

As a result of the experience gained from research, it was concluded that while working with a group of Diaspora members need increased attention and awareness unblock ineffective defense mechanisms, which will help consolidate the group to succeed.

In conclusion, it should be added that this study is the realization of a single stage of the study of the Diaspora in the Orenburg region. The study of the role, function Diaspora as a social institution, and the problems its members, as a small group, is badly needed for the modern Russian society, as the problems of social adaptation and integration of Diaspora members in the "new society" have acquired a new form and a new influence and change the entire social the structure of society.

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Osinskiy, Ivan I., Ulan-Ude.

Traditional ethnic values in social practices of peoples of Siberia (on the materials of the Republic of Buryatia)

Under the traditional ethnic values, we understand elements of social and cultural heritage, which are passed on from generation to generation and confirmed in the life of the ethnic group for a long time. These are deeply-rooted understandings, ideas, customs, and rituals, allowing the nation to preserve unique identity, specific features, and mentality.

Without traditional values, there is no any culture in the history of mankind, also it is impossible to imagine even the existence of any human community. Positive functions of traditions are manifested not only in the preservation and maintenance of permanent and universal cultural values, but also in the fact that the tradition appears in the development of culture and is an integral part of the continuity of each national culture. However, it should be noted that traditional values do not stay put.

Any tradition must have up-to-date content-richness.

In the present article we discuss some of the traditional values of Russian and Buryat people of the Republic of Buryatia, mainly the most educated part of its population (intellectuals) and the impact of these values on the culture of trust.

The Republic of Buryatia – one of the Siberian regions of the Russian Federation. Its area is 351.3 square kilometers, the population is 972 thousand people, including 286.800 Buryats (29.5%), 630.600 Russians (64.9%), 54.600 (5.6%) other nationalities, including 173 Poles.

In the considering topic, we use materials from state statistics, surveys, carried in 1995 and 2011, where 860 and 995 members of the Buryat, Russian and other ethnic groups of the clerisy were interviewed. 553 Russians, 411 Buryats and 31other nations were interviewed during the latest survey.

Studies have shown that the most important value of the representatives of Buryat clerisy, the same as Russian is love of native land, the land where they were born, grew up, where they live, their parents' houses, that is a patriotic value. This value attitude is dominant among the youth too. The strongest feelings the university students of Buryatia have towards to the area where they were born – 70% then comes Russia, Buryatia. Several years ago a survey showed that students of the Buryat State University on the question «Do we need to educate students on patriotism at schools?» 80% of them said, «Yes». We are interested in the opinion of students, because at that time Russian press turned criticism of patriotism (some called it undeveloped, primitive and even an animal feeling). We are convinced that patriotism – is not only one of the oldest, but also the most profound and important feelings. The educational system of schools, of course, must take care of the formation of warm feelings toward the country, patriotic attitudes to the nation.

At the same time, patriotism involves a deep respect to other people, to other countries, to their history, culture, traditions, mutual cooperation, and if necessary – help.

Quite important traditional value is accumulated in the past positive experience of cooperation of ethnic groups, including Buryats and Russians, their collaboration. In the history of inter-ethnic relations between the people of Siberia, it can be divided into three periods: pre-revolutionary (until 1917), Soviet (1917–1991), from 1991 to the present.

The first period is associated with the development of Siberia by Russians, accompanied by mutually beneficial cooperation, and mutual assistance of Russians and indigenous national population. Second, the Soviet period is characterized by the joint creative activities for national industrial development of Siberia, the modernization of agriculture, the implementation of radical cultural transformation, and the large number of experts from different sectors of the economy. The third period is connected with the joint efforts of the Russian and the national population to rebuild the economy, the transition to a market economy, overcoming the difficulties encountered in the process of modernization of Russian society.

350 years ago Buryatia joined the Russian Federation. Over the years relations between Russians and Buryats have become quite stable and good neighborly, firmly established in the public consciousness as Russians as Buryats and passed on from generation to generation. To keep stability in relations deliberate national politics of republican government also made its contribution, which helped to keep non-confrontational relations between people of Buryatia, during the post-Soviet period too. It is confirmed by the answers to the survey question: «Do you feel any national tension in the city/village where you live?» 79.8% of Buryat and 73.2% of Russian responders said they did not feel it. Affirmative answers were given by 17.5% of Buryats and 15.9% of Russians.

One of the main traditional values of any nation is its language. It keeps and relays the spiritual values that expresses the mentality, deepens a sense of ethnophors to implement to this ethnic group. The language belongs to the most important function in the formation of national identity, without which there cannot be the ethno integrity. According to our research, both Russian and Buryat intellectuals of Buryatia absolutely acquainted with Russian language.

Speaking about the knowledge of Buryat language among the clerisy of Buryatia, the presentation of the material is given in the table 1 below:

Table 1

The results of the answers to the question:

«To what extent do you speak Buryat language?», %

№	Possible answers	Buryats	
		1995	2011
1	Fluent	51,0	47,0
2	Well understanding, but hard to say	29,0	28,0
3	Difficult to understand	10,3	11,9
4	Don't speak	8,0	11,6

The table shows that 75% of Buryat respondents admit good knowledge and understanding of Buryat language, 47% of them have perfect knowledge, 28% – understand the language, however, rarely speak, but in 1995 – these data respectively amount to 80%, 52% and 29%. For 15 years, as we can see, the rate of intellectuals with fluent speaking of Buryat language has decreased. This can be explained by the underestimation of the past Soviet national languages in the national states of the country, as well as the presence of objective factors – the relative scarcity of the Buryat population, the most part of which is dispersed in the foreign environment.

At the same time, the Buryat and Russian clerisy associate the future of the next generation with the national language, and focus on attaching it to other languages too.

So, on the question: «What school would you send your children to study?» respondents of Buryat and Russian clerisy answered as follows (Table 2).

Table 2

The results of the answers to the question:
«What school would you send your children to study?», %

№	Possible answers	Buryats		Russians	
		1995	2011	1995	2011
1	Russian-language school with Buryat language studying	50,6	19,0	21,1	8,0
2	Buryat–language school with Russian language studying	18,6	6,8	1,0	0,7
3	The school only with Russian language studying	1,8	1,2	7,3	9,0
4	The school only with Buryat language studying	2,6	1,0	1,0	0,4
5	The school with Buryat and English languages	No answers	6,1	No answers	44,1

6	The school with Buryat and English languages	No answers	3,9	No answers	0,9
7	The school with Russian, Buryat and English languages	26,1	59,85	68,9	32,55
8	Difficult to answer	5,7	1,5	5,8	3,6

*Note: in the questionnaire of 1995, paragraph 7 was formulated as follows: the Russian-language school with English language studying.

The data show that 90.5% of Buryats focus on the school, with Buryat language studying, 93.0% – Russian and 69.9% – English. Russian respondents have similar figures: 42.6%, 94.4%, 77.6%. Overall, these data reflect, in our view, modern, pragmatic trends in language behavior in a multiethnic environment and indicate a relatively high level of inter-ethnic culture of trust.

One of the most important traditional values among the population of Buryatia was and is striving to taking the knowledge. With the arrival of Buddhism in Buryatia (mid-17th c.) In the indigenous population of the province established a tradition to send the eldest son to study at datsan school (datsan – a Buddhist temple). Buryat families were proud that their son studied at Datsan. Educated people, teachers enjoyed special respect among the tribesmen. Not by chance, from the earliest times in the Mongolian tribes there were saying: «Worship the book, Bow the master, worship the God». In Soviet period datsan schools, the same as datsans were closed, but the respect for the knowledge, the desire to get education remained. In the Soviet period with the help of Russian clerisy were created the conditions for the preservation to respect education, school for a wide inclusion of population to knowledge.

In the 1970s, as shown in the materials of Soviet census Buryats had one of the highest levels of education among the 53 ethnic groups that had their own national states in the USSR. High rates had also other nations that impact on their culture of interethnic relations. Cannot be underestimated the role of traditional religion – Buddhism, which states among the believers values of tolerance, humanity, trust and cooperation. Supporters of Buddhism were more than 60% of the Buryat national intelligence. Among the Russian clerisy 50% reached out Eastern Orthodox. There were and there are other traditional values.

In a fruitful intercultural interaction with Russian and other peoples, especially in the Soviet era, Buryat intellectuals created many masterpieces of national culture, which became the property of people. However, at the time of the Buryat traditional culture, unfortunately, not without intellectuals, have been lost or significantly devalued some of its inherent elements.

In the post-Soviet years there has been a process of restoring some of the lost traditions. Success here depends on the extent to which the clerisy itself honors the national traditions, how they are rooted in the minds of intellectuals. Speaking about the relation of intellectuals to the traditions some data are presented below in Table 3.

Table 3

The results of the answer to the question: «Do you hold to your national traditions?», %

№	Possible answers	Buryats		Russians	
		1995	2011	1995	2011
1	Hold to all national traditions	18,9	27,25	11,7	13,6
2	Mainly hold	62,5	55,5	39,1	45,75
3	Occasionally hold to the traditions	19,6	15,3	39,8	32,55
4	Don’t practice	2,8	1,7	3,4	7,0
5	Do not see any necessity	1,0	0,0	5,8	0,9

During the period from 1995 to 2011 both among the Buryat and Russian clerisy occurred deeper implementation of traditional values: increased the share of persons holding to all national traditions, and decreased the proportion of those who do not adhere to, or hold occasionally. The Buryat intellectuals were more committed to the national traditions than Russians. Along with writers and artists, the Lamaist clergy, teachers, doctors, agricultural specialists were increasingly turned to the national traditions of engineering and technical workers, organs of state administration, law enforcement.

We were interested in the ratio of the clerisy to the history of their country, the republic, the people. In this regard, the questionnaire offered a question: «What historical events played, in your opinion, the main role in the development of your people?».

The results of the answers to this question follow below (Table 4).

Table 4

The results of the answers to the question: «What historical events played, in your opinion, the main role in the development of your people?», %

№	Possible answers	Buryats		Russians	
		2011	position	2011	position
1	Buryatia joined Russia	62,8	1	53,35	1
2	October Revolution of 1917	25,8	4	17,5	5
3	The industrialization of the republic	25,8	4	19,5	4
4	Formation of the Buryat Autonomous	39,2	2	14,8	6

	Republic in 1923				
5	The collectivization of agriculture	13,1	7	10,5	10
6	The Victory in the Great Patriotic War	35,5	3	45,9	2
7	Collapse of the USSR and the formation of the Russian Federation	4,1	13	6,15	13
8	The dissolution of the Communist Party	4,4	12	4,5	14
9	Alteration of 1985 under the direction of M.Gorbachev	4,1	12	4,3	15
10	Coming to power of the Democrats, led by B.Yeltsin	2,9	14	2,9	16
11	The adoption of the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Buryatia	22,6	5	8,0	11
12	Election of the President of Buryatia	10,95	8	10,85	9
13	Election of the President of Buryatia L.V. Potapov and his activity	4,4	12	7,4	12
14	Election of the President of Buryatia V.V Nagovitsin and his activity	10,5	9	12,5	7
15	Privatisation of state assets	5,35	11	4,5	13
16	Elimination of collectivization	1,95	15	1,45	17
17	Election of the President of Russia V.V. Putin	15,8	6	26,6	3
18	Election of the President of Russia D.A. Medvedev and his activity	7,5	10	11,9	8
19	Others	1,0	16	1,1	18

According to 19 proposed answers the first place was given to «Buryatia joined the Russian federation» (Buryat responders – 62.8%, Russian – 53.35%). In 1995, this figure at the Buryat intellectuals equaled 49.1%, the Russian – 46.4%. Over the past 15 years, this value acquired in the minds of Buryat and Russian intellectuals, the same as in their people, a higher weight, more important than ever. This can be viewed as a high level of mutual trust of the two ethnic groups. The second place the Buryat intellectuals gave to – «Formation of the Buryat Autonomous Republic in 1923» (30.2%), the Russian intellectuals – «Victory in the Great Patriotic War» (45.9%), the third – the Buryat intellectuals – «Victory in the Great Patriotic War» (35.5%), in Russian – «The election of the President of Russia, Vladimir Putin, his activities» (26.6%), the fourth – the Buryat intellectuals – «The October Revolution of 1917»

(25.8%) and «The industrialization of the Republic» (25.8%), Russians – «The industrialization of the republic» (19.5%), in the fifth – the Buryat intellectuals – «the adoption of the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Buryatia» (22.6%), Russians – «The October Revolution of 1917» (17.5%).

Attention is drawn to the lowest scores, according to both Russian and Buryat intellectuals, such historic events as the elimination of the collective farm system, the rise to power of the Democrats, led by Boris Yeltsin restructuring under M.S. Gorbachev, which began in 1985, the collapse of the privatization of state property. They did not produce the expected positive results, did not play a significant role in the development of the Buryat, Russian and other peoples of the USSR. On the contrary, these events were estimated by the respondents as the most negative things in life of Buryatia, which played crucial negative role. That assessment was concerned by, above all, the privatization of state property (Russian – 30.9%, Buryatia – 32.55%), the elimination of the farm system (Russian – 27.25%, Buryatia – 25.3%), the collapse of the Soviet Union and the formation of the Russian State (Russian – 20.2%, Buryatia – 25.9%). From the point of view of the considered problem it is important to note that, as can be seen from Table 4, in many positions of the respondents’ rates of Buryat and Russian nationalities are sufficiently close or coincide, which certainly is one of the reasons for the preservation and development of inter-ethnic trust.

Some differences in the respondents' assessments of Buryat and Russian intellectuals were in such historic events as the occurrence of Buryatia as the Russian state, the formation of the Buryat Autonomous Republic in 1923, the adoption of the Declaration on State Sovereignty of Buryatia and others can be explained, in our view, as the growth of national consciousness of Buryat intellectuals, more sensitive relation to the land of their ancestors, its fate, national and state structure of its people, its culture.

A degree of trust relationship between people characterizes and measures recognition of the contribution of its people, as well as others in the development of economy, culture of this region, the land where they live together, work together to create the material and spiritual values. «What contributions were made by the representatives of «our» and other people who live near us?» – this is a difficult question, as belonging to a particular ethnic group, a belonginess with him prevents to be objective. Despite the concern of researchers that the wish to see their ethnicity more industrious, progressive may affect the results of the answers in the survey, the questionnaire was formulated question, «How would you assess the contribution of Buryat intellectuals to the development of Buryatia?», and «How would you assess the contribution of Russian intellectuals to the development of Buryatia?». The results of the answers are given below (Table 5).

Table 5

The results of the answers to the question:
«How would you contribute to the development of Buryatia?», %

№	Possible answers	a) Buryat intellectuals		б) Russian intellectuals	
		Buryats	Russians	Buryats	Russians
1	Very high	22,9	8,9	14,1	14,3
2	High	22,9	16,3	21,9	20,8
3	Average	36,7	35,1	35,8	32,2
4	Low	2,7	10,1	5,1	3,1
5	Very low	2,2	21,7	2,9	4,7
6	Difficult to answer	11,2	5,1	15,3	20,6

According to expectations nationality of respondents somehow affect on the results of their responses. Respondents of Russian nationality more highly appreciate the contribution of the Russian intellectuals in the development of the country, respondents of Buryat nationality – the contribution of the Buryat clerisy. However, representatives of Russian intellectuals were very positive about the work of Buryat intellectuals and representatives of Buryatia – the activity of the Russian clerisy. Contribution to the development of Russian intellectuals of Russian and Buryat respondents estimated almost the same, the Buryats were even higher than the Russians. As for the Buryat intellectuals, the assessment of their contribution to the development of Buryatia from respondents -drilled higher than respondents from the Russian. To assess of Russians to the contribution of Buryat intellectuals could affect the quantitative factor. The share of Russian intellectuals in Buryatia is 67.2%, Buryat intellectuals – 27.8% (2002). Naturally and the contribute of Russian intellectuals are seen as, more significant than Buryats. In general, the data show that in the process of creative activity among the people of Buryatia have friendly relations based on trust and mutual respect.

The relation to the nationality of heads of government of the region can be served as an indicator of interethnic trust. In this regard, the questionnaire posed the question: «What nationality, in your opinion, should be the President of Buryatia?». There are the following results (Table 6).

Table 6

The results of the answers to the question:
«What nationality, in your opinion, should be the President of Buryatia?», %

№	Possible answers	Nationality	
		Buryat	Russian
1	Buryat	31,1	1,3
2	Russian	2,4	23,7
3	No matter what nationality, the main factors are business and moral qualities	64,5	72,15

The vast majority of respondents as Buryats and Russians believe that the factor of the nationality does not matter, the main factors are business and moral qualities of the leader.

Tradition – is a spiritual foundation where survive society, culture, civilization. Traditional values play an important role in the building of culture of trust between nations. Love for their native land, many years of positive experience of interethnic interaction, language and desire to get knowledge, traditional beliefs, important historical events in the life of people – have a huge impact on the life of ethnic groups, encourage them to cooperate and mutual assistance. During the interaction develop common spiritual and moral qualities, the culture of trust, a necessary condition for the formation and development of friendship and cooperation between people.

Popova, Irina P., Moscow

Russian scientists: transforming status in 2000th[1]

Over the past 20 years, changes in the status, position of the scientists professional group in Russia, under the influence of market reforms and the crisis were so profound in their consequences for the occupational structure and development of society as a whole that they deserve serious attention and study of their various aspects.

In this particular case, I will focus on the analysis of work stories of researchers at the Moscow Research Institute of natural sciences profile with the Russian Academy of Sciences in context of changes in government policies in relation to science for the duration of over last 10 years. This data was obtained within the framework of a wider longitudinal study, which was conducted in two phases: 1999-2001 and 2010 (grant INTAS No INTAS-97: 20280, grant RCSF, LSE, the head of S. Ashwin). During the first phase (4 waves) 1999-2001, they conducted qualitative semi-structured interviews with 250 respondents, combined into four groups, based on specific strategies of labor market transitions of the respondents in four various Russian cities. Among them – scientists of the institute of natural-scientific profile (23 people). During the second phase, in 2010, a survey was conducted, using the same sample, which has become the 5th wave, where only 18 people remained in the institute sample (3 – migrants, 2 refused). The content-analysis of qualitative interviews is used (QDI-Miner program).

Our main analytical approach at the (preliminary) stage of the study was based on the notion of internal stratification process of occupational groups under influence of rapid social changes (reform), which lead to a change in the status of individual and the group in its entirety, as well as the rise in inequality due to insufficient resources.

In this study, the status model is understood as a sum of objective characteristics of position, occupied by an individual or a group in society. It included both, individual characteristics, parameters of the status of scientists (such as qualifications/positions characteristics, income, recognition of scientific achievements in form of incentives), as well as the position of this professional group as a whole in our society. This position (the group's status) depends primarily on state policy in regard to science.

[1] This paper was presented at the 7th Interim Meeting ESA RN 19 Sociology of Professions "Professions and Social Inequalities", Helsinki, 2012.

Our research question relates to the understanding of trends and factors of changes in the status of scientists through their own assessment of these changes.

Government support of science, especially its strategic directions is a common policy feature in this sphere in modern societies. The unique feature of situation in Russia lies in the fact that sciences here, were historically and organizationally developed as a subsystem of the state and traditionally almost entirely depended on government support and priorities in its policy. During the years of market reforms, especially during the first period (prior to the mid-90s), this support has collapsed. Over the period of just two years, an unprecedented in its scale reduction has occurred, which is still, to this day, perceived as a disaster and is assessed as degradation of Russian science: the number of scientific personnel has decreased by 32%, and funding – three times. Throughout the 90s, this situation continued to remain the same. During this time, negative trends in its reproduction, associated with outflow of qualified scientists abroad or into private sector (business), as well as breach of continuity, were being formed and reinforced. Young people stopped replenishing academic institutions due to extremely low wages and lack of prospects, as well as decline in prestige of science and scientific work in society[2].

During the 2000s, under the reform conditions of Russian science, the shaping of an environment for the future development of the professional group of scientists is taking place. This policy is still determined by the state.

Within the structure of Russian science, the share of State sector, by the number of public sector organizations is 39,8%, with its share by the number of employees – 39,8%, Commercial sector – 40,9% and 40,9% respectively, Sector of higher education – 17.1% and 17,1%, Sector of non-profit organizations – 2,3% and 2,3% respectively.

Among organizations involved in research and development, according to the forms of ownership (total in 1995 – 4059, in 2009 - 3546); state owned 73.4% (1995) – 75.1% (2009); private 4,9% (1995) – 8.8% (2009) and mixed 20,5% (1995) – 8,8% (2009).

[2] See: Гохберг Л.М., Заиченко С.А., Китова Г.А., Кузнецова Т.Е. (2001) *Научная политика: глобальный контекст и российская практика*. М: Высшая школа экономики. [Scientific policy: global context and Russian practice]; Гохберг Л.М. Китова Г.А., Кузнецова Т.Е., Шувалова О.Е. (2010) *Российские ученые: штрихи к социологическому портрету*. М.: ГУ-ВШЭ, 2010. [Russian scientists: the traits to the portrait. M., 2010]; Индикаторы науки: 2012 (2012). Стат. сб. М.: НИУ «Высшая школа экономики» [Indicators of science].]

Personnel involved in research and development (total of 1061044 in 1995, 742433 in 2009) in state-owned organizations 77,0% (1995) and 78,9% (2009), private sector – 2,5% (1995) and 9,3% (2009), mixed – 20,3% (1995) and 10,6% (2009).

The main documents that determined the policy during the 2000s were the following:

The outlines of the policy of Russian Federation in the field of science and technology (2002) – has clearly defined the spheres of government responsibility in regard to science and innovation as the singe subject of government control. The document directed public authorities not only to address the problems associated with the development of scientific-technological complex, promote innovation, but also to attract private investment in this sphere.

Since 2006 the “Strategy of development of science and innovation in the Russian Federation for the period until 2015”, has become a key document as well. In recent years, a number of federal programs has been adopted, among them, the most important are “Research and development of priority directions of scientific-technological complex of Russia for 2007-2012” and the federal special-purpose program “Scientific and scientific-pedagogical personnel of innovative Russia” for 2009-2013.

The current state of Russian science combines intertwining positive and negative trends. Scientific funding increased by 5 times during these years. The number of personnel that carries out research work is gradually stabilizing. Russia is maintaining its position among the leading countries in the world in the number of researchers per 10,000 workers engaged in economy (69 persons), but, according to the same indicator, its rating has declined during recent years (for example – Finland – 166 people, Sweden – 126, OECD countries – 74 people on average). Percentage of young researchers once again started to increase, but, at the same time, there is general aging of the personnel – the group of scientists over 70 is growing (6% of the total number of employees of research organizations), 30% - 60 years and older; the share of researchers between 30 and 49 years old has decreased by 20% since 2002. The level of wages in science is higher than the average across the economy and manufacturing sector, but is still 5-10 times lower than in leading developed countries[3].

[3] See: Гохберг Л.М., Заиченко С.А., Китова Г.А., Кузнецова Т.Е. (2001) *Научная политика: глобальный контекст и российская практика*. М: Высшая школа экономики. [Scientific policy: global context and Russian practice]; Индикаторы науки: 2012 (2012). Стат. сб. М.: НИУ «Высшая школа экономики» [Indicators of science].]

Trends of development in the scientific sphere policy:

- establishment of the centre of excellence – concentration of government support resources in strategic directions, as well as for strong research teams and institutes;

- development of evaluation system of the effectiveness of research organizations;

- Integration of science, education and business (core departments and laboratories, scientific-educational, educational-research centres, institutes laboratories as a base for higher education establishments, as well as commercialization of the results of scientific research). This process changes the historically established structure of scientific activity, where research facilities and institutes of higher education (including universities) are separate from each other;

- Reorganization of the public sector of sciences;

- Boosting innovation, including commercialization of the results of scientific research.

The emerging model of science policy includes correct, at the first glance, attempt to integrate, be incorporated into the global trends in this sphere and borrow many institutional designs and models sometimes ill-adaptable to the Russian situation due to historical differences of the development of science model in Russia.

Despite the fact that in recent years, this situation began to change, due to a significant (until the beginning of the crisis) increase in budget allocations for science, science policy remains lesser of a priority compared to the other spheres, and the declared tasks are not completed or not carried out sufficiently enough. As a result, science policy in Russia, according to experts, lacks complexity, continuity and consistency. Implementation of measures is not always transparent, often compartmentalized, deepening inequality without creating an integrated environment for the development of the professional group of scientists.

Generally, state policy of science reform receives a mixed reaction from the scientists. According to the study of Higher School of economics in 2007, the majority of respondents characterized the state of science as crisis, worsening (53,4%), 32,5% - improving.

This is clearly demonstrated by the results of the survey of academic staff, as well as the materials of our own study, focusing on strategies, guidelines and motivations of scientists-“naturalists”.

Let's look at the findings of our study. During the early 2000s, we can single out three main groups in this sample:

1. Scientists that were able to find various resources for self-support of their status – mainly through employment outside of the scope of scientific endeavours – i.e. still conducting some research in their laboratories, but forced to constantly work on the side due to extremely low wages. In this group – respondents, whose extra earnings and part time work were within the scope of their speciality, or they had additional resources (relatives, renting real estate) – 13 people; and those who had permanent secondary employment in a different sphere (3 people – photography, realtor/ real estate agent). This is a phenomenon, which in my earlier studies of the processes of labor market I named «displacing secondary employment», when employment that initially was regarded as supplement, support of their main professional activity, gradually displaces and then replaces it, often times becoming primary occupation. This destructive form of status support, according to the study, really pushed many scientists out of this sphere of employment.
2. Scientists that were a part of successful research teams and scientific associations – typically working in collaboration with their foreign colleagues, or working (heading) commercial structures within the institute (3 people). In the beginning of 2000s, this was primarily through large foreign grants, such as INTAS. Another trend – collaboration with firms of the profile similar to the profile of the institute, conducting applied research for such companies, i.e. market activity. This transition toward commercialization of science was assessed and received by the scientists with a mixed reaction. An example of a laboratory, considered «elite», is very characteristic. Along with all the changes in conditions, came the change in management style, reflecting the changing style of the very existence of science. Former manager of the laboratory handed over the management /reins/ to his younger colleague, since he *"…felt that there was a need to look for some new approaches in today's conditions, which are unfamiliar of unpleasant… Before, we were dependent, so to speak, only on the state. It was something so great and noble. We all understood that we were sovereign people. And now we beg for grants from many sources, prostitute ourselves every time… We sell out like at the marketplace."* Present head of the lab accepted new rules of the game: *"Currently, it is not very easy. Lots of negative points that are quite unpleasant. But, we have to accept them…the worst thing is the constantly changing rules of the game"*. The result is a fairly well functioning mechanism that the respondent characterized as scientific

management, and due to which the lab is developing a specific scientific field and, which, at the same time, ensures a perfectly acceptable level of compensation for its employees.

3. Young scientists that migrate abroad, periodically or permanently (at the time of the study there were 4 people, after 10 years, three of them permanently left to live and work abroad).

We should separately mention young promising scientists – those, who only began their careers and were defending their Ph.D theses in early 2000s.

The following trends in their status change were noted after 10 years: the status of 6 people has increased (defending a dissertation /Ph.D theses/, promotion, obtaining larger grants, awards, incentive in the form of housing, provided by the Academy of Sciences); status remained virtually unchanged – 5 people; status of the other 7 people has changed: a) 1 (1-25) left her research position for the job related to scientific-auxiliary work; b) 3 left for commercial firms; other spheres of activity.

Out of 7 young scientists under the age of 35, only 4 remained working at the institute.

Let us take a closer look at the two opposite groups – those who left science and those who succeeded in 2010.

Those who left science (6 people). There are several subtypes. Moved into the sphere of activity not connected with science (3 people). These were the workers that initially combined their scientific research with continued secondary employment, (2 people), who eventually moved on to their new careers, related to photography. Moreover, these strategies did not produce large income, and even resulted in abandoning this new occupation, as in the case of the chief scientist, who became a guard at an auto firm (1-31m, 59 years). A young graduate student, who left the field of science as well, having retrained to become a veterinarian, and finally ended up working as a self-employed freelance translator, specializing in professional subjects. Three of the respondents managed to preserve a relative connection to their chosen sphere of occupation, becoming consultants, engineers in commercial firms and structures (consulting for major foreign companies in Russia and in England).

-***Transition into a related field of activity***. As an example, young respondents that switch to more profitable spheres of activity – most often, large foreign firms with high salaries, utilizing prior professional experience and knowledge (3 persons). This turning point in their careers has been brewing for quite some time, as a result of active search for more efficient and productive application of their abilities. Motivation and success of this quest are primarily associated with particular aspects of this phase of socialization – mainly, young age, as well as demand for their educational and professional experience in the context of their application on the labor market. Additionally, the fact that the degree of identification with scientific careers of academic type is not very high, aids the flexibility of this quest.

"very many young scientists want to deal with applied science. Especially if they are not particularly good at fundamental (science), then, as a rule, they want to do something useful."

At the same time, this new career path is also facing a crisis, as well as an emergence of a new turning point, i.e., the search for new areas of activity:

"I used to have some sort of a program back then – what I wanted to do. It was very modest. And it is fully implemented. And where do I go from here is not very clear. That is, I somehow was not preprogrammed to move on somewhere beyond that…"

A young scientist, who immigrated to England in ,,, 1990's, was also forced to break from his academic career:

"After all, I…cannot get the money (grant) as a young scientist any more. And I have not achieved the status of "an old scientist" yet… Actually, because I left (Russia) too late. Because my degree is not local (British), I started learning English after I immigrated…"

And although his new career – a consulting engineer at a large firm is progressing rather well, he also does not foresee any substantial future growth:

"I am happy with my status of a British citizen, but as far as my job status – generally speaking, probably not. Because… well, if this was my native language, I would be capable of accomplishing much more".

Thus, a new type of a professional career is emerging. It is associated with scientific background, but not scientific interest, and is aimed at finding highly skilled work, generating high income.

-Departure to a sphere of activity, unrelated to science. For two respondents a turning point was coming for a long time and gradually became the most profound crisis in employment. It started with a failure to advance and promote their scientific research abroad, i.e., lack of adequate market skills under new, changed circumstances. This prompted a search for jobs unrelated to science. Their new professional career is based on amateur skills (photography), which have now been forming new occupational environment and skills.

“…At first I still thought about finding a science, research firm. Then someone suggested, they said – What are you doing? Its nonsense. You basically have a ready-made profession (photography), you know it pretty well. And what you don’t know, you will learn very quickly”.

However, the respondent admits that his identity of a scientist remains intact in his new place of work, helping him rise above its limitations:

“…perhaps these days, in this area, I am one of the most advanced, in a sense, experts in Moscow (…) well, a scientist is always a scientist. Scientist – it’s a diagnosis. – Does it help? – Yes, it helps, because it’s a skill of gathering information, analyzing information… It is just thinking skills, which nowadays practically no one has. Or, perhaps, never did. Analytical skills always help”.

Identification with the sphere of scientific activity is also preserved in social status and professional community orientation.

“still, office people is certainly a deeply alien environment for me. (…) It is simply just uninteresting for me (socializing) with the people there. Absolutely. – Why? – They are different. They are different… A familiar environment for me is some sort of scientific one”.

As a result, new careers, pursued by the respondents in our study after leaving science did not bring substantial income, stable prospects or opportunities.

A young graduate student, who left the field of science as well, having retrained to become a veterinarian, and finally ended up working as a self-employed freelance translator, specializing in professional subjects. She represents a type of an independent career path, associated with a certain type of professional skills, aimed at self-employment rather than recognition at some major hierarchical structures.

Successful scientists in our study (i.e. those who raised their status, with the wages equal or above the subsistence minimum for Moscow) work in two science associations (laboratories) – 3 respondents. One of the laboratories is focused almost entirely on collaboration with foreign scientists (in particular within the 7th Framework Programme of the European Union), as well as large Russian and foreign grants. We should also point out that in recent years, there were actual major grant programs of the Academy of Sciences and Ministry of Education and Science emerging, which were aimed at developing science in strategic directions with the help of active scientific associations and research groups (establishment of so-called “centers of excellence” in science). This helps create and foster an environment for success.

However, assessment of changes in the status of scientists at the individual level will not be complete without evaluating their occupational group as a whole. Materials of our interview provide an opportunity to single out those problems of external environment of their scope of activity that do not offer any grounds for its positive evaluation (as well as state policy), and, in their eyes, continue to be assessed negatively. First of all, this concerns the prospects of science – development of basic research, establishment of continuity in science, as well as creation of institutional infrastructure, encompassing legal and regulatory framework, providing scientific implements, working conditions, etc. Such skeptical attitude towards the position of a professional group as a whole precludes from evaluating the changes in their own status as positive (see table).

Table 1

Structure of organizational problems of scientific sphere as perceived by respondents, 2010

Problem	Citation
State of abstract science (basic research)	Science is dying, that’s for certain, iron clad. Especially fundamental [abstract science] (…) it is practically washed away. It is clinging to life …only because of some inertia, you know, back from the Soviet period. That is, my generation is its boundary. It is moving, moving, aging, getting older…. And behind us is the abyss. (1-33m, male, 62) …it is a common, widespread ideology. Its [abstract science, or basic research] value is unrecognized. Certain bureaucratic mentality cannot grasp it… (1-35m-5, male, 46) they just do not invest in abstract [fundamental] science. Everyone is interested in its practical (applied) utilization. But, from my experience, when certain institutes completely shifted towards applied direction – they eventually simply disappeared. (1-30-5, female, 32) …if these basic [fundamental] studies have already reached the level of practical application, then they find financial support. Foundation – is

	entirely Soviet. (1-27-5, male, 70)
Infrastructure of science	Of course we purchased a few things over these years, but we are still significantly behind in terms of serious equipment. I would like to double-check all of my data… But, it is yet not possible. I cannot do everything with my bare hands! Some things, yes, I can manage. With the help of a device that should have been purchased for 8,000.00 dollars. I made it from trash. I was thinking, I should buy a small new lathe on my own, install it, and, if I need a specific part – I can make it myself on the spot. Because buying all the equipment – it is just not possible! (1-21-5, male, 36) This is a bureaucratic organization (about the fund). A lot of scribble, paperwork, purely bureaucratic, formal, which should all be taken care of by a designated person, but here, it still has to be done by our research staff… gathering these pieces of paper instead of dealing with the matters of science. (1-35m-5). I do not understand the position of the leadership [of state]… - there is no need to invest any money! Well, just make sure that, say, tariff barriers (for scientific equipment and reagents) are dealt with faster, more efficiently, or change taxation system (in science) (1-16m-5).
Lack of adequately trained specialists	…generally speaking, the entire situation is strategically lost, since we should have a budget of 100.000.00 dollars per person (wages), and we are starting with 2,000.00 – a sum of 100.000.00 is definitely unreachable. We can increase this several times by utilizing internal resources, but, beyond that, it becomes an infrastructural government issue…Therefore, competing head-to-head with the leading world centers is simply impossible, not so much due to the lack of finances, as shortage of people – all is scattered, falling apart (…) Mad scientists are the only ones remaining, they don't care if they are getting paid, not getting paid. But they have nothing to work with. And businessmen from science also stayed (…) the problem is people, only people. Personnel. Weak personnel. Weak. Very weak. All over the country.

	(1-20m-5, male, 57) …science has made a huge leap forward…. but here, we somehow put on the brakes, everything is extremely expensive, there are no specialists. Even when we buy a new device, instrument, very modern and expensive, we have no idea how to use it. Because technology became so complicated. Now we have to send a person for training. Then this person has to work. And we have to pay this person, so that he would work, take care of this new equipment. (1-30f-5)
Brain drain internal, external	Remaining, surviving employees, the young ones, are only staying, because they have some sort of personal problems at home (…) tearing them apart and preventing from functioning effectively. You cannot work three hours a day in science. In science, you should work from dawn till dawn [quietly and without pathos]. Such is the specificity of our sphere. But here, the majority of our young employees have some sort of part time work. Working part time – hence, they loose real interest. It's lost. (1-27-5). The state of science – how many, do they say, left (abroad) – 200,000 scientists? Some say, the number is even greater. And somehow, no one has returned. This is a colossal gift for the development of Western civilization – the best, most highly skilled people left Russia. (1-27-5)
Continuity, succession, younger generation in science	Young people do not stay in science for long, they energetically move on to graduate school, but afterwards they try to go into private sector, various firms (…) – restaurant business of some sort, selling electronics, i.e., absolutely unrelated (to science). Some, of course, leave for work to Western countries... (1-22-5, head, female, 70) Do you have any idea, how many young people, especially males, left us during these years. No one really stayed. All gone, and their fate is unenviable. (…) Since they all finished graduate school, successfully defended their dissertations – and went on to sell hardware for cabinets –

	funny, huh? (1-16-5).
Integration of abstract science (basic research) with higher education	…academy told us – either we, you know, economically [put you in disadvantageous economic conditions], or, like in the Anglo-Saxon model, go educate the youth, teach, merge with the university… (1-20-5) It is virtually impossible to combine (experimental basic science) with teaching. If you are, of course, not some super-genius, with energy bursting out of you like some kind of an energizer. (…) But, as long as you have the strength, you should pursue either one, or the other. (1-35-5)
Commercialization of science	This is a psychology of a firm, rather than an institute of fundamental science. Fundamental researchers will not make good businessmen. (1-35-5).
Practice of incentives and performance evaluation of the impact of scientific research	…the amount of these increases (allowances) is so insignificant. And it only happens once or twice a year. Not every month (1-16-5). …it does not reflect anything, damn it, this PRND (measure of impact of scientific activity). …Because people can bust out articles – 10 articles, all about the same thing. Yes, he is getting some bonuses, but this does not reflect the essence of his work. (…) And then there is work… - you keep digging and digging something new, which needs to be checked and rechecked several times, moreover, by several methods, which is simply impossible, since we don't have the infrastructure (1-21-5, male, 36).
Informal practice (corruption)	our president is making a speech, or our prime minister, and they are perplexed – we invest so much money into science! And it must be true, apparently these are very large sums of money that are being invested in it and so forth. Well, you know where it all ends up… (1-16-5). The money should be handed over directly to the scientists. Not some government officials that would manage the entire thing. That's when things will start getting created in the country. And when senior officials are just plundering the money, while scientists are getting some measly pennies

	(kopecks), new technology cannot be created (1-21-5).
Lack of autonomy at work	*Are you satisfied with you position, status in scientific field?* Well, relatively so. If it was not for some organizational problems (…) in terms of my shrinking freedom over managing my own work time (1-35-5).

* * *

Processes of social stratification and inequality in Russian academic science, at the first stage, were due to the destruction of its infrastructure as a result of failure of state policy and the attempts to remedy the situation, utilizing remaining (after the destructive processes) resources, at the second stage.

In the course of these attempts, those scientists that were part of research teams, focusing on international collaboration, were in most advantageous positions. This is one of the main resources for survival and entering the next stage of development. This reflects a positive factor of internationalization on the development of scientific sphere. Another level – is an active effort toward commercialization of research.

A very important aspect of modification of the status of scientists professional group depends on their own understanding of the prospects of science in society. This is a unique characteristic of this group that closely links their status with the mission of social progress. This study group has not developed a notion of formedness of a unified external and internal environment for the progress of Russian science. In the final analysis, opportunities for improvement are associated with the state policy, which is capable of creating condition for effective functioning of scientific associations, as well as increasing their autonomy in determining objectives of combining fundamental and applied research.

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To a problem of a "new wave" of drug distribution in the Internet

There are dramatic changes in the drug situation in Russia last years. The emergence of new types of drugs has been relatively a new phenomenon (the study was conducted with the financial support of RFBR № 12-06-00117a). The concept of "new drugs" - is the common name of various advanced substances, which stimulate altered state of consciousness (ASC) through its impact on the central nervous system. This phenomenon has spread around the world, but in contrast to Russia, in international practice the "new drugs" has been understood primarily as synthetic drugs.

In Russian practice the term "new drugs" unite a variety of substances and new ways of changing consciousness: "analog drugs", "designer drugs", and "club", "legal", "recreational drugs".

Understanding the enormous danger, which is, on the one hand, drug addiction, drugs, and drug trafficking, and on the other hand - informational effects (primarily negative) of deviant online communities, has led researchers to investigate the problem of Internet influence on the distribution of new drugs. Despite the fact that the number of online communities and users involving in Russian Internet are constantly increasing the problem is new and not in the focus of modern Russian scientific researches, being at the periphery of human studies. That's why sociological analysis of deviant online communities is very relevant to-day. It has also a strong practical significance, because the increase of Internet users generates the increase of online communities, including those of deviant orientation.

The main goals of the research are to study the peculiarities of the formation of such groups and the dynamics of their interaction with other online communities, to analyze the motivational structure of people involved in them, to consider the level of risk that represent these communities, both in a virtual space and in the daily life. The study is organized around several key situations: the investigation of anti-drug, drug and pro-drug (with latent propaganda) Internet space; the research of the relationship between the Internet resources and the current drug situation, the study of social characteristics of Internet drug users, involved in the network activity; the identification of motives, reasons and needs, leading the user to online deviant communities.

In the project Internet is considered both as an object of the study and as a tool for sociological research. Several waves of on-line research have been conducted to obtain data on the prevalence of "new drugs". In addition to traditional quantitative methods of inquiry researchers have analyzed pro-narcotics virtual groups in popular Russian social networks ("In contact", "Classmates" etc.), as well as on-line focus groups and web-discussion on the problems of drug abuse. Researchers were monitoring pro-drug and drug virtual groups as well as Russian and foreign websites, reflecting the drug problem (over 200 sites) for several years. The statistics of Russian and international search engines (Yandex, Rambler, Google) have been collected and analyzed. On-line survey of teenagers - Internet visitors (N=120), parents (N = 120), students – members of special on-line students' groups (N=178), and also members, moderators and owners of drug and pro-drug sites was conducted.

To analyze the content of Internet resources special methods and techniques have been developed. They have allowed to review and evaluate websites, blogs, forums, referring them to anti-drug, drug or pro-drug orientation, in particular measuring the level of risky/safety information for population. The researchers conducted several web-discussions with drug users (N=22) and focus groups (N=4) with experts (narcologists and narcologist-psychiatrists) in a popular network group "Doctor Narcologist". The analysis of comments at forums has allowed to obtain information on such questions as the attitude to recent government measures of regulating drug trafficking (resolutions №144 from 22.02.2012 and resolution № 491 from 18.05.2012) and control of Internet resources (Federal law № 139 from 28.07.2012), the attitude to the legalization of some surfactants, motives of using «new» drugs.

Conducting online research for such latent topic as drug using has required several new methodological steps.

The first step was to study the statistics of Russian and international search engines (Yandex, Rambler, Google) and to survey networks' users. For this purpose we have modified native and foreign polling on-line technologies (N. Doctorov, M. Cooper and others), that have allowed to form various panels, including highly specialized (for example, "expert panel", "parent panel", the panel of "controlled consumption"). Single-stage and multi-stage sampling were used.

The second step was to develop relevant methodology of researcher's behavior in order it was possible to contact in drug and pro-drug on-line communities (conferences, forums, blogs and chat rooms) as a fully-fledged participant. The method of participant observation has allowed studying the specifics of forum network communication: characteristics of communication, ethics problems, advantages and disadvantages of virtual communication (anonymity, more uninhibited behavior, obscene language or ignoring). Researcher had to identify themselves with participants of narcotic forum. Communicative space (whether it is a chat or forum) usually rejects outsiders, that are not accepted the rules of the game. In this respect, the introduction to the drug-community was a huge challenge.

There are several Russian drug and pro-drug communities, located on native or foreign hosting, which were investigated: http://www.drugusers.cc, http://www.behigh.org, http://www.narkop.com, http://drugspace.info, http://shamanika.biz, http://www.ekohome.ru, http://wayaway.biz. In this situation the traditional method of participant observation had limitations. It was necessary to hide our affiliation to a scientific team in all forms of social networking. Members of the community feared the on-line introduction of drug enforcement officers or employees of Federal Drug Control Service under the guise of ordinary people; therefore moderates usually located the IP address and found the information of new participants. The research team had to communicate with drug users only from home computers, because the Internet provider of The Institute of Sociology of Science was well-known and easily recognizable so the research team could be revealed by the administration of the site and cut off. First attempts to communicate from institute's computers failed, ending complete blocking of the logging. The work had to start from the very beginning. Members of the research team have developed legends, pretending to be drug consumers or their relatives. Only after several unsuccessful attempts and after hiding the true purpose of joining to the community and specifying the imaginary reasons of the interest to the site, researchers were adopted as members to this community.

Many narcotic sites, selling drugs, are hidden under harmless names: "Organic pharmacy", "Ethnobotany", "Shamanism" , "Orchard", "Botanical garden", "Household chemical" etc. New designer drugs are sold under the guise of flower seeds (such as Salvia, Hawaiian rose, blue Lotus), food for plants, bath salts, spices, incense, smoking mixes or powder for jewellery. Despite the fact that Smoking blends with narcotic effect, representing a strong hallucinogens were banned in 2009, their selling didn’t stop in the Internet. These mixtures can be added by diphenhydramine, phenazepam, rat poison, fly agaric, reinforcing the hallucinogenic effect. Also mixes are often supplemented with synthetic substances. Also the market offers a lot of variants of synthetic cannabinoids.

A review of websites devoted to the phenomenon of drugs, has allowed classifying Internet resources on their role in the encouraging in drug usage. Three types of sites were identified: anti-drug sites which primary purpose was the prevention; narcotic sites that promoted lifestyle of addicts, their values, attitude to life, appeals to try everything in this life etc., and so-called "harmless" narcotic sites carrying a hidden propaganda of drugs (pro-narcotic). Comparing two groups of users, visiting pro- and narcotic sites has showed that there was a correlation between them. With the lapse of time the members from pro-narcotic sites supplemented narcotic sites, increasing the number of participants. New consumers were coming to replace the old ones. There was a constant replacement of participants. Changes of the proportion between new members and the "old" ones can be viewed as an indicator of changes in the drug situation in the country.

The analysis of pro- and drug sites has allowed allocating a two-tier structure of the virtual and real drug community. Real community consists of groups of co-drug using, between which the rotation of surface acquaintances consumers is carried out. Off-line community is trying to hide their attitude to drugs and prefers a strategy of avoidance of social control. Virtual space due to the anonymity allows lifting many restrictions. The virtual community of drug users is formed around the sites of the relevant issues. The most active part of this community uses the Internet to formulate their position on drugs, to feel belonging to the group of "friends" in spirit, to oppose their specific morality to society, according to which drug use is no worse or even better in some cases than the popular public consumption of alcohol. Drugs online community forms the common subcultural space as well as ideas about the possibility of easy control their consumption. Drug use is becoming the norm. Virtual and real drug spaces are intertwined and nourish each other.

The existence of virtual drug communities significantly limits the possibility of social control in overcoming the deviations in the society. The virtual environment and modern technologies provide unlimited opportunities for various kinds of communication among drug users, including trade and covert propaganda that together allow of their unity. It is impossible to eliminate these communities only by negative sanctions such as arrests, bans, closing sites, destructive interference. However, in modern Russian drug policy is dominated by repressive measures of fighting with drug addiction, expanding structure departments of control the drug distribution and the market.

One approach to understanding the principles of constructing online communities is that team members have the opportunity to meet, get to know each other, have information about other members of the community. The basis for shaping the network community is lying in the interest of its members in constant and regular interaction with each other, which may affect the spread of drug addiction among the population.

Virtual communities have breadth geography and considerable permeability of borders. They include people, usually with a higher social status. Belonging to online drug community allows them to fulfill essential social needs such as the need for affiliation (N-Affil), the need for achievement (N-Ach), the need for leadership and communication, etc. It is important for drug users because they feel themselves both "special" and stigmatized. The analysis of drug users’ comments, postings and on-line diaries has shown that belonging to drug community helped them in self-realization which could not be reached in other activities off-line. Narcotic online community – is a very special community of people with their own values, semantic intentions, cultural paradigms, with its history of personal growth. Drug users themselves on the one hand are often tend to the mimetic behavior, and on the other hand, are characterized by opposite views. Both of these requirements are easily satisfied in the Internet and represent the mechanisms of initiation to drugs.

There is a creation of different kinds of drug communities which intensify their internal communications through the opposition to hostile surroundings. They point to a fundamental similarity of alcoholism and drug addiction as a form of deviant behavior, and on this basis put on the discussion about "softening" social norms of sobriety, or even about "legalization" of some drugs.

The feature of Internet communication is that all contacts in a group of like-minded drug users are a form of negative solidarity and have a high-risk for every virtual group, particularly for the youth. Virtual drug user’s communities have much less ways to demonstrate their compatibility than real communities of addicts, but their need is also high, so they actively use the Internet to satisfy it. Every virtual consumer is interested in expanding their experience, comparison and approbation. It is found that the virtual acquaintance turns into real contacts, for example, concerning the purchase and sale of drugs.

Getting on with drug information found on sites, forums, etc. is a mechanism of the so-called "exploratory phase" of narcotization, which promote a formation of motivation for drug using both for neophyte and for mature drug consumer. The Internet allows to intensify this search mechanism and to satisfy the need for cognition. In this case, the Internet, as well as a close circle of friends - drug users, is a transition-tool from "exploratory stage" to a stage of drug use, with subsequent move to "heavy" intravenous use.

Research materials of drug users in online communities have shown that some characteristics of the first trials of drugs were very stable and didn’t change. Standard schemes of first drug test are the same that we studied in the late twentieth and at the turn of the century.

The motivation of drug use has changed. One of the main factors at present is age. The younger groups are characterized by a hedonistic motive. The older groups are characterized by the whole set of motives without clearly defined hierarchy, varying from hedonistic to escapism, the latter is more typical for use in group. There is a tendency to have no protest motivation at the first test drugs. Moreover, Internet users highlight the internal readiness for the first trial, despite the knowledge about possible consequences of drug using.

The particular importance has the fact that, despite the limited representativeness of the statements of online drug communities the researchers were able to identify a specific group of drug addicts that successfully slipped of the attention of the "officials" from various departments and couldn’t be detected by medical or police statistics, but in their online communities were accessible, honest enough, and sometimes even used real names. Modern consumers and drug users have different characteristics and values, rather the consumers of the late twentieth century. Such latent narcotization of the population, which in some ways can be attributed to an emerging middle class, is completely a new trend, reflecting the currently yet poorly understood causal mechanism of narcotization associated with "new drugs". The research have revealed a mass habit of emotional stimulation that created preconditions for the formation of positive social attitudes for recreational and episodic consumption of "light" stimulants ("safe", "without harm") for such purposes as "to relax", "for the party", "for the company", "to enhance the consciousness" etc. It represents such a serious danger that all forms of social control, starting from the state and ending with the institutions of civil society, including religious ways of regulation should be involved in the process.

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Sociology of a social orphanhood: yesterday, today, tomorrow

The Russian state system of protection of the rights and interests of orphan children and children without parental support, totals centuries-old history – from the practician of public care and religious support before full state providing children of this category. Certainly, practicians of assistance to children without parental support, were determined by a social situation and features of historical development of the society, inherent to a concrete era.During an era of patrimonial societies, functions of the device of orphans were a community prerogative. The leading reason of a children's orphanhood at this time was the death of parents, and the orphan most often was on care of the close relatives. Also the form of support of the orphan all sort practised. This practice of support was very steady, especially in rural areas:orphan children adopted either relatives, or neighbors, or their contents was under construction by the principle of "serial accommodation" in community families. That is, as the first forms of contempt of orphan children in Russia adoption and a prototype of the foster device of the child acted.

In process of development of society and growth of big settlements and the cities, there is a new contingent of children without parental support: the illegitimate and thrown children. With arrival to Russia Christianities, the care of orphans is assumed by church. According to the Church charter of 996 of Grand duke Vladimir conventual undertook to contain in the territory "almshouses, hospitals, houses for wanderers, orphan and widow houses, and it was provided to allocate for their contents not only conventual funds, but also the tenth part of the princely income". [Шерешевский, Сидоров, Бодиарук, 2000] On an equal basis with church contempt of orphans, I have active development of the practician of public contempt: this activity was considered as charitable business, and many "benefactors" accepted orphans on education, helped with the content of orphan establishments.

The first establishments of contempt of the orphans, appeared – food houses, educational houses, shelters - contained in Russia on "handouts of philanthropists" with insignificant support of the state. For the first time the state support to these establishments was given at Peter I who in 1715 issued the decree about opening of hospitals and almshouses "for shameful babies who daily die and are destroyed" (the code of laws, the decree 2953), and in 1723 - decrees about opening of educational houses for training of orphan children were prepared. However after Peter's I death many of them were closed. [Ключников, 2002. P. 8.]

Only in the second half of the XVIII century, during Ekaterina's II board, after many years of an inattention to a problem of contempt of orphans, the system of educational houses started reviving:Imperial educational houses - in 1764 in Moscow, and in 1770 in St. Petersburg open.Activity of these establishments was under construction by the principles of schooling of the child to work, isolation from the corrupted society, a ban of corporal punishments, individual attention to the child.Everyone the orphan trained in craft which would give the chance to it to support further itself most:prepared doctors, rural teachers, midwives, nurses, telegraph operators, horse trainers and skippers for merchant marine fleet.[Сидорова, 2004]

In Russia the XIX century development of legal base of social support and protection of the rights of the orphan child goes slowly, first of all – because of a lack of financing. In spite of the fact that position of orphans was the focus of attention Pavel's I wife, empress Maria, to the second half of the XIX century education of orphan children was carried out on money of "philanthropists". In the late thirties - the beginning of the 40th of the XIX century in the country there were shelters for neglected children of urban population. [Сидорова, 2004] Social adaptation of children in educational houses of that time was carried out in the following directions: those who mastered the diploma, transferred to craft classes where boys taught tailor's, shoe, binding business, and girls – to housekeeping, needlework, prepared for a profession of teachers, governesses, teachers. As in educational houses mortality was very high, children began to transfer more often to families, generally country, to education. Thus, on an equal basis with the state contempt of orphans, during this period such form of the family device of children, as foster education is widely adopted.

By the beginning of the XX century the main forms of contempt of orphan children in Russia were: guardianship, serial stay of the child in community families, paid education of children, adoption, the room in agricultural shelters. The death of parents, their madness, unknown absence more than three years, a Siberian exile, throwing on the street of the child was the main reasons for an orphanhood during this period. In the XX century to the list of these reasons deprivation and restriction in the parental rights.

The Soviet period differs active participation of the state in questions of a family, motherhood and the childhood.The Soviet government destroyed the mechanism of socialization of orphan children, the institute of a family appeared under the threat:the new ideology approved need of reduction of a role of a family up to full transfer to the state of educational functions.Such family policy was reflected and in the legislation:procedure of registration of marriage and its cancellation was simplified, the idea that public education will much more effectively prepare worthy members of communistic society, than a family was actively spread.Since 1917 social security of unprotected groups of citizens and a duty on education of orphans, becomes a state prerogative, there is the relevant system of their education.

Sharp change of moral and valuable norms of society, civil war, economic instability and hunger generated so-called "the first wave" social orphanhood in Russia: growth of number of the thrown children, splash in street children and children's crime. [Сидорова, 2004] After revolution of 1917 in orphanages 30 thousand orphan children, in 1922 - 540 thousand were brought up. [Ключников, 2002] Thus, in the XX century which has brought considerable social and political transformations, idea of a children's orphanhood as a consequence of death of parents changed, and there was a concept of an orphanhood at live parents.

Following, the second, "wave" of a social orphanhood and homeless children in Russia fell on some years after the II World war:"from 124 thousand children who have passed through the children's receiver distributor in Moscow in 1954, the majority left a family:because of a lack of attention – 43%, material neediness – 17,2%, love to "travel" - 14,5%".[Сидорова, 2004]At the same time, at that time there was a debugged system of a state system of orphan children and this wave of a social orphanhood was "quickly extinguished".Let's note that program and methodical ensuring orphan establishments actively develops in this period, in work with children leisure forms of education, art more and more start being used.

Since 1956 in the USSR the organization of systems of boarding schools ("schools of the future" begins according to N. S. Khrushchev) in which orphans, children from dysfunctional families and "house" children were brought up at the same time that had positive impact on formation of family values at orphans. However the weak material security, the closed mode of boarding schools, frequent changes by the child of orphan establishments, barracks bedrooms, a large number of pupils (to 500 people) and absence of individual attention complicated position of orphan children.In 1985-87 a number of the normative documents directed on improvement of process of training and a humanization of education of orphan children, and also on strengthening of material resources of orphan establishments is accepted by the government of the USSR.[Сидорова, 2004]Thus the processes of reorganization accompanied by sharp falling of a standard of living of Russians, were reflected painful image in situation and material security of orphan establishments:at sharp splash in number of children without parental support outflow of professional shots and sharp restriction of financing was observed – all this is deplorable was reflected in level of protection of the rights of children.

And today the problem of a social orphanhood remains to one of vulnerable points of the Russian daily occurrence: so, according to official statistics in Russia for the beginning of 2013 is 643757 orphan children and children without parental support, from them more than 104 thousand are brought up in residential establishments. [Астахов, 2013]. Thus, according to different data, from 85 to 90% of children are social orphans, that is orphans at live parents.At the same time, education of the child in system of the state care is serious risk factor for its development: at children deprived of parental care, health indicators in comparison with "family" children are initially lowered, and in process of stay in institutional conditions there is a lag increase in physical and psychological development, communicative contacts become simpler,the emotional background and efficiency of interaktion is leveled, there are chronic diseases, the frequency of manifestations of emotional and behavioural frustration increases. [Астоянц, 2006; Дементьева, 2010; Дубровина, Лисина, 2002; Мухина, 1989] Besides, the growing out of a family causes formation at the orphan of the personality of "special type" [Мухина, 1989; Прихожан, Толстых, 2005], with a complex of the personal problems, unstable valuable and standard system and the unstable emotional and strong-willed sphere.

Leaving on reaching majority residential establishment, orphans continue to bear "the orphanhood press" all the life: the analysis of specifics of a living arrangement of orphans in society reflects multiple problems in reproduction by graduates of social roles, the solution of household questions, employment and self-sufficiency, interaction with surrounding people,formation of the most guarding behavior. [Журавлева, 2006]It is conventional that family education of children of this category can promote the solution of a number of the problems connected with a growing in orphanage. But today the Russian society sees in orphans additional loading for normal functioning of society: these children are considered as the undesirable neighbors, dangerous friends, unpromising spouses (installation about bad heredity), and some shortcomings of their social competence are often perceived by employers as the undesirable traits of character which aren't subject to adjustment.[Собкин, Адамчук, 2006]

High level of uncertainty of future changes of conditions of a living arrangement of orphans makes rigid demands to educational systems used today in Russia and socialization. Available experience of the device of orphan children and children without parental support, causes of critical revision of methods and approaches to a problem of a social orphanhood.Let's notice that very often the Russian specifics doesn't give the chance of the direct appeal to the decisions long ago approved in the West.At the same time, the analysis of scientific literature shows that the main vectors of scientific search within the put problem are: assessment of qualitative characteristics of institutional changes of scales, structures, problem field and nature of a social orphanhood as phenomena of the Russian social reality; studying of the nature of social problems of an orphanhood in interrelations of status characteristics and aspects of health of the personality, definition of structure of their social identity; identification of the most actual directions of the training of specialists working with orphan children and graduates of orphan establishments; definition of possibility of rehabilitation of a blood family of the child and expansion practician of the family device of orphan children; designing of "a social portrait" foster homes, the experts working with orphans and social orphans; determination of features of strategy of integration and living arrangement of children of this category in social space of modern Russian society. Thus, we will conclude that the Russian researchers who are taking up the problems of an orphanhood, have before themselves a wide field of activity.

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On the Attitude to Religion in Europe and Russia in the Beginning of the XX Century

In search of overcoming the surging crisis the world where we live in is getting deeply globalized. In this situation, the perpetually criticized for class-approach considerations about freedom of conscience the beginnings of which were formed in the bourgeois and socialist states have been reviewed. And if earlier the former traditionally supported religion while the latter practiced atheism then now much has been changed precisely the other way around. On its way to bourgeois advancement Russia shows the obvious change from atheism to religion while the impetuously liberalized Europe on the contrary not only welcomes secularization but sharply criticizes religion as well.

There is no surprise that Dutch authorities initiated abolishing the law of 1930 which defines insulting God as a crime. Arguing that since the law had not been applied within half the century the political parties and Parliament considered it as invalid. Secularization of this kind is being observed throughout the contemporary Europe especially of Christianity and Christians. "Domination of a tough now and then aggressive secularization leads to that Christians are being ousted from public life," is emphasized in the Declaration of Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, "public declarations and actions dictated by Christian faith … cause a negative reaction" [Zajavlenie, 2011, p. 19]. European civilization has been swept over with Christianphobia.

Strivings to marginalize Christianity, to oust it to private life has been given a portrayal reflection in the European justice. Thus, for instance, British Christians, indignant with that three quarters of their lawsuits filed to European Court of Human Rights are not satisfied complain about legal discrimination of the believers since just bearing a body cross may cause a discharge from a job in Court of Strasbourg. Much due to similar court's decisions, says Chairperson of Department of External Church Relations at The Russian Orthodox Church Metropolitan Bishop of Volokolamsk Ilarion (Alfeev) "the majority of Europeans … have begun living according to secular standards of the consumer society" [Ilarion, 2012, p. 37]. Curiously, defense for the rights of the European believers was put up not only by The Russian Orthodox Church, but Russia's Ministry for Foreign Affairs, too.

Possibly, in the nearest future many of the emptied Christian temples in Europe will be converted into "churches for atheists", the first among them has been recently opened in London. There Sunday services are held by two actors. Young people the majority of which belong to middle class instead of The Bible read "Alice in Wonderland". The like attitude to Christianity is rather typical for Europe. Recently in many European cities Christmas trees proved to be prohibited. That is why in Belgium's capital on the central square instead of one there was installed 'an electronic winter tree", and Christmas week was renamed into 'sales week'.

European ideologists tried to estimate these tendencies at the International Congress "Reviewing Europe without Religion", which took place in February 2013 in Vienna. According to a speaker's statements at the congress German sociologist M. Rosenbrodt "the modern Europe is a heterogeneous project". Because of this any references to religious traditions may not, and are not to be perceived positively. Deterring European Integration they just "stir up opposition to cultures". Eventually the German sociologist concludes: "The only 'religion' which can be put as a basis for European identity is a civil society where "the holy" is an exercise of human rights and freedoms" [http://www.laitman.ru].

In Russia, as known, the situation is radically different. Responding to the requests of religious organizations (firstly Moscow Patriarchy and several Spiritual Administrations of Muslims) in September 2012 The State Duma got down to designing a draft law 'On Defense of Religious Feelings and Faith of Believers'. And the citizens of the country approved the lawmaking activity. A conducted by VCIOM (Russian Public Opinion Research Center) that month public opinion research showed that "the majority of the Russians supported making punishment for insulting believers' feelings more severe" [http://www.newsru.com]. Together with this Russian liberalism-supporters strongly protest against this draft law. Due to this 16 April 2013 The State Duma rejected initially provided in the draft law criminal responsibility for insulting citizens' religious feelings.

The lawmakers try to ease the raised contradictions. In this connection they suggest incorporate the rules making punishment more severe not only for insulting feelings of believers but not-believers, atheists, as well into the law. Though, they are sure to fail to satisfy their opponents completely. Some of them still object to passing the law, particularly, because there are a number of definitions which are far to be perfect.

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Nonverbal cues in respondents` emotional reactions as means to improve the quality of sociological survey tools.

A Sociologist receives information about the subject of research from respondents – be it the state of society, different spheres of society, the evaluation of the social phenomena and other problems. Ways of acquiring information in sociology are diverse, but the most popular is a questionnaire. One will not always indicate the truthful answers in a questionnaire. It can be attributed to many conscious or unconscious psychological and social causes or errors of tools, this is why the problem of «situational lies» arises, namely the distortion of respondents' answers to questions, which are defined by the protective behavioral strategies of the person that is fraught with bias and breach of the general validity of the survey data. That is why the question of what person says to what he really thinks and feels is always important for the sociologist. For diagnosis and prevention of offset answer in sociological surveys many techniques and procedure are developed, this article describes the unconventional and innovative sociological method as to how to define the quality questionnaire based on the analysis of non-verbal reactions of respondents at a questionnaire. For this purpose there a methodological experiment was carried out, the main task of which was to estimate whether during pilot studies it is worth to apply an analysis of non-verbal manifestations of emotions and insincerity, as the reactions of respondents to questionnaires, containing sensitive themes.

It should be noted that non-verbal communication along with the verbal is an integral part of the processes taking place in society. A. Pease and B. Pease, interpreting the results of A. Mehrabyan`s research [Mehrabian, 2001, p. 35], in their book «The new body language» note, that 7% of any information transmitted verbally, 38% - vocal, 55% - non-verbally [Pease & Pease, 2011, p.14]. That is to say interlocutors achieve understanding not only through speech itself but through the way words are pronounced and non-verbal manifestations that accompany communication. Nonverbal cues of communication could not be unattended by scientists. Much of the research on the non-verbal signs of human behavior that rightfully belongs to anthropology and social psychology, however, suggests that academic application of it can be widely used in other social studies.

Non-verbal characteristics of human behavior express person`s emotions: something that he tries to say or conceal. Non-verbal signs of different emotions and lies are described in science literature, but there is no uniform interpretation for these. However, the assessment of various aspects of behavior based on non-verbal cues faces academic discredit and often considered to be unscientific. It should be noted that not without a reason. There are many books on this theme, but most of them are so-called «pop psychology for all», which is traditionally not taken seriously by academic sciences. It does not mean that these books contain unreliable information, the most part of them (usually contain no reference) use the data, which many years ago was received by the pioneers in the field of nonverbal behavior studies. The primary sources that contain experimentally validated data should be addressed for the serious study of the theme. These sources are works of P.Ekman and W. Friesen [Ekman & Friesen, 2010], A. Pease and B. Pease [Pease & Pease, 2011], D.Navarro [Navarro, 2009], O. Fry [Fry, 2006], A. Kendona [Kendon, 1981], V. Labunskaya [Labunskaya, 1999], G. Kreindlin [Kreindlin, 2002] and other authoritative authors.

In December 2012, a methodical experiment was prepared and conducted based on the theoretical grounds of the above-mentioned scientists and sociologists` works concerned with the issue of quality of sociological tools. The experiment involved 42 students of different sexes, ages and professions, nominally divided into 3 groups on the basis of emotionality level in accordance with the method «Determining the level of emotionality» by V. Suvorov. 3 cameras were installed in a room so as provide the clearest capture of respondent`s face and cause minimum disturbance. 3 respondents entered the room. One camera recorded a single respondent. Respondents completed the questionnaire, compiled in such a way that each of the questions is programmed to call a particular emotion, namely fear, embarrassment, sadness, surprise, disgust, happiness, anger (6 basic emotions allocated in the works of P. Ekman [Ekman, 2012, p. 74] and 1 non-basic – embarrassment, because it also take place in the opinion polls). A reservation should be made that it is difficult to cause strong emotional reaction by a written question so the *anger* in this case was equivalent to strong *irritation* and *happiness* equated with *fun*.

After filling the questionnaires the participants immediately approached one of the 5 interviewers, which is in accordance with the questionnaire of the interviewer, recorded the words of the respondents about the emotions generated by each of the questions. The number of interviewers was bigger than that of respondents so as to prevent protraction as each respondent took different amount of time to fill in the questionnaire.

Methodological experiment has allowed to establish the following facts:

We received the description of basic emotions, which was allocated in the study, and did comparison of these descriptions with descriptions of other scientists. As a result, we can say that the *embarrassment* is easily discovered by the increased activity of eye movement (look aside, attempt to hide one`s eyes), the increasing number of manipulation with objects, such as a handle or hair, and by the presence of such paralinguistic manifestations as sighs and swallow; *fear* is noticeable on the mouth area, as evidenced by pursed and tense lips, at times slightly opened; *sadness* is detectable by eyebrows turned down, narrowed eyes, drooping mouth corners, groaning; universal characteristics of *surprise* is raised eyebrows and dilated eyes that can be combined with a smile and laughter, in case of a pleasant surprise; *disgust* is recognized on eyebrows brought together, wrinkled nose, tense upper lip; *irritation* show flattened eyebrows and highly compressed lips; a smile, a laugh, smile lines at the edges of the eye - the characteristics of *fun*.

At the same time, facials zones where the particular emotion is better detected were established: fear is better recognized in the mouth area, *embarrassment* - by eyes (nose), *sadness*, *fun* and *surprise* – by mouth, *disgust* - by mouth and forehead/eyebrow area, *irritation* by the eyes, nose and mouth area.

The obtained characteristics helped to find, when the respondents named a question as neutral, but in reality showed emotion. This suggests, that not all the emotions are understood or perceived by people as significant, in the course of the interview dull emotional reactions could be put by the respondent.

Based on the analysis of method, used in the questionnaire and named the "Movies", and on analysis of non-verbal reactions of respondents to the questions which, according to their words, they were willing to distort the response, it can be argued, that the thoughts associated with uncertainty, doubt deliberation and possible distortion, can be revealed by pauses in completing the application form, doubts are exposed by hand movements from one questionnaire answer to another while the respondent stays indecisive, manipulation with objects (pen, hair, etc.) and increased activity of the eye movements .

As for the issues that caused the greatest embarrassment and a desire to distort the answer, half of them are in the sensitive sense of the word, and is associated with the information, that respondents tend to conceal a socially undesirable activities, so these issues are best formulated by projective techniques or other methods, but a few neutral questions caused the same reaction - they concerned patriotism and knowledge of foreign languages, which may be associated with learning in a multicultural university (research conducted in the Peoples' friendship university of Russia), aimed to study languages, so the recognition of not knowing the language or the attitude to the motherland could be seen by the respondent as threatening his «self-concept». Therefore, even in the formulation of neutral questions you need to consider the possible social experience and the conditions of life and work of the future of the respondents.

The study found that, at the time of the work with questionnaire, respondents reveal facial manifestations of approximately 2.5 times more often than the gesture, and 5 times more often than changing posture, while gesturing to 2 times more often than change pose. Also, respondents demonstrate mimic non-verbal signs in the mouth area is almost 2 times higher than in the forehead area, eyebrows and eyes.

The number of non-verbal manifestations demonstrated by girls in all groups of emotionality exceeds the number of manifestations of young people, reflecting the higher emotionality of women, which is consistent with the already established facts.

Finally, we can say, that when at the time of working with a questionnaire in the pilot study the respondent demonstrates any non-verbal expressions of negative emotions, such as - fear, disgust, irritation - it serves as a pretext of correction questionnaire. Signs of embarrassment - the first thing, that says sociologist of low quality of the sociological tools, because the embarrassment is likely to characterize the situation, when «self-concept» of the respondent under threat from his point of view. The surprise and joy in a lesser extent threaten the quality of sociological data, however, when the question is ridiculous and fun refers specifically to the wording of the question or surprise exhibited by the respondent unpleasant - it is also the reason finalize the questionnaire.

The main conclusion of the methodological experiment, described in the article, is the proof of the use of fixation and analysis non-verbal human reactions to the questionnaire for the mass public sociological survey, when working with it in the pilot study. The results can be used in eliminating and correcting the issues, that have the potential to make a shift in the social science data and the results of sociological research. Presented in the paper, the method is promising for the increment of scientific knowledge in the field of methodology.

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The Labor Employmentof Russian Students during Their Studying In the Universities (by the example of St.-Petersburg)

The main peculiarity of modern educational process in higher school is combining study with work by students of full-time department[1]. If there are other modes of study like intra-extramural form of study, extramural or distance learning – some students prefer to study on a full-time department and work. Both studies and work are forms of their employment.

In order to avoid terminological different interpretations we should specify that employment means the participation of people in labor activity including studies, military service, housekeeping, child and aged care [Sociological encyclopedia, 2003, p. 317]. It is considered that employment is socially useful activity of individuals that in most cases provides them with earnings.

This definition allows to consider study and work of students as an employment as far as both types of activities are socially useful and assuming the existence of finance charges like scholarship and salary. If "educational" employment of students means the system of relations that defines the process of studying in the university, then labor employment includes social relations concerning workplaces and participation in economic activity. Quite often the employment of students is classified as secondary, [Konstantinovsky, Cherednichenko, Voznesensky, 2002] but according to definition, secondary employment includes additional job (besides the main), spare time job, odd and single jobs and work by the contract [Labor sociology, 2006, p. 75]. Referring to problems of labor employment of students we cannot assert beforehand what are the kind and nature of this employment and what are the student's priorities in distributionof time and efforts between study and work.

The issue of labor employment of students was touched in national sociology of education in 1990. The combining study with work by students is reflected in researches of T..Petrova, V. Gerchikov, A. Efendiyev, O.Dudina, Y.Vishnevsky, D.Konstantinovsky, G. Cherednichenko, N. Goncharova, V.Tchuprov, Y.Zubova, V. Sobkina, E.Avraamova and others.

According to T.Petrova, in the mid-nineties about half of students of all years were working (46%) [Petrova, 1996,p. 137–139]. Various aspects of labor activity of students were considered in researches of the post-reformist period of 1990-2000 [Gerchikov, 2003;

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[1]In Russian:Rodionova, A 2011, "The employment of students in the context of education", *Theory & Practice of Social Development*, № 7, <http://teoria-practica.ru/-7-2011/sociology/rodionova.pdf>

Konstantinovsky, Cherednichenko, Voznesenskaya,2002; Vishnevsky,Shapko, 2003,p. 286–300, p. 14]. According to G.Cherednichenko "for the last 15-20 years there appeared a new model of educational behavior and labor employment of youth … the increasing distribution receives a phenomenon of entry into the labor-market… during study" [Cherednichenko, 2009, p. 120].

Let us remember that combining study with work by students took place even during the Soviet period, but there were meant evening or extramural forms of education [Minakova, 1991], and labor employment of students of full-time departments functionally had another character. As V.I.Gerchikov notes, student's employment in Soviet period and during the post-reformist period has essential distinction: during the Soviet period the labor employment wasn't a vital need for a student of full-time department. [Gerchikov, 2003, p. 310–324].

In October, 2007 the Scientific-and-educational center of Russian Academy of Sciences of Sociological institute interviewed students of full-time departments of seven higher education institutions of St. Petersburg. The purpose was to determine the scale and character of an involvement of students of full-time department in labor activity[2]. 836 people were interviewed on proportional sample; they were students of the second, third, fourth and fifth years of the state and non-state educational institutions, studying within four specialties: "education and pedagogics", "economy and management", "humanities" and "culture and art". The sample corresponds to the general part of students of the specified profile in St. Petersburg. Let's emphasize that there is a stable prevalence of parts of students studying within these specialties in the general structure of the Petersburg'sstudent community. The part of students studying in State Educational Institutions in 2006-2007 within stated specialties formed more than a half of all students (in State educational institutions - 53,8%, in Non-state- 59,1%) [Education…,

[2]The scientific research in competition of grants in the sphere of scientific and scientifically-technical activity with support of the Government of St. Petersburg "The student on a labor-market: sociological analysis" (scientific adviser – prof. I. Eliseeva). Higher Education institutions: St. Petersburg State University of economy and finance; The Russian state pedagogical university of A.I.Hertzen; St. Petersburg State University of culture and arts; St. Petersburg state engineering and economic university; St. Petersburg academy of management and economy; Institute of television, business and design; Institute of foreign economic relations, economy and politics.

2007,p. 19–21]. Besides, the technique of research included the semi-structured expert interviews with teachers and management of the universities [3].

During developing polling technique "The student on a labor-market" there was made an accent on substantial moments of aspects of study, work and life of the respondents. During developing a technique there was used a research experience of colleagues in the field of sociology of education, in particular, modifications of separate blocks of sociological questionnaires: "Student polytechnician" [Galayeva, Keselman, Ragulin, Tartakovsky,1981]; "Questionnaire of the student of the 4th year" [1984]. Besides, there were included the questions used by us in the questionnaire "The Institute with student's eyes" - the three-years (2005-2007) of monitoring of satisfaction of study of students of one of Non-state Educational Institutions of St. Petersburg –The Institute of television, business and design.The questionnaire for students and the script of the expert semi-structured interviews for teachers and managers of higher school were coordinated with each other. The number of questions, which were discussed during the interview, was duplicated in the questionnaire to compare the obtained data to assessment of the situation by experts. During the research,30 experts representing teaching collectives and administrative-and-management personnel of higher education institutions of St. Petersburg were questioned.

It appeared that, during study in higher education institution at a full-time department every fourth of the questioned students (27,0%) works constantly or earns extra money. Less than a half (44,8%) work or earn extra money from time to time. Thus, more than two thirds of students of a full-time department (71,8%) are involved in labor activity during study in higher education institution with different degree of intensity. Only 6,7% are convinced that there is no need in work or a side job, and 21,5% of respondents had no case to work or earn extra money.

The conclusion about high prevalence of labor employment among students is fair almost for all groups of students considered by us. But the correlation analysis shows us that between them there are also statistically significant distinctions (there was applied Campbell’s calculation of coefficient of Tau-b). In particular, they were found in connection with change of age of respondents (Tau-b=-0, 126 where Sig=0,000) and a year (Tau-b=-0, 098 where Sig=0,002).

[3] 11 Higher education institutions of Saint-Petersburg: listed above and St. Petersburg State University; Baltic institute of ecology, policy and right; St. Petersburg university of technology and design; Institute of economy, culture and business administration. Among experts there are the senior teachers, associate professors and Heads of chairs; heads of structural divisions of higher education institutions, deans and vice rectors of educational institutions of different forms of ownership.

As a rule, the "year" and "age" variables are substantially close enough. The majority of graduates finish higher education institutions at the age of 21 if they enter it right after leaving school (in our selection there are 92% of students entered the university in the first year after leaving school). At the age of 20 students start actively combine study with work (either constant or temporary) - formally it is a middle age of the fourth year students.

But results of a poll of second-year students shows that already during the first year (we will remind that the poll was taken in October) approximately every fifth student has an experience of combining study with work on a constant basis (18,5%), and more than a third of students combining study with work "from time to time" (38,2%). As a whole, more than a half of all students work from a second year (56,7%).

Let's emphasize that the number of the students working constantly, from the second year to the fifth increases: at a third year already every fourth constantly works (25,5%), and at the fifth – every third student (32,5%). Taking into account the periodic employment ("from time to time") the part of working students at the third and fourth years makes three quarters of respondents (74,6%), at the fifth – almost four-fifth of respondents (78,0%). Let's note that, if the part of those respondents who "has no need" in work, from the second year to the fifth is reduced by 1,5 times, the part of respondents who "had no case" - is reduced more than twice.

The distinctions in labor employment are also revealed in connection with an assessment of students of their own financial position (a question was "How do you estimate your financial position?" Tau-b=-0, 207 where Sig=0,000). About half of all respondents holds the opinion that they "have all necessary" (47,3%), in this group with different degree of frequency work more the two third of respondents (70,1%). Every fifth participant of the poll is successful in the material plan ("I am well off, I do myself well " or "I consider myself as the financially secure person"-all together 22,7%), but also in this group works or earns extra money constantly or periodically more than a half of respondents (about 58%).In group of those who estimates the financial position as less safe - "quite good, but for this purpose it is necessary to spend many forces and tight the belt" - two respondents out of five constantly work and the same amount works or earns extra money from time to time. Among students who estimate the situation as difficult ("hardly suffices on the most necessary", or "disastrous, it is necessary to limit itself in the most necessary"), the status of employment is even higher.

On an aspiration of students to work or earn extra money there is some impact of a condition of accommodation (there was applied the calculation of statistics of the Chi-square: $\chi 2 = 20,16$; where df =10, $\alpha = 0,05$: $\chi 2$ dfα =18,31; 20,16>18,31). Work constantly or earn extra money only the four-fifth of all respondentsfrom those who rents rooms or apartments, and who also lives in a hostel. But also among students living in apartments with parents or other relatives the quantity of working makes over 70% (71,8% - for living with parents and 70,2% - with other relatives) though in this case there prevails a temporary character of employment. Among those who own the apartments every second works.

According to our research, the indicators of combining study with work among young men and girls are close to each other (distinctions are in limits of a statistical error), and this statement is fair as for a constant (young men - 29,6%,girls - 26,3%), and for temporary employment (43,7%- young men and 43,4% -girls). The difference is that girls more often (by 1,3 times) don't work in general, than young men.

The number of the students consisting in official marriage at the time of taking a poll was insignificant. Almost three times more people stated that they are in a civil marriage, but the considerable part of students defines itself as unmarried. According to our data, the family relations have no essential impact on labor employment of students. Let's note that those who consists in a so-called civil marriage work constantly more often than other students.

By results of research we drew conclusions about mass nature of labor employment among students; it is established that parts of unemployed students and working constantly are approximately identical and make a little more than a quarter for each case, less than a half of all students have periodic or temporary job.

It is determined that the involvement in labor activity includes students from the first till the fifth courses. The most obvious distinctions between working and non-working students are found in connection with self-assessment of financial position and conditions of accommodation of respondents, a course and age but they almost do not depend on sex, marriage status, place of residence, and the property category of the university, the existence of payment and education program.

To understand the social conditionality of this phenomenon we addressed to a problem of motivation of combining study with work by students.

For identification of motives of labor activity, respondents were offered to answer a question: "How do you consider, for what reason do students combine study and work in most cases?" The repertory of answers included the following variants: to seize the future profession in a better way; to pay expenses on study; it is necessary to earn money for life; there is free time that should be spend with advantage; to feel oneself an independent person; it is a guarantee to get a job right after the graduation from the university; there are many hobbies (music, sports, traveling) that demand means.

The importance of each of seven listed motives should be estimated on a five-point scale. In a scale of answers the value 1 and 2 corresponded to the smallest and smaller degree of importance for the respondent of this circumstance, value 3 had the same degree of importance, as all others among listed, values 4 and 5 had bigger and the greatest degree of importance of the specified circumstance for the respondent.

Main motive of combination of work and study appeared to be "the need to earn money for life" (80,5%) and the desire "to feel oneself the independent person" (73,9%). They prevail at students of any year.

But if "payment for expenses on study" is as actual for second-year students (65,3%), as well as the "desire to feel oneself an independent person" (65,9%), then the importance of this motive decreases for students of each subsequent year , and to the fifth year it is important only for a half of respondents (53,6%). On the contrary, the importance of "the guarantee to get a job right after the graduation from the university" for students from the second year to the fifth, increases by 1,6 times (from 50% to 71,8%) that is quite natural in connection with the coming completion of study and an employment problem. To the fifth year the part of those who would like "to seize the future profession in a better way" increases with that only difference that the part of the students focused on personal independence (74,7%), in one and a half time exceeds a part of those who aspires to profession tops (46,9%).

Let's pay attention to the following fact: "realization of the hobbies demanding means" as the reason of combination of work and study for students it possesses bigger weight, than "opportunity of seizing the future profession in a better way". It means that the majority of the students, participating in poll,don’t consider labor activity during study as a tool of the best mastering of a profession.

From the point of view of the majority of the experts, who mainly truly estimates the scale of this phenomenon, the main motives of combining are "need to earn money for life" and "employment, career" that is closer to version of the answer in the questionnaire "the guarantee to get a job right after the graduation from the university" [4].

The combining study with work by studentsof higher education institution on a full-time department is the widespread phenomenon caused by dynamics of development of the Russian society, its economic and political transformations. Budget volume on financing of the higher education doesn't assume the maintenance of students at the expense of the state grants neither now, nor further, except groups of the population specially marked in the law. Generalizing the

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[4]There was carried out a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the semi-structured interviews, all statements about motives of student's labor employment are aggregated in some categories: "money for life", "employment, career", "study payment", "personal independence", "leisure, hobbies".

situation which has developed in national higher education, M.N.Rutkevich emphasizes that "in the conditions of growing commercialization the main expenses for education in Russia are incurred by the population..."[Rutkevich, 2007, p. 17] that will promote itsfurther differentiation.

The legislative base regulating the relations in education and in labor sphere leaves the opportunity for full-time students to work. But consequences of combining study with work lead to obvious contradictions as in legal and institutional aspects of the higher school, and in the contents of received/not received education. For which reason the conflict relationship between system of the higher education and a labor market seemed to be inevitable.

There were measures provided by reform of the higher education, they were directed on the resolution of this contradiction, in particular ,there was made a transition to two-level system of studying(a bachelor degree - a Master's program),the development of small forms of business at higher education institutions and others. Will it be enough without complex transformations of curricula and the use of new forms of study events for students?

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Heavy Drunkenness: Constructing Deviance

In addiction medicine heavy drunkenness is seenas indicator of problem drinking and lost self-control.At the same time a victim of circumstances (provocation, pressure, hunger etc.) or a novice alcohol consumer may become heavy drunken against his intention.Drunkenness reflects the actual state of mind and bodyas result of alcohol intoxication which is usually the aim of alcohol consumption. The measure and the consequences – that's the problem. Sometimes young people want to be drunken and use it as signs of maturation or protest. ESPAD surveys give statistical signs that even scholars in European countries may desire to get drunk (5 drinks at once). In this thesis we discuss heavy drunkenness as phenomenon of social responding to individual alcohol behavior.

The aim of alcohol policy in Russia is reducing the amounts of consumed alcohol, e.g. preventing people from being heavy drunken or to become alcohol addicted.Heavy drunkenness is referred to as deviance which should be individually treated and need to be socially eliminated. One of the measures in the state struggle against alcoholism was “sobering” in special police stations where heavy drunken people could sleep and “retire” under observation.

The last sobering station for heavy drunken persons found in public places was liquidated in 2011. As a part of police institution such sobering stations were intended to prevent delinquency of drunken persons and to save them as victims of criminal acts. Shortcomings of police sobering system were widely discussed, first of all deficient medical help to drunken persons. So the government took the decision to pass the functions of help and care on to medical institutions. Health care system is now forced to deal with people who often do not need any doctors` intervention. So we see a paradigm change in perceiving heavy drunkenness. The law and police evaluate a drunken person found in a public place as a danger object for environment and for himself, such person should be isolated. The health services see in a drunken person a patient who needs medical support. Both positions underline some weakness and helplessness in a drunken person and treat it as an object.

Health services for drunken people practice universal approach to different kinds of their clients. Heavy drunken person can have alcoholic addiction, be a victim of provocative circumstances or inexperienced consumer. Addiction doctors (narcologists) point out, that the state of heavy drunkenness may intensificate somatic or psychic pathology, that's why a very drunken person need to be observed and investigated by a professional.

We analyzed reports from 69 regions of Russian Federation, which included some statistical data on medical help to heavy drunken persons found in public places helpless and disoriented. Last year about 933 000 people contacted with health services because of the state of heavy drunkenness. About a half of them received medical help in urgency stations, consulting rooms of hospitals.About one third became in-patient.More than one third did not need any help. 7,8% of clients delivered to hospital rejected medical intervention in any way. These data show that medical care for heavy drunken people is not always adequate to the problem.

Personnel of medical services point out the difficulties of the work with drunken clients: aggressiveness, inadequate reactions, opposition to interventions, being in the way of other patients etc. Clinic staff believes that the problem of help to heavy drunken people should be managed in another way. One of the decisions could be transport homewards. But this way out is not discussed yet. Medical staffs consider, that transporting every drunken person to hospitalineffectively exhausts resources of health care system, create fluctuation in the supply of trained personnel, impose help upon clients, let hospitals and doctors to be police stations etc. The other decision could be special “sobering stations” of social type with prevention tasks. Not isolation through police, not medical help for strapping people, but saving people in difficult situations from further complications. Perhaps delivering heavy drunken persons from public places to narcological (addiction medicine) health departments could be the best decision if possible.

The now existing profile of managing help to heavy drunken people also shows some advantages. First, people get medical investigation in critical situations although they don’t care about their health at all. In some regions there were about two-thirties delivered persons who became in-patient because of somatic illness. Second, doctors can use the opportunity for early interventions. Third, addiction doctors get preventive contact to their patients.

Reports from 69 regions discovered a variety of opinions about “sobering help” to heavy drunken people which can be aggregated in the following groups.

1. Liquidation of the police sobering stations was a mistake. Drunken people should be isolated, they do need only observation, their treatment does not exclude compulsion.
2. There is the need for medical sobering stations, which use the resources of the whole health system and care for the health of the population.
3. The structure of medical care and procedures of addiction treatment are well developed, they do not need any changes. The problem is judicial regulation of organizational difficulties: doctor – patient relations, contacts with police (being heavy drunken in public place is a delinquency), costs, special hospital beds, etc.
4. Sobering is a natural process, a drunken person needs only a safe place and professional control. At the same time the efficient work on the social problem of drunkenness should

be organized multidisciplinary on the level of community and include a great deal of prevention and social work.

Comparing Russian and foreign experiences in managing the help to heavy drunken people we see different approaches to social support for an individual in a difficult situation. In European countries a drunken person can be transported homewards or to police station, if he/she breaks the law. Russian systemis aimed at the medical help to any drunken without his/her agreement, and this service is paid by the society. Internet materials in German and English language contain recommendations for surrounding how to help one's friend or guest. Here we see the first trait of drunkenness construction: Russian society prevents consequences of deviant behavior (as stated in the law). In Europe impudence costs moneyfor the acting person. A model project in Bern (Switzerland) created a sober station which service costs like a luxus hotel.

The second trait is alcohol maturity or experience. Heavy drunkenness in Europe is considered as a failure in consuming alcoholic beverages, which should be anticipated. In an internet forum a German user is surprised about people who get drunk and do not have enough money for taxi and home address in the pocket. In Russia we do not have so many kinds of educating support – how to measure the quantities of alcohol, what are the ways to sober quickly etc. So the second trait of drunkenness construction is individual or society's responsibility and reflection.

There is a third trait in constructing heavy drunkenness, which is the same for our countries: drunken person is allowed to break social norms, that's why drunkenness may be a desirable state for some people.

The fourth trait of drunkenness construction is its signature function in dividing generations and genders. This trait is common for most of countries.

As we see, managing the state of heavy drunkenness has its social peculiarities. On the one hand we see the connection with national alcohol policy. On the other hand national programs and practical measures reflect deviance constructions and it is difficult to define what was the first – the egg or the hen.

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Problems of Law Regulation of Activity of Practitioners of National Medicine in Moscow

This paper describes such a great problem as law regulation of the national medicine in Moscow.

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 national medicine and healing is not dried up. According to the Public Opinion Foundation, about 25% of Russians are turning to healers [Salo, 2005, 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 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 healing in modern society is beginning to be studied within the anthropology of professions [Antropologiya professiy…, 2005].

The studywas aimedat identifying theattitude ofthe heads of the Health Care Department of Moscow, heads of professionalassociations andpractitioners of the national medicineto the new rulesfor practice in national medicinein Moscow.

The study was conducted in the limits of qualitativemethodology. There were used: (1) analysisof documents; (2) expert surveyof heads of the Health Care Department of Moscow andheads of professionalassociations; (3) deep interviewswith practitionersof national medicine.

Analysis of Existing Law and Socio-economic Norms in Sphere of National Medicine

Legal and Socio-economic Regulation of National Medicine in Russia

In Russia, the main founding document for the healing activities is the “Fundamentals of Legislation on Health Care of Citizens.” Till 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 «Osnovy zakonodateljstva ob okhrane…»; 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”.

So far, 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№315-FZ, 2007].

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№154-Pr, 2006].

The Federal Research Center of the Traditional Methods of Diagnostics 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.

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.

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.

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.

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 National Medicine

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 practitionersof national medicine and healers from charlatans [Pustj «lechat», 2006; Pozdnyaev, 2006].

In recent years, from 2004 onwards, the mass media has widely discussed the problem of improving the activities of practitionersof national medicine and healers. There were a lot of ideas, suggestions and opinions [Za rossiyskimi magami…, 2004; Belasheva, 2004; Mosgorduma nachinayet, 2005; Mandrik &Parfenenkova, 2005; Palazhchenko, 2005; Novoprudskiy, 2005; Moskovskiye deputaty…, 2006; Rostovtseva, 2006; Ryabinina, 2006]. 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 practitionersof national medicine and healers in Russia [Prikaz№154-Pr, 2006].

In 2010, the question about the activities of practitionersof 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 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№323-FZ, 2011].

Due to the factthat a large number offrauds andcharlatans have appeared in the market of healing services of Moscow,the Department of Health Care of the capital has prepared Moscow Government Draft Decree “On the Procedure of Practice of National Medicinein the Territory of the Cityof Moscow.” [O poryadke zanyatiya…].

Study Results

Analysis of Documents

There have been studied and analyzed such documents as Article50 “National Medicine” of the FederalLaw “On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation” andthe Draft Decreeof the Moscow Government“On the Procedure of Practice of National Medicinein the Territory of the Cityof Moscow.”

1. *Article 50 “National Medicine” of New Federal Law “On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation”*

The analysis of the provisions of Article 50 “National Medicine” (for the full text of this Article refer to Appendix 1) 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 [Tseliteljstvo; Narodnaya meditsina]:

“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.”

“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.”

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 provision of such services does not require permission for healing.

This fact testifies to the social inequality which has arisen since the adoption of a new Federal Law "On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation." The working group members voluntarily or involuntarily admitted unforgivable mistake when creating an article of the new Federal Law on the regulation of activities of practitioners of national medicine and healers. Such huge massive, as healing, has dropped out of sight of medical and legislative oversight bodies, which can lead to serious problems.

2. Draft Decreeof Moscow Government"On the Procedure of Practice of National Medicinein the Territory of the Cityof Moscow"

The analysis of the Draft Decree (for the full text of this document refer to Appendix 2) has shown that practice of national medicine in the territory of the city of Moscow may be fulfilled by Russian citizens registered as individual entrepreneurs, who have a diploma of secondary or higher medical education, certificate of specialist, license for medical activity and get Permission to practice national medicine issued by the Department of Health Care of Moscow. Applicant for getting Permission to practice national medicine must give an application for giving such permission to engage in national medicine to the Department of Health Care of Moscow. The application form is approved by the draft order. Representation of a medical professional non-profit organization or joint representation of a medical professional non-profit organization and medical organization having license for medical activities is necessarily attached to the application.

The practitioners of the national medicine will heal their clients only with their written consent. They will also keep a full documentation: a register of applications and services, individual records having a diagnosis made to the client in health care organizations, his complaints, used methods, sessions and procedures, all changes in his health. The mass healing sessions will be completely banned; occult-magic and religious rituals will not be related to the national medicine in general. Practitioners of national medicine with the Permissions for practicing national medicines obtained in other regions of Russia will not be able to practice in

Moscow; local practitioners of the national medicine would have specially equipped rooms comfortable for their clients.

The analysis of these documents has revealed that it is necessary to make amendments into Article 50 of the Federal Law "On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation" in order to overcome social inequality. In addition, the Moscow Government Draft Decree "On the Procedure of Practice of National Medicinein the Territory of the Cityof Moscow" is contradicted to Article 50 of the Federal Law and should be finalized.

Expert survey

There were interviewed 10 experts and identified different views on the Moscow Government Decree "On the Procedure of Practice of National Medicinein the Territory of the Cityof Moscow".

Below you can see the comment on a draft Decree of the First Deputy of the Head of the Department of Health Care of Moscow of A. Abramov:

"Its goal is to separate the frauds and charlatans from those who really heal people by the time-tested methods of the national medicine. For a long time there has been a legal vacuum in this sphere, the issues of control over the activities of healers are not regulated, so all sorts of witches and clairvoyants can be harmful to health of Muscovites. First of all vulnerable people – the elderly, disabled, poor, etc. are suffer from it. We hope that the adoption of this Decree will help restore order in this sphere."

The President of the "Russian Professional Medical Association of Specialists of Traditional Medicine and Practitioners of National Medicine" V.V. Egorov expressed a different point of view on the draft Decree:

"We are also in favor of the order, but the proposed document contradicts the Federal Law 'On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation', which has an exhaustive list of requirements for practicing such activity. It requires neither medical education diplomas or professional certificates or licenses. In my opinion, it would suffice to three criteria. First – practitioner of national medicine must be registered as an individual entrepreneur or work by Agreement with Health Care Organization. Second – his service must be safe; it may certify the professional medical organization. Third – efficiency of services should be confirmed by objective documentation (data of ultrasound, X-ray, analysis before and after exposure, etc.) at least 10 patients."

The heads of professional associations are in favor of order in the sphere of national medicine and in the market of healing services. Here you can see their comments:

“...the proposed document is contradicted to the Federal Law *‘On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation’”*

“It will not be better after the introduction of the new rules, which are very similar to the redistribution of the market”.

Deep interviews

There were conducted interviews with 30 practitioners of the national medicine from various professional associations of Moscow concerning their attitude to the Moscow Government Draft Decree “On the Procedure of Practice of National Medicinein the Territory of the Cityof Moscow”. The survey showed that they have a negative attitude to this document, the adoption of which will lead not only to significant problems of legitimizing their activities, but also to the existence of national medicine in general. The vast majority of practitioners of national medicine do not have diplomas of medical education and, as a consequence, no specialist certificates or license for medical activities, but they are interested in legalizing their activities. Below you can see a few comments on draft Decree of practitioners of national medicine:

“The real practitioners of national medicine know the secrets how to trigger the immune system to full speed getting to them by inheritance. But I'm not sure that they will learn in medical school or medical institute” (Vladimir, 61 year old, higher education in the humanities, the practitioner of national medicine).

“To us, practitioners of national medicine, people go in a body. People pass the addresses of “grandmother” or “bee-keeper” who helped from mouth to mouth. Why do we need medical diploma and license if we do not go beyond the limits of our authority?” (Gennady, 55 years old, higher education in the humanities, the practitioner of national medicine).

“I have been in national medicine since 16 years when my father was diagnosed with cancer of last degree... I registered as an individual entrepreneur, and I have an office where I take clients. I'm a member of a professional medical association, I have a diploma of medical school, but I have never worked in hospitals, and so I can’t have a specialist certificate. Probably, I can’t get license for medical activities, as get Permission for practicing national medicine in the Department of Health Care. If this draft Decree is adopted, I like other practitioners of national medicine will be working illegally at home...” (Nadezhda, 60 years old, secondary medical education, practitioner of national medicine).

So, the data of the expert survey and deep interviews demonstrate that adoption of Moscow Government Draft Decree “On the Procedure of Practice of National Medicinein the Territory of the Cityof Moscow” can lead to negative consequences.

Conclusion

The key findings of the study are as follows: Moscow Government Decree “On the procedure of practice of national medicinein the territory of the cityof Moscow” is contradicted to the Federal Law “On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation” which is an exhaustive list of requirements for practicing such activity. It requires neither medical education diplomas or professional certificates or licenses. The Draft Decree of the Government of Moscow is a hidden form of prohibition of national medicine in the city of Moscow.

At the screen you can see our suggestions in order to have the right to engage in national medicine in Moscow. We consider it would be enough five criteria:

1. Practitioner of national medicine must be registered as an individual entrepreneur.
2. Practitioner of national medicine should be a member of professional medical association.
3. Practitioner of national medicine 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 should be safe for life and health of citizens what can certify the professional medical organization.
5. Practitioner of national medicine 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, the Government and Department of Health Care of Moscow must finalize the Draft Decree “On the Procedure of Practice of National Medicinein the Territory of the Cityof

Moscow" with reference to Article 50 of the Federal Law "On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation".

APPENDIX 1

New Federal Law "On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in Russian Federation"

Article 50 of the new Law, which is called "National Medicine" and entered into force on January 1, 2012, reads:

1. 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.
2. 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.
3. 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.
4. 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.
5. 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.
6. National medicine is not included in the Program of State Guarantees of Free Medical Care to Citizens.
7. 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.

APPENDIX 2

Draft Decreeof Moscow Government"On the Procedure of Practice of National Medicinein the Territory of the Cityof Moscow"

1. The practice of national medicine in the territory of the city of Moscow must be fulfilled by Russian citizens registered as individual entrepreneurs, who have a diploma of secondary or higher medical education, certificate of specialist, license for medical activity and get Permission to practice national medicine issued by the Department of Health Care.

2. Applicant for getting Permission to practice national medicine must give an application for giving such permission to engage in national medicine to the Department of Health Care.

3. The application form is approved by the draft order. Representation of a medical professional non-profit organization or joint representation of a medical professional non-profit organization and medical organization having license for medical activities is necessarily attached to the application.

4. The practitioners of the national medicine will heal their clients only with their written consent.

5. They will also keep a full documentation: a register of applications and services, individual records having a diagnosis made to the client in health care organizations, his complaints, used methods, sessions and procedures, all changes in his health.

6. The mass healing sessions will be completely banned; occult-magic and religious rituals will not be related to the national medicine in general.

7. Practitioners of national medicine with the Permissions for practicing national medicines obtained in other regions of Russia will not be able to practice in Moscow; local practitioners of the national medicine would have specially equipped rooms comfortable for their clients.

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Strategic directions of healthcare in Chuvashia

Health of citizens as a socioeconomic category is an integral factor of the labour potential of a society and is the main element of the national wealth. Value of health as the most important resource necessary for production of material and cultural goods is determined by the modern tendencies towards reduction of the population reproduction, by the process of its ageing and therefore, by the decrease of the population.

From 1990 to 2012 in the Chuvash Republic there was increase in incidence of the main groups of diseases being the leading causes of death. The number of cases of blood circulation diseases increased by 1, 7 times, cases of malignant neoplasm diseases – 1,7 times. The number of cases of the musculoskeletal system and connective tissue diseases, leading to disability increased twofold. In addition, the most common diseases of the population of the Chuvash Republic are respiratory diseases, injuries and poisoning.

Under circumstances of the current demographic situation it is urgent to create the necessary conditions for preserving the health of the people living in the Republic. Achievement of this goal requires ensuring of the accessibility to prevention, diagnostics and treatment of diseases using modern medical equipment, as well as high-quality and effective drug therapy.

Creation of conditions for improving the quality and availability of medical aid to citizens of the Russian Federation in the Chuvash Republic taking into account the demographic situation is a priority direction of the state policy in the sphere of healthcare.

In the messages to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation the President of the Russian Federation outlined the ways of improving the situation in the sphere of healthcare:

-revival of the disease prevention system;

-forming a culture of healthy lifestyle;

-creationof the favourable conditions for birth and education of children;

-strengthening of the primary medical aid system;

-ensuring the accessibility and high quality of the medical care,including medical rehabilitation and health resort treatment;

-increasing the availability of high-tech medical services.

The implementation of these government initiatives by 2013 is characterized by the following indicators:

-there is a change in the trend of population decline - for the first time in 20 years the natural decline in population has been replaced by natural increase and amounted to "plus" 0.7

per 1 thousand of population (compared to Russia as a whole - 0, Volga Federal District (hereinafter - VFD) - minus 0.7);

-there was an increase in the birth rate - in 2012there were born by 1233 babies more than in 2010 (16,174 vs. 17,407)in the Chuvash Republic. The birth rate increased by 8.5% and amounted to 14.0 per 1 thousand of population (Russia - 13.3, VFD - 13.2);

-there has been a decrease in mortality - the number of deaths in 2012 compared to 2010 decreased by 1,628 persons, the rate of total mortality of the Chuvash Republic decreased by 8.3%, amounting to 13.3 per one thousands of population, while remaining consistently below the average indicator for the Russia as a whole (13.3%) and VFD (13.9%);

-a decline in infant mortality is registered - in terms of infant mortality Chuvash Republic fills the 1st place in the VFD. In the Chuvash Republic 90 children died in their first year in 2012, or 5.3 per 1,000 live births (RF - 8.7, VFD - 7.7);

-there was an increase in life expectancy - as a result of the positive dynamics of fertility and mortality, the life expectancy of the population increasedin the Republic in 2012 up to 70.6 years (2.06 years compared with 2010).

Thus, in many ways the negative trends in the condition of the system of diagnosis and treatment of major diseases of social importance were overcome, there were significant positive changes in the demographic situation caused by the effects of the 90-ies. The foundation for further improving the health status of the population was laid, its gradual approach to the European level is expected.

However, a comprehensive analysis of the health status of the population of the Chuvash Republic indicates the presence of the following problems in the medical and demographic situation:

-that the reduction in population by 1% per year is anticipated while increasing the proportion of older people, reducing the share of the working population;

-the leading causes of death are cardiovascular diseases, trauma, poisoning and certain other consequences of external causes and neoplasms;

-the indicator of primary morbidity and prevalence of diseases in the Chuvash Republic are higher than those in Russia.

- according to the statistical calculations, by 2015 the projected increase in the incidence of neoplasms is anticipated by 22.7%, diseases of the blood and blood-forming organs - by 33.5%, endocrine diseases - by 24%, diseases of the nervous system - by 30.4%, eye diseases - by 22.4%, diseases of the circulatory system - by 32.5%, respiratory diseases - by 17.6%, diseases of the musculoskeletal system and connective tissue - by 27.7%, diseases of the genitourinary system - by 30.3%, pregnancy complications during and after childbirth - by 32.5%;

-there is a tendency to increase of gynecological diseases among women.

In addition to the need to solve the existing problems associated with a number of global trends,the further development of the health care in the period up to 2020 leads to the need for restructuring the health care system - measures addressing the priority issues of the prevention of mortality and morbidity are bound to be undertaken, as well as the development of the health care system itself - ensuring access to health care and improving the efficiency of health services, its bulk, types and quality which should correspond to the incidence and needs of the population for advanced achievements of medical science.

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Creating an Image of Power in the Russian Media in Covering Large-scale Terrorist Attacks[1]

Annotation

The paper presents an analysis of the power of the image, constructed by the Russian media in the coverage of large-scale terrorist attacks in 2002. (Northeast), 2004.(Beslan), and 2011.("Domodedovo"). The analysis is based on secondary data content and analytical studies of the Russian press, previously held by the author.

Keywords: power, the image of the government, the media, social tension, conflict, terrorism, content analysis, public opinion.

One of the main functions of government - is to ensure political stability in society. The famous Russian scientist G.Yu.Semigin writes that for "the prevention of threats to political stability to determine the causes and possible consequences of such phenomena as distrust political leadership, low ranking authorities and political leaders, the lack of effectiveness" vertical of power "in the country and etc. [Semigin, 1997, p. 117].

It is especially dangerous for violation of political stability condition of social tension, which may be due to the sharp change in the state of people in a negative direction on the background of an emergency, a threat to society members. Large-scale terrorist acts can be attributed specifically to such emergencies.

First of all social tension in these situations is shown on the socio-psychological level and is characterized by a loss of confidence in the authorities, the fall of the authority of government, pessimism, the emergence of the mass of the atmosphere in the community mental anxiety and high levels of emotional arousal, which may in some degree preheated media activity on the coverage of the terrorist attack and the events surrounding it.

In particular, this is manifested in the formation of a negative image of the government, which is one of the main actors in a situation of social conflict associated with large-scale terrorist attack. This is due, first, the desire to enter the media in response to emotion-psychological state of public opinion, and secondly, the fact that negative information is selling more positive. This editorial policy plays into the hands of terrorists, as the introduction of a negative image of public opinion authorities violates the stability of society, and this is one of the most important goals of the extremists. Terrorism, therefore, by the same editorial policy of the

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media undermines the system of state power and administration, provoked fierce people, chaos and disorder, reducing the efficiency of the management of society and exercising pressure on the government for their own purposes. As a consequence of the media become a tool of influence as terrorists on the power structures, and on society as a whole.

In connection with the foregoing analysis of the particular significance of the editorial policy of the popular Russian mass media in terms of their particular way of constructing power during the coverage of terrorist acts. The aim of this work - a comparative analysis of the editorial policy of a representative of the Russian press in terms of constructing the image of power in the situation of a terrorist act for the past ten years, to identify possible stable patterns and changes that have occurred over the period.

To solve the problems in this paper uses the results of a secondary analysis of data from three content-analytic studies conducted earlier by the authors. They studied the Russian media coverage of large-scale terrorist attacks: November 2002 - the taking of hostages in Moscow during the musical "Nord-Ost", September 2004 - the hostage-taking at a school in Beslan, in January 2011 - an explosion at the airport "Domodedovo".

As the empirical source was chosen daily popular publication - the newspaper "Moskovsky Komsomolets" (hereinafter, "MC"). This publication is a typical representative of mass media, has a large circulation and quite popular among the mass audience.

The method of data collection and analysis in primary studies is a content analysis, as it allows a formalized way to explore large text arrays, highlighting aspects of the information in them that do not lie on the surface. In order to detect latent aspects of the content related editorial policy source was used to encode the analysis units.

The unit of analysis in these studies was a separate finished printed material on how to direct events around the illuminated attack, and everything connected with Chechnya, the North Caucasus, terrorism, Islam, and ethnic relations. In a secondary analysis of data items selected those that contained any reference to the power structures and their representatives. As the power is always one of the main actors of the social conflict as a political attack, and then for secondary analysis was selected by nearly half of the units of analysis of the primary array.

For the primary analysis were selected in 2002, 130 materials (from October 25 to November 14), in 2004 - 134 of material (from 2 to 24 September), in 2011 - 54 material (from 25 January to 17 February). Limitation of time periods associated with the degree of intensity of the appearance of materials related to the attacks - by the end of the third week she was on the decline. In the second array 56, respectively, were materials of 2002, 62 of 2004, the material 26 and the material of 2011.

We begin with an analysis of the image of power in the "MK" in 2002. Selected for secondary analysis of the materials contained in the following thematic blocks:

1. Estimated relation to the war in Chechnya.
2. Assessment of the vulnerability of ordinary people, indicated by the perpetrators of this vulnerability.
3. The estimated ratio of public institutions and their specific representatives, their images, emotions flow.
4. Evaluation of the accuracy of the assault. Who is to blame for a large number of the hostages?

In the first one it should be noted a series of special reports from Chechnya (3 articles, each about a page) under the title "The corpse that lives." The main theme of stories - personal impressions reporter from the suffering of ordinary Chechens caused disruption and actions of the Russian military contingent. Articles carry a charge of strong emotional impact in terms of condemnation of military action in Chechnya and its initiators - Russian politicians. Since the description is in terms of "disinterested" third-party witness, an effect of trust in the media.

Also noteworthy 5 articles claiming the status of the analysis, although they can be identified more as a "discussion on the topic...". These materials are characterized, first, full unsubstantiated judgments ("stream of thought"), and secondly, emotions and ironic. If previous reports are designed for a broad audience, then these materials are addressed rather "thinking intellectuals." They have substantial volume - about one-half to a full page. Attracted the attention of catchy headlines, mostly in the form of questions ("Where are we?", "Who would collapse?", "Which is why wars start?"). Authors like to invite the reader to think and to reason with them. This achieves the effect of identifying the position of the journalist and the reader. The basic idea that somehow pass in these materials, the following (a form of submission and vocabulary remain close to the text):

1) We are to blame for the fact that the Chechens hate us. As if our troops do not they have relatives killed, as if not our policy brought them to fanaticism.
2) The war in Chechnya is unthinkable because of ambition of people who have gone out of power and do not carry any responsibility for today. Because of the stupidity of our rulers, because of palace intrigue, because the Russian got involved in inter-clan Chechen disassembly, thinking something, "fuck", but it turned out the opposite - their own raped.
3) The authorities are trying to "cover" the root cause of what is happening - the war in Chechnya, as well as all political fault line, which is held over the years with regard to Chechnya.

4) It is necessary that our civilians finally told the authorities: "That's enough from us this war. We have had enough of Chechnya, Chechens, and all of these horrors. And enough with us blank stamped words that you cover your weakness! "

These arguments are supported by the two materials, publishes expert opinion politicians. A.Aslakhanov, the deputy of the State Duma of Chechnya: "If it is to continue the war in Chechnya, it may be a real riot, a massive popular uprising. The government should begin negotiations. "State Duma Deputy Ivan Rybkin: "We can not allow" toilet "in which Putin was going to rub out the terrorists, has expanded to the scale of Russia. To do this, the president must radically change its misguided policies. Without a change in the situation in the North Caucasus terrorist attacks will be repeated again and again. "The last point is also contented in a serious analytical article (2/3 pages).

After such "heavyweights" in the battle enters and "light artillery" computed as the reports, for the general reader.This statement relatives of hostages, the basic idea that: "The state that can not protect their children is to come on the throat of his own ambitions and change their misguided policies."

In terms of delivery of social tension greatest impact on the audience have an article on the problems of insecurity of Russian citizens and the perpetrators of this vulnerability. It should also be noted the article in the spirit of "reasoning on the subject...". They are written with a wicked irony about this way: "...you can not give in to panic, even if you see terrorists everywhere. Do not worry, do not require hospitalization. Treatment is one thing to watch public television and every hour to make sure that no aircraft has not yet captured terrorists, and therefore all of us are going well, and most importantly - do not stand on his knees. "Another volume article in the same vein called "Ugly taste of freedom (Why we are not immune from terrorism?)" is written in an ironic and indignant, outraged tone. The basic idea of materials on civil insecurity following:

1) First of them made after the bombings as tactical security measures (tighter inspection regime in the cities), and strategic (to take control of Chechnya and destroy terrorist bases) yielded nothing. All calmed down after a while, it's a terrible shock learned nothing, nothing has changed.
2) The measures taken are not able to ensure the safety of the people as they are superficial, do not affect the real causes of our vulnerability to terrorism.
3) Corruption - this is the worst cause of our insecurity, but it is not going to fight anybody. (Subject corruption plays a significant role in these materials.)

The main conclusion for the audience was made as follows: we allow to do with us what you want - rob, cheat, continue to inefficient policy. But if we can`t protect ourselves - no one can help.

With the theme of insecurity is closely related topic of the responsibility for what happened. The question "Who is to blame?" was repeated in articles, perhaps more often. Let's start with the perpetrators of the global. In 9 of the 18 materials on the subject main culprits of the incident called the leadership of the country. In a tone of pathos prevails articles accusations authorities. This "argument on the topic...", presented in the marked emotional, angry or disturbed mocking and ironic tone. The main claims of the authorities - holding misguided policies in Chechnya, the reluctance to consider and recognize their mistakes, indifferent, humiliating attitude of the common people, the pursuit of their own selfish interests and ignoring the interests of ordinary citizens. In addition, a number of materials in plain text refer to the lack of confidence in the authorities.

Guilty of allowing this particular attack called police and security forces (as in 9 of the 18 materials). The main charges brought by the police - corruption, security services - negligence and incompetence. At the same time, given the nature of the arguments of acquittal. Their essence is that the police are forced to be corrupt because people are risking their lives, paying starvation wages. Special services are also unable to take preventive measures to prevent acts of terrorism, as the intelligence network completely collapsed (this was the topic of an article in one page). In this case, repeatedly expressed the idea that all the blame on the politicians, intelligence agencies just do their bidding. As a result of miscalculations cost the state security forces.

The main burden of responsibility for the decision to storm the responsibility of the Putin - the only one who can make a decision of this magnitude.Indirect - for the secret services, as advisers. Opinions about the correctness of the decision divided - 3 material "for" and 2 "against." Opinions as to the success of the operation were also not uniform - 6 "+" and 4 "-".

Special influence on public attitudes to government agencies provided an assessment of the role played by politicians in an extreme situation, "revealing their true colors." All materials in this thematic unit showed politicians in a negative light, except, perhaps, President Vladimir Putin and Moscow Mayor Yuri Luzhkov. So, for example, are the words of representatives of law enforcement agencies that "politics were simply confused and shocked. They are not what make any decisions, just think were not able to. We just gave them a function of distraction and engaged in a specific case. And they ran to make names for themselves".

The predominance of negative sentiment in the editorial policy of "MK" in 2002 in relation to state structures is clearly evident in the quantitative distribution of positive and negative assessments of the main actors of the conflict. The power structures - 38 "-" and 3 "+"

Putin - 7 "-" and 5 "+" power (collectively) - 20 "-" policy - 14 "-" and 1 "+". For comparison: the terrorists - 14 "-" and 10 "+."

We now turn to the analysis of secondary materials "MK" in 2004 (Beslan). We are interested in the secondary data contained in the following thematic blocks:

1. Help the victims.
2. The reaction of the people (unsanctioned rallies).
3. The analysis of the possible political consequences of measures to resolve the conflict.
4. Criticism of the policy pursued by the previous government.
5. Search for the guilty.

So, more than a third of the victims of materials (5) contain as a side, and the main topics of the theme indignation at the lack of assistance from the state. Basically, these materials have a high volume and are based on the contrast of stories about the suffering of the victims of terrorist acts and their families and the callousness of the authorities. Articles written very emotional.On the one hand, bitterness, pain and terror on the other - resentment and anger against the government. Emotional background is supported by photographs and captions ("Hostage of Lies", "Support to the people of Beslan has not reached", "People cry - they have nothing to eat"). All materials contain evidence of the people themselves that they care or do not, or it is very difficult to obtain. That is all the information obtained directly from first hand, are called concrete data on the number of respondents. Also present in the materials direct opposition callousness of the state, theft of officials, on the one hand, and the unselfish help of ordinary people on the other. The juxtaposition of ordinary people to the state is reflected in the titles of articles, such as "them and us", "From the heart, and under the order."

The materials also raises a question of duplicity of the state - to help the victims do not reach, the people have nothing to bury their loved ones, and on the "television without end warn that a presidential decree is made and there is no need in Beslan." Statements regarding the theft of inaction and callousness of officials are angry, resentful, emotional.

In one of the originators of direct materials incident called the authorities, very emotionally, with anger and indignation. We also give the people of Beslan angry statements about the belated manifestation of sympathy for the victims of the politicians. Here is one of the typical statements about the formal political rally on September 5: "Honestly, I wanted to go up to him and spit in his face. Well, where they were on September 1st, 2nd, 3rd, when we were so necessary? Indignation people actions of the government are almost the main theme of this material. The authorities accused of inaction, lies and cowardice, callousness on ordinary people. As proof of the facts, we hear from the people of Beslan.

Subject indignation of the people actions of the government continues in the notes telling about unsanctioned rallies in opposition rallies official (the speech of the authorities at these meetings no one was listening). The main demand - the resignation Dzasokhova and security officials. This is due to people's confidence in the fact that it is the corruption of law enforcement has allowed the terrorists to reach the center of the country. On the content of the materials can be concluded that the anger of people at these meetings is not directed against the terrorists (of whom a word), but against the authorities. People think that someone has to answer for the death of children - namely, representatives of government circles (about terrorists not mentioned). The main slogan of the rally - "Corrupt government - the source of terrorism».

Subject dissatisfaction with the government has been further developed in a number of analytical materials (with the help of expert estimates) and in the form of "reasoning on the subject...". The number of these materials (20) is comparable with the amount of materials telling about the events directly. These materials are mainly devoted to the analysis of the possible political consequences of possible measures to resolve the situation, the criticism of the previous government's policy, as well as finding answers to the questions "Who is to blame?" and "What to do".

In these materials prevails ironic or even mocking, ironic style statement with respect to power and its particular representatives. It should be noted that in previous articles, many statements relating to the assessment of the actions of the authorities, as distinguished from the core, serious style of presenting his wicked irony.

We begin with an assessment of the previous policy of the Kremlin. The main conclusion here is the claim that the Kremlin's policy was wrong and was the main reason (along with international terrorism) that we have now. One of the submissions and stated: "We are hostages incompetent, stupid politics". Putin has miscalculated the war in Chechnya, as regarded her as a domestic factor coming to power - this is the conclusion reached in the material entitled "Why the era of terror? “ Another article states that this political team came to power five years ago, but the situation has become even worse over the visible reorganizations lies chaos and emptiness. Next, the author states that "weak leadership obsessively clings to the old course, seeing it as evidence of its hardness - whereas in fact it is the best proof of the stubbornness of their weakness. Because really strong leaders are able to change the course of time, that, in fact, makes them strong".

In terms of the assessment of the authorities in the overall assessment of the situation terrorist act, passing a red thread through all the material - negative. Only here and there (3 articles), it diluted the claim in such circumstances, nothing better to do it was nearly impossible.

The most unflattering assessment in the pieces in the style of "reasoning on the subject...". Put forward as the main following claims:

-Why not go to Beslan on official federal level? Why not go the person who can make decisions and take responsibility?

-If state leaders really wanted to save the children, then why did not agree on the terms that have been put forward?

On the talks, for example, devoted a long article entitled "Chernomyrdin was not found." It compares the actions Chernomyrdin Budennovsk and inaction of this government in Beslan. The author believes that the seizure of the school was intended to achieve a respectable level of negotiations, the terrorists have not received. The conditions put forward by them were hidden from the people by the authorities: "We brazenly lied that the requirements are not known". And the government, as the author of the material, there was an alternative - or sacrifice people's lives, or to negotiate with terrorists. Why in the whole of the current system of managed democracy leader did not find the level of Chernomyrdin for talks on saving the lives of children?

The point is the strategy of power and its relation to the people. Refusal to negotiate is logical for a number of years ago declared strategy of "wasting" the enemy. Negotiations would have been not only a disgrace, but a death sentence for this strategy. I had to admit, "dunk" has failed. Another aspect of the matter - the ratio of the people. The current leaders of the Russian bureaucracy came to power as a result of undercover shenanigans inside the nomenclature, and not as a result of the election. No commitment to the people they have. And the voters and their vote for these leaders only inevitable formal ritual. For such leaders in the alternative - life or strategy of power - there is only the second. And this willingness to strengthen the Russian authorities to sideline the issue of human life - the most terrible, the author concludes the article.

Subject neglect of power to the people, the opposition continued their interests in other materials. For example, one of the authors believes this attitude of the authorities to the people has historical roots: "The Russian government has never stint on human sacrifice, and the ruling nomenclature we ready to accept this" great "tradition of sacrifice" little people. "Are we, - the author asks - to become victims of government strategy for new terrorist attacks?" Conducted the opposition of the people and government:

-Terrorism is one and the same, and the safety of the people are different. They and their children will not ride on the subway.

-Salaries currently raised, the poor have privileges taken away. In a democratic country, millions would have went out and sent a power down. And we - we suffer.

The call to action is supported by the people an example of protests in Spain, where people have made decisive actions change of government. This example was given in one of the materials of the international reaction to the events in Russia. In all such materials was 6, and they are mainly the facts and statements that reinforce critical theses journalists "MK" about the anti-terrorist activities of our government and its actions during the attack. For example, the article titled "Two of September" a comparison of the two tragedies - in New York and in Beslan. Here are the main points of this comparison:

-In Beslan victims underestimated the numbers to ease the people's anger against the government, cultivated white lie regime. In New York, these figures are overestimated, to strengthen the people's anger against the terrorists.

-In Beslan victims' families were given (allegedly) at 100,000 rubles material assistance, in New York these families received $ 1.5 million.

-In New York City after the terrorist attack society rallied experienced the surge of patriotism in Beslan rallied experienced the rush of feelings of revenge and anger, and not only for terrorists.

In addition to allegations of inaction and neglect of people in the unit analyzes to assess the actions of the authorities they are allegations of lying. What is happening - say journalists - is the result of continuous lies, because the authorities can not admit their bad policies. Indicative of the materials devoted entirely to the Prosecutor General Ustinov caught in a lie. Here we used the following technique - excerpts from the television report Ustinov Putin and for each exposure given proof of his lies and silence.

Are also subject to criticism of Putin's policy initiatives put forward by him in his speech. So, about that speech, it was said that "the President had to go out to the people not from the pathetic words, but with his head in his hands Basayev, followed by the security forces with the heads of other murderers. "In addition, stated that "within the meaning of Putin's speech - it's voluntary surrender or resignation, the recognition of total bankruptcy of law enforcement agencies." Discussion of presidential initiatives dedicated to a number of pieces based on the opinions of experts. The experts were asked: "What do you think Putin's proposal and how they tally with the tightening measures to fight terrorism?" Overall assessment was negative.

In addition to criticism by experts terrorist measures proposed by Putin were evil ridiculed in the bulk material, written in the style of "reasoning on the subject...". At the end of the article the author gives a description of the present regime: "There we are mainly intellectuals, nihilists and sybarite not burdened by moral principles, which are always well arranged, and the only thing they care is money."

Also, experts and journalists made a number of predictions about what will happen in the future. The main conclusion - no good waiting for us. The main predictions are as follows:

-Will continue the same policy, and its price - people's lives.

-If the government will continue to act in much the same way - finally lose the Caucasus.

-Putin is powerless in the face of terrorism. Russia threatens new series of terrorist attacks, and it is obvious that the Kremlin is not prepared to confront the terrorist threat.

It should be noted that Putin separate a few, distanced journalists "MK" from bureaucratic overbearing bureaucracy. Although the president has got its share of criticism, but nevertheless noted some positive aspects of its activities, which are offset by its bureaucratic apparatus. Thus, in an interview with the head of the Effective Policy Foundation, Pavlovsk latter bringing the various arguments in favor of Putin's policies:

-Putin builds not personal power, and the state system. When his power will crack - the system will remain and will keep the strike. His policy – is a policy of systematic and thoughtful response. Putin fanatically protect our fragile state. He grabbed the dog world in the thigh and literally dragged him to his present state of the world place. And everything else until he can not. Gave the order, but nothing is executed.

-Putin got my hands on corrupt cadres and this legacy had to do something. He kept all these years on the line to teach the parties to the civil action. Now we must take the next step - the system should be the party.

Another article on the question of who is to blame for the incident, the author states: "The fault is not Russia and Putin. Terrorism - a problem of the international community. Putin is going through the most. He always makes informed decisions, taking full responsibility for yourself." And held distancing from the ruling bureaucracy, "If Putin's approval ratings continue to fall, Putin may not need a ruling bureaucracy, as the main thing for her - a public relations cover for Putin".

The author of the article "Impotents" laying on Putin's responsibility for quality selection of bureaucracy, gives public officials a detailed, very hard-hitting response:

-People who are in government positions, are good at "saw Grandma", but nothing can create, do from beginning to end. In Putin's power system only these people - passive, cowardly, no - may hold positions in government agencies. Independent throw. Easier to edit when you're all under the consonants and obedient and never tell you anything critical, unpleasant. But the results of this policy are grim. In the end, all that under the president, now falling apart.Under it the swamp, which is sinking any sensible idea. Putin and his advisers may take quite reasonable, good decisions, but they do not have the tools to implement these good decisions. Putin's decision will only be able TV, which shows that they allegedly met.

In addition to Putin's system of government, oddly enough, had distanced MPs (albeit on other grounds). They put complete fools and cowards on what not able to fully depend on the ruling bureaucracy. This is clear, for example, in the following typical remarks:

-Let it sit rivet laws - they still no one performs.

-At the deputies chained unconditional loyalty as a straitjacket, there is no hope.

-The lion's share of time at the meeting of the deputies of the State Duma has been spent on something to prove to themselves and to society - we did everything we could. It turns out that many of the members offered themselves as hostages in exchange for the children, but the headquarters was against it. MPs were unable to take part in negotiations with terrorists, even though they wanted. And do not come before because were told not to be collected, and did what they allowed to do.

After the articles of this unit the impression that MPs simply can not be taken as a serious, independent political force that can solve something to do. This perception is supported by an ironic and sarcastic style of presentation in relation to the deputies (at 8 materials that was the main theme, a 2 - a couple of statements). In the same vein running cartoons and titles ("bullshit after the fight," "Tribunka in the mud", "How to" delete "impotent", etc.).

You can complete the analysis of materials "MK" in 2004 with an estimate of the Institute of the Russian government and security forces following general evaluative statement: "The operation of terrorists in Beslan has been started not so much in the name of "brothers" and the withdrawal of troops, many in order to kill as many people as and do it as soon as terrible and effective. What for? In order to humiliate all Russian. To further intimidate them. Ossetians see how little the Russian authorities to cherish their children. To all of Russia saw how poor President Putin and his security forces provide security, as far as they are powerless, as no one can defend. These goals are achieved. I must admit that the terrorists have coped with the problem."

We proceed to the construction of the image of power "MK" in covering the terrorist attack in "Domodedovo" in 2011. The materials selected for secondary analysis, contained in the following thematic blocks:

1. Search and punishment of those responsible.
2. Discussion of security measures.
3. Help the victims.
4. The behavior of President Medvedev during this period.
5. Policy in the field of international relations.
6. Evaluation of the power structures.

As usual extensively discussed the culprits and punish them. The main keynote of this thematic unit - punish scapegoats, and senior perpetrators remain at their posts. In addition, the reaction of the authorities, according to journalists, was completely gone in the direction of "purpose" of those responsible and personnel changes, as well as search for excuses instead of affirmative action to prevent such attacks. As an example, one of the typical statements in this regard: "It never rains but - appointed by the perpetrators. It never rains but - look for excuses, rather than to prevent a recurrence of the tragedy. But no, they are foaming at the mouth to prove that it is not your fault. Listen to it - disgusting."

The proposed security measures have been criticized. The main arguments - inefficiency, inconvenience for passengers, will be observed only for a while (as usual after the attack), and then will come to naught. The main claim - all dumped on airport security and the passengers themselves, while for the security of the airports must meet state. This is reflected in the specific titles, such as "Salvation exploded - the handiwork of the exploding", "too many of us to guard".

Thread the victims did not occupy such an important place in 2004 and was served in a very different way. This is a serious, written in a neutral tone of informational materials, where state officials appear soon in a positive light. It is true we are not talking about all of the capital but only the officials, the mayor of Moscow and Vladimir Putin. A typical headline, for example, is - "Capital mourns and helps."

Rather contradictory materials covering the activities of the President Medvedev after the attack. In general, his assessment of journalists can be called quite positive. In the article "Davos wait Medvedev" tells how much donated Medvedev visits, reducing it because of the attack. But on the same page in a different material Medvedev condemned hesitancy in personnel policy. He just said is true, according to journalists, but does not go into action. Here is a typical statement: "If I could just for non-compliance of laws in the field of law enforcement official said the highest rank, not the small fry. Replied in a serious way - a shameful retirement and custodial awards. Maybe then the attacks would stop. It's about time the president try this fight against terrorism. Suddenly, going to work?" In general, strongly emphasized (a few comments after quoting Medvedev) discrepancy in his words and deeds. And says a lot right, but little is done. A typical example of a comment, after Medvedev - "he who wants blood, choking their blood". Other approaches can not be! This is our country and our land. We have to put things in order, and we have to put things. "Terms of restoring order Medvedev, however, did not name (comment of the journalist)."

The main idea of the materials on government policy in the field of international relations - is its danger, irregularity and depravity. It's time to stop all shouting about "Caucasian trace" and constantly refer to the nationality of the perpetrators. For example, in the article "Freaks and natives," the author writes: "It turns out that our hate going in circles. Russian hates Caucasians and turn a blind eye to the oppression of the part of the authorities. Terrorists use this mutual hatred for the bombings. After that, the first thing the government did not tell us about Gesheft the organizers and executors of nationality. Thus returning to the original situation, opposing each other, and not the society of criminals, not citizens, and geeks are not monsters and natives, and Russian and Caucasians. "The same theme is given in greater detail in the article "Fighters. We live on other people's scripts. These scenarios will destroy us, "written in the form of" arguments on...". The main ideas are:

-War of accusations begin with the population of the whole region. Without a minimum of evidence, but only on the basis of personal primitive reasoning.

-International terrorism is alive and growing by the same laws as the rest of the world. If Caucasians are cheaper and faster than anyone could explode, then they will explode. Everything, no matter who the customer was the terrorist attack, they will hire for a suicide bombing in the North Caucasus. Because they're the cheapest.

-Let our leaders to begin to outline the range of enemies of the state. And then the other enemies we except the infamous call Caucasians are slow. The main thing is not who played and who organized it. Performers in our harsh country like Kalashnikovs. But something silly to judge machine.

-If there is no clear and unambiguous information about the involvement of certain individuals, then keep quiet until the "Caucasian trace". Throwing the words "Caucasian trace", you drive a wedge in the most sensitive spot of Russia.

-We are weaned to think for themselves and hammered information stereotype. This is going to end because our hands sticky with hatred Russian government will start another war in the Caucasus. Kill a bunch of people there, and then their children and grandchildren come to destroy us.

About the dangers of nationalism and issues of state policy in the North Caucasus also states in the bulk of analytical article "Do not look for the answer in the skull. Where do the Nazi methods of finding somebody to blame for terrorist attacks." But if in the previous notes sounded anger and resentment, then this article is written in a calm, sensible manner. The main points of her as follows:

-The main problems that give rise to terrorism, are not ethnic in nature. This is a political problem. Unwillingness to try to understand the processes taking place in the Caucasus, and to take timely measures have led to the fact that the situation is deteriorating rapidly. Caucasus blasts social discontent. Caucasian republics farmed out to local lords under one condition: solve their problems themselves and keep their horsemen away from us. But failed to pay off. Boiling lava spills and burns Moscow.

-The glaring inequality and injustice in the Caucasus to help spread extremist ideas. Awareness of this reality should dictate policy in the Caucasus. And the worst thing you can do - to present the events as an ethnic conflict, "Caucasians" against the Russian. As a result, first, nothing is done to change the political and economic situation in the Caucasus, and, second, to cultivate an atmosphere of persistent hatred between the peoples of the same country.

Last stuff actually merges with the semantic unit for immediate evaluation of the power structures of their policies. We should immediately note the general negative attitude of the contents of this block, written mainly in the form of a "discussion on the topic...".Opens the block material from the "Letters to the President" under the title "They rose again from the toilet." Its main thesis is as follows:

-Under the systemic problems that exist in our country, the explosions will be repeated.

-Systemic problems in the governance of the country can not fix or do not want to fix: massive corruption, lack of justice, serious social contradictions, incompetence. This means that attacks are inevitable.

-We have all power is concentrated in the executive branch today. All the rest - the extras. Parliament reduced to the role of the office, the stamp laws. The court with us - it appointed a structure that acts either on a call, or for the money. The executive branch is accountable to itself, gives a commitment to myself, she appoints. We have the very system of governance is absolutely wrong. You've heard that we have some big boss himself resigned?

-One of the problems: a world of difference between security authorities and the vulnerability of people. Previously, a person could enter into the Duma, seek protection. Now, even on the sidewalk will not pass - is partitioned. If you (or Prime Minister) going to the theater, then in the morning there are searches, special dog walking, all the rest is passed through the frame. That is close to you very well, safely. How would like to see our children had at least one tenth of, at least one percent of security as at Coney (dogs Putin).

-In the "Domodedovo" is not blown VIP-hall, and a passenger. Although that's going to blame the power that knows no common rooms, do not know their responsibilities (or does not want and can not carry them out.)

-The reason for the attacks - in politics. You (your tandem) after Beslan abolished gubernatorial elections under the pretext of fighting terrorism. You (mostly Putin) did iron law never negotiate with terrorists. Putin showed iron will to victory: kill the terrorists, no matter how many die while ordinary people. Now they do not take hostages, and simply killed. Authority refuses to negotiate, and the innocent die for it.

The article is written with a wicked irony and anger. Reduction of the president's speech in Davos is not interpreted as a desire to be in a difficult moment with his country, and how to avoid unpleasant questions.

In another article titled "The explosive power system", the basic idea - after any large-scale terrorist attack in Russia in essence, little has changed (the same idea is carried out in a number of other materials). Despite all the instructions and words of President Medvedev (order shake transport police, due to the resignation of the terrorist attack, we need a new modern system of notification of the terrorist attacks, etc.) journalist sure that even twenty such extreme measures will not save us from a new attack. Criticizing the security forces, the author believes that the main fault lies not with them but with the leaders of our ideological sphere. The worst problem, in my opinion, not in the economic or security.They - in the sphere of ideology. Part of living of citizens of the Russian Federation is deeply hate it and ready to blow up. This problem threatens the very existence of Russia. But do not bother our ideological leadership. Instead of solving the real problems of state ideological rink with all its strength again and again rolled to the already flattened into a pancake liberals.

As in "MK" in 2004 in materials in 2011 clearly demonstrates the special relationship to the Duma deputies. In a few short informational materials about the response to the terrorist attack of deputies of the State Duma (condolences to the victims, to discuss issues of "who is to blame and what to do?" Criticism of their security forces at the meetings of the Duma committees) predominates ironic and condescending tone. Strongly demonstrates the futility and helplessness of parliamentarians. This is evident from the characteristic titles, such as "Anti-state secret", "Secret traffic report", etc.

Thus, as shown by the results of the study, during the ten years the method of supplying materials to some extent an element of psychological manipulation of public opinion in terms of the negative perception of government institutions. The main reception is especially popular among journalists "MK" impact in various ways on the emotional component of social consciousness. Although a number of analytical articles also appeal to reason and logic, but mostly still dominated play on emotions. Specific ways of presenting information, for example, applies a constantly-used method is "talking" headlines that often do not reflect the content of the article, but carry a particular emotional charge in relation to the main characters. Or the sharpest material in the form of "reasoning on the subject..." written quite emotional, but unproven, creating the illusion of joint discussion of the reader and the author, resulting in the conclusion of the author is perceived by the reader as your own.

The most actively design the negative image of the government in 2002 and 2004. For example, in 2002 the degree of fault of the authorities and security forces was comparable to the degree of fault of the terrorists themselves. In 2004, some materials occurred almost substitution terrorists as the direct perpetrators of the tragedy of power. Often when reading the angry diatribes at first it seems that this is said of the terrorists, but instead of the word "terrorist" in the text says "power" or "they" (the authors of this pronoun "MK" like to call power structure, contrasting them to the people). Subject opposition government and the people, their interests actively exploited throughout the study period.

It should be noted, in 2002 and 2004 distancing Putin's bureaucracy, which has not happened in 2011 with Medvedev. Incidentally, in 2011, Putin was filed more negative than before, although the overall tone of the assessment authority as a whole was still more calm, negative, but not so massive and intense as in 2002 and especially in 2004. Throughout the whole period remained a "special", ironic and condescending attitude of journalists "MK" to the deputies of the State Duma, as useless and controlled the executive branch, but rather innocuous characters. They did not cause such strong emotions like anger and resentment, unlike the executive, particularly the ruling bureaucracy. In 2011 highlighted the systemic problem of management, consisting in the dictates of the executive over the legislature.

In general, the main negative features of the way Russian power structures created by the journalists of "MK" in the light of three large-scale terrorist attacks in content are practically the same throughout the period, differing only in intensity and emphasis. The collective image of the Russian government (according to the editorial policy of "MK" in the last decade) is as follows:

-Lies, duplicity, and indifference to the people, weakness, cowardice, stupidity, greed, opportunism, omission, discrepancy words and deeds;

-Ambition, intrigue and undercover fraud, corruption, impunity, unwillingness to take responsibility, fatigue, inability to protect people, incompetence, finding excuses and justice ("scapegoats") instead of affirmative action, the impotence of terrorism;

-A dangerous, vicious, misguided policy, the reluctance to admit mistakes and learn from them, the pursuit of the policy of their own interests and ignoring the interests of ordinary people, and the ineffectiveness of the proposed interventions;

-Does not deserve the trust of the people, far removed from the common people, cut off from him all sorts of barriers.

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The Law «On education in the Russian Federation» as a Risk Factor

According to the Constitution of the Russian Federation Russia is a secular state. Nevertheless last years the question if Russia is a secular state de facto was brought under discussion. By mythologizing the manipulative capabilities of confessions - and primarily, the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) - Government expands the limits permitted to the religion as a social institution in different areas, including the sphere of education. The ROC representatives, from their side, keeping in words the principle of secularism, have a policy of gradual clericalization of society. Is this practice supported by the public opinion and whether it meets global trends?

Secularization, i.e. the exclusion of religion from the public life and the reduction of proportion of the faithful, dominates in the world. On average in last seven years the number of people who consider themselves religious decreased by 9%. In some countries this reduction was about 20 %, for example in France, Switzerland, and the Republic of South Africa [The world is…]. Second trend is exactly opposite – clericalization, i.e. the submission of all spheres of public life to religion. The most obvious manifestation of this phenomenon is the creation of an "Islamic arc" in the Arab states. It is as well typical for Russia and other post-Soviet republics.

It is repeatedly emphasized that the results of the surveys depend on the method of the researcher, but all of them show that the self-identification with any particular religion often has culturological rather than confessional character. We refer to the data of sociological project *"Religions and nationalities atlas"* ("ARENA"). According to it, 41% of 57 000 people interviewed agreed with the statement “I adhere to Orthodoxy and belong to the Russian Orthodox Church”, that is almost twice less than the proportion of people positioning themselves as Orthodox. 25 % of the interviewed believe in God (Higher power), but do not refer themselves to any particular confession. 13 % of people regard themselves as atheists. Islam was chosen by 6.5% of people. And not more than 0.5% of the surveyed practice Judaism, Buddhism, Catholicism or Protestantism [“Church people”…, 2013].

On this background it is clear why 71% of the interviewed in the social network Facebook by the Social Movement “Russia for everybody” answered that they would like to live *in secular Russia* (“according to law Church should be placed in churches”) and 29 % - *in orthodox Russia* (“leave the Church alone!”) [More than…]. Despite of the difference in methodology and specification of individual indicators, there is one conclusion in these sociological researches – neither Church nor religious faith are the priority needs of the Russian people.

Therefore the reason of the clericalization of State is the coincidence of interests of the state machine as the spokesman of oligarchic capital needs and religious organizations, primarily the Russian Orthodox Church, which is becoming the same oligarch, in power maintaining. Traditional religions are regarded as one of the mechanisms of this problem solving. But when religious organizations felt that the government was looking for their support, they began to inflate their claims.

We will illustrate it by the example of the Law «On education in the Russian Federation», which was accepted on 29th of December 2012. Recently facts, which are the symptoms of rejection of the secular state principle, were considered as local curious things. Among them are demands of Cossacks of Samara to initiate the position of clergymen head teachers [The Samara State Duma Committee…, 2013], closure of the only one in microdistrict in Dzerzhinsk city (Nizhniy Novgorod Region) secondary school №15, which was built in 1970-s, with the aim of building transfer to the non-governmental educational institution of religious organization “The Orthodox school named after S. Sarovskiy of Dzerzhinsk”. The list can be continued to the dozens of pages.

Discussions on the implementation of religion into the educational process were constantly debated. In the State Duma the representatives of the ROC, who managed to defend their demands, were involved into such debates. According to the information of the leading adviser of the State Duma Committee on Public Associations and Religious Organizations S. V. Medvedko, which he announced on the 14th of December 2012 at the conference "New religions in Russia: 20 years later" in Moscow, V. Chaplin after the first reading of the Law on Education managed to convince deputies of the need of legally binding the implication of foundations of religious cultures in schools. As a result deputies rejected amendments that prohibited religious organizations to influence on the content of the course.

In this case, concerns on this occasion of the representatives of some religions are natural: it is clear who would win the fight, which "a variety of religious organizations will start for the capture of school areas” [Bendas, 2012]. On this background the question of Muslims, which was set in the discussion of the possibility of hijab wearing in schools in Russia, is reasonable - "What is more threatening to the secular character of the school: the girls in headscarves or teachers (religious leaders?) teaching «The Word of God»?"[Garaev, 2012]. This question needs to be clarified: who threatens more to the unity of Russia?

How the clericalization of school correlates with the Constitution of the secular state? In response to the question we propose a simple syllogism: there are no words about the separation of the School and the Church in the Constitution. Church is not separated from society, and school is not state, but social. Therefore all the above mentioned is possible. In the meantime, only 29 % of parents having been set into the situation of compulsory choice, who took part in the survey of the

Ministry of Education and Science of the RF, had chosen “The foundations of the Orthodox culture” for their children selecting a module in the course "Basics of religious cultures and secular ethics" [More than 70%...]. According to the “Levada-Center” data, 54% of respondents believe that the religious education of children can be engaged by their parents and the family on the whole, 11% of the interviewed referred to the school in this context and only 9% - to the church. And 20% of the surveyed are strongly oppose to religious education of children [There is more trust to family…, 2013].

Some oligarchs are also opposing the idea of school clericalization. This, the founder of the party "Civic Platform" Mikhail Prokhorov announced the development of Religious code for the settlement of church, state and society relations. In his view, "none of the religious denominations must enter the schools. The secular court is a guarantee that various cultures and religions "can lead a normal dialogue" [Prokhorov will struggle …, 2012].

But the statement of V. V. Putin about the necessity to "fully support the institutions, which are the bearers of traditional values that had historically proven their ability to pass them on from generation to generation" and the call "not to forget the great significance of the quality of Russian language, history, literature, the foundations of secular ethics and traditional religions teaching " has been interpreted into the favor of clericalization of education.

As a result, the place of religion in education is regulated by six articles in the new Law. Five of them contain principles correspond to the Constitution. Article 3 of the Law proclaims "the secular character of education in the state and municipal organizations engaged into the educational activities". Article 27 prohibits "the establishment and activity of political parties and religious organizations (associations) in state and municipal educational institutions". Article 34 refers the freedom of conscience and information, free expression of the views and beliefs to the fundamental rights of students.

Article 48 prohibits to the teachers to "use the educational activity for political campaigning, forcing students to political, religious or other beliefs adoption or their rejection, for stirring up a social, racial, national or religious discord, for campaigns that promotes the exclusivity, superiority or inferiority of citizens by social, racial, national, religious or linguistic identity, their attitude to religion, including the fact of giving false information about historical, national, religious and cultural traditions of the people to students, and for encouraging students to act contrary to the Constitution of the Russian Federation ". Article 92 confirms the possibility of state accreditation of educational institutions founded by religious organizations.

But all these regulations, in fact, are being cancelled by the Article 87 "The features of studying the basics of spiritual and moral culture of the peoples of Russia; Peculiarities of theological and religious education." Information about the possibility of its first three items broad interpretation can be found on the sites [Vladimir Putin…, 2012]. Let us give these items completely.

1. For the purpose of formation and development of the personality in accordance with the family and community spiritual, moral and socio-cultural values school subjects, courses, disciplines (modules) aimed at the receiving of knowledge concerning the obtaining the basics of spiritual and moral culture of the peoples of the RF, the moral principles, the historical and cultural traditions of world religions (religions), or academic subjects, courses, disciplines (modules) alternative to them, can be incorporated into the main educational programs, on the basis of the requirements of applicable federal state educational standards.

2. Selection of one of the academic subjects, courses, disciplines included into the main educational programs should be carried out by parents (or legal representatives) of students.

3. Suggested main educational programs in terms of school subjects aimed at knowledge obtaining about the basics of spiritual and moral culture of the peoples of the RF, the moral principles, the historical and cultural traditions of world religions (religions) should be examined in a centralized religious organization in compliance with the content to the doctrine, historical and cultural traditions of this organization in accordance with its internal regulations."

The requirement that specialists should take part in the discussion of the textbooks content would seem fair, but the current practice shows that tolerance is not peculiar to the most numerous religious organizations in Russia. It is not hard to imagine how information about opponents would be corrected while own history would be embellished. In this connection, we will give an example. The rector of the Catholic Church, received theological education in Latin America, admitted that he learned about the Inquisition after arriving to Russia.

The question of the philosophical department of the Moscow State University scientists is reasonable: is it possible that the textbook that would be reviewed by the representatives of different religions - Christians, Jews, Buddhists, Muslims – would be approved? And what about the ancient religions [Ziganshin & Zagvozdina, 2013, p. 104]? At the same time not all modern religions are permitted to the examination. And let us recall that in recent years antikultizm is becoming increasingly aggressive [Textbooks on Religious…, 2013].

The director`s of the Legal Service of the Moscow Patriarchate nun Xenia (Chernega)`s comments to the law are quite illustrative. According to her, during the preparation of the draft law to second reading in the State Duma, "some deputies seriously argued that state school in Russia is supposedly “separated from the Church” and that’s why the study of the foundations of religious culture in Russian schools is unacceptable. However, the principle of separation of school from the Church is gone forever along with invalid SNK decree of 23rd if January 1918 and the Constitution of the USSR "faithful" to this Ordinance"[Ivanenko, 2012].

Thus the foundations of interfaith and ethnic conflicts are laid from school. In its borders Russia can survive only as a secular state. But it turns out that the corporate interests of the Russian Orthodox Church are above all.

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The Social Aspect in the Management of Human Resources

The institutionally reforms which have begun in Russia in the end of the XX-th century, have led to radical updating of all spheres of ability to live of the Russian company, especially – spheres of economic relations. Before the Russian enterprises there was a problem of adaptation to new conditions of managing, to search new, рыночно the focused controlling mechanisms. Today many chiefs come to understanding of that the management problem human resources is one of key as the major resource of each company are, first of all, people, and the enterprise commercial value directly depends on a qualitative condition of labor staff and a set of methods and methods of effect on it.

Besides, the humanization of economic processes directed on the maximum increase of internal individual liberty, mediates specificity in sphere of the labor relations, shown that, according to V.I.Martsinkevich, «necessary and productive in economic sphere there are humanitarian, personal qualities of the person, i.e. knowledge, ability, skills, qualification, experience, abilities, activity, responsibility» [Martsinkevich, 1998, p. 76]. It leads to that in work not economic motivations more and more prevail, work comprises not only an external economic element, but also «an intangible spiritual element» the creativity, so necessary for self-realization of the person.

Self-realization of the person in the conditions of market transformation of company is impossible without distribution of new types of the labor behavior corresponding to new social realities. At company transition to a new social situation the major motivations, inducing the person to certain type of behavior, are social installations (personal dispositions) allocated with V.A.Jadov, which the scientist has correlated on four hierarchical levels: 1 level – the elementary fixed installations (represent stable reaction of the individual to the subject situation shown in certain forms of social behavior; 2 level – the social fixed installations (on the basis of these behavioral stereotypes the stable matrix of social behavior with private circumstances of life experience of the person is formed); 3 level – base social installations (characterize the general orientation of interests of the person concerning concrete spheres of realization of its activity; 4 level – valuable orientations (express the relation of the individual to the most significant purposes and methods of their achievement) [Jadov, 1975, p. 55].

The social processes accompanying transition of Russia to the developed market, have concerned all four levels of social installations as during this period it is possible to say about change of a subject situation, population lines of business that has entailed change of behavioral stereotypes and valuable orientations in company. The motivation inducing the person to certain type of behavior, actually is function of labor motivation; she explains purposefulness of action, organization and stability of the complete activity focused on achievement of a definite purpose.

From an item of economic sociology economic action should be considered as the form of social action. Accordingly "action", according to M.Veber [Weber, 1990, p. 233], is understood «as action of the person (irrespective of, whether it has external or internal character, whether it is reduced to non-interference or patient acceptance), if and as the active individual or individuals connect with it subjective sense». Such action is called as "social", «which on assumed by a character or characters to sense corresponds with action of other people and is guided by it». The economic person in the acts is guided by exclusively egoistical interest. Analyzing a situation, it makes effective decisions only from the point of view of maximization of own utility and minimization of possible costs. The sociological approach assumes that the person often appears in situations when its freedom is considerably limited. Thereupon the motivation of the individual from an item of economic sociology has more many-sided character, rather than from an item of the economic person.

On-opinion V.Radaev, «economic sociology interests not only observable behavior of the economic agent, but also its subjective item – motives, installations, methods of definition of a situation …» [Radaev, 2005, p. 122]. The scientist underlines that motives of the economic agent fall outside the limits especially economic targets, and the individual can be, besides an economic interest, under the influence social norms and compulsion (legal, power, economic and ideological). As fairly marks M.Kaz: «… change in the fundamental bases of functioning of economy requires revision of theoretical base, search of conceptual schemes adequate to new conditions and models of labor motivation» [Kaz, 2010. p. 34].

Considering transformations of modern company, N.Lapin considers that «the market economy … at the first stages adapts to company not so much, how many adapts for itself company … In such economy and company as a whole the principle of maximization of utility» affirms [Lapin, 2010, p. 3]. This principle is formulated by A.Smit and means that the actor of economic action aspires to a maximum of compensation by minimization of expenses. The increase in material requirements of the population during the Post-Soviet period speaks as well from an item of the theory of T.Veblen («The Theory of an idle class» - motive of monetary rivalry). As a whole, the general social mechanism of realization of principles of market economy includes three basic elements: motivation (consists in aspiration of each individual to maximize the incomes), actually work (labor activity is rationally designed and it is constantly improved), an exchange of the made goods or services (is effective economically and socially). In the market the rational behavior is peculiar to "the Economic person», strong motives of a personal advantage, a thrift and enterprise, readiness to run risks, accompanied thus sensation of a private responsibility for the actions, and such he hopes to receive social recognition. By consideration of economic institutes of O.Uljamson it is reasonable that the motivation in the conditions of the market is more "powerful", than at the regulated control system of economy in which "low-power" motives are inherent. Analyzing motivations of an initial stage of reforms of the Russian economy, A. Temnitsky, has come to a conclusion that «… in 90th years there was an adaptable type of motivation of work. The structure of motivation allowing to the worker only somehow to solve a problem of a survival and to support the household …» [Temnitsky, 2001, p. 214] was generated impoverished, through impregnated with orientation to earnings. Later, V.Magun, tracing dynamics of the importance of labor values in liberal reforms, established that by the end of 90th years, in comparison with the beginning of decade, there was a growth of the importance of achievements and responsibility, and also – increase of the general readiness to work [Magun, 2011, p. 23]. Thus «initiative possibility» and did not become more attractive, and it in spite of the fact that the initiative, readiness for risk, innovations entered into a ideological nucleus of the program of reforms.

Achievement of new Post-Soviet problems requires corresponding motivation of work. On the first place there is not a strengthening of dependence of the worker through fear of loss of work, and partnership strengthening by the corresponding relation to its work. According to E.G.Jasin, Russia has stepped over the first stage of formation of market economy. «At the first stage the minimum is made – the market economy instead of the planned is created. Now it is necessary – to make the following step its effective that in modern conditions means more free, liberal, simultaneously having created the institutes, allowing to make economic freedom productive, close to the Pareto-optimality» [Yasin, 2002, p. 120].

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Institutional changes in the context of path dependence and enforcement

Sociologists commonly define change as a process of moving and interaction of objects and pehnomena, change from one state to another, any modification in the social organization of society, its social institutions and established behaviour patterns.

Every person can intutitively imagine what change is. We can understand that the state of water has changed when it starts boiling or freezing, so can we understand that society has changed after a shock like war, revolution or a crisis. What is change? What is change in sociology? The main task of this chapter is to attract attention to this disputable subject, to show contradictions in the research of change and perspectives of its study.

The term "change" was loaned from natural sciences where its meaning is worked out in detail. For example, it is a physical form of changing of hard substance trellis (change of potential energy) which results in breaking of bonds between atoms; change is a biological form of motion (change of living organisms); or evolution of wildlife (process of successive change of its states). Change is defined as process of transition or transformation in exact sciences especially in mathematics, cybernatics, physics[1], for example, state of aggregation of matter (melting, chrystalizing, condensing of matter).

Taking into account mechanisms of process flow, changes can be direct and indirect; according to speed change can be (relatively) fast or slow; change can be reversible and irreversible.

Practically change is reduced to dynamics, increment and increase of properties and elements and is perceived as process of motion and interaction of objects and phenomena, transition from one state to another, emerging of new properties, functions, relations. Changes can be continuous and discontinuous. Discontinuous changes can be meristic (change of number of some formations) and substatntive (change of qualitative characteristics, change of constructio or substance or some parts). When the term changeability is applied to new circumstanecs it is always specified by modifiers, for example, structural, dynamic, coherent, inherent, noninherent, discontinuous, meristic, substantive.

Thus, process of change can be interpreted in different ways. A lot of terms can be aqualled to change, for example, transformation (internal transformation, extensive, internal metabolism), variation (external change, enstensive, for example, magnetic deviation), replacement (substitution), changes (exchange), renewing, regeneration, conformation (result of internal transformations, coformation of external form)[2] etc.

If we consider an object that is modified, the process of change appears as a process of disappearance of the object in its capacity as this, while maintaining its certain characteristics. In relation to the result of change, this process is a process of emergence (e.g. emergence of change result from the original changing object). The process itself is a special connection (genetic or historic) binding these objects[3]. V.I.Stolyarov notes that "any process of change is in itself a transition of a object from one state to another and, at the same time, turning of one object into another"[4]. Indeed, if process of transition form totalitarian society to democratic one, then in relation to totalitariansim it is a trasnformation, in relation to development the society itself, totalitarianism and democracy are its different states and the process of change is a transition of the society form one state to another. Thus, process of change can be regarded both as process and state.

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[2]http://europe.rsuh.ru/journal/journal4.2000/7.htm.

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[4] Там же. с.28

Obviously, all changes are caused by certain reasons. Change can affect properties of an object, its funcions, connections between objects, structural elements, object as a whole, a number of unrelated objects, the change itself. Scientist most often single out the following kinds of changes[5]: change of properties of an object, its functions, its connections, change in the structure of an object, its elements and the process of change itself.

Specific changes fo an element of a whole consist, first of all, of its functional changes, and therefore changes of connections with the other elements of the same structure where it belongs as a constituent “part”. A function (a connection) can reinforced or weakened. Besides, number of functions (connections) can change going up or down. Number of functions can descrease as a result of disappearance of certain functions in general, or as a result of transition of the functions to other structural elements (redistribution of functions). Researches single out the following regularities: a) when the structure of an object changes its external characteristics change as well; b) external changes cause structural chages; c) new element emerging in a structure transforms other elements of the structure or the entire structure; d) change of an object performing a certain function affects the function itself[6].

2.3. Classification of Institutional Changes

Institutional changes are an omnipresent, continuous process which results from choices made by acting individuals who change the situation by means of restructuring of political and economical exchanges, formalized in practices.

Classification is a logical operation of dividing the whole set of objects under research into subsets according to their similarities and differences. In our case, the classifying feature is the ability of acting individuals to change interaction rules. Defining this ability as specific we assume that institutional changes are a process that defines qualitative differences of social institutions (rules of interaction of acting individuals) within time.

According to this principle, classification of institutional changes can include four levels.

Level 1. Subject Characteristics of Institutional Changes

Traditionally, the term social institution refers to a definite organization of social relationships including norms of economic, political, legal and ethic life of society as well as social rules of daily life and behaviour of people7. The essence of these directions is briefly characterized by Robert Putnam who says that institutionalism resorted to elements of “game theory” and modelling of “rational choice”, while institutions were regarded as “extensive forms of game” where actors’ behaviour is defined by game rules. From the point of view of organization, scietists sigled out institutional roles and settings, symbols and respponsibilites[8].

Interaction of acting individuals can be divided into four levels with corresponding four levels of changes.

First, we can state that change in the level of social interaction of acting individuals is associated with the change in the mechanism of each individual’s rights and responsibilities. This can take place at the level of power structure changes (from top) or at the level of change of social group formation mechanism (from bottom).

Second, undoubtedly, when communication level of acting individuals changes so does the information of available behaviour alternatives. On the one hand this is associated with

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[5]Столяров В.И. Процесс изменения и его познание. Логико-методологические проблемы. М.: Наука. 1966.

[6]Столяров В.И. Процесс изменения и его познание. Логико-методологические проблемы. М.: Наука. 1966, с.95

[7] Словарь иностранных слов. М., 1996.с.195.

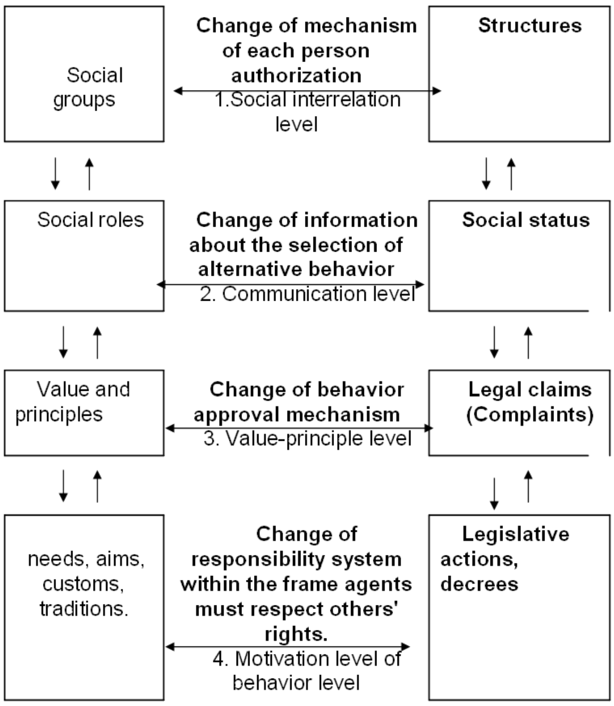
[8] Патнем Р. Чтобы демократия сработала. Гражданские традиции в современной Италии. М., 1996.

formation of new status relationships and, on the other hand, with setting up of new roles, socially approved by the majority of communication participants.

Third, change of axiological and normative regulation level of behaviour of acting individuals is caused by change in the mechanism of sanctions and control of acting individuals' behaviour. What is meant here is change of judiciary law and change of axiological and normative standards.

Fourth, change in motivational sphere of acting individuals' behaviour is determined by change of system of responsibilites wherein acting individuals have to respect other individuals' rights. On the one hand, it is associated with the growth of demands and ways of their satisfaction, on the other hand, it is connected with change of legislation and prescripts.

Figure 1. Contents and classification of the category of "institutional change"



Level 2. Dependence of the Character of Institutional Changes on Organizing the Activities

Institution is defined as a framework that structures relationship between people in various spheres of their activity[9].

In the wide sense of the term, institutions are specific establishments providing relative stability of connections and relationships within the framework of social organization of society, certain historically stipulated forms of organizing and regulating of social life. Institutions emerge in the course of development of human society, differentiating of activities, labour division, forming of specific kinds of social relations. Their forming is stipulated by objective demands of society for regulating of socially significant spheres of activity and social relations. An emerging institution embodies a certain type of social relations. Thorstein Bunde Veblen defines an institution as "a habitual way of human thinking which tends to indefinitely prolong its existence"[10]. This inertia of evolution is called dependence on the previous development trajectory or "path dependence"[11]. This kind of dependence takes place when "yesterday's institutional framework maintains its significance and limits choice in the present and future"[12].

[9] Олейник А. Институциональная экономика // «Вопросы экономики» 1999, №7. с.129
[10] Веблен Т. Теория праздного класса. М.: Прогресс, 1984.
[11]Олейник А. Изменение институтов во времени: эволюция и революция. Эффект исторической обусловленности развития./Вопросы экономики 2000г. №7 с. 132
[12] North L.C. Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance. Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Robert Putnam believes that new institutionalists disagree on many points of both theoretical and methodological grounds. However, they agree on two fundamental positions.

1. Institutions form history and influence events.

Rules and typical operational procedures constituting the essence of an institution give structure to human behaviour, influencing this or that sphere of human activity. Institutions define politics affecting actors' selfidentification, their understanding of possible strategies.

2. Institutions themselves are formed by history.

Institutions are inherent in certain inertional stability. Their evloution is marked by certain historical paths and turning points. History only makes sense because it is "chain dependence": what happens in the beginninf stipulates what happens next. People choose their institutions, but they do not do it on their own will[13].

However, institutional practices are defined by the social context wherein institutions function.

What is meant here is "cooperative strategies" that become social practice. This is manifested, first, in formal strategies (fixed in constitution and classical law), second, in informal strategies (fixed in common law), third, in interaction strategies spontaneously chosen by individuals in new speheres of activity. Such strategies are associated with emergence of new possibilities for action that break current practices and gradually change them[14]. Limits and possibilites of institutional changes lie in gradual reconfiguration, adoption and apllication of existing practices[15]. If political agents' possibilities are above change potential then new institutions are formed on the level of changing existing practices. If political agents' possibilities are not enough to change the situation, criminal shadow practices start to form. They can be condemned by law and strict morals but be wide-spread.

Level 3. Dependence of the Character of Institutional Changes on the type of Interaction

Analysis of scientific publications both Russian and foreign display that within the chosen paradigm the term of institution is approached in various ways. A number of authors believe that the category under question can be given a univocal definition based on one (rarely several) key word (expression).

Douglass Cecil North defines institutions as "**game rules**" for society or limits developed by people to пшму structure to relationship between them. They consist of formal (pieces of legislation, institutions, decrees) and informal limits (customs and traditions, norms of behaviour, selfemerginf behaviour codes) and characteristics of enforcement to follow these limits. Formal rules can be changed in a flash, infromal ones subject to change gradually[16].

Leonid Sedov defines an institution as "a stable **complex** of formal and informal **rules, principles, directives** regulating various spheres of human activity and turning them into a system of roles and statuses constituting a social system"[17].

Jan Julijan Szczepański points out two different approaches to understanding of institution and gives an integral definition. "Institutions are systems of establishments where certain individuals elected by group memebers receive competences to perform social and impersonal functions so as to satisfy essential individual and social demands and to regualte the behaviour of other group members"[18].

Thus, institutional changes can be understood as change in interaction rules. Rules are divided into inheritbale, naturally set, as well as self-acquired, passed down through culture[19]. The latter, in their turn, are divided into individual and social rules, social rules then subdivide

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[13] Патнем Р. Чтобы демократия сработала. Гражданские традиции в современной Италии. М., 1996.
[14] Нуреев Р. Институционализм: прошлое, настоящее, будущее // «Вопросы экономики» 1999, №1. с.128.
[15] Нуреев Р. Институционализм: прошлое, настоящее, будущее // // «Вопросы экономики» 1999, №1. с.128.
[16] North L. C. Institutional Change and Economic History // Journal of International and Theoretical Economics, 1989. N1.
[17] Седов Л.А. Институт социальный. // Современная западная социология. М., 1990.
[18] Щепаньский Я. Элементарные понятия социологии. М., 1969.
[19] Шаститко А.Е, Институциональная экономика: теория и методология, Дисс. Д.э. н. М., 1999.с.73.

into informal (fixed in customs and traditions etc) and formal (fixed in law). This article is limited by research of social (formal and informal) rules and does not cover individual rules due to their singularity.

Change of formal rules is defined here as changes that are made on a centralized basis and can be easily fixed in verbal or written form and legally protected by government. Change of informal rules are changes that are not fixed in verbal form but protected by nongovernmental mechanisms[20].

Level 4. Societal Characteristics of Institutional Changes

Institutional changes can be evloutionary and revolutionary.

Revolutionary[21] changes affect, first of all, formal rules following known samples and pursuing certain results. What is meant here is import of formal institutions that have proved their efficiency in developed countries. Role of structures becomes dominant and is reduced to formalizing of social statuses, court actions, pieces of legislation and decrees.

Evolutionary changes result from shifting informal rules that reflect dvelopment of demands and transformation of habits and settings in agents' behaviour. Informal institutions become legalized: values and norms that serve as the fround for these institutions acquire legal force, new social roles emerge, and thus informal institutions turn into formal ones. Formal institutions reproduce the established informal institutions and traditions.

№	LEVELS	INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES	
1	Subjective level	Change of agents' social interrelation level	
		Change of information about the selection of available alternative behavior	
		Change of value-principke interrelation level	
		Change of actors' motivation level	
2	Activity Arrangement level	Appearance of shadowy practice	Change of existing practice
3	Regulation changes level	Change of formal regulations	Change of informal regulations
4	Societal level	Revolution	Evolution

All mentioned above can be summarized as follows:

The term of "social institution" is approached and treated in many various ways depending on the social paradigm chosen by researchers. This work treats institution within framework of phenomenological approach. Institution is defined here as historically established, stable forms of human interaction characterized by a system of formal and informal prescriptions. This research also takes into account that both formal and informal prescriptions are stipulated by social, cultural and historical context. Analysis of institution also pointed out significance of its formal organization since availability of formal settings and rules of human interaction within institution implies organizing point.

Further analysis of **institutional changes in modern Russia** singles out two key points. The first one is presence of correlation between past and newly forming (transforming) institutional

[20] Шаститко А.Е Институциональная экономика: теория и методология, Дисс. Д.э. н. М., 1999.с.73.
[21] Олейник А. Институциональная экономика // «Вопросы экономики» 1999, №7. с.129

order. Analysis of perspectives laid in the previously formed institutions and structures is of crucial importance: it implies availability of potential to transform or to fucntion as before. Institutions are limited in their transformations, transformation processes are limited within a certain framework inherited from the previous institutional order. The second point is the subjective factor: transforming agents, whether they accepr or reject chages, whether they do or do not want to change something.

This work implies that *transforming agents* are a group of people who: possess significant resource potential that allows them to make (influence) key decisions in their fields and control their execution.

Somov, Vladimir A., Moscow.

I.V. Stalin - a Crisis Manager in the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945)

The current public perception of the image of the Soviet leader period of the Great Patriotic War is far from impartial evaluations. The "Name of Russia" project, the debate about the role of I.V. Stalin on his 130th birthday - evidence of lasting interest and intractable disputes arising historical way, "Comrade Stalin." This is indirectly Indicative exists and undoubted commercial success with the publication of a portrait of the leader on the substrate.

The science of history, being a part of the public perception, inform the title of a strictly reasoned, science-based concept. However, it was the events of political nature, directly or indirectly, continue to influence the assessment of historians. As noted on this occasion used the investigator L. Shekunova, "it appears that no one never really been interested in figuring out the true appearance of the I.V. Stalin. Hence - the many myths and distortions, different facts and their assessment".

In our view, such a position is determined by the contents of the "system of coordinates" in which there are estimates of I.V. Stalin. Historians of the "liberal" direction concentrate their attention in the first place "to" not democratic "methods of governance. So A.N. and L.A. Mertsalovs state: "Around the last 30 years of his life, he (Stalin – V.S.) consistently followed the policy of capturing and simplified chenie personal power in anything without putting the interests of the Soviet people and the world community."

An interesting point of view, M.A. Vyltsan "absolute, does not restrict the power of the Chennai Stalin led to the fact that the defects and vices of his personality is completely transformed into weaknesses and vices of the entire state system. Blunders, mistakes and crimes of Stalin direct cost much to tip-sky people repeatedly increased the price of victory."

The basic concept of Y.A. Kirshin expressed opinion: "Stalin notice how the people in order to achieve their goals, which can not be achieved only lo-coercion and violence."

V.B. Telpukhovsky believes that, despite the fact that "the unlimited personal power of Stalin and his totalitarian regime of the country have caused serious disasters," the population of the Soviet Union during the war, was ready to work "as long as necessary to meet the needs of the front."

Without striving for principled debate, I would like to note that similar estimates of different-not so much a scientific novelty, as the desire to "fill" the facts of a ready-made concept.

N.I. Kondakova remarks that deny the influence of I.V. Stalin on the war, or reducing it solely to the negative effects is not possible. The positive impact of the leaders of the Party and the State, and, above all, I.V. Stalin, on the high public activity of the workers N.I. Kondakova sees their personal example of a highly organized of intensive labor. Largely because of this mass of steel "decisive force of the historical process".

Y.N. Zhukov believes that challenging days of October 1941 "bottleneck management" of the country covered the "real panic" and Stalin as opposed to June 22 "not panicking, not a loss." The author is not inclined to idealize the spiritual image of Stalin, who, in his opinion, was characterized not only ambition, but also pride.

V.V. Cherepanov wrote that the most intense moment of the war, in October 1941, Stalin "tried to show the population of Moscow and demonstration-centered his confidence in victory." The author makes a conclusion about the role of the original I.V. Stalin: "We must admit that without Stalin, we would not have won. But do not be Stalin probably would not have this war."

The difference in political views and continues to influence the development of military-historical research on the most controversial aspects of the history of the Great Patriotic War. It is noteworthy that this speak veterans, using not often arises an opportunity to speak in public. For example, the report took place in Moscow on the International Conference dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the Victory, Professor V.S. Porohnya cited statements by Lieutenant-General Vladimir retired Silverkov at the "round table" in the newspaper "Pravda": "I want to say that the science is very, very Ministering today, responds to the needs and orders of the current rulers, promotes the interests of the West." The degree of severity of the remarks against members of historically science was not entirely unfounded.

In conclusion, we note that the approach to the assessment of I.V. Stalin from the scientific point of view, using the methods of historical, sociological, psychological, linguistic, system analysis usually leads to the conclusion that according to the head of this type of social and political needs of most of the working people - those who supports the idea of building a strong state seeking to autarky. Those who won the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945.

The negative evaluation of I.V. Stalin are based predominantly on subjective, personal, emotional experiences of those who, one way or another, suffered in the process of building a new type of society, who do not accept the idea of a strong socialist state, and sometimes resists it.

But it must be borne in mind that the vast majority of workers have not experienced a panic fear of Stalin. He was respected and loved (as a mythical or fairytale character), a little scared, but Paniching there was no fear. About panic fear Stalin wrote and write, rather, those who are well familiar with this emotion, whose fear of the authorities, need punishment preserved and handed down for generations.

You could say that Stalin was a friend of the working people, and an enemy of the elite. Not by chance many of his political opponents I.V. Stalin called "nobles in the party". Obviously, the technical, physical, financial and political opportunities published estimates today, the last non-comparable higher. Evaluation of the "workers" (as they say in seriously, "edited with a" form) in the media emerged only in the famous project "Name of Russia", where I.V. Stalin had "won" the third place.

It is the "coincidence of interests" I.V. Stalin, the government (and not party political elite) and the worker-peasant population accounts for the fact that around the image of the leader of the state rallied during the war, all those for whom the main imperative behavior was resisted foreign aggression, and are not idle thoughts about the benefits of liberal model of statehood device.

External threat, the updated for the Soviet Union in June 1941, almost explains the steps and measures (including the "unpopular"), the country's leadership (and to Josef Stalin) 1930-40-ies. Characteristically, many critics of the policy I. Stalin's "overlooked" it is this, in our view, a key aspect. The Great Patriotic War - the most important co-existence of the twentieth century in Russia - showed that address global strategic objectives in crisis and external opposition can only be under the supervision of the head, as was I. Stalin.

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Trofimova, Irirna N., Moscow.

Rights and Situation of Youth at Risk in the Russian Federation

Young people between 14 and 30 years old, whose life, health and development are under threat, is the most general definition that can be given for youth at risk (YAR). In Russia, the number of young people who find themselves in critical situations, increased annually. First of all, it refers to an underage youth in particular need of various kinds of legal and social support. According to the UNICEF, in Russia about 28% of families with children are classified as disadvantaged on at least one attribute: poverty, poor housing conditions, and conflicts within the family or lack of access to social services [Analiz polozheniya detey v Rossiyskoy Federatsii, 2011. p. 87]. About 700,000 children and adolescents are living without parental care, and they are social orphans in fact. Domestic violence in one form or another (beatings, harassment, bullying, psychological terror, sexual abuse, isolation, neglect of children) is found in each forth family.

The neglect and cruelty towards the younger generation rise to reciprocal cruelty. Despite the fact that recently some negative phenomena among young people was brought under control, for example, to reduce juvenile crime, the situation has not fundamentally changed. Youth crime is growing quite rapidly, with a peak of minors illegal activity took place in the middle and older age of youth - at the end of decade of 2000s. For many young people access to social services, quality education and health care, labor market, etc. has been limited.

The situation of young people significantly varies in some regions of the country. The most alarming situation is in some economically underdeveloped regions of Siberia and the Far East, where, for example, the level of youth crime exceeds the average by almost 2 times. The level of development of the region and municipality directly affects the ability of self-realization. The experts are critical of opportunities for young people at risk for the development and self-realization in most regions of the country: 40% consider them low, 58% - average, 2% - well.

According to data of the study [Kliucharev, Pakhomova, Trofimova, 2007], Russian citizens see that the current reason for a lot of children being at risk is, intrinsically, the crisis in the family institute due to poverty growth, downfall in living conditions, deterioration of moral values and educative potential of families. Thus, the most serious reason for children getting in the risk group 72.1% of interrogated experts named family problems (financial, housing problems, illness of one of their family members, etc), 69.3% are convinced that youth–at–risk group is refilled due to the fact that parents "care little for their children". 63.9% of interviewed think that another serious reason is lack of developed leisure environment for children and juveniles. Importance of the so–called "exterior" reasons, namely, ineffective youth offence prevention, general crime growth, mass–media, influence by a child's mates or "bad street children", is valued by respondents as serious enough, although their influence is less intensive as compared to existing problems of an individual family.

As for unfavorable family situations, results of YAR inquiry survey witness significant influence of the factors, namely, incomplete families, family problems like relatives suffering from alcohol abuse, relatives with a police record, low income, permanent scandals, low educational and cultural level of parents.

The problem of shaping a YAR right protection policy is very urgent today. Lacking a comprehensive long–term program aimed at solution of such problems as child neglect, juvenile delinquency and other social problems in youth environment witness low awareness of existing vital need for well–coordinated and targeted activities of various departments and public organizations in the field. A cooperation mechanism adequate to contemporary understanding of the problem is only shaping in Russia. The nature of such cooperation and its stability depend on many factors which vary between regions and municipalities. Of negative impact in Russia is lack of principles of legislative regulation of the whole spectrum of relationships between the parties during the child education process: state, society, public institutes, including educational institutions and mass media.

By identifying basic rights of children and youth in the contemporary Russian society, the community of experts which took part in this research project was virtually unanimous – these are, in the first line, the right for living standards necessary for physical, intellectual, spiritual, moral and social development. The next one by its importance and topicality, which the experts consider basic, is the right for prompt access to legal and other relevant support. This opinion was shared by over the half of the expert community (59.1%). Also, important enough, in the opinion of a part of the experts (44.3%), is the right of minors for their own views and attitudes concerning all issues which affect their interests.

Beside the offered list of rights of children and youth, out of which one could select several variants for the answer, a number of experts offered other rights not covered by the above list, but which are also fundamental in modern situation. Among extra rights the experts referred "the right for decent free education and the subsequent employment", "right for a healthy family", "being free from derogatory attitude and punishments".

At the same time, such rights as the right for protection from economical exploitation and the right for protection from discrimination was evaluated by the experts as the least significant in the modern conditions.

However, evaluating the extent of legal safety of children and youth in the modern Russia, the majority of experts produced negative appraisal. Thus, most experts (61.4%) are convinced that today the rights of children and youth are either poorly protected or not secured at all. Just a little over one third of the interviewed (37.5%) think that the mentioned above rights are generally protected, but not sufficiently.

In this regard, the experts mostly relate insufficient legal safety of children and youth in Russia the lack of the targeted state youth policy in general and, in the first line, to the lack of effective youth–oriented legal framework. This point of view is backed by the majority of the experts (64.6%). As a serious enough reason for low level of legal safety of children and youth, 37.8% experts identified underdeveloped structure of public institutes to which support one could apply to protect his/her rights. Against this background, such reasons as ineffective work of legal institutes (courts, prosecutor's office) and law enforcement authorities are, in the experts' opinion, less significant, though the said agencies do provide an adverse effect on development of legal situation.

The experts also identified other reasons which produce an obvious adverse effect in the field of legal safety of children and youth. Among such reasons one should name "low functional literacy and competence of employees of law enforcement bodies", "lack of a unified system to regulate issues of juvenile rights", "current punitive and not right-protective approach to youth services and their protection", "poor support of the family institute". As the main reason for low legal safety of children and youth in Russia, the lack of effective youth laws was identified. The lack of public organizations to which one can apply for right protection is thought as significant by one third of the experts. Each fourth expert indicated ineffective, and sometimes uncontrolled, operation of law enforcement bodies.

As seen from data, effects evaluate as the most effective activities of authorities and institutions directly designated to YAR services. In the first line, these are custodial care agencies, commissions on juvenile affairs, social workers, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and federal, regional and local authorities.

One should note that the experts took a critical attitude to participation of business structures. Practically, the fourth part of interviewed experts valued youth–targeted activities of business structures as detrimental, while almost half of the interviewed (45.7%) valued that more likely ineffective. Obviously, it is explained by very low social responsibility level of the Russian business community.

Noteworthy is the fact that the activities of the Commissioner of the rights of children are appraised rather critically (as compared to other evaluations). One third of the experts (33.4%) identified the activities of the Commissioner as detrimental and more likely as ineffective. In all appearances, such opinions are explained by low development of this institute in the regions under study.

Special standardized questionnaire survey conducted upon 1,700 respondents' all–Russian sample in January 2007 by the All–Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VCIOM) showed that the most serious factor resulting in children likely to get in the risk group is family problems (financial, housing, relative illness, etc.). Among other factors that residents of Moscow and St. Petersburg especially identify are low parental care and a lack of developed leisure infrastructure. The latter factor was also named by residents of all large cities of this country, taking part in the survey.

The majority of respondents consider that in the first line YAR situation can be improved by measures directed onto improvement of the family institute and rendering social services to all children without discriminating them into "bad" and "good" ones. In this regard, the responders admit the necessity of introducing innovative YAR services which exclude punitive measures. No doubt that this can be considered a positive issue, the one confirming a choice for development of juvenile justice.

A public opinion shift from zero tolerance to understanding and reconciliation is more appreciated by residents of Moscow, St. Petersburg and other large cities, than by residents of small towns and rural communities. In the question who must care for the fate of a "problem" child must be if parents of that child do not want or cannot care for him/her, the respondents evaluated the roles of close relatives and custodial care on about a 50–50 basis. The respondents are in the least inclined to see courts as an entity who could determine the fate of a "problem" child. Obviously, it is largely explained by specifics of legal culture of residents, personal experience of contacts with law enforcement bodies which do not always meet high requirements for this institute, including transparency and confidence.

The opinion of respondents as to that exactly relatives must concern with the fate of a child who gets in a critical situation is reinforced by responses of children themselves. When questioned whom they would resort to, the vat majority named their relatives in the following priority order – parents, grandmothers, grandfathers, uncles, aunts, brothers and sisters.

Thus, according to the public opinion, the highest topicality issues are family institute improvement, family support by state. A developed system of family services provides real chances to families so that they could solve their problems in the best possible way. In the regions where the system is underdeveloped, the YAR growth and juvenile offence are positively correlated with a number of dysfunctional families.

Another vital issue is setting–up day–to–day work with children in their community and development of youth–targeted services. In the first line, responsibility for this activity line vested in municipal authorities. In these field public organizations, including youth organizations must play an active part, too. It is probable to involve business structures which must compensate for shortage of budget funds. One of the options is development of youth service system on the basis of schools and cultural–entertainment institutions (clubs) which have already trained pedagogical and psychological personnel, the more so that in the population the confidence in schools and clubs is higher than that in public organizations or law enforcement authorities.

Unfortunately, today the public opinion is that YAR services are associated with child delinquency and neglect prevention activities of various departments and institutions and, to a sufficiently lesser degree, with a long–term comprehensive program directed to support minors caught in a critical life situation. The case in hand is not only a problem of intended shaping of public opinion, but of raising awareness, professional training and level of personal responsibility of officials, public actors and politicians whose concern is YAR and their problems.

Thus, by comparing statistical data, results of public opinion survey and expert panel surveys we can conclude that in the RF we still have no common opinion and distinct approach of the society, professionals and state as to understanding YAR problems and protection of their rights. By all appearances, no information on positive experience of YAR services and on results of operation of juvenile courts achieves population and state officials yet. In this respect, 72.4% of experts interviewed voiced their criticisms towards mass media. And, in turn, this explains low public awareness of the problem.

It should be effective YAR–targeted policy, identified as a constituent part of a social policy of the State at federal and local levels. To improve YAR services, the public must be well informed and its opinion - prepared. This complex and delicate work is impossible without participation of regional and federal policy–makers. One should note that in Russia different, often opposite approaches exist to goals and methods of YAR services. According to the study data, this is due to misalignment of departmental work programs. Meanwhile there is obvious lack of experience on how to moderate the activity of various Ministries and Agencies performing in the same domain. It appears that the first step is to initiate a nation–wide dialog of professionals in development of inter–regional / national YAR service strategies.

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Tyuplina, Irina A., Magnitigorsk.

Small Business in the Mono-town:

Conditions and Prospects for Graduates of Higher Education Institutions

Small business relies on activity of small firms, the small enterprises which formally do not enter any associations. Consumer cooperatives and commercial organizations treat subjects of small and average business (except for the state and municipal unitary enterprises), and also the individuals who are registered in the Unified State Register of Private Entrepreneurs and carry out business activity without formation of legal entity (further - individual entrepreneurs), the farmer businesses corresponding to listed below conditions brought in the uniform state register of legal entities. The average number of workers for the previous calendar year shouldn't exceed the following limit values of average number of workers for each category of subjects of small and average business:

a) from hundred and one to two hundred and fifty people inclusive for medium-sized enterprises;

b) to hundred people inclusive for small enterprises; the microenterprises are distinguished from small enterprises - to fifteen people [Federal`nyj Zakon ot 06.12. 2011 №401-FZ).

Small and average business has an important role in the economic and social life of the developed countries of Western Europe, America and East Asia where to its share falls to 60% of a gross national product. Small business doesn't demand large starting investments, guarantees a fast turn of resources, high dynamics of growth, effectively and quickly solves problems of economy restructuring, quickly reacts to market condition change, gives economical flexibility and stability. Social functions of small and medium business are considerable. The development of small business increases the number of owners and provides the formation of middle class – the main guarantor of political stability in society, creates new workplaces, for youth and unprotected sectors of society including, provides decrease in unemployment rate, social tension and an economic inequality. The social importance of small business is defined by mass character of the group of small owners – the owners of small enterprises and their hired employees whose total number is one of the most essential qualitative characteristics of any country with the developed market economy. This group of the active population serves the bulk of consumers, making a complex of products and services according to quickly changing requirements of the market [Fetisov, 2006, p. 24].

In general, the formation of small business as sectors of economy goes rather slowly in Russia. In mono-towns businessmen face more serious problems, and the sociological research conducted in Magnitogorsk to Chelyabinsk region proves it. Collecting primary data took place in April, 2013. The method of getting information – questionnaire of businessmen (n=100) and representatives of a city administration (n=10).

Estimating an extent of support of small business from administration, 84% of respondents indicate full indifference of local government to small business affairs. 69% of respondents face manifestation of administrative barriers. It is incorrect to say that the management of the city and area is negatively biased to small and medium business. On the contrary, we can speak about support: grant payments to businessmen, occupations and consultations, exhibitions, competitions, etc. However, these activities are mostly for those who only begin their own business, for example, production of sewing goods, hardware, valyany footwear. At the same time, the major part occupied in small city business works in the trade sphere. According to respondents, trade sphere consists of non-graduates of higher educational institutions and also the unemployed people.

A businessmen occupied in the sphere of trade noted the following:

–"We have no future. A hundred people used to work for me. I was compelled to reduce the number of employees by 30%".

–"There is no feedback with the authorities".

–"People, working in trade, are considered as people of the second rate".

–"The main competitor of local trade – numerous network shops – 150 units – this is very much for our town. Consumers are interested in local production, but the services of network shops are imposed, forcing local producers out from the market".

–"Local businessmen wish to compete with network sales managers. But for this purpose all must be on an equal footing. However, an advance payment is demanded from local businessmen for everything: for goods, for heat, for garbage removal. While network sales managers take goods on realization. It is initially unfair".

Magnitogorsk businessmen, in general, have pessimistic opinions concerning the results of their activities. Only 35% of respondents noted that by results of 2012 they got profit, more than a half of respondents (57%) works without profit and a loss, 8% worked at a loss. Receiving the profit in the future is counted only by 16% of respondents.

Our research found out the following reasons of negative impact on development of small business in Magnitogorsk:

- the main obstacle to the development of small business in the city – the monopoly of the large enterprises (federal network shops);
- sharp increase in the size of insurance premiums in the Pension fund;
- domination of the network companies in the market;

- high bank percent on the credits to small business;
- bureaucratic obstacles;
- lack of knowledge in the field of economy and law.

The vast majority of Magnitogorsk companies need support of the state and local government, including (in decreasing order of the importance): consulting help, most often legal (68%), information support (34%), financial help (31%).

Small businessmen would like to receive help from the state, but such cases don't occur, dream: "just do not disturb us". Besides, businessmens expectations for way of help structure from the state are presented by the folowing answers: "the state should reduce pressure upon business" and "shoud inform business on available types of support and conditions of its receiving more widely".

In this regard we will note that the main tool of a state policy is federal, regional and municipal programs of support for small business. In these programs, key tasks in the field for a certain period are formulated, and actions for legislative ensuring small business, creation of the corresponding infrastructure, training, etc. are provided.

It is possible to allocate various assessment criteria of efficiency for support to small business which are to reflect a measure of its impact on realization of those purposes which face the enterprises of this sphere. The techniques now in use are directed generally at monitoring of their financing and at a quantitative results assessment of their realization.

Quite successful programs of support of small business, with a big range of actions are developed and carried out in Magnitogorsk. The city administration effectively enough interacts with the population employment center. In particular, till 2012 in the Center, at jobless citizen could prepare the business plan of a future project, present it before a contest committee and get a grant of about 58000 rubles. Besides, at official employment of the jobless citizens registered in the Center of employment, a businessman-beginner received the same sum in addition – 58000 rubles. And already on the basis of this project he had an opportunity to take part in the program of financial support and to get a grant.

In general, the City administration is ready for cooperation and rendering all kinds of support, both financial, and consulting. But the majority of businessmen negatively estimate this support: because of bad awareness of carrying out these or those actions, or because of mistrust to city administration support.

During implementation stage of the support program for small business there occur same problems. According to experts (managers), it is insufficient to participate in seminars and forums only (one of the reasons – carrying out actions on weekdays and some limitation in resources of advertizing actions). According to businessmen, a big problem is unawareness of such a program – the program of opportunities, and also of different carrying out fairs, consultations, competitions and grants, etc.

Magnitogorsk businessmen need the following types of support (in decreasing order of the importance): legal advice, informing and financial help.

The majority of the interrogated businessmen didn't hear at all about the existence of the support program for small business which was realized in 2008 - 2011. The fifth part of the respondents is informed about it only in general. Only 14% knew about it. 80% from the interrogated businessmen weren't supported in the framework of the municipal program of support of small business, 14% wanted to receive subsidies within this program, but couldn't. Only 6% got support, or opened their own business by means of it.

A third of the interrogated businessmen would use the program if there was no other alternative in receiving a loan. 18% wouldn't begin to use the program at all as they consider its realization inefficient.

As a whole, the majority of businessmen negatively estimate support and development policy for small businesses which is realized in Magnitogorsk. Only 18% satisfactorily estimate the city policy.

If we compare businessmen and experts views about support and conditions of small business in Magnitogorsk, the considerable difference in the positions is revealed. Support, especially advisory, according to experts, is carried out fully and is necessary to businessmen. Only those who are informed about existing programs of support or have support in a program framework, satisfactorily estimate the support program of small business. As businessmen note, they would like to have more information about support programs for small business, their actions, exhibitions and fairs of businessmen, conditions of receiving subsidies, etc.

Small business has become the largest employer for the graduated of our country. Therefore, the more often and more frankly the problems of small business will be discussed, especially the improvement of HR-quality; the more the contribution of small business to national economy of Russia will be.

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Modern Youth and Working out Social Policy of the Municipal Administration in Russia

Nowadays the question under consideration and investigation is the state of modern Russian youth, the dynamics of its development, forming of its interests and elaborating the adequate social policy.

The real basis for working out the adequate social policy is the knowledge of the real state of social structure of Russian youth, the dynamics and tendencies of its changes.

Social structure ofRussian youth and of Russian society is a phenomenon which needs detailed rethinking according to its previous and its contemporary state. The lack of reliable knowledge of social structure of the society and the dynamics of its development is a cause of numerous failures in social policy.

Political and economical changing in Russia during the last 20 years influenced the attitude of the young people to politics and taking part in administration. Absolute refusal of the old values and standards they had been grown with, and absence of new ones, together with the circumstances of transition to market economy in our country caused the situation when for many young people wealth became the only value and purpose. Human values shifted to the background or even lost their importance at all. It's considered non-prestigious to take part in political activities or elections, government or municipal administration.

This situation leads to the number of serious consequences, such as aging of people in the government, having no possibility to share the experience with the young successors, the lack of adequate youth policy in the country and its regions.

Several sociological researches have studied this problem. It enabled us to estimate political activity of Russian young people and their readiness to take part in local municipal administration, according to their place of living, the level of education, the sphere of occupation and etc.

Involving young people into the administration is one of the most important aspects of the integration of the new generation into the social relations. This idea stimulates various social researches considering the most actual matters of the choice of life strategy, values and guiding lines, social activity, political preferences of the youth, et cetera.

Social, economic and political reforms shape the real position of the youth in the society. That's why discovering and investigating the attitude of young people towards life becomes so important in the situation of global social changes, when transformations in different spheres of social life influence not only macro social processes, but also individual lives, changing values, norms, culture.

The characteristics of democracy in a society can be defined as to how actively young people participate in solving the administrative tasks, how the political reality is reflected in their perception, what image of the state and authorities they get. Participation of the youth in the political life of a country, on the one hand, helps to introduce the interests of the youth in the governing, and on the other hand, involves young generation into state administration processes. Besides, it gives the opportunity for the most talented and initiative young people to show their worth and get the practical skills of administrating and taking decisions. It creates the new generation of administrative personnel.

But recently, as a result of awkwardly performed political reforms in the country, we can see the estrangement of the youth from politics, authorities, administration. The former system of political socialization of the youth has been destroyed and the new one has not been created, the continuity in the administration has disappeared, young people don’t take part in consideration of local and national matters, don’t have any channels to express and realize their interests. Youth programs are not being carried out, or lack at all. Young people don’t get enough support to get stable social state, professional skills, to form their own viewpoint to politics, to reveal their own merits. Such attitude towards the young people causes their political apathy, indifference to changes that are taking place.

The analysis of the condition of modern Russian youth discovers negative trends connected with:

- deterioration of health of the young people (on average in Russia only 10% of school graduates can be considered absolutely healthy, while 45-50% have serious deviations of physical and mental health);
- unstable material state of the considerable part of the youth (the salary has become the crucial factor of motivation to work, having moved backwards such values as content of work, possibility to reveal one’s knowledge and abilities through working);
- growth of crime connected with drugs, (70-80% crimes committed by people of age from 14 to 30);
- reduction of nuptiality among young people (along with the spreading of civil marriages, when people live together, but don’t marry officially). According to the results of researches, a bit more than 50% of respondents prefer official marriage, about 30% choose living together without registration, 14 % prefer free relations;

- considerable part of youth in the unemployed (if in 1998 it was 38%, in 2005 - already 41,2%). More than 70% of respondents are worried about their job placement and possible unemployment.

At the same time during the recent years we can see some positive changes, connected with the growth of prestige of education among the youth.

The analysis of the sociological data shows that in the circumstances of growing unemployment among the youth the creating professional and political activity decreases dramatically. On the whole the part of young people in the institutions of self-governing is insignificant (7,4% in the organizations and 0,9% in local governing in Russian Federation administrative units).

During the soviet period there had been created the system of working with the youth, discovering, training and selecting socially active young people, leaders, who, later on, made up the reserve of administrative personnel. This system was organized vertically according to the age of a young person. The first step in this hierarchy was entering the organization of 'oktabryata' – in the age from 7 to 9. Then worthy children became 'pioneers' – in the age from 9 to 14. After that the transition was to the next socio-political organization – 'komsomol', but to become its member it was not enough for a person to get to the age of 14. Such characteristics as good school results, orderly behaviour, trust and recommendations of schoolmates were necessary. Moving up the system was concluded by becoming a member of a Communist Party of the Soviet Union. To become a communist the person had to prove himself at work, in studying, in social and organizational activity.

In this research we consider not the ideological or political aspects of this system, but the organizational mechanism of upbringing, training and selecting socially active young people, leaders and organizers, not indifferent in solving social problems. The system that existed then covered all the country, many state social programs and the whole human resource politics were based on it.

Soviet youth acted as a united corporation on the international scene, taking part in the work of the World Federation of a Democratic Youth, International Student Union and other international associations of young people.

Undoubtedly, the quoting of posts for young people in authorities of all levels was positive. It allowed to keep constant presence of the representatives of the young generation in the authorities, and so not only created the conditions for succession and continuity in their work, but also helped to take into account the demands, interests and dispositions of young generation, to solve matters, actual for them, with their participation.

The analysis of involvement of the youth into the political life of the country nowadays is limited mostly (about 60%) by watching political TV programs, reading newspapers. But 15% dodge any forms of political activity. Only 24,4% regularly take part in elections. Most respondents are not members of any youth political associations (77,6%). Only 21% know that these associations exist. The most effective forms of participating of young people in local governing are, in respondents' view, the working out of youth programs and projects (26%), organizing the leisure for young people (25%), neighbourhood improvement and recreational development (23%).

The municipal reform now demanded from authorities to look for methods and technologies of motivating the activity of the youth, involving it into solving the matters of local governing, working out and realize social policy.

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Urban Social Movements under Disaster Conditions (the case of Krymsk)

Abstract. Under condition of disaster an urban social movement (USM) turned out a volunteer movement aimed at mitigation of the disaster's consequences. It means that the USMs are not necessarily tied to a particular settlement but act as rescue teams (brigades) in the places in which they were urgently needed. Our research in Krymsk and other affected settlements shows that recently due to social networks and other IT technologies the margin between the USMs and volunteers' teams are effaced. Actually, these USMs have become true environmental movements because they save the settlements and their milieus as a single whole.

Key words Socio-ecological disaster, urban social movements, volunteer movement

Statement of the problem

The flood on the night of 6 and 7 July in Krymsk and the nearby settlements took away the lives of more than 170 people and destroyed more than seven thousands houses. This situation aroused a great public resonance that resulted in a long discussion about the causes of the tragedy and an influx of the great number of volunteers, humanitarian aid and money from ordinary citizens in the zone of emergency.

Over the last three years in Russia there were some big natural calamities, which exited a rapid growth of a volunteer movement. The experience of civil participation in it broadened the idea of many Russian citizens about the structure of their social and political opportunities.

We will focus our attention on the structural functional basis of the volunteer movement and consider it as a «network organization» involved in the process of the post-catastrophe rehabilitation of the residents and damaged territories equally with the state «vertical organization» and in a cooperation with it.

So, the volunteering is not a new, but suddenly developed phenomenon in Russia after the forest and peat fires in summer 2010. Then thousands of ordinary citizens using an informational resource of the Internet and their own resources (material, financial, physical and moral) rendered the targeted assistance to many of this disaster victims, extinguished fire and took part in a post-catastrophe rehabilitation of burnt natural territories and settlements. Most of volunteers are residents of the big cities and they haven't had an experience of civil participation and got in straight in the zone of emergency.

Two years after the fires when the flow in Krymsk had happened the volunteer networks were immediately mobilized and attracted even more people across the country to render an urgent assistance to victims. Under the civil mobilization networks we understand the networks created with the using of information and communication technologies by citizens (independent and as well as the members of nongovernmental organizations) for resource mobilization and informing of citizens in order to respond to a critical situation. The functions of these networks are rapid mobilization, public awareness (including the lowering of the dependence from the state media), coordination of the civil force activity and the collective identity feeling formation and maintenance. These networks are created and developed irrespective of the governmental structures though can cooperate with them.

Volunteer community in the emergency zone

From first hours of a catastrophe the eyewitnesses evidences about the situation on-site began to spread through the social networks and often it hasn't coincided with messages of official media. At that time when the EMERCOM (Emergency Control Ministry) announced about the situation stabilization[1] and the Public health ministry declared that in Krasnodar Region there was enough reserves for aiding to all victims[2], in the Internet appeared commentaries that people needed emergency assistance, but nobody has helped them.

Already the next day after the flood volunteers expanded pointes of collection of humanitarian aid across Russia and began its sending to affected area. In Moscow activists announced the observation area in front of the main building of the Moscow State University (MSU) as the point of collection care. By 10 a.m. the next day the hashtag #*smotrovaya* (observation) attained the top of Russian-language Twitter, and people began to come to observation area. The information about the collection of humanitarian aid beside the MSU through the media and social networks spread across the Internet.

The first bus with volunteers leaved Moscow also the next day after the flood and when it came to Krymsk, as volunteers said, they were the first who aided residents (though it was the third day after the disaster), as far as at the first days EMERCOM was equipped in the search-and-rescue operations and local authorities were busy with the solution of the bureaucratic difficulties. Thereby exactly the volunteers undertook the functions of the primary rehabilitation of residents: «*At first volunteers replaced the power. They opened the canteen, organized the storehouse…*»[3] The coming of many volunteers in the emergency zone was caused by the distrust to authorities: «*People have many complaints to administration about the notification*

1 Более тысячи человек ликвидируют последствия наводнения в Крымске (More than 1000 of people are eliminating the flood consequences in Krymsk) http://ria.ru/incidents/20120708/694319091.html

2 Кубань имеет резервы для помощи пострадавшим от наводнения – Минздрав (Kuban has the reserves for assistance to the victims of flood) http://ria.ru/society/20120708/694406184.html

3 «Поначалу волонтеры заменили собой власть» (At first volunteers took the place of power) / Вечерний Петербург 25.07.2012 http://vppress.ru:81/stories/Test-14428

before the flood and about the organization of assistance after the flood»[4]. Many were motivated by the morality: «*Our aid inspire, give an understanding that they are not alone*»[5].

A part of volunteers has been recruited by the administration of Krasnodar Region for debris clearing and destroyed infrastructure restoration. In a volunteer teams there were hired strong men who possess a necessary equipment (tents, spades, axes, saws, gloves), water, food and personal care items. In Russian blog communities there were also made such teams.

At a territory of Krymsk and nearby settlements there were organized several encampments, and its structure was vary various: opposition, loyal to authorities activists, servicemen, rescuers, etc. But this difference hasn't prevented them to work for a benefit of a common affair.

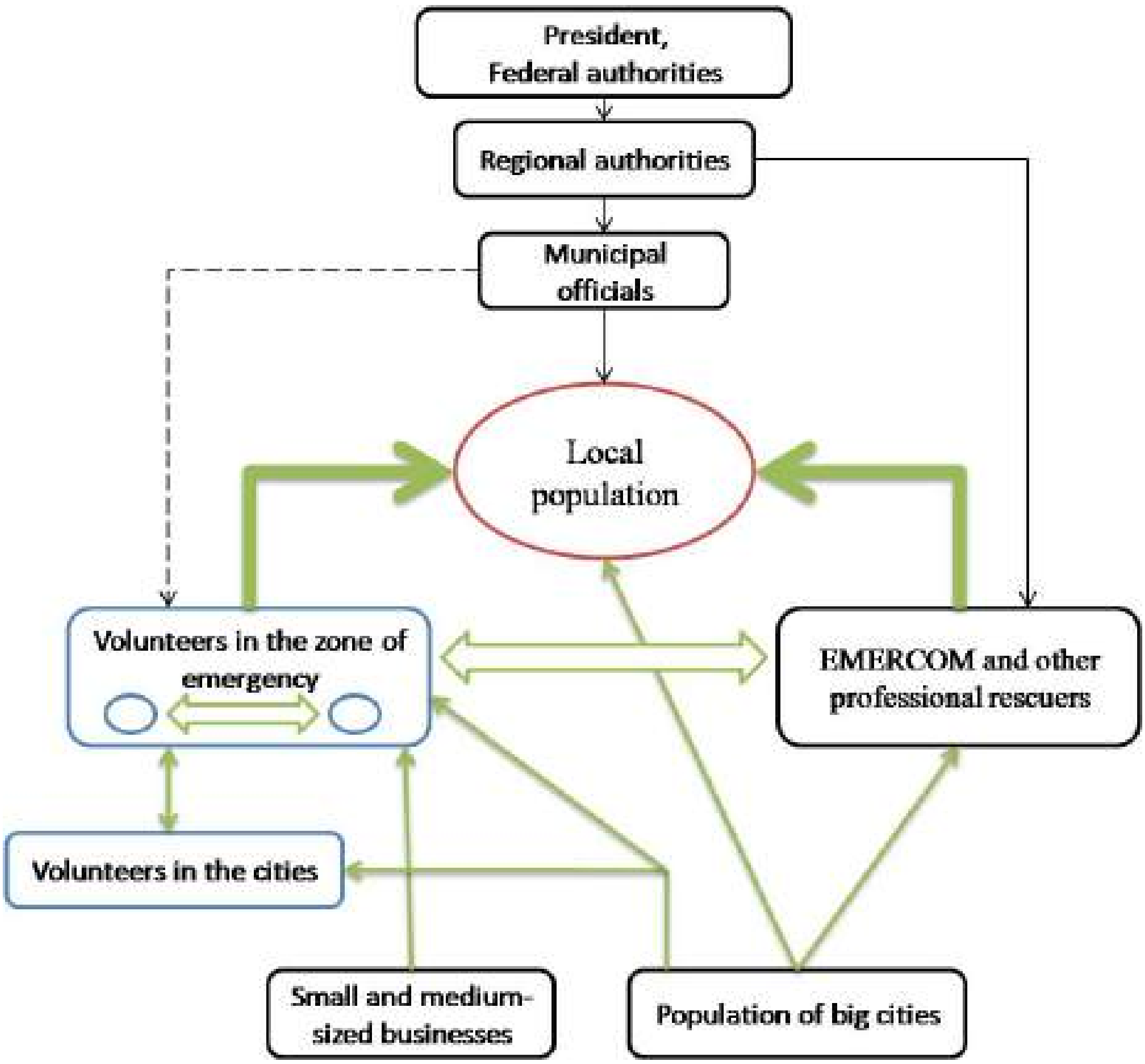
One can say that at first days after the flood the volunteer's camps were overpopulated. In the peak moments in the «Dobry camp» there were about 400 volunteers («*Or rather those who consider themselves as volunteers*»). After some weeks about 70 volunteers stayed there, but the quality of their work was assessed by leaders higher. And even with a lesser number of people «Dobry camp» worked up 850 of addresses daily.

The structure of volunteer community corresponded a network with a great number of cores in the emergency zone as well as in the big cities. Such communication centers (the network cores) were the main volunteer headquarters, the leaders of camps and the coordinators of volunteer's aid in the big cities. It's worth noting that the majority of volunteers came to Krymsk from the big cities: Moscow, Saint-Petersburg, Tuapse. Most of them, including and some of the leaders, hadn't had such experience before, but this hadn't prevented them from the assistance of the EMERCOM and the «Russian union of rescuers» to fulfill their goals effectively. One of the factors of success in their work was exactly an interaction with professionals. EMERCON and rescuers have taught volunteers and actively assisted them. Together they packaged the parcels of basic humanitarian aid and loaded the trucks. One of the EMERCOM brigades, consisted of 21 fighters, even went to the addresses on the instructions of independent volunteers, and not in accordance with the order of region administration. The strict discipline inside the volunteer camps facilitated this successful cooperation of government service and volunteers (*Scheme 1*).

The communication structure between the actors in the emergency zone is presented on the Scheme 1. Thick green arrows designate the voluntary and effective interactions aimed at assistance to victims. The main assistance came from two collective actors: volunteers and

[4]Москва — Крымск — Москва: репортаж волонтера (Moscow – Krymsk – Moscow: the reportage of a volunteer) http://newtimes.ru/articles/detail/54551?sphrase_id=1350373
[5] Ibid.

professional rescuers. The activity of EMERCOM were initially coordinated by the regional administration, but gradually rescuers began actively interact with volunteers, and because of the cadres shortage they began to recruit those who desire from the population of the big cities. Population of the big cities gave support to Krymsk district victims but generally through rescuers and volunteers in cities and in the emergency zone. Volunteers in the cities take upon themselves the role of coordinators engaged in logistics: where, how much and what aid is needed to be dispatched. These coordinators and volunteers on-site connected with the representatives of small and medium-sized business, which could give support to victims. At some moment municipal authorities tried to control the activity of volunteer community in the emergency zone, but this supervision rather hindered than promoted the emergency assistance and rehabilitation of residents.



Scheme 1. The interactions between actors in the period of emergency situation

The basic functions of the USMs activists turns volunteers are:

- gathering, sorting and targeting of humanitarian aid;
- fundraising;
- obtaining the feedback from residents (the information about their needs);
- coordination of activities and information support of new volunteers, the community, NGOs and commercial organizations wishing to provide some assistance to victims (information about the territorial division of the settlements, parcel collection points, etc.);
- psychological assistance to victims (there were professional psychologist among volunteers);
- medical aid to residents and volunteers;
- catering for residents;
- debris clearing in the private sector;
- repairs of damaged houses in the private sector.

Although by a quantity of humanitarian aid volunteers could not be compared with the EMERCOM and the party «United Russia», nevertheless their methods of work became more effective, so as long as the volunteers gathered the information about resident’s needs and delivered the humanitarian aid personally: «*Now “Dobry camp” is working pointwise at the addresses. There was created “The service of humanitarian aid delivering ‘HelpDirect’”. The requests are accepted at the camp on the telephone and also from the volunteers who bring the feedback from residents. The application is published in the Internet, the parcel is packed in Moscow and then delivered to storehouse in “Dobry camp”, and from here it’s already sent to the applicant*». Not all victims could reach the points of issue aid by themselves although the necessity of everything was crucial: in many houses remained no furniture, kitchen utensils and suitable for wearing clothes.

After providing the first emergency humanitarian aid the duties inside the volunteer communities were divided by sectors. Somebody worked on the debris clearing, somebody packaged the parcels with humanitarian aid, transported them by addresses. Some volunteers helped handicapped children, others assisted the veterans of the II World War, etc.

Among the volunteer there were the professional psychologies, who worked with different groups of population: with children and adults, and also with other volunteers, because for them the psychological load was too big and not all could stand it without professional assistance. In their public diaries some volunteers mentioned the appearance of so-called «Afghan syndrome» which become apparent in such situations when people are back to a normal life after the staying in the emergency zone, they become feeling themselves uncomfortably, the values of a peaceful life lost its significance.

The last volunteers who left Krymsk were psychologists and doctors.

Except the psychological loads volunteer community faced another problem became actual in the age of high technologies. As in every social movement in the volunteer community appeared the free-riders. And in Krymsk came many of «day off volunteers», the main motivation of which was not an assistance to victims, but the presence «in the thick of things» and the possibility to inform their acquaintances about it through the social networks (Facebook, Twitter and so on) and «hang out». The presence of these people deeply hampered the work of real volunteers, for who the strict discipline and dedication were the guarantee of success and at the same time – the moral code.

There were also different problems that bothered the work of volunteer camps. Particularly the disagreements with the local authorities and their wish to control the activity of volunteers. Some weeks after volunteers` coming to Krymsk, the local authorities offered them to shift their camps from the center of a town a few kilometers away, which would greatly bothered the aiding to residents. At the beginning of July has happened another event connected with the development of volunteer movement in Russia - there was offered a bill «about the activity of volunteers», which was directed to an effective growth of a social-oriented organizations, but in fact it became another obstacles to its implementation. By worlds of Dmitry Aleshkovskiy, the coordinator of volunteers and humanitarian aids departure from Moscow: «*At this moment of time the authorities are destabilizing the work of our camp "Dobry". The EMERCOM, the municipal and region brought in some work sheets for distribution the humanitarian aid which was gathered by us. At the moment the distribution of aid is stopped. It is stopped because the EMERCOM and state services can't sort out in some yesterday's documents which they completed together. The days when we worked without any state obstacles, we attended 157 points giving people the humanitarian aid, cleared 41 houses. Yesterday we could visit 20 points, because the one questionnaire which were brought "from above" completes 20 minutes. In fact now we can't distribute our humanitarian aid, and we can't work with people directly. We should by all means notify about it the authorities who came to our storehouse*»[6].

Public attitudes towards volunteers

As it has been demonstrated in an express-survey conducted by specialists of the National Research University Higher School of Economics (Saint Petersburg) in July 22-28, the trust to volunteer among the residents was approximately at the same level (3,9 scores from possible 5)

[6]http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GHnBrtO7FBI&feature=player_embedded – The speech of D. Aleshkovskiy, 18.07.2012

as trust to neighbours and relatives (4,0). The EMERCOM also has a quite high level of trust (3,0) in comparison with the federal power (2,5) and all the more so the municipal officials (1,7) (*Table 1*). Thereby in the conditions of socio-ecological disaster the high level of trust remained to the social institutions but only in relation to people who directly rendered them aid immediately after the flood, but no.

Table 1. Which information sources do you personally trust?
(*definitely trust – 5, more trust than don't trust – 4, it is difficult to say – 3, disbelieve more than trust – 2, definitely disbelieve*)

	Mean value
Neighbours and relatives	4,0
Volunteers	3,9
Internet-networks	3,4
EMERCOM	3,0
Social organizations	2,7
Newspapers	2,7
Police	2,6
Local radio	2,5
Federal authorities	2,5
Federal radio	2,3
Local TV	2,3
Federal TV	2,1
Regional administration	2,0
Cossacks	2,0
Political parties	2,0
Municipal officials	1,7

The activity of volunteers the residents assessed higher (4,6 scores) than the work of state structures (2,9) (*Table 2*).

***Table 2.* Do you agree with the activity of governmental and social (nongovernmental) organizations after the disaster? Do they do all their work correct, in your opinion?**

	Mean value
State structures	2,9
Nongovernmental social organizations	3,4
Volunteer communities	4,6

The level of assessment of interactions with volunteer community is also high (4,3) (*Table 3*).

***Table 3.* How much are you satisfied with the interactions with other people and organizations?**
(satisfied – 5, more satisfied than dissatisfied – 4, hard to say – 3, more dissatisfied than satisfied – 2, dissatisfied - 1)

	Mean value
Volunteers	4,3
Residents	4,2
Doctors	3,5
EMERCOM	3,4
Police	2,9
Journalists	2,8
Business	2,8
Federal authorities	2,6
Regional administration	2,4
District administration	2,1

The greatest aid, in the opinion of residents, first of all was got from volunteers (2,3 scores in the 3-scores scale), from friends, relatives and neighbours (2,0 scores), from EMERCOM (1,8 scores). As «slight» people assessed the aid from the commercial organizations, regional administration and police (1,5 scores) (*Table 4*)[7].

***Table 4.* Whom assistance have you personally received in a period of flood and after that?** (big assistance – 3, insignificant assistance – 2, there wasn't assistance)

Subject assistance	Mean value
Volunteers	2,3
Neihgbours, friends and relatives	2,0
EMERCOM	1,8
Business	1,5
Regional administration	1,5
Police	1,5
Federal authorities	1,4
Nongovernmental social organizations	1,4
District administration	1,3
Political parties	1,1

Resume

Socio-ecological disasters that happened during the last decade across Russia initiated substantial changes in the USMs. Firstly, they are in between the USM and volunteer movements are gradually effaced. Secondly, the members of the USMs have been oscillated between the movement as such and volunteers' activity. Thirdly, the new USMs though being relatively young acted as efficient network organizations which are capable to render help (aid) to the affected residents. Fourthly, being not well known as environmentalists, when they work as volunteers they gained the residents` trust. As to their constituency, the USMs are the movements of middle-class representatives of large cities from 20 to 30 years old who are active

[7] The survey was conducted in 22-28 July, 2012 in Krymsk and stanitsa Nizhnebakanskaya (Krasnodar krai). Chief – V.V. Kostushev. Source: The Sociology of disaster / Novaya gazeta. Volume 93, 17.08.2012 http://www.novayagazeta.ru/politics/54030.html

users of internet and its social networks (forums, etc.). Fifthly, the experience of USMs activists in the rescue operations is widened their comprehension concerning their political and social opportunity structures. This experience, in turn, has become the base for their participation in mass protest actions. First of all, many USMs activists became the participants of a set of protest meetings for the honest elections to the State Duma (Federal parliament) in 2011.

During the period of forest fires and floods of 2010-12 years, the USMs turned volunteers to manifest themselves as the efficient social force capable (together with the stare rescuers), to implement the initial rehabilitation of those who suffered. And in such aspects as a targeted delivery of the humanitarian aid and primary psychological support volunteers acted with a greater success than government services.

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Social justice and human development

In the contemporary world a thought that ensuring efficient resource distribution requires that economic policy should be oriented not so much to regulating market mechanisms, as to create state governing models on the basis of guaranteed social justice principle is gradually establishing.

United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon in his message for the World Day of Social Justice (February, 2009) stated: "Global sustainability and prosperity depend on ensuring that people enjoy acceptable levels of well-being and equality of opportunity".[1]

Research, carried out by the human development experts, has shown that there is no firm positive relationship between economic growth and human development. Human development is not only human opportunities, but also how much they can be used. And between these two components harmony should be established.

The problem is to ensure majority's benefit from the growth and correlate it with the objectives of social justice. Economic and technological progress, growth in trade and investment are of great importance yet they are merely means to expand people's capabilities. That is why human development means and goals were formulated on the basis social justice principle.

Nowadays intensive search for efficient ways of social and economic policies integration are carrying out in Russia and in the whole of the world. As a rule, only those countries score big successes in which social and economic policies are based on human development priorities and values. The best practices has shown that development strategies should be oriented not so much to taking into account "human factor" as to creating actual conditions and opportunities for human development.

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[1] The United Nations in Russia, 2009, January-February, 1(62).

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Social Rent as the Cause Generating the World Crisis.

The present crisis does not have only economical but mainly social roots and cultural effects. Rent is a source of revenue the nature of which defines the main point of economic relations non less than the first three factors: Land, Labour and Capital. The main definition of the word "rent" is the legal income, gained regularly and non-called for any particular business, including the entrepreneurial business. Social occasion for deriving the social rent is arisen by self-organization processes. Social rent is a form of uneconomical compulsion. It is not only the appropriation of surplus value but a social parasitism. It is necessary that such status must be admitted by productive, market and state forces. The rent theory appeared as the income theory, connected with the functioning of a sector which accommodates economic system with vital goods.

But approaches for studying the rent as a modern occurrence is just beginning to develop. Rent is being viewed as a systematic occurrence connected inseparably with monopoly. The production process from simple commodity to commodification is easily understood by noting that the social rent is transformed into systemic phenomenon. 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. Unfortunately there is a considerable shortage of systematic rent theory study caused by the difficulty of exposing the functional connection with economy system types and their institutional structure. The degree of dependence between economic processes is getting close to being functional because they self-correct. The change of one characteristic has the influence on another signified in some consequences.

The power and economical monopolies are the social factors which are converted into settled rent factors. 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 subject 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.

Each society creates different categories depending on privilege availability: elite and slaves, classes and stratifies, the owner's rights and lawlessness of the poverty. Any revolution is also a change of the social rent collection which opens a way to this process for new groups and forms of confiscation. Social rent exists in terms of any economic structure but it depends on recourse potential as inside as outside.

Internal resources are limits of increasing the exploitation and self-exploitation of producers and hard work for the satisfaction of social needs. External resources are limited natural environment and rivalries with other social systems. There is the time factor, because the adaptation to the new circumstances in the short or long term requires different tactics and strategies.

The desire for social rent extraction leads to monopolization, destroying the competition (the most economical form of waste of resources). Monopolization, which continues to grow as public facilities, leads to militarization is conducive to capture external resources. The internationalization of capital is of the same order or rather having found its positive aspects along with this it is possible to find the exploration of new ways to extract social rent. You can also see that a totalitarian, fascist society gives its top the greatest opportunity to retrieve social rent being hidden ideologically and using extreme violence (pre-war Japan, Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union).

An essential feature of modern existence of social rentiers is parasitism on the intellectual component of labour.

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 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.

Establishing laws and customs which then have the gravitas and inertia, the State provides certain segments of the product of social production. The State is in apparent or latent form of actual or possible share of consumption.

The direct manufacturers of a variety of goods can be consumed only the most necessary goods to sustain life. In this case the assets are resources that are not directly related to production. Acting as asset resource can be viewed as capital when it accumulates, it is converted into cash form and played, and also brings new added value in excess of the amounts required for the replacement of the corresponding resource.

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). 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.

The increasing role of imperfect competition leads to the transformation of the economic space: it is becoming uneven, and some entities are able to shape their economic power. The dichotomy between the interests of the development of production and the interests of the capitalists actually helps to create chaos. In this context, we can talk about non-productive time as unable to recreate resource consumption. Rent may be informational in nature, because the annuity unproductively consumes time.

Productive activity is replaced with search, seizing and holding the rent, which leads not only to a waste of resources but also to transformation of motivation. In addition, there is a predilection for forceful appropriation of someone else's products. Skewed motivation when you distribute rental sentiment comes toward predatory economic behavior type (by T.Veblen), which includes unsatisfying consumption.

"Usefulness" is a subjective assessment of the leisure classes – recipients of social rents and therefore is paid by them out of their unearned windfall. A false value, being released through rent, applies to the majority of spheres and sectors of the economy.

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. 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.

Many of the mindset in modern economic science is now in need of revision. There are new studies showing that the higher inequality, the lower the rate of economic growth. The range of possibilities for economic system opens the adaptability and introduction of innovation that eliminates the existence of persistent classes, parasitizing on producers. Economy as a science which optimizing the utilization of scarce resources, still probably waiting for great discoveries. And in so doing, it will help the understanding of the phenomenon of social rent.

System energy crisis is an objective factor with which to be reckoned. In our view, one of the components of this condition is the social structure of society. Parasitism on intellectual work with its depreciation, low prestige of scientific activity, the loss of industrial capacity, producing short-lived goods when the unrelenting growth in consumption have a direct impact on the nature of social mobility. Instead of raising the social status with the most comprehensive use of human creativity it is proposed to enhance the consumption level that gives the illusion of improving living standards.

Evolving tendencies over the past 30 years have led to increasing income inequality within countries and between them. Increasing in share of revenue of rich layers contributed to the global financial crisis. Absolute private consumption expenditure from the rich far higher than that from the poor, and the relative consumption is less. Social classes previously identified with the "supply" and "demand" for labour, land and capital, now identified mainly depending on the access to such a resource as an opportunity for social rent. This is the essence of modern internal State machinery that must conform to all the institutions of society. On the surface of the tip of the iceberg we can see quantitatively described stratification by income level (in some countries, 1% richest population accounting for between 10% to 20% and above all the national wealth). The essence of this phenomenon is social parasitism with rampant consumption of resources, above all, human.

Economic systems where social rent is being institutionalized and its recipients are the ruling class, or destroyed, or to expand, grabbing new resources. How to change the prevailing economy where political power is scarfed with the financial community, producing instability? The only way out strategy from the crisis possible is the complete restructuring of the economic system, the release of the worker, the manufacturer from any attempt to levy social rents. We must not forget that if the top is the ruling strata, the bottom is a crime. Although now to split the top and the bottom is sometimes problematic. So to talk about the restructuring of the economic system without political system reform is an utopia.

If we consider the impact of external factors, it is likely that in the near future, there will be increasing not just competitive economic struggles, and the new Division of territories for profit. This blatant weakness of some countries may lead to a strategic advantage in the way that it will be easier to rebuild the whole structure of the economy. A process that is best described as the New Reformation, but not a global revolution.

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Bilingualism and Doublespeak

Historically Russia has always been speaking two languages. S. Belkovsky says that “all Russia is constructed with foreigners. Russia is a country of foreigners. It was founded by foreigners – that is Rurik in 862. It was foreigners who founded Russian Empire pioneered by Peter I in XVIII century. Cathereine II used to speak with some accent, seemingly in Russian, who, strictly speaking, contributed much to establishing all institutions in Russian Empire” [Belkovskij,]. According to P. Chaadaev this is “a natural result of the culture entirely based on borrowing and imitating” [Chaadaev, 2005, p. 18].

The contemporary Russian language undergoes serious changes due to penetration of English vocabulary and syntax. We distinguish two waves of the newest English borrowings with their derivatives in Russian. The former includes the nineties when into Russia came new things and phenomena together with their names missing in Russian: *Internet, PR, overdraft*, etc. The latter wave began about 2000 as an extension of the former by analogy, which can be characterized as a duplication of the existing traditional words. The former wave of borrowings can be considered as a source of enrichment of the national vocabulary while the latter deals with authors’ intention to sound exquisite and trendy. Against the national speech anomie politicians, businessmen, journalists, actors seem to savor these fancy insertions in their texts and thus set bilingual standards for common people the majority of which are too far from understanding the nuances of such usage but very eager to follow.

According to M. Epstein, Russians are too lazy to think over new words, they would rather “filch a ready western word” [Jepshtejn, 2011, p. 47] and use it jauntily and carelessly. The modern Russian bilingualism may be considered as a result of somewhat soft force of the Western countries or a ressentiment. M. Yanpolsky thinks that “Russia is the society which is corroded by mutual negativism and suspiciousness. ‘The foreign’, ’the alien’ is a means for rallying” [Jampol'skij].

We find this problem very dangerous for the nation. The thing is that foreign linguistic signs provoke a manipulation with their meanings since their contents are highly abstract, i.e. capable of easy replacements of their referents. The Soviet authorities used to apply foreign words for brainwashing. The new Russian politicians follow the traditions successfully in mass media. Besides, nowadays foreign vocabulary gets into law, building up a nomenclature of terms contradicting demands of legal techniques which allow double interpretation and cause legal collisions.

The abuse of the borrowed vocabulary leads to the break of the system congruence principle in the modern Russian communicative environment: now and then there appear failures in the system of national as well as international communication. Such borrowings misrepresent lingual and then cultural conceptions, begin to surrogate the linguistic experience of the earlier generations and develop *supranational thinking* as a way of cognition. As noted before, Russia has always experienced bilingualism. We think that, fastened tight to the Russian language, foreign words and phrases as well as calques, even historically Russionized, like cancerous cells of a diseased body corroded the structure of its cultural code and has led to that today the Russian language is paradoxically becoming *culturally neutral* together with the society. This feature is being especially intensified against globalization. In the overloaded and accelerated modern life rhythm an average Russian runs short of time to study and comprehend national identity. “The majority of the population is losing the feeling of a nation. These are like people suffering from Alzheimer’s disease,” – says writer I. Pomerantsev, - they lose not just memory, they lose the gift to speak” [Pomerancev].

The artificial borrowings of the second wave are characterized rather with emotional than rational thinking of those who use them, the foreign vocabulary is used firstly as an expressive figure of speech but just not to denote or name objects. Since they are used with a certain coded intention or emotional reaction to a certain irritant, or just a creative caprice, their true meanings tend to zero and leave space for doublethink. If the tendency of excessive use of borrowings continues the process of verbal communication may soon turn to exchange of meaningless signs and a guess-work for its participants. All in all, it leads to primitive thinking and degradation.

We are deeply convinced that the situation, described in this paper, demands radical changes. We hope as soon as possible there should be established independent non-governmental organizations for the language protection. The protection should be provided not in the form of censorship but through educating consumers and filing claims against guilty communicants for responsibility to the courts.

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Level and quality of life in scientific measurement.

The wellbeing of any nation is determined by various concepts: "standard of living", "lifestyle", "people's welfare" and the category of "quality of life". In the dictionary of modern Western sociology the term "quality of life" is defined as "the direction in American and West-European sociology that emerged in the mid-60's of the twentieth century in the United States based on the concept of expansion of social indicators". [Modern, 1990, p. 128] As a rule, quality of life is generally considered for all areas and aspects of human existence. "Quality of life" is the category by means of which significant circumstances of well-being and life are characterized in economics, determining the degree of dignity and freedom of each individual person. A modern state can exist and develop only under the condition that its economic policy is focused on the growth of the level and quality of life of citizens.

Significant contribution to the scientific understanding of quality of life made M. Weber, E. Meyo, A. Maslow, D. Makgregor, F. Gertsberg, J. Galbreit, who, first of all, took into account that the quality of an object or process can only be established in relation to some etalon by norms, standards, rules, customs and traditions. It is not accidental that Russian researchers have noted that quality of life as a socio-economic category is characterized by the degree of satisfaction of needs of a person determined in relation to the relevant rules, customs, traditions, and also in relation to the level of personal claims. [Genkin, 2009, p.47].

The methodology of assessment of the level and quality of life is the most important analytical tool of the state social and economic policy, which allows, first, to determine the guidelines of socio-economic policy in prospect. Second, to analyze the current level of socio-economic development of the country, to assess the level and pattern of poverty. Third, to conduct cross-regional comparisons of living standards of the population.

Note that the indicators used to measure the level and quality of life can be divided into quantitative and qualitative. *Quantitative* indicators include GNP, or national income per capita, level of income and its distribution in the community, level of consumption of various tangible goods and services in classes of goods, level of employment, etc. Qualitative indicators include indicators of working conditions, everyday life and leisure activities.

Recall that in the world, through the United Nations Organization, the concept of **quality of life** is used. It is known for a rather long time, as well as the Swedish model (the UNO - 1961, the Swedish model - the 1970s). See generalization Table 1. [Makaridina, 2010, p.74]

Table 1

Composition of the components of quality of life in different concepts

Components of quality of life		
The concept of the UNO	The Swedish model	The concept of Russia
1. Health	1. Labor and working conditions	1. The nature and conditions of work
2. Consumption of food	2. Economic opportunities	2. The level of provision of real consumption of the tangible benefits and services
3. Education	3. Political opportunities	3. The state of provision of people with benefits of spiritual life and health protection
4. Employment and working conditions	4. Schooling	4. Indicators that characterize the end result of living standard on the basis of the interaction of all factors: - established by law and actual duration of labor activity; - life expectancy of the population in general and in various groups
5. Living conditions	5. Health and use of health care	
6. Social security	6. Social opportunities (family formation and family relations)	
7. Clothes	7. Housing	
8. Leisure and free time	8. Food	
9. Human rights	9. Free time and its spending	

At the moment, unfortunately, there is no single methodological approach to assessing quality of life and to the preparation of a single rating of the countries of the world. To some extent, using different methodologies, quality of life is assessed by the UNO agencies, in particular, by UNESCO; the World Health Organization; the World Bank; International Society for Quality-of-Life Studies; Social Indicators Research Centre and a number of popular media, scientific publications, public, academic and consulting organizations. Consider the main international indices of quality of life.

1. Every year the authoritative publication “International Living” publishes world rating for quality of life assessing countries according to nine criteria: 1) subsistence minimum, 2) culture, 3) economy, 4) environment, 5) freedom, 6) health, 7) infrastructure, 8) security and risk 9) climate.

In 2011, by the accumulated total number of points in the first place the United States of America turned out. In 2010, France was in the first place, and this year it went three places down to the fourth place among 192 countries competed. Also the top ten "best" countries include Monaco, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Great Britain and Japan. Ukraine was ranked 77th, while Russia – 122nd and Belarus – 147th.

2. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) suggests to assess the level of development of countries not by the traditional set of economic indicators - GDP, unemployment, inflation, etc., but by integral. OECD called it "The index of measuring quality of life."

This index consists of 11 parameters. In 2011, 34 countries were analyzed, among them the best for life Australia became. Behind it Canada, Sweden, New Zealand, Norway, Denmark and the U.S. turned out. In a kind of anti-rating Mexico, Chile and South Korea were found.

3. In 2005, The Economist Intelligence Unit developed "the index of quality of life," which is based on a methodology that links the results of research on the subjective assessment of life in countries with the objective determinants of quality of life in these countries. The index consists of 9 parameters (from health and material well-being to gender equality). In its ranking Russia took the 105th place between Uzbekistan and Botswana. Leaders in this ranking are almost the same as in that of the OECD, they are Ireland, Switzerland, Norway, Luxembourg, Sweden and Australia.

4. Human Development Index (HDI) in countries and regions of the world which is made by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and used as a part of a special series of the UN reports on human development. Index of development of human potential is calculated every year since 1990 by the UN experts jointly with a group of independent international experts, who use in their work, along with the analytical products, statistical data from various international organizations.

The organization's experts suggest the following approaches to the concept of "development of man". For them human development is a process of enlargement of freedom of people to live a long, healthy and creative life. Human development has three components: 1. Welfare: more real freedoms for people so that they can thrive. 2. Enlargement of rights and opportunities as well as the ability of man and groups to act and receive valuable results. 3. Justice: improving social justice, providing sustainability of results over time, respect for human rights and other goals of a society. A high level of confidence in the UN and its specialized structures, including the UNDP, as well as a methodological base made HDI (or HPDI), one of the most influential classifications that characterize social development. HDI measures a country's achievements in terms of health, education and the actual income of its citizens in three main areas, for which their indices are estimated: 1. Expected life expectancy index: health and longevity, measured by the average expected life expectancy at birth. 2. Education index: access to education measured by the average expected expectancy of teaching children of school age and the average expectancy of teaching of the adult population. 3. The index of gross national income: a decent standard of living, as measured by the size of the gross national income (GNI) per capita in the United States dollars, at purchasing power parity (PPP). These three measurements are standardized in the form of numerical values from 0 to 1, the geometric mean of which is the aggregate HDI indicator ranging from 0 to 1. Then the states are ranked on the basis of this indicator. In 2010, the family of indicators that measure the HDI was extended, and the index underwent major changes. In addition to the used HDI, which is a summary indicator, relying on the average-country statistics and not addressing domestic inequality, there were introduced three new indicators: Human Development Index, adjusted to the socio-economic inequality (HDII), Index of gender inequality (GII) and the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI).

Reports on human development of the UNDP are prepared at the regional, national and international level. In the final report all the main indicators of "standard of living" of the population of countries and regions presented in the report are summarized. When ranking many factors are taken into account, such as the situation in the sphere of human rights and civil liberties, possibility of participation in public life, the degree of territorial and social mobility, performance indicators of the level of cultural development of the population, access to information, health, unemployment, the state of crime, preservation of the environment and others. In the final ranking all states are ranked on the basis of the HDI (or HPDI) and are classified into four categories:

1. Countries with very high HDI.
2. Countries with high HDI.
3. Countries with middle HDI.
4. Countries with low HDI.

The greatest difficulties in calculating the Index relate to the need to obtain comparable figures in the absence of adequate social statistics in many developing countries, and in a number of sections in some countries with economies in transition. In 2011, the HPDI ranking (Table 2) covers 187 countries and territories.

Table 2

Ranking of the world countries on the basis of the HPDI

Rank	**Country**	**HPDI**
1.	Norway	0.943
2.	Australia	0.929

3.	The Netherlands	0.910
4.	The United States of America	0.910
5.	New Zealand	0.908
6.	Canada	0.908
7.	Ireland	0.908
8.	Liechtenstein	0.905
9.	Germany	0.905
10.	Sweden	0.904
27.	Chehiya	0.865
66.	Russia	0.755

Note that today suggestions for improving methods of estimate are made. The above indicators of measurement must be reliable, comparable over time and space, available for analysis.

Refer to one of the key indicators of the level and quality of life - health. Relationship between socio-economic inequality, poverty and health can, in our opinion, be considered at the macro level (the population of the regions - the subjects of the Russian Federation) and the micro level (individuals, social groups). Such analysis shows the dependence of health on the socio-economic hierarchy of society, income levels that determine the differences in standards of living, the ability to cope with the physical and emotional stress. Inequality in living standards defines inequality of opportunity in the use of effective measures and ways to combat emerging problems with health.

Found that low socio-economic status affects health directly through deprivation and material hardship, and also through the subjective perception by people of their unequal status in society, their feelings. In studying the impact of socio-economic inequalities on health, in our opinion, an objective socio-economic status of the individual and subjectively evaluated his situation should be considered. Indeed, the socio-economic status is only one of many factors (natural, cultural, social, structural and others) that impact on health.

Note that for the measurement of quality of life it is not enough to have statistics, even the most detailed and reliable, the subjective assessments of conformity of these parameters to the needs of people are required. In this regard, polling is of great importance here.

Sociological support for analysis of the level and quality of life of the working population allows us to show the real picture of individual occupational groups in the Russian society. In our case these are workers of a major engineering company. These materials are presented by JSC "Uralmashzavod", where in May-June 2010 we conducted a survey of employees of the machine shop No. 178 (general survey).

Sociological investigation was held in a tense social situation.

Russian scientists carry out the integral calculation of quality of life, including the specific indices, such as the index of the material standard of living, the index of the provision with health care services, the index of consumption of food, the index of housing conditions, the index of working conditions and employment, the index of healthy conditions at work and environmental protection in the workplace, the index of education and culture and much more. [Bobkov, 2009, p.3] There are also points of view where assessment of quality of life is based on social standards.

Techniques to build specific and general indices of quality of life using the integral method of data presentation allows to measure the number of different phenomena of quality of life, by adding to combine into one scale. Monitoring of quality of life of various working occupational groups plays a significant role here, too. It should be noted that the search for new approaches and concepts of quality of life requires further consideration, development and forecasting.

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On Dynamics of the Planet Living Space

Abstract. The paper aimed at the analysis of the relationships between two major parts of the Planet surface: its living spaces and resource areas under the development of scientific and technological progress, and a process of humanity globalization at large. The main outcome of the paper is that the more human society develops the more total sum of living spaces is diminished and its living quality is going down. In short, so called scientific and technological progress tend to transform a living space of the Planet into resource area. This process means that risks and disasters inevitably accompanied this process only enhances this transformation. The less such relatively safe living spaces remains on the Earth, the conflicts and wars for access to and possessing of them will grow. As a result, this process acquires an irreversible character.

Key words: the Planet, living space, resource area, conflicts, wars

Introduction

The relationships between the Biosphere and human attempts to master it are one of the most acute problems of our days. It has been analyzed from various angles: the general problem of global ecology [Budyko, 1997; Chumakov, 2010]; violation of natural ecosystems by human activity [Beck, 1999; Forrester, 1971; Yanitsky, 2002a, 2005]; the restriction which the Biosphere imposed on human activity [Catton & Dunlap, 1980; Chumakov, 2010]; the impact of natural and man-made disasters on the Biosphere and its metabolic structures and networks [Fisher-Kowalski, 1997; Fisher-Kowalski & Haberl, 2007; Keen, 2009; Costuchev, 2012]; social aspects of the struggle for nature protection [Yanitsky, 2000, 2010; Costuchev, 2012]; and, of course, there is a lot of literature aimed at meeting the challenge of global warming [Mershant, 1892; Rahmstorf, and Schellnhuber, 2007; Budyko, 1997; Beck, 2010; Beck and Levy, 2013; Yanitsky, 2013]. The special attention to the relationships between two paradigms, namely ‘living space’ and ‘resource area’ has been given by Finnish sociologist T. Karjalainen, (2001).

Posing the problem

The further the more the behavior of the humankind, its institutions, organizations and individuals seems rather strange. After two centuries of wars, thousand armed local and regional conflicts, natural and man-made catastrophes, and endless other traumas caused to nature and the humankind, he do not want to note that he is sitting on powder keg created by himself.

The humankind and created by him a giant ‘machine of science-practice’ are aimed at getting profit ‘here and now’ only. The people have mastered a cosmos, opened the structure of human genome, have built the Large Hadron Collider in the heart of Europe. And in general, Homo Scientificus ‘wants to discover the essence of every things’ as Boris Pasternak, Russian great poet, stated, without any attention to the fact this ‘Homo’ everyday destroyed local, regional and global metabolic processes (chains) which had been created naturally during the billions centuries of the Biosphere evolution.

The metabolism of the Biosphere is rather complicated and accurately tuned system of relationships and ties contained billions specific filters, membranes and other created by the Biosphere ‘devices’ created by her for her stable functioning. This naturally-created metabolism permanently violated by socio-technical systems created and ruled by man. This social metabolism is not only much more simple in its functional organization, than evolutionary built biospheric metabolism, but the social metabolism is based on entirely other principles: maximization of profit and minimal care for its consequences for natural ecosystems and humanity itself.

Networks in nature and society

Nowadays both sociologists and natural scientists have taken a great interest in *network approach* with the aim to better understand the structure and functions of a society. But these networks are not built in the processes of natural metabolism. As Noble laureate in economics K. Arrow stated: ‘A market (model) is compatible with nothing: neither with democracy, nor with authoritarianism, nor with any other form of political ruling. The market is forces out a society as the structure of human relations at all’. In other words, the market is an alternative to a society. But even the regulation of social networks, and first of all production networks, is incapable to resolve the main task: how to minimize the violation natural and social networks which allows them to survive.

So called scientific and technological progress stimulated by a capitalist mode of production and its derivate, a consumer society, step by step converts the existed living spaces, both necessary for nature and for man itself, into resource areas unfit to normal life of humans and for production of food products. Such transformation is never going peacefully. On the contrary, this process called geopolitics, be it within a particular country or very far from it, is inevitably accompanied by the risks and losses for local population (illnesses, suffering, resettling or emigration or even death). Even under peaceful conditions – I mean preliminary agreements between the domestic or/and foreign authorities – such transformations is never spatially restricted. They always violates the established mode of living of local population, ecosystems functioning and any structures constructed by man himself for peaceful co-existence of man and nature far beyond the new mine, plant or artificial lake.

In the case of local or world wars the territories useless for normal life counts billions square kilometers. But the essence is the same: the straggle for seizer the resources, be it raw materials, valuable section of land or seizing power. After the World War II the affected territory spreads from the Atlantic to the Urals. About 30 years was needed for rehabilitation efforts. And it is in Europe, only. Today, one could observe the same in any part of the world: in Africa, Mid-Asia, south-east Asia as well as inside almost every country including the Russian Federation.

Resource wars

In many cases, resource wars make these and adjusted to them areas unsuitable for normal life. It is typical dialectics of recent times: the areas of extracting resource or big industrial constructions like hydropower stations of nuclear plants became excluded from normal living space. And not only excluded: such resource zones are always a source of risk (an accident or disaster). It will be wrong to reduce aresource war to seizing an area of its extraction only. Like the warfare, the resource was hasits infrastructure for loading and reloading, transportation, transfer and processing. By my own calculations, the territories for resource extraction as such and the above infrastructure relates in between 1:20 to 1:50.One should keep in mind that approximately near one half of the total destroyed living space is occupied by guards and services which protected this infrastructure and maintain it in a working state. It, in turn, means that local population should be resettled from the places which they were lived-in for years.

Time is another important dimension of the phenomenon under consideration. First, living space-resource area conversion is always brings about a disorganization of established social order and therefore slow down an affected community development. Secondly, the process of restoration of normal mode of living is usually takes much more time than for destruction of it. Thirdly, the above conversion is usually, as it is implemented nowadays, is sharply lowering the general intellectual level of affected or remained population. Fucisima-1 aftermath is clearly showed it. And in order to restore it the new resources have been needed which, in turn, takes more time than for the maintenance and/or development of the existed order.

A war for resources, natural or geopolitical, *creates long chains of risks and losses* for a particular man and humanity at large: exclusion of spaces earlier suitable for normal life. This, in turn, enhances the struggle for seizing or/and mastering space still suitable for life. Besides, these resource wars create zones of desertification. Masses of people leaves then in search of relatively suitable for life spaces, as it happened now from North Africa to south Europe. Accordingly, the living space of Europeans becomes the battlefield accompanied with demolition and human losses. This process enhances by the invasion of an alien culture and way of life. The living space of Europeans not only shrinks but became more closed. It is transformed into a set of zones of 'fencing in' protected by the guards and other special means from the undesirable neighbors (ie newcomers). In the result, not only the structure of live-in (habitual) space has shrunk and changed but the way of life both of aborigines and newcomers has changed as well, take a turn to the worse.

From the geopolitical viewpoint, the globe has endless number of risky zones including so called 'frozen conflicts' situated between the conflicting individual states, union of states (as European community) and local communities and tribes. These are zones which can exist in such state of potential risk for years. The most characteristic example is the numerous Arabic communities and tribes which live due to charity aid of international organizations only. They lost their traditional habit of life and culture of production nearly in full. Theyknew only one craft: a war-fare. The refugee camps are their living areas. Such mode of living does not allow them neither to protect nor cultivate nature. The refugee as well as forced migrants are able to exploit near-by natural resources only. And this people never bother about processing the wastes which surrounds these camps.

On 'waste culture'

But it is not all. With the transition from agriculture to industrial forms of mass production achievements of natural sciences, the mass production of wastes has become the new force which step by step diminishes the space suitable for human life. The worldwide phenomenon of ***'waste culture'*** has emerged. The 'waste culture' is the form of culture of all-encompassing risk when a waste production (in the broad sense) has become the prevailing form of production of means of production or consumer goods. Under the 'waste production' I mean that the overall process of production of wastes, their accumulation, global migration and storage takes over the processes of creation and consuming goods and substances which are actually needed for maintenance of human life and natural ecosystems. Besides, the 'waste culture' is the culture of individuals and human communities which accustomed to live in a wasted environment and *perceive such life as a social norm and a part of established social order*. 'Waste culture' is a creeping catastrophe of our consumer society.

Needless to say that production of wastes in any form diminishes the living space. First, the earth has been poisoned by various wastes. For example, the ecosystems of Russian North are nearly totally destroyed by the so called ‘North delivery’ (supply). Secondly, the liquid and solid wastes poison water: from small rivers to world oceans. Thirdly, a man began to store the radioactive wastes deeply under the earth. Then the turn of cosmos has become which is rather difficult to clean from reminders of rockets, sputnics, etc. The huge amount of wastes is an inevitable outcome of local conflicts and wars (see post-war environmental destruction in the North Africa, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan and so forth). I’d like to stress that there is no difference which particular process may be a producer of wastes: natural or man-made disasters (remember Catrina hurricane, Chernobyl and Fukusima-1), by-product of various industries, construction of cities or infrastructures as well as an extreme individualism (“Not in my back-yard!”), the dark side of consumerism or the result of civil wars or so called peace-making operations.

Metabolism in nature and society

‘Dezertification’ is going on in various milieus and in different directions. But gradually, different types of wastes meet and stimulate each other, joining and transforming in the processes of socio-ecological metabolism [Fisher-Kowalski, 1997] and in the end amalgamates together in a certain destroying symbiosis. The producers of wastes and the carriers of ‘waste culture’ equally might be the reach and poor, the politicians and lay people, the state officials and civil society members as well as the social institutions. Therefore, a ‘waste’ is not something out-door product like the mountains of wastes in Russian suburb forests and fields. ‘The waste’ is a first of all the type of culture inherent to a society in the stage of speeding-up devolution.

But it is not all yet. An uncertainty is the all-encompassing risk. But the most dangerous it is unpredictability and uncertainty of changing of quality of life in zones which one consider long before as well suitable to life and production. The reason is the processes of socio-ecological metabolism. They may lunch in one place as safe or relatively safe during its way in air, water and even underground coming in interaction with other substances capable to transform into deadly dangerous for all alive. In other words, socio-ecological metabolism transforms the whole planet into a zone of all-embracing risk and uncertainty.

Here we came to the principled point which I consider as the paradigm shift. Gradually, *the nature transformed by man became the subject which not only restrict a man’s living space but begin to transform the existing social order*. It is true paradigm shift because up to now a man has tamed nature. As a matter of fact, the beginning of global warming is the best example of this shift. The scientists discusses on how soon and how much. But it is the fact that the severe end of winter in the western part of Europe is the result of the Golfstream cooling.

Up to now, the most visible cases of this shift have been the post-disaster periods when a social activity has nearly been totally subjected to ‘commands’ of abnormal natural or man-made processes (wildfires, tornado, hurricane, plant explosion, etc.). The coming era of global warming shows the qualitatively different step of the process under consideration. It is rather difficult to predict its outcome. In my view, it will be the combination of small and big clashes between emigrants and aborigines, and the search for mutual help and attempts to diminish greenhouse effect. The most difficult problem to resolve is to truly implement the above paradigmatic shift, ie to radically reconsider the pillars of modern capitalism.

Conclusion

For centuries, a man has gradually changing the Biosphere. But being changed the Biosphere compelled him to change the principles and conditions of his/her own life and the social order as a whole (the ‘boomerang effect’, according to U. Beck). Fighting with nature we simultaneously more and more subjected to it. In other words, despite the humankind creates the great innovations in science and practice, it *continue to behave as biological species*. As a result, one could observe shrinking the total area of living space, never mind is it the outcome of realization of wrong constructions or introduction of flora or/and fauna alien to local ecosystems, or the result of natural disasters or man-made accidents. One more reason is the constructions (for example, a dam or overflow weir) which disturb the socio-ecological metabolism formed during previous centuries in a particular region (basin) or of the Biosphere as a whole.

Among major causes which gradually but inevitably lead to shrinking a living space are: the modern capitalist mode of production resulted the global warming; resource wars; tandem of consumerism and waste culture; natural and man-made accidents and disasters; and finally all-penetrating socio-ecological metabolism. Separately or altogether they transform a living space in a kind of ‘shagreen leather’.

Today, the general trends of global community are as following: risks became is actually encompassing. It means that there are no absolute socially and ecologically safe places; for the reason of excessive density of technical infrastructures of various kind and the phenomenon of social-ecological metabolism there are only more or less dangerous places are existed. This metabolism generated by natural disasters or technical accidents further diminishes an area of relatively safe living space and enhance its uncertainty. Besides, a diversity of flora and fauna steadily diminishes.

The only one exit from this situation is a ‘friendly globalization’ based on a mode of governance as key principle of organizing and maintenance of social order. I mean the coordinated activity in relation of placing (or distribution) and relationships between resource areas and places suitable for living. It means in turn an urgent need in radical reconsideration of basic principles of existing capitalism. Unfortunately, the humankind is moving in the opposite direction. Every unit (state, urban or rural community, kinship) attempting to seize maximum resources and to shut himself off from others. This politics is mortal even in a short-term perspective.

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Socio-ecological Metabolism of a Modern City:
Some Theoretical Considerations

Abstract. The paper aimed at discussion on some theoretical foundations related to socio-ecological metabolism (SEM) of a modern city. The founders of this theoretical approach [Meier, 1965, 1967; Boyden at al., 1981] have considered the flows of information, substances and energy as the common denominator of all processes of a city. Later on, the notion of the SEM has been introduced [Fisher-Kowalski, 1997 and some others]. The main conclusion of my research are the following: (1) every city is a part of global SEM; (2) social and political forces might have a direct impact on natural ecosystems, and vice versa; (3) the major steps (elements) of a city SEM model are as follows: input (flow of capital, energy, materials, knowledge and know-how), open and overt transformations with far-reaching consequences; and output in the form of changed natural and social systems as well as wastes. Which in turn are changing the structure, functions and carrying capacity of the Planet as the all-embracing milieu of any city and its dwellers. The paper is organized in the form of a set of theses which are subjected for further discussion.

Key words:city, socio-ecological metabolism, theory, methodology

To begin with, a metabolism is the notion borrowed from biological sciences. It means the exchange of matters accompanied by chemical reactions from the moment of entering the nutrition matters (including solar and other energy) into living organism till the moment when the end products of this process are excreted into outer milieu. As become obvious today, a mankind in the form of its social and political forces and institutions are actively participated in such processes. That is why the notion of the SEM has been introduced. Nowadays, a study of the SEM is rapidly developing branch both of environmental sciences and an essential part of the study of social change of any society at large. The last point should be stressed because up to the 1960s the structural-functional analysis does not take into account the metabolic aspect of any social changes. The study of the SEM now became even more important for such reasons as globalization, the mass growth of products constructed by chemical and biological sciences and global warming.

The SEM is always multisided process. Therefore, epistemologically it could be interpreted in several ways:

(1) The SEM has its historical phases which are depended on the dominant mode of production and of mastering the virgin lands, rivers and even oceans for human needs. It should

be taken into account that in the human history there were a great agrarian states and empires which had nevertheless the great cities. Therefore, I restrict the following considerations by the industrial and postindustrial cities included in a global context only;

(2) The SEM may be comprehended as a direct impact of social phenomena and processeson the life and sustainability of natural ecosystems, and vice versa. This reverse process may be called as ‘boomerang effect’ (U. Beck) or ‘change of sign’ (O.Yanitsky) engendered by the overcoming the threshold of carrying capacity of the natural environment. As a result, it is transformed from the absorber of risky wastes into producer of harm to human communities and natural ecosystems;

(3) In the third case, the SEM appears as a set of transformations of matters of non-natural origin, that is designed and constructed by man, in various types of natural environments (in the water, air and soil). These chains of transformation are mostly the result of market economy which is disinterested in the ‘faith’ of wastes of its activity and its ‘boomerang effects’;

(4) Fourthly, models of various SEM may be used as integral measure (indicator) of changes in the living environment (living area) under the influence of the abovementioned phenomena and processes. It is the most difficult case for a scientific investigation for the reason of the SEM cumulative effect and uncertaintyof time, space and force of impact of the said processes. In the last case the temporary or final change of social order and habit of daily life is happened accompanied by social and political conflicts and social tension;

(5) Finally, one should keep in mind thatthe SEM of a city has a variety of forms and manifestations. Let me name the major of them: (a) direct clash of natural and social forms and processes; (b) as a result, the former changes the latter, and the way round; (c) long-term and unseen process of transformation of natural landscape under the impact of social activity/cultivation of new types of plants and animals; (d) chemical reactions of the wastes and other alien bodies and substances with natural systems and processes; (e) destroying the human communities under the influence of natural anomalies and disasters; (f) transformation of communicative structure of a city which in turn depends not only on the IT technologies development but on cultural and ethnical structure of its dwellers;

All these processes and transformations have in their basementthe social and economic as well as the mechanical, physical or chemical processes.The run of evolution of the ‘nature-society’ system has been accompanied by such form of their interaction as an ousting, a full destruction of one of them (say, a desertification), and the emergence of qualitatively new environments with earlier unknown qualities and forms, and in the end a slow and peaceful shaping of new ‘nature-society’ urban systems;

(6) A city is living organism. Therefore, from the metabolic point of view, it is in a permanent state of transformations which in turn depends heavily from the kind of its state: normal, mobilization and critical. From the structural viewpoint, the most difficult issue is to investigate the hot spots of a city SEM. Where they are have emerged and situated? What character they have (open or overt, conflicting or not)? What is their impact on surrounding social and natural environment and how far the results of a particular metabolic process were stretched? And finally: What are the structural and functional outcomes of this/that metabolic process? Is a city in the final analysis raised its sustainability potential or conversely lowered it?

Now, about some particular features of a city's SEM:

(7) First of all, in recent conditions every city and town isincluded in theglobal SEM;

(8) Social and political forces have played a significant role in the SEM. These forces might have a direct or indirect impact on natural ecosystems, and vice versa;

(9) The major steps (elements) of a city SEM model are as follows: input (flow of capital, energy, materials, manpower and its knowledge and know-how), open and overt transformations of these matters with far-reaching consequences; and output in the form of flow of migrants, goods, services and wastes which change urban natural and social systems;

(10) A city's living space is the shagreen leather phenomenon. That meansthat the shrinking of living space is going on, i.e.the space suitable for relatively safe and healthy life. In particular, it is peculiar to Moscow and other capital cities of Russia because of availability of job and relatively high level of service. But the influx of immigrants with another mentality and low educatedhas enhanced the further shrinking the living area for rooted population and raise the degree of social tension between them what in turn lead to shaping of zones of alienation (*nicheinye zemli*).Guest workers are the consumers of urban natural and social capital only. Their cultural input rather negative than positive;

(11) At the same time, the living areas of suburban population are seizing by new riches which create closed and self-sustained communities. The reverse side of the same coin isthe building of open (i.e. green as urban forests and parks for public use) spaces within cities or near-by of them by the apartment houses (so called 'spot building') not for living but as a mean of input of free capital. In 1992-2013s, step by step the largest Russian cities have lost their historical value as well as the image of the 'garden city', at least at some parts of it;

(12) The factor of mutual enhancement. Today, the processes of ousting or/and shrinking of living areasby the 'resource-hunters' may go in parallel or to be accompanied by growing social tension and conflicts. This is the case of pure social metabolism, that is the struggle between the 'resource-hunters' and those who defend their living environment. Such struggle is the most tough in the case of developing resourceful-rich countries of Africa and Latin America,

in which transnationals in their search of cheap resources and manpower are destroying the aboriginal communities which live at the expense of natural economy and gifts of nature;

(13) The risks (and harm) of substitution processes: that is, the growing ousting of locally-produced food-staffs and goods by imported ones. Accordingly, their wastes are not absorbed by local milieu and in the end it leads to the lowering of sustainability of local ecosystemsand the biosphere as a whole. As a result, one could observe a clear-cut succession: the growth of expansion of physical amount of goods from developed countries—the growth of the burden on the living areas in developing countries – the growth of social conflicts;

(14) There are metabolic riskswhich are engendered by market-oriented science and engineering. The products and wastes of them, in particular of new but not well practically tested medicines, in the processes of their dissemination in natural environments (in the air, water and soil) have generated the hardly identified metabolic processes;

(15) After Russia's engaging with World Trade Organization the expansion of goods and services in Russian cities, and first of all in the largest ones, will grow. This is the common trend: the 'commodity frontier'is moving fourth into developing and resource-rich countries. This expansion will trigger the changes or destruction of local nationally-based forms of democracy and governance and the establishment of western-oriented forms of political order. It is so called political metabolism;

(16) It is rather important to draw the reader's attention to the phenomenon of the change of the agent of social changes. The further the more, though temporarily, the natural anomalies and disasters play the role of actors changing of social order and habit of life. Unfortunately, this side of processes of the SEM our social sciences are not investigated;

(17) On the importance of the space-time factor: The SEMin water environment and in the air engendered a delayed in time and space risks and social conflicts that follow them;

(18) The restricted opportunities of internet-networks. Of course, these networks fulfill important functions of information, education, propagation and mobilization related to the SEM processes. But all these functions fully depend on the knowledge about overt processes of the SEM which could be obtained by special interdisciplinary researches only;

(19) The 'reverse arrow of time': if the development of social life in its modern (ie capitalist) form will continue, the carrying capacity of urban environment and the biosphere and lithosphere at large will definitely decline;

(20) The phenomenon of terminality. Some results of SEM have a terminal character. Apart of changes in natural environment has terminal character. Desertification is the best example. The global warming of the last decade engendered non-reversible changes. This phenomenon is peculiar to many small cities in Russia. But their full decay does not mean the

end of metabolic processes. The small town or even village might be nearly dead but their reminders (mainly wastesbut not only) continue their invisible work.As to nature, a long process of succession will begin. In sum, the total amount of territories unsuitable for life and economy is constantly diminishes, and their role as risk-producers may continue for tens and even centuries;

(21) On the phenomenon of ‘failure to return’ (fenomen nevozvrata). After decay of some communities together with their environments or/and their forceddestruction, never mind by natural disaster or civil war, these communities is impossible to restore in their previous state and quality;

(22) The factor of irresponsibility. Transnational food, pharmaceutical and other creating new food-staffs, medicine and other goods decline all responsibilityfrom themselves (look, for example, in any instruction added to all imported medicine, or a grade on any food-staffs);

(23) All said above means that lack of food-staffs will grow and their cost will grow respectively. In 2007-11s, as world statistics shows one can see a sharp growth of prices on food-staffs across the world. And it will continue;

(24) Some remarks related to social and political aspects of a large city’s SEM. Every large city now becomes an arena of international events: Olympic Games, Festivals, and a lot of sport competitions, etc. On the first glance, it seems that is an expansion of living area. But it is a superficialimpression. Every international event means the shrinking the living space of city’s inhabitants. It became clear if one compare, for example, the Festival of students and youth in Moscow (1957) and the Olympic Games of 1980. In the former case the city had been open for everybody whereas in the latter the same city had been carefully cleaned both physically (some plants were stopped) and socially (the citizens were recommended to leave the city for the period of Olympic Games conduction by the city’s administration).

The further is the more. Recently, every mass arrangement, especially football match means that the many streets, open spaces, walking areas will be closed. Sometimes such arrangements look like as the military operations. If it is going on of mass protest campaigns the number of policy and army troops is doubled. Besides, the lay people are afraid tobe close to the fan mob or policy troops. All in all, the threat of terrorism, fan and other hooliganism and vandalism, streets full of policemen and even regular army troops seriously disturb a normal SEM of a large city. In more general terms every state of emergency diminishes living space of city dwellers;

(25) But it is not all. The influx of guest workers, the establishment of closed of immigrant’s or/and forced migrant’ ghettos gradually diminish the habitual living areas and way of life of inhabitants of Russian cities. The reverse side of the coin is the compression of space of

active use of Russian language.The small number of large cities was forced to use the ‘basic English’ for communication with foreign visitors and business partners, whereas a large amount of small settlements are depopulated. And their old inhabitants never used the full richness of Russian language because the only one source of information is a TV set. Actually, they very often use the ‘basic Russian’ based on the language of criminals;

(26) I would concludewith some considerations related to the emergence of the second life-world of man, i.e. the internet. Actually, a large city dweller use to live in two worlds: off-line and on-line, and the transition from one to another may be labeled as a kind of the SEM. At the first glance, such doubling is enormously expands his/her living area. But there are some reverse trends. First, the culture of seeing (show) replaces the culture of reading. Second, the internet not teaching to think and reflect, it teaches to search for ‘ready-to-eat’ blocks of information. Or used for communication with zero delta information though such communication may strengthen the sustainability of a city as a whole.Orat least it maintains the sustainability of its parts (human communities). Third, the internet is subjected to manipulation by unknown forces which are capable to re-program and to switch the flow of information as well as to change its content. The cyber-language is much poorer than Russian literature language. The cyber space of human life seems unlimited but actually it is broken into myriad particular cells, images, programs and rules of games which compartmentalized the unity and wholeness of space of the Russian culture.

Conclusion

In Russia the researches of a city’s SEM are only at the very beginning. I consciously reduced the list of works (literature) made by Russian and foreign authors with only one aim: To make maximum clear my particular comprehension the theme under consideration. Once again: The SEM is not the issue of natural sciences per se. It is a multi-disciplinary problem with many unintended consequences which should be revealed and carefully investigated. I hope that in the run of the SEM study of such objects as large cities and small settlementsthe Russian representatives of natural and social sciences would acquire thebetter understanding each other.

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The Relationship of Labor Migrants in Russia to the Receiving Environment[1]

Due to the natural decrease of population (but, according to the Federal State Statistics Service, there is a process of population decrease in Russia since 1992, and, according to the head of the service, V. Sokolin, we may say that this trend will continue for 50-100 years, and even the most optimistic predictions do not show that this situation may change), migration becomes almost the only source of replenishment of the country's workforce. This is confirmed by research of Zh.A. Zayonchkovskaya, which says that “the population of Russia is declining rapidly due to the fact that the death rate exceeds the birth rate. And it is impossible change this trend seriously, at least for a few decades” [Zayonchkovskaya, 2004]. And since 2006 begins a reduction in working-age population in Russia. This loss is partially replenished with migration flows. By gaining a huge impact, migration becomes a force, which constantly develops political, economic, social and cultural spheres of the country. Therefore the theme of migration processes and the study of social adaptation of labor migrants are an extremely important factor in assessing the perspectives of society.

This article is just focused on the analysis of the concepts of phased development of relations of labor migrants to the receiving environment. Despite the fact that social science has accumulated a significant amount of knowledge on the problems of social adaptation and problems of migrants, it is difficult to say about the general theoretical and methodological concept of analysis of these processes. You may only say about elaboration of some approaches that reflect the major trends.

The basis of migration are differences in social and fiscal systems of the countries of born of migrants and the country of immigration, and the structure of immigration due to the qualifications and origins of labor. According to the territorial and structural models, the scale of cross-country migration is predetermined by combination factors in the region of emigration, such as unemployment, population growth, poverty, economic stagnation, and in the region of immigration, those factors are labor shortages, rapid economic growth and increased employment. There are also factors of a significant difference in wages between the region of emigration and immigration, as well as the geographical distance, language and cultural differences [Fomichev, 1998, p. 123].

At the conference of the International Sociological Association, held in May 2001 in Belgium, noted that in today's society has not been yet a unified social theory of migration

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[International Sociological Association, 2001]. Now the problems of the sociology of migration lies in the study of the theory of migration, but the general theoretical construct does not exist.

Today, the increased interest in migration processes, especially in Russia, has stimulated the study of them representatives of the various sciences. Great contribution to the development of this theme was made by representatives of economic science. However, it is necessary to move from the traditional description of the economic and demographic characteristics of migrants to a deeper explanation of not only the scale and direction of migration flows, but also the factors that determine the motivations of migrants to move to a particular region or to continue their work in the selected area. In other words, you need a set of studies aimed at mainstreaming and addressing the question of social adaptation of migrants which would include a theoretical knowledge of economic, social, political, and psychological sciences. This article discusses the theoretical concept of the stages of social adaptation and different strategies of adaptation of migrant workers to the host community.

To do this, first of all, we need to discuss the concept of “migrant workers”. In the scientific literature on labor migration, often can be traced substitution of the concepts “migrant workers” and “labor migration” with concept “economic refugees”. Such a substitution usually leads to confusion in the formulation of conclusions and results of studies and in an attempt to offer some rational solutions to problems associated with the migration situation.

The most simple and, at the same time, a comprehensive definition of migration gives Zh.A. Zayonchkovskaya. According to her, “migration is moving to a permanent place of residence” [Zayonchkovskaya, 2004]. The main thing that is marked in this definition is the ultimate goal of the migrants, regardless of the tasks they have to accomplish it. The purpose of the migrant is relocation to a new residence. Such targets are only marked by the country border statistics, when migrants cross the border, but the ultimate goals migrants may change depending on the factors that determine their future behavior. These changes, according to E.V. Tyuryukanova, “can be fixed only by the current statistics of stay of migrants (registration), which is still extremely inefficient in Russia” [Tyuryukanova, 2004]. New residence often falls short of expectations, and then people will either return home or move to another place.

Migrants who temporarily move to a new place in order to find work, Zh.A. Zayonchkovskaya defines as “migrant workers” [Zayonchkovskaya, 2004]. Temporary residence and temporary labor activity on the territory of the host country is the most important indicator in determining the “labor migration”. This factor often moves into the background in sociological research, that is why the confusion in the formulation of hypotheses and the calculation of statistical data obtained from the study takes place.

Migrants who come to the country with the intention of staying permanently, should be considered as “economic refugees” but not as “migrant workers”. The difficulty of a clear distinction of migrants between “migrant workers” and “economic refugees” is the inability to clearly assess the real purpose of migrants. “Life makes corrections in the classical view, according to which there is a clear distinction between temporary and permanent, as well as forced and economic migration. Migratory behavior of people is becoming more flexible, while the criterion of separating of flows between targets of movements is becoming less clear”, - notes E.V. Tyuryukanova [Tyuryukanova, 2004]. The goal, which was formed before movig, can be changed under the influence of negative factors facing adaptants in a new place of temporary residence and work. Getting into a new environment, a migrant inevitably becomes a participant of the process of social adaptation. Success or failure in the process of adjusting to the new environment impacts on the ultimate goal of adaptants.

Considering the different stages of the relationship of adaptants to new environment, we pay attention to the concept of “U-curve” [Triandis, 1994; Yuzhanin, 2007]. The first stage is the “honeymoon”. This is the first time adaptants stay in the new environment. It is characterized by high spirits, positive and emotional splash, but it is very limited in time (from two weeks to six months). This stage ends with facing of adaptants with “stranger” socio-cultural conditions for them. The second stage of integration of migrants is the clash, conflict relations with the receiving environment. As a result of this clash is a stressful condition and discomfort. Feelings that adaptants experience at this stage can be described as “culture shock”. K. Oberg identified six indicators of culture shock [Stefanenko, 2003, p. 15]:

1. The internal stress due to the effort which required to achieve a psychological adaptation to the new environment;
2. The sense of loss and deprivation (for example, usual social entourage, status, profession and property);
3. A sense of rejection by representatives of other cultures or reject of them;
4. Failure to roles, role expectations, values, ethnic and cultural identity of migrants;
5. Sudden anxiety, which grows into disgust and indignation, aggression, which caused by the awareness of cultural differences;
6. A sense of worthlessness, helplessness, as a result of inability to control new environment.

The third stage of the process of social adaptation is the consequences of a culture shock. During this period, destructive condition may lead to the development of migrants' foreign aggression. Often these feelings are forced adaptants to leave new location. According to the concept of “territorial getaway”, the most common result of culture shock is moving to another country or another region, or return to his homeland. However, there may be options when the migrants facing problems are able to solve them and find adequate ways to do it. The fourth stage of social adaptation is characterized by the ability to achieve psychological and social comfort in new conditions. At this stage migrant acquire knowledge and social skills and master different ethnic and cultural frame. The fifth stage is the “long-term” adaptation. It involves a gradual and continuous involvement of adaptants in the system of social relations of the receiving environment. This process of social adaptation is quite long: in some studies point out that “the overall duration of the adaptation of migrants is from four to five years” [Yuzhanin, 2007].

L.L. Shpak, who analyze and combine different approaches to the understanding of social adaptation, defines it as “historically determined practical activities, which main content is adaptation and habituation of person and communities (such as classes, social groups and strata, labor groups, nations, families) to changing conditions, forms and methods of social life and the transformation of social environment in accordance with the personal and social needs” [Shpak, 1991, p. 11]. In the process of adaptation tests “the ability of migrants to solve changing and recurring problems through the implementation of new life norms and values for which they were agree” [Kostin, 1997, p. 77].

The process of social adaptation is a part of the socialization process and it is one of its mechanisms. Social and cultural adaptation (as synonyms are used the categories of “intercultural” or “cross-cultural adaptation”) can be defined as the process and the result of the active adaptation of ethnic groups (and individuals as their representatives) to the conditions of the other social and cultural environment [Kuznetsov, 2000].

Passing of social adaptation stages, which are mentioned above, is according to the chosen strategy by the migrant. The choice of strategy determines the relationship of adaptants with the environment [Yuzhanin, 2007]:

1. **Strategy (model) of “ghettoization”.** In this case adaptants avoid frequent contacts with the local population and the receiving environment. Such behavior is characteristic mainly for ethnic minorities, which live in large industrial centers. “Ghettoization (from the word “ghetto”) is the formation of unified urban areas, which predominantly inhabit by members of a particular ethnic, racial, religious, or social group. Newcomers are linked together and form isolated enclaves (ghettos), where they can save and maintain their traditional model of cultural behavior inside the new culture for them” [Kul'turologiya, 1998, p. 243]. An example of such enclaves can be Chinatowns, Indian, Malay or Russian (for example, Brighton Beach, New York) districts or the ghetto, which are available almost in all major western cities. Also as the ghetto can be seen geographical areas of Paris and area of its region, which is populated mainly

by migrants in the first, the second and the third generation, who came to France, mainly from Asia and Africa;

2. **The strategy of “cultural colonization”** is characterized by the presence of ethnocentrism and intolerance of adaptants. Receiving environment in this case is perceived by adaptants very negatively, criticized and rejected;

3. **Assimilation strategy** implies the assimilation of immigrants, that is, their refusal of their culture and full acceptance of the culture of the host country;

4. **Integrative strategy** is when the adaptants who represent ethical minority preserve the memory and commitment to their own culture, but there is a process of “internalization” of foreign cultural elements of them.

The mirror of the success of adaptation or social integration of migrants is their “social well-being”. The social content of the problem of adaptation of migrants are differences in their expectations of the receiving environment to real conditions of it [Yudina, 2003]. The consequence of this disparity are complex and often conflicting relationships of migrants with the receiving environment. The source of this problem lies not only in the economic and legal environment, but the problem is in social and cultural dimension, which is not less important. T.N. Yudina defines criteria for evaluating of “social well-being” of migrants. In particular, she proposes to use the following indicators [Yudina, 2008]:

- the situation on the labor market;
- level of consumption and well-being of the family;
- housing;
- social protection;
- opportunities for education and health care.

According to the research of “social well-being” of migrants in the Northwest and Central regions of Russia, vulnerability of migrants in all aspects of “social state”, especially during the first two years after the move is noticeable. The analysis of these parameters was carried taking into account the duration of stay of migrants in this town: if they live there less than a year, from 1 to 3 years, from 3 to 5 years, from 5 to 7 years, from 7 to 10 years and more than 10 years. Evaluation of being of migrants was determined using the following scale: if the share of satisfied of one or another indicator is in the range from 100% to 80%, it was considered a great being, from 80% to 60% is good being, from 60% to 40% is satisfactory being; from 40% to 20% is bad being; but less than 20% is unsatisfactory being. The total rating was calculated as the average on separate indicators [Yudina, 2008].

A significant role in the system of barriers that impede the social adaptation to the receiving community of a big Russian cities having procedural and bureaucratic factors. The first is that, in spite of, for the most part of countries, the visa-free entry into Russia from CIS countries, registration of newcomer becomes a difficult procedure because of registration of residence. The official deadline for registration is in three days. However, according to A. Baturkin, who is head of the Office of Migration in Moscow, real duration of the process of registration can be up to 140 days. The second important problem is the consequence of the first problem. Due to difficulties with the official registration in the Russian migrants are mainly employed in the informal sector of the economy. It is another reason that formal requests for migrants generally make large companies, because of the fact that small and medium business in Russia is bad predicted. E.V. Tyuryukanova notes that “at least three-quarters of migrant employment is in the ‘gray zone’” [Tyuryukanova, 2004].

Illegal status of migrants is a result of not only bureaucratic problems of registering, but also economic factors. Today, the tax system for businesses organized in such a way that the company is not profitable to hire migrants officially. Another reason for the illegal status of migrants is the establishment of quotas on the number of labor migrants in Russia, and the amount of these quotas may vary greatly from year to year. Thus, established number of work permits for foreigners in 2008 was 300 thousand permits. Compared with 2007 the quota of work permits was reduce almost triple. And the next year the quota was increased by more than 2 million permits for foreign workers. At the same time, for example, in 2012 it was planned to give about 1.25 million of work permits for foreign labor migrants.

Reduced also the level of education of labor migrants. So, for example, about 40% of migrants in Moscow and 55% in the Astrakhan region do not have a professional education. The consequence of this is that these migrants are more difficult to adapt to conditions in Russia, both on the labor market and in everyday life. Migrants with low education who come from outlying and rural areas is poor socially adaptive and make less use of existing social institutions and services such as legal, educational, medical, national and cultural, etc. Their social inclusion into the receiving community they implement through informal links, mainly through family and friends, as well as through formed informal institution of mediation in the organization of migration and employment of migrants. All these factors increase the “migration risk”, that is vulnerability of migrants. These types of migrants are characterized by undeveloped sense of justice [Tyuryukanova, 2008]. These studies confirm the above assumption.

Since 2006, is a trend to an increase of the controlled component of migration, when it was 20%, compared to 5% in 2004. And in the first four months of 2007 as many workers as in the whole 2006 received a work permits. According to official statistics of Federal Migrants Service, more than half of the migrants come from countries of the CIS. As the percentage of most migrants come from Ukraine, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, but from foreign countries most migrants come from Turkey and China [Tyuryukanova, 2008]. “In 2008, quotas were determined taking into account the 14 professional categories. A quota of 2 million people we determine collectively. And we save the 30 percent reserve to attract more foreign labor force”, - said Russian Federal Migration Service Director Konstantin Romodanovskiy in December 2008.

Illegal status of migrants leads to another factor that influences the result of the process of social adaptation of migrants and they are the various forms of exploitation. The solution of these problems directly depends on the reliability of the statistical data, which is the result of research. Accounting for labor migrants are traditionally difficult for several reasons in Russia. First, there is no overall accounting system of labor migrants, which would give information on the amount of migration flows and their structural characteristics. Secondly, the common technique of gathering and processing of primary data is not designed. In some systems, the number of migrants of one or another category is determined, but in others only the number of events, not the people is recorded (like the border statistics). Current accounting system of migration is not based on primary data and it is unlikely it can be a tool of analysis. The new systems is not created or in the process of creating. Studies, which conducted by government agencies (such as Federal Migration Service and Rosstat) include attempts to use other sources of information in it, but these sources of information usually do not meet the criteria of completeness and accuracy, and do not help to get necessary statistics. Third, open government statistics in our time even more often replaced by closed-departmental sources in which use untrusted methods of gathering information and therefore can not be considered quite reliable [Chudinovskikh, 2008].

So, thanks to labor migration, Russia “was integrated into the international labor market. In general, labor migration helps to higher living standards and economic potential of Russia” [Zayonchkovskaya, 2004]. It is very important for economic and political development to support labor migration and economic refugees, while simplifying the process of their social adaptation.

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From the Conflict to Security and Modernization: in case Chechen Republic

The modern world endures an economic crisis, conflicts in various regions, transformation of system of social and political relations. It actualizes requirement of studying the nature of crisis and definition of strategy of social changes. In the given article an attempt to shine the separate parties of settlement of the conflict is undertaken.

Object of research - features of transition from the conflict to safety and modernization of post conflict region.

Methods: In research were applied functional and socio-cultural approaches, the methods of the quantitative analysis providing revealing of valuable installations and potential of modernization.

Results

Crises and conflicts signal necessity of perfection of forms and structure of social communications, carrying out transformations in economic, political and civil spheres. Society reforming during the critical period of history is quite often characterized by an aggravation of contradictions in territorial administration system, possibility of occurrence of a conflict situation in many or in separately taken region.

In 1991 in the Chechen Republic there is a social intensity which develops into the sociopolitical conflict. Constructive functions of the conflict were showed in awakening of social and civil activity, aspiration of public groups to influence the power, decision-making, to build dialogue, freely to express opinions and positions. Destructive functions were expressed in rupture of economic relations, economy destruction on 80 %, deformation of social structure, destruction approximately 100 thousand persons.

At different stages and phases of development of the conflict there are the various kinds of safety creating threats and risks public, state and humanitarian, ecological, of information security. In the conflict one can be staticized that, other kinds of safety. In a pre conflict situation feelings of public safety, fear for destructive consequences as a result of unreasonable and irresponsible actions, as a rule, become dull. In the environment of protest movement readiness to defend the requirements not only civil, but also power actions is shown.

At the moment of development of the conflict into military operations public moods of many inhabitants change, approaching threat of territorial safety is realized. It induces a considerable part of the population beforehand to leave for region limits, military migration is observed throughout all course of operations. So, in the first war of refugees from CHR were 400 thousand people, in the second - more than 300 thousand

In military conditions physical safety becomes primary requirement, citizens feel total threat of the life. It proceeds from happening contacts to military men, from put авиа and artillery attacks on settlements. In a military-chaotic situation, for example in Grozny, people of different nationalities showed precaution, mutual aid, found forms, receptions and protection frames from cross fire and possible threats from military men.

Other test is social safety, for the period of operations the city society ceases to exist, in particular, people are localized in bombproof shelters and cellars and compelled to master primitive forms of a hostel. The social survival proceeds in the conditions of destruction of all infrastructures, absence of water, heating, glasses in windows of residential buildings, limitation of foodstuff. It promoted in many cases to formation those or other quarters of "communes", the collective organization of life, joint planning of measures and actions on life preservation, search of water, products, gathering of fire wood for cooking etc.

Information security has special value in an extreme situation, the people who are in isolation from other world, have deficiency of the objective information, have no representation about a course of the general event, perceive a reality locally, such vacuum is quite often filled with hearings and misinformation. Huge psychological influence renders expectation of technogenic accident, in Grozny there was one of large petro gas-processing complexes of the country and bomb hit on tanks of a chemical factory or diversion could cause heavy consequences.

The role of social, economic, ecological safety increases in a post conflict situation, and adjustment of life and social arrangement is interfaced by formation of structural social violence, "commercialization" of social services. Strategy of reconstruction of the consent and the world in a conflict zone was various in the first and second military campaign. During the first war (1994-1996) named officially «constitutional order prompting», military operations were combined with peace initiatives. On August, 31st, 1996 the Khasavyurt agreement providing further the decision of questions at issue by peace means in conformity by the international norms has been signed.

In the second war (1999-2002) federal centre did not recognize armed resistance as the conflict party, spent a line on resistance dissociation, compulsion by force to the world. The military way of the resolution of conflict promotes radicalization to ideology of separate groups of resistance, leaves the mark on restoration of a social order and peace life.

At a stage of the organization of military operations as subjects of compulsion to the world military units, commandant's offices, the time attached departments of militia and created on the released territory local administrative and law enforcement bodies acted. At local level as subjects of an establishment of the consent elders, imams of mosques, national diplomats acted.

With legalization of the time republican administration appointed the federal Center by carrying out in 2003 of a referendum and election of President CHR administrative and law-enforcement measures of streamlining of social life and world building start to dominate gradually.

Situation in republic in the present than two thirds of respondents estimate normal, strained – 26,3%, , conflict - 5,6 % [Sociological research…, 2009]. The total of crimes for last 7 years has considerably decreased, acts of terrorism in 2005 is made - 94, 2011-4, kidnapping accordingly-168 and 15 [Territorial body of…].

In post conflict region it is required decisions of following problems: a reconstruction and economy development, adjustment of work and improvement of quality of system of public health services and formation, overcoming of humanitarian traumas, medical and social rehabilitation of the population, material and moral indemnification. Feature of a present stage consists in necessity of reindustrialization republic and simultaneous creation of information-technological bases of acceleration of passage of phases of secondary modernization.

Modernization changes the integral property of a social generality and the state formation. They pass two historical stages: industrial (primary) and information, based on knowledge (secondary). [Review report…, 2011, p. 30] Regions of Russia have different social and economic levels, ethno cultural and religious distinctions, but they are united by a generality of historical and cultural experience and basic socio-cultural values.

The general level of socio cultural indicators of the Chechen Republic in 2 times more low middle Russian. It is visually looked through concerning satisfaction by work and life, to level of incomes, democratization of political life. Formation serves in carrying out of social transformations by the defining factor. Level of literacy among adults in republic exceeds standard value (80) and the literacy index-100, as well as on all country is equal 96 %, and. However there is a backlog on relative density of persons with higher education, truth, this rupture is gradually reduced. Between last censuses (2002-2010) population CHR has increased by 15 %, and quantity of students 2 times.

Modernization brake is excessive centralization in a control system, a prevalence emotionally-strong-willed and organizational-forced measures, instead of economic and legal. As other obstacle vulnerability from an arbitrariness of officials and workers of law enforcement bodies, and also corruption and bribery serves. Especially it is necessary to allocate the factor of low level of trust between people and in mutual relations of the power and the population.

It testifies that humanitarian traumas and prevalence in social management of authoritarianism, weakness of formed civil institutes are not overcome.

Conclusion

Conflict settlement assumes transition from the conflict to safety and peace building [Randle, 1973, p. 8]. It provides, first, achievement of reconciliation of contradictory groups, restoration of a social order, maintenance of physical and public safety, and definition of scales of damage. Secondly, restoration of a social and economic infrastructure, payment of indemnifications, medical-psychological rehabilitation of the population. Thirdly, acceptance of the plan of transition from reconstruction problems to development of region, its integration into economic and cultural space of the country.

Thus, the post conflict regional generality is in a transition state, as well as all Russian society, infrastructure restoration, functioning of objects of social appointment serves as the precondition of carrying out of transformations in various spheres of life. The Chechen Republic should pass a way of reindustrialization and simultaneously to create preconditions of the introduction into a phase of the beginning and growth of secondary modernization by means of the organization of techno parks, incubator centers of development of business, scientific and technical knowledge, working out of innovative technologies.

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