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New Problems and New Approaches in Russian and Foreign Sociology

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V.I. Vernadskiy about Noosphere Evolution of Humankind

The idea of noosphere was a novelty in XX century, as well as probably the theory of evolution for the society of the XIX century. For the first time this word and notion sounded in the walls of a famous educational institution of Paris Collège de France on the lecture of the philosopher and mathematician, A. Bergson follower - E. LeRoy. Though not him, but his friend and confederate, palaeontologist and philosopher Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, was declared to be the co-author of noosphere conception. Both scientists were creating their theory, being guided by notions of biosphere and alive matter, exactly as it was evolved by V.I. Vernadskiy in his famous lectures at the Sorbonne in 1922 - 1923. "I accept the idea of E. Le Roy about noosphere. He developed my biosphere profoundly", - Vernadsky wrote in a letter to the geologist B. Lichkov.

V. Vernadskiy wasn't familiar with the subsequent development of the Teilhard de Chardin ideas (his "Phenomena of man" appeared after the death of the Russian scientist). Vernadskiy knew only hardly evolved theory of noosphere, that was formulated by E. Le Roy and Teilhard in the end of XIX century. And it is significant to mention one interesting fact related to this idea.

In an ever-increasing effort to generate mind we can perceive a certain aspiration of the evolution itself to pass on to self-consciousness or as E. LeRoy formulates it in the Bergson's style, "to pass on to liberation of consciousness, immanent to the life impulse". Man is a culmination of "spontaneous", unconscious evolution, but at the same time some outset that amasses prerequisites for new, reasonably directional stage of evolution itself. Prerequisites, that in their turn are the longest periods of mankind history, evolve in essence semi-consciously, with an irrepressibility of the law of nature, but they are in store for getting authentic self-consciousness, hence the mankind is in store forgetting to the real control of the evolution of the world and itself. Only then "the creation of the highest order of existence, order of spirituality in such a perfect state that noosphere will direct to part from biosphere as a butterfly from chrysalis" ¹ will occur.

Thus, in the ideas of noosphere of French authors we can already find two, on the face of it, discrepant approaches. On the one hand, noosphere emerges from the very beginning of the existence of a person as an exceptionally objective and elemental process, and on the other hand - only now, nowadays biosphere starts passing on to noosphere. Actually, noosphere is yet to come on a very unachieved level of consciousness and activity of mankind.

Same dual determination of noosphere is noticed in Vernadskiy works. "The beginning of noosphere, - he writes in his main philosophic work, which was being

¹ Le Roy E. Les origines humaines et l'intelligens. P. 46, 50

created for ten last years of his life, – is related to the struggle of man against mammals for territory...”; this period, as well as the time of reclaiming of the animals, the beginning of farming was called by him “heroic period of the creation of noosphere”.¹ At the same time, in this book “Scientific thought as a planet phenomena” the idea, that the transition of biosphere into noosphere starts being put into effect only in our century, prevails. And for the real triumph of noosphere there supposed to be the presence of such conditions, which are still not achieved by the world: “Therefore, there are two moments, that are prerequisites of the substation of the anthroposphere for noosphere: predominance of man over the nature and predominance of the powers of mind over his inferior instincts in himself”.²

A man as a creature, endowed with mind acts in the world from its very appearance as a creator and reformer, as voluntary and involuntary architect of “the sphere of mind”. It’s called like this because the main role in it is performed by mind, “perfect realities”, creative discoveries, spiritual, artistic, scientific ideas, that are materially realized in reformed nature, artificial constructions, tools and machines, scientific complexes and so on. We need to accept the fact – that on the Earth there’s been created an artificial cover of biosphere, radically reformed by labour and creativity of human. Nevertheless, as we all know, this reform, directed by ideal projective capacity of man was not always reasonable and had a predatory character, indomitably and greedily consuming nature, its resources. Already N.F. Fedorov predicted that actual dangerous interaction in the relationships of human and nature, giving it a name of utilization and exhaustion of the second, at the same time stating that civilization being “exploiting and not restoring can not have other result but acceleration of the end.”³

Man in his anthropological, social and historical sides is not a perfect creature, in some meaning “a crisis one”, but anyway there is an ideal and an aim of high, spiritual Man, the ideal, that directs him in its development. Overcoming of nature as its creation – noosphere – is a disharmonious reality on an initial stage, and at the same time the highest ideal of its initial stage. Because man is the only creature of all alive ones, that not only lives to eat, but all the time correlates his life with some standards of right and wrong and works for it.

This need of “right”, with which the person gets born and which one creates the noosphere cover of the Earth, is called up to be filled with the highest, perfect content.

Thus, the main problem of man is in the interaction of two sides of our life, the material and the spiritual one, which are, with no doubt connected and proceed with each other. They are permanently connected and somehow turn one into another. But the problem is to lead them to a simple conformity, without minimizing the importance of the role of both of the sides. Only by connection of

¹ Correspondence of V. Vernadskiy with B.Lichkov.1918 – 1939. P. 188.

² Vernadskiy V.I. Scientific thought as a planet phenomena. P.46

³ Fyodorov N. The philosophy of common cause. Moscow.1982. V. 1. P. 301.

the spirit and matter in the same rational perspective, man can reach its edge of evolution.

V. Vernadskiy amazed a scientific thought not by a dream or by the game of imagination. He developed completely new conception of organic life. Basing still on scientific footing, V. Vernadskiy confesses, that nowhere and in no phenomena that have ever happened in the earth's crust, there wasn't found any traces of life self-generation. Every alive organism originates from another alive organism. But this connection is not that profound nature unchangeable and necessary process. With the help of mind man changes environment. Being guided by his mind, man uses everything, surrounding him for satisfying the needs of his social life. For the first time he calls a human mind a cosmic power, i.e. such a natural phenomena, that is as a part of the universe structure as any alive matter.

The development of noosphere from biosphere, to V. Vernadskiy's mind, has a more profound and powerful base than a human history. As a scientist-naturalist V. Vernadskiy did a lot of objective analysis of geological and historical time reality of noosphere, being an outstanding thinker he foresaw the essence of "noosphere as an aim", its objectives and driving forces.

V. Vernadskiy thinks, that in geological biosphere history before man's appearance there clears a huge future, which he needs to understand and not to use his mind for self-destruction.

Vernadskiy is sure that humanity "is getting more and more independent from other life forms and evolving as a new life development".

Its development consists in "social problems solution, which are arisen in society when forms of nutrition and sources of energy, that are accessible to man, change". V. Vernadskiy means a take-over of new sources of energy, including the Sun energy and "spontaneous food synthesis without mediation of organic creatures". He shows it as a colossal evolutionary turn of humanity in its common aspect through the ability to maintain and recreate its organism, as it's done by plants from the most elementary natural inorganic substances. "Using spontaneous Sun energy, man will master the source of terrestrial plants"¹. It's still a question of industrial food synthesis. Not in vain the philosopher E. Renan was dreaming about such a time: "When the real social revolution will come true, when chemistry will find a way to imitate the plant work, secrete carbonic acid from the air and produce better foodstuffs than the ones that are consumed by plants and herbivorous animals. The day when man will be saved from the necessity to kill for surviving and the day when a horrible sight, presented by butcher's shop, will disappear - this day will be marked as a progress in senses development"².

This dream about future, when a man will transform nature, will establish a new law of being, a law of authentic cognation, that connects all the creatures of the Earth. This law will be based on a new natural life footing, from which there

¹ Vernadskiy V. Autotrophy of man. P. 228-229.

² Renan E. Philosophic dialogues and extracts. Kiev, V. 5. P. 163.

will be banished the principal of reciprocal eating up and ousting. That what is insisted on especially by E. Renan.

But the idea of autotrophy talks not only about a chemical synthesis of food products, meaning inventively labourgaining of such a fundamentally new way of interchange of substances with environment, that will have no end in limits. Already in a plant, V.Vernadskiy wrote in his "Geochemistry essays", the Sun energy "transformed into such a form, that creates an organism that has a potential immortality, without decreasing or increasing active energy of the original Sun ray".¹ In autotrophicman, who consciously and actively realizes his inventive self creation, this potential possibility must turn into an active one. V. Vernadskiy didn't write about it directly. But already N.Fedorov not only sets the task to make nutrition a consiously creative process of turning by man elementary cosmic substances into mineral ones, than organic and finally alive materias»², but he sees this task as one of the approaches in the sphere of a real human mastering an immortal nature, as one of the conditions of realizing the reason of himself. K. Tsiolkovskiy also wrote about man of future – «as about an animal of the Space», directly assimilating sun lights and elementary substances of the environment in its «nutrition» and able to be immortal. Man is inseparably connected as a whole with all alive organisms, that exist or ever existed. Being guided by his mind, man consumes all the substances, that surround him to satisfy the needs of his social life. And this consumption is a horrible power.

Up to date scientific knowledge mostly has to do with the knowledge that is useful for manipulation, and manipulations with the nature are almost inevitably lead to manipulations with people.

We need a radical re-orientationof economic and technological systems, based on the use of renew resources and attention to the human dimension. The key idea is to reach a non forcible economics, the one that could cooperate with the nature more than exploit it. The importance of human dimension and long-term economics must be based on correct ecological principles and technologies with a human face.We need a completely renew system of thinking. Economic thinking is obsessed by uncontrollable growing. Economicexpansion became the main aim of all the modern communities, and any growing of nationalgross productis considered to be a success. Although we can not deny the fact that growing is an important life characteristic, nevertheless all the types of economic increase must be analyzed. Something must increase and something decrease, and no need to have a high level of perspicacity to realize that an infinite increase of material consumption indeed is just impossible. The perspectives of human evolving can be observed in more flexible aspects. Humanity in its dialogue with nature must be provided with a gentle (long-termed, but not an abrupt one) consequent nature modification and the modification of itself, to get an organic union between man

¹ Vernadskiy V. Geochemistry essays.Moscow,1983. P.253.

² Fyodorov N. The philosophy of common cause.Moscow. 1982. P. 405.

and nature. Elaboration of such a way is an indispensable condition of a transition to the noosphere.

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Tolerance and a century of multiculturalism

The multiculturalism concept is based, on the one hand, on acknowledgement of the importance of all cultures separately, with another – on acknowledgement of availability of certain socially significant universal values. Thus, we have the dialectic contradiction. Whether its overcoming is possible?

Communications of international dialogue and exchange for the developed states of the world have acquired global character, the interdependence of mankind existence is growing infinitely, and in priority position there are those countries at which such communications are wide maximum. The multiculturalism concept arises then when political borders start to disturb economic interests.

Today there is a constant exchange material and cultural wealth of various cultures. International dialogue has reached unprecedented hitherto scope. In many respects it was promoted by the termination of Cold War and transition from the bipolar world to multipolar (and as a matter of fact monopolar) to the world. Globalization occurring nowadays is inspired by the western capitalist countries, generally the United States of America as to this country it is most favourable economically (from 50 largest transnational corporations 27 belong to the USA). Economic rules which are obligatory for all countries-participants of world market relations, are developed taking into account benefit, first of all, world monopolists. Probably, it is not difficult to understand, why for them it is important, that the national states didn't interfere with economic sphere.

Ideology of process of globalization and multiculturalism is neoliberalism which is favourable to the states developed economically for the above described reasons. Actually under the pretext of protection of a neoliberal policy which ostensibly is the blessing for all without an exception of the states, own national interests are lobbied. Some countries (for example, Iraq occupied by the USA) are proclaimed possible zones of display of terrorism only because they try to protect the right of developing according to their own traditions. (Which are really different from the democratic values.) On the other hand, subjects of the states, potentially disputed, influencing safety of all state to which territorially concern, admit certain fighters for democratic freedom (the Chechen Republic, Kosovo). And those nationalities who are ready to cession (allocation) and have already undertaken steps really corresponding to liberal ideologies (for example, Abkhazia) don't admit the world community (read – developed countries) as the sovereign states. The policy of double standards prospers under the pretext of struggle against double standards. Such approach is intolerant. It is pseudo-democracy and pseudo-globalization, leaders, first of all, to that in all points of the world identical consumer goods were on sale: from cars to a chewing gum. These unified things are produced by the companies-monopolists. The national originality gradually disappears for especially economic reasons. "Pepsi" and "Coca-Cola", "Bounty" and

"Snickers", instead of Russian kvass, Belgian kook or the English pie are for some reason advertized worldwide. Advertizing in general to no small degree promotes standardization and unification. Advancing on the market the goods, it forms mass taste. Wherever you have arrived behind impressions and souvenirs, you will meet the same kit of marks and brands, as in that place, from where you have arrived. Such is today's globalization which dictates the rules of international dialogue.

Tolerance is also one of postulated by liberalism value of humanism. In a case when a certain society is pressurized, stuck on internal mass stereotypes and dogmas, doesn't comprise the factors pushing it on rationalization of own culture in a context of its universal presence such society will be inevitable intolerant as it will close in the local valuable reference points and in any way them doesn't correlate to principles of a world hostel. The society directed towards tolerance is a society with highly developed intellectual and spiritual culture. The communications based on principles of tolerance, are based on acknowledgement of a pluralistic value system, i.e., equivalence and, as consequence, equality of different social groups. Tolerance is implemented within the limits of provision of human rights. Principles of tolerant communications start with philosophy of the general vital world for representatives of various ethnic and confessional spheres. Tolerant relations need their expression in practical forms of interaction in various society segments. Thanks to it, tolerant relations acquire practical measurement of partnership and mutually advantageous cooperation, passing from an abstract ideal to real practice of social relations.

The mentality, culture of the people constitute cultural-national specificity of each state and its system of law. Tolerance is first of all accepting of the fact of variety of our world. Thus, the contradiction of multiculturalism consisting in acknowledgement of the importance of all cultures separately and acknowledgement of availability of certain socially significant universal values, acts in film by means of culture of tolerance. The tolerance concept removes the dialectic contradiction, being new quality of modern relations.

Alibaeva, Gulsasak K.

The role of the morality in conditions of the turbulent, social relations

The mobility of modern social relations which includes all the spheres of social vital activity, breaks down the settled forms of social organization. Thus the social relations are “doomed” to the dynamics, constant outer and inner changeableness. There are a lot of negatives from the substantial side which requires the theoretical clearing on the one hand, and the practical correction on the other hand. The supplementary specificity is observed in Russia. “The processes of automation are prevailed in modern Russian but it is not in integration,-I.I. Glebova writes. – Collective forms of existence are almost abolished. On the whole, people are indifferent to the others, besides their own family and close encirclement, nearest friends. Accordingly, the world of the usual Russian is narrowed.” Today the consolidation of the Russian society is tried to provide through the mobilization of the heroic past. It is the victory in the Great Patriotic War and the space exploration. But, of course, it is not enough. We need the realistic modern projects which will unite our society. So, we can make the Russian political nation as the unity and diversity of the whole.

On the national level, the qualitative changes of the last decades have also the destructive influence upon such principles which determine a man as a man. The personal moral and psychological steadiness, political, cultural, ethnic, religious, ideological expectations of a man are more indeterminate and unstructural inwardly. The formless, fragmentariness, eclecticism, vagueness are prevailed in thinking, senses, emotions and behavior. The inner world of a man is conditioned by the mass of experience. Thus, it is extremely difficult to find his position in his political, ideological and moral preferences. Neither the common social environment nor the way of life of individuals do not assist in it. It is quite in the spirit of the post-modernism, for which the characteristic feature is a high authority of communicative structures. They include the mass of experience in the individual pictures of the world which are formed by the personal vision of the political life. At the time of post-modernism people sharply feel the influence of such norms and orientations which are engendered by the effect of the hyper-reality. They have such images which are imposed by the advertisement, television and patterns of the experimental modeling and are created by device of art.”

What can we oppose to it? Or, at least, if we do not talk about the opposition to the dynamics of social processes, so that we can and even have to discuss how to clear up correct these processes theoretically. It is necessary to minimize the aggressive influence on the inner world of the man and on the social relations between people. It must be observed not only on the level of institute, but also on the level of personal relations between people.

How and with what can the social relations be regulated in turbulent time? The morality is the universal regulator not only of a person but also of the social group, society. It was at all times, especially in turbulent time, even Aristotel has paid his attention that a man is socially depended on the morals. The society encourages or denounces person's utterances, states and actions thorough the morals. So, a man has to take it into account and orientate himself on these expectations which are dictated by the society. He ought to bear the responsibility for his way of life.

But what does the society expect from a man today in the situation of the supremacy of liberal values and orientations when everything is permitted in private and social life which is not prohibited juridically? In Russia, of course, it is necessary and important for a person to have the political and legal consolidation of his liberties. The cultural and historical substance of the social relations resists itself to it in Russian life.

This resistance shows that the liberties ought to be based on morals as the foundations of the liberty. The patriarch Cyrill noticed the following to this point: "If we insist on the person's rights and liberties, if we underline these priorities, we bring up a question for discussion about something important which is inherent only to a man and the human nature. We raise a question about the system of the moral values ... Because a man is realizing his liberty, can perform kind and cruel actions."

Today the morality serves as a criterion of estimation of all systems of social life. Because we have a real problem in the concordance of the practical expediency of some social, political, ideological, economic actions, programmes, projects and their moral senses. It is known that the political and other expediency can not be always estimated as morally unstained. The morality and the expediency are often differed at all. Thus, today, this aspect must be taken into account in considering and taking the solution for keeping the social stability and integrity. Not all politically,-ideologically,- and economically-justified steps are acceptable . The moral component of these steps will become to apperent if it is not in the nearest future but in the distant one. Now the social relations are constructed and directed by the will of this or that authoritative subjects which is made up the social and political, ideological technology. All these facts determine the special status of the morality as the estimation's criterion. Today the moral characteristics must be regarded as an obligatory, ontological element of social relations. It is necessary to underline it, because the rationally-technological, functional methods are more used to solve different social problems.

We ought to take into account that the moral demands have an objective meaning. The base of the morality and its nature are not in the psychological characteristics of a person or any social groups, not in the historical peculiarities and the culture of any nations or not in the epoch as the whole. In different times, traditions, morals and manners of any nations can be differed. They are always estimated with moral positions which are universal and common. The morality is developed historically, forms as the whole and the structure. It includes all the

spheres of human vital activity. It allows us to value estimations and criterions of the morality if they conform to human norms or not. It is important to notice that the morality is always somebody's subjective dictates, it is the responsible solution and a the choice which have to make a man himself. Thus, the morality, it is assumed from the point of the morality that a man, irrespective of epoch what he lives in, social status, level of mental activity, conditions and available circumstances of his staying is morally responsible being who can make himself a choice. These reasonings are needed because references to the instability of the modern life, their excessive dynamics, modern defiance to ecological, economic, terrorist characteristics do not change in that a man, social relations are valued from the whole universal, moral positions as at any time. Besides the determination of psychological, psycho-physiological order, the conditionality of social encirclement, a man is conformed to moral imperatives. Of course, the man's practical interest, the social opinion's pressure, the aspiration for obtaining with the recognition of society are the strong incentive of the human behavior. These stimulus have not changed yet, regarding them separately. Being identical circumstances can bring not only a man but also different people to different action. Because a man is morally-guided creature. "The ability is to contradict...to the logic of facts", outer and inner predetermination, when it is necessary. It composes the moral ability, the virtue of a man... the moral determination of the action is principally other plan than material or psychological causality. Thus, in spite of dynamics or concrete social circumstances of social vital activity, it is s important for a man and the society to be guided by the choice of development's priority with that criterions which was used earlier at all times. In this case we talk about the morality as the criterion of the estimation of the modern social process.

Antipev, Anatoli G.

Some specific features of tolerance in «archaic» Russian society

Modern social life, together with sharp political and economic problems, has produced some spiritual, moral and sociocultural problems, which should be decided for the future of mankind. And the last phenomena of modern crisis showed that. Tolerance has special theoretical and practical importance nowadays.

Its actual features should be explained by some main reasons:

1. firstly, modern world is becoming more and more fragile. Not only old global problems had become more acute, but new ones appeared. And mankind has not decided even one or two of global problems, it seems that it is impossible to solve them in nearest future.

2. secondly, the failure of global system of socialism and collapse of the USSR had not led to peace and understanding on the international arena. More over, the place of the main contradiction between socialism and capitalism was substituted by opposition between different civilization, ethnic groups and confessions. Foreign policy of the USA is aimed at its individual governing of the mankind, ignoring international laws and world public opinion, all that makes situation in the relations between different countries and nations more acute. The world hasn't become safer, of course global processes in integration will be developed. But it is impossible to reject forecasts about appearing new counteractions of strength, severe struggle for territories and natural resources, ecological advantages. Some leading politologists think that about 100 new states may appear in nearest 15-20 years as the result of territorial redivision of the world.

3. thirdly, tolerance has not become dominant social value of social life not only in the global aspect, but also in some developed countries. Move over, same highly-developed countries, also the USA, are becoming less tolerant, but more aggressive. Historical and modern experience shows that outer aggression is connected with its inner growth.

4. fourthly, theoretically the problem of tolerance hasn't been investigated seriously also it may be said about specific features of it in modern Russian society. Also we must take into account multinational character of Russia. It is very important to have knowledge of tolerance, its forming in modern «archaic» Russian society. What is its concrete role? Tolerance is the most important device, which can lead to solving problems practically in all conflicts. It is the main aim for modern Russia, because its society is splitted, we observe great economical, social, political and mental differentiation of the population. The level of separatism of citizens from all branches of power is enormous. Maybe for the first time during last 20 years Federal government admitted the fact that our society is "achronical" and it has reached a deadlock in its development. The way out from this deadlock is in modernization of economy and society, in renewing of "Social-

economical strategy of Russian Federation up to 2020.” For this aim 21 groups of experts were organized, where thousands of foreign and Russian specialists work.

Numerous scientific and popular editions, reports of statesmen and political figures underline the fact that the Russians possess such quality as patience sometimes it is too much. Russian people are very patient in difficulties of life.

Some statesmen even say that it is possible to name kind of such patience as «Donkey’s». Of course it is only a myth about Russians. But to some extent it influences mass consciousness and practice. Maybe it is one of the reasons of slow institutiolization of civil society in our country.

But by our opinion the level of pieleness of our citizens is exaggerated. These are my arguments.

As any other social phenomenon tolerance has many aspects and contradictions. The Russian have specific mentality and social behavior. Scientific literature tries to investigate it rather actively. Our people show their mentality and tolerance differently than many other nations, especially from developed countries. The Russian show open form of tolerance rather reserved, but hidden form of impatience is shown rather actively thanks to growing corruption, criminality and violence, alcoholism, narcotism, prostitution, unwilling of many young people to serve in the army. Also we observe growth of suicides (more than 80 thousand annually) and the number of marginals grows too. Each fourth of men in Russia was imprisoned. There are a lot of homeless children, homeless people, prostitutes, etc. There is shortage of national and self-respect, diminishing of the level of mentality and moral norms of young people. Ouring last 18 years more than 3 mln people left Russia for other countries (Compare this number with the number of intellectuals, who were sent by force from Russia in 1920). Many young people are sure that they have no perspectives in their native country and all negative sides of our life form such opinion. But it is impossible to call these mass phenomena as «donkey’s» patience of Russian people. Besides we must not identify impatience with violence.

Too low level of tolerance leads to degradation of Russian society. It is necessary to search the roots and sources of low level of tolerance of Russian people in historical, economical and socio-cultural, peculiarities of Russian society.

Modern “archaism” of our society makes the problem of tolerance more acute. For its solving we need modernization of economy, society, improving all social and political institutes and clear understandable state policy. All these points may be the instrument of consolidation of our society. It is necessary to remember a very important principle, the author of which was L. Erkhart, who had been the founder of changing German postwar economy into peaceful one. He said that all reforms are not successful if the population does not understand them and does not take part in them. All failures of contemporary Russian reforms show that he was right. Unfortunately, nobody draws any practical conclusion from this situation.

In conclusion: it is necessary to examine patience as complicated and contradictory socio-cultural phenomenon and finding the ways of forming such type of tolerance which can help to develop personality and society. Without taking

into account specific features of Russian tolerance, modernization of economy and society will remain one of political slogans without any serious foundation.

Antonova, Victoria K.

Intercultural Competences and Concepts of Multiculturalism in Russia and in the United Kingdom

Dealing with ethnic diversity in multicultural Russia has recently become even more of an urgent issue than it used to be. The civil service as a societal institution may not distance itself from this problem if it seeks to effectively administer society's life and to be an institution in which citizens have trust and confidence.

The present paper reflects the results of the analysis of the capability of the Russian civil service to adopt multiculturalism, first in its employment policy and later more broadly as a social policy for the regional community. The way in which multiculturalism has been used by the UK civil service was utilized to give an example of a rather successful adoption of this policy, and to illuminate the specificity of the Russian approach to multicultural policies if they were to be developed and implemented in the civil service in Russia. The concept of 'multiculturalism' has been studied through more relevant to the post-Soviet and Russian times notion of the 'nationality question'.

An attempt to illuminate the specificity of the Russian approach to multicultural policies if they were to be developed in the civil service in Russia has been made in this paper. The qualitative study of the concept of multiculturalism and intercultural competences in the civil service in Russia was based on in-depth interviews conducted in 2006-2007 with senior civil servants from regional government departments – namely, in the cities of Saratov and Perm and with senior civil servants from the UK Government departments in London.

A number of policy advices have been developed to make civil service in Russia more diverse and therefore improve the efficacy of this institution.

Comprehending multiculturalism in Russia means that civil servants and bureaucrats should play an active part in promoting ethnic diversity in society and in developing public openness towards diversity and multiculturalism. It is necessary to understand that if bureaucrats are responsible for decision-making and for implementing launched policies, such persons will have the power to intensify and popularize policies – or, instead, slow them down. What strategy they will choose depends on how they perceive and accept the 'nationality question' and ethnic diversity personally, and also on a professional basis.

In order to see the impact that multiculturalism could have on the civil service in Russia, a three-level model relating to the civil service as an institution has been utilized (Perry and Thomson, 2004), namely the:

- operational level;
- governance level;

- performance level.

Each level looks at the institution of the civil service from a different angle. The operational level refers to the civil service as being a personnel system and a system of employment. The civil service system is the primary means by which to provide staff to administer the organs of the state. Hence, the functioning of the civil service as a personnel system can be described mainly via its recruitment, selection, and promotion processes, as well as in terms of training and development practices.

The governance level - or the collective choice level - refers to collective decisions made by officials to determine, enforce, continue or amend ways of acting that are 'authorized' via institutional arrangements - and the two main functions of the modern civil service are apparent at this level. Such functions are 'to advise government ministers on policy matters and to make decisions in the name of their ministers' (Pilkington, 1999:2). In other words, at a governance level, the nature of tasks performed by civil servants on a daily basis is being reflected.

The performance level sees the civil service as a symbol system. It takes into account the organizational values that are shared by the majority of civil servants; it also sees the civil service as a public institution, one that symbolizes the link between the citizen and the state. It is also at a performance level where civil servants may feel either proud of themselves as professionals - or as unconfident, for not being able to act in a highly professional and competent fashion when carrying out their duties. The civil service's performance level, which in its evolution has given rise to myths and symbols that have become instruments open to interpretation also often attracts public interest and may be assessed. So the performance of the civil service can create a positive or negative attitude on the part of citizens (including civil servants themselves) and can be an efficient tool with which to gain resources, make changes in salary scales and maintain the legitimacy of mechanisms of governance (Bekke and Perry, 1996).

Formally, Russia does fall into the category of the multinational state, one that voluntarily adopted a form of multicultural federalism (in 1993). However, even though Article 26.2 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation states that 'everyone has the right of the native language use, the right to voluntarily choose the language in which to relate to others, upbringing and education', not all of these positions of 'institutional completeness' (Kymlicka and Grin, 2003) are actually guaranteed. The interviews conducted shed light on the issue of the readiness of society and government to accept, respect and manage diversity in Russia and in the UK. Considering the lack of systematic data for and research into this issue in Russia, this study participants' views and opinions on the importance of attending to the 'nationality question' in the Saratov and Perm regions did have great value with regard to providing insight and developing a new analytical approach towards ethnic minority accommodation.

As the data have shown, there is a big difference in the attitudes of the civil servants from the UK and Russia towards multiculturalism. For the respondents

from the UK, multiculturalism is a complex but familiar concept associated with diversity in society, with measures undertaken by the state bodies to reflect this diversity in all public and private spheres of life, with respect and recognition of differences in society, with necessity to develop intercultural competences of civil servants, etc. For the most part civil servants from the UK perceived multiculturalism positively and demonstrated a rather deep understanding of its complexity and importance for society.

Thus a conclusion can be made that having been valued and positively assessed multiculturalism had a constructive and positive impact on the performance level of the civil service in the UK. Therefore, in the UK the civil service presents an institution where the senior civil servants feel proud of themselves as professionals who promote the ideals of multiculturalism within this institution and within society as a whole. As the respondents pointed out, at the performance level the civil service as an institution exposed a commitment to developing an understanding and respect for diversity and to presenting moral as well as business advantages and attractiveness of working in a culturally diverse work environment.

On the contrary, the attitudes of the civil servants in Russia to the 'nationality question' have appeared to be mostly negative. For the Russian civil servants the 'nationality question' and multiculturalism linked to this issue appeared to be associated with ethnic conflicts and 'ethnic cleansing', with a policy of 'internationalism' which has been declared as a communist doctrine in the Soviet times and just vanished after the collapse of the USSR leaving an unresolved issue of ethnic relations behind.

Because of the political history of the break-up of the Soviet Union and now the history of Russia, where ethnic relations have not been sorted out yet, the 'nationality question' has been so sensitive, that Russian civil servants are not as receptive to idea of multiculturalism as the UK civil servants.

Starting with the Soviet doctrine of 'internationalism' and up to now ethnic diversity within the civil service has been perceived as a problem that has to be solved by introduction of the ideas of assimilation. Hence, as the interviews have shown, the civil servants from the both Perm and Saratov regions are not ready at the moment to absorb the 'beauty of multiculturalism' in terms of a more deeper understanding and respect for the particularity and universality of different nationalities.

Thus the performance level in the civil service in Russia has been significantly influenced by the 'nationality question' and multiculturalism but that has led to opposite results of those in the case of the UK civil service. Nowadays, from the perspective of the performance level of the civil service as an institution a conclusion can be made that an idea of a diverse civil service has not gained any support in the civil service in Russia and the senior civil servants have not revealed a desire to attract ethnic minorities for civil service jobs.

Currently, as the interviews have revealed, it is more likely that the civil service as a social institution would prefer to stick to the old-fashioned assimilation approach to the 'nationality question', given that the majority of the senior civil servants were in favour of not emphasizing cultural differences and concealing them rather than trying to learn from the multicultural policy, which within the multicultural community celebrates incorporation not as inclusion per se, but as the achievement of diversity.

As the data have shown, in general both moral and business arguments in favour of multicultural civil service were not considered as strong ones by the respondents in Russia. However, at the same time the 'business case' was underlined as fundamental in service delivery of good quality at the local level in the regions of Russia.

The most commonly expressed opinion of the Russian civil servants has described diversity and therefore multiculturalism as a problem, rather than a response. On the conceptual level, the respondents from the Russian regions in general referred to multiculturalism in its descriptive usage and less frequently in its 'norms and ideology' usage. A more or less positive meaning of diversity and multiculturalism has been attributed to the first approach. This understanding of multiculturalism has appeared to be the one that civil servants are accustomed to. At the same time, the second, more analytical approach to multiculturalism has been seen as making a destructive impact on good inter-ethnic relations in Russia. It has not been perceived either personally or professionally as a competitor to the well-known and already tested option of assimilation.

Addressing the operational level of the civil service as an institution in Russia in order to examine how the 'nationality question' influences recruitment, selection and promotion within the departments in Perm and Saratov regions and what kind of impact it had had on professional development and the workplace environment there, the following conclusions could be made.

In general, civil servants acknowledged that a complexity of the 'nationality question' and its historical and institutional context resulted in the underrepresentation of ethnic minorities within the civil service in both regions. There are a number of factors which the interviewed civil servants from Perm and Saratov considered to be the main reasons for the lack of ethnic minorities among the senior civil servants in Russia and consequently for discriminatory practices which are taking place within the regional civil service in Perm and Saratov.

Among these factors the following might be pointed out as most influential:

- the numerical Russians' domination in the regions;
- the reluctance of the minorities to apply for civil service vacancies;
- the lack of vacancies in many departments;
- the 'unofficial' taboo regarding minority members within the senior civil service;

- the non-transparent and unfair selection and appointment process;
- the difficulties ethnic minorities have 'fitting in' to the workplace;
- the corruption of the administrative system;
- the unequal opportunities for ethnic minorities within the civil service;
- the traditional 'non-occupation' of civil service posts by ethnic minorities.
- These reasons could probably be systematized into certain categories depending on what social, institutional, or ideological basis underlies them:
 - reasons depending on the common values and norms of the respondents rooted in the Soviet legacy;
 - reasons depending on poor administration within the civil service as an institution;
 - reasons depending on social disparity;
 - reasons depending on the primacy of the ideological purpose of ethnic relations.

Thus, these reasons might be considered to be as social, institutional or ideological barriers for potential adoption of multiculturalism in the Russian civil service. All of them have influenced the operational level of the civil service in Perm and Saratov, although to a different extent. The most profound effect on the operational level of the civil service had arguably had ideological and institutional contexts.

However, some evidence was derived from the interviews which allowed to suggest that civil servants in Russia acknowledge that possible presence of ethnic minorities as civil service employees in the regions would call for significant change at the operational level of the civil service as an institution. Along with essential alterations to recruitment and selection processes within the civil service in the regions, challenging development of new multicultural competences of civil servants would be unavoidable as well as more open access to the official civil service employment data and the Census data in both regions. The 'nationality question' has a significant impact on the operation level of the regional civil service in Perm and Saratov, but this impact unfortunately feeds negative discriminatory practices instead of making the civil service that institution where 'Russian multiculturalism' could be designed.

From a standpoint of the governance level of the civil service in Russia this institution is not likely to be considered as prepared to adopt multiculturalism. According to collected data, the most important drawbacks at the governance level of the civil service that arguably prevent the civil service as an institution in Russia from incorporating principles of multiculturalism and from becoming more 'diversity friendly' are as follows:

- there is no legislation framework for multiculturalism and ethnic diversity in
- the civil service; no acts, laws or any other regulations touch upon the issue of equal opportunity and prevention of discrimination directly;
- government departments do not have strong, well established relations with minority ethnic communities in the regions; major contacts bursting during elections campaigns and seeking for 'minority votes' appeared to be rather sporadic and do not add to respect for ethnic diversity and understanding of ethnic minority needs;
- civil servants do not reveal considerable commitment to participation in development and updating of nationality and/or social policies in the regions;
- civil servants do not do their best at working out government programmes and initiatives aiming at promoting good ethnic relations in the regions; more professional and incremental approach is needed to ensure that interests of all ethnic groups involved in any initiatives and programmes are taken into account;
- civil servants do believe that regional government where the senior officials happen to be representatives of ethnic minority group will inevitably loose public trust;
- civil servants have a fear of transformation of the civil service into more 'minority-governed' institution and undermining of majority's leadership in the regions.

Almost all the respondents in Perm and Saratov observed that it will be challenging for those at the governance level of the civil service as well as for this institution as a whole to incorporate principles of multiculturalism and to become more ethnically diverse.

In other words, perspectives for implementing multiculturalism in the Russian context within the civil service as an institution are rather questionable, and the challenges and outcomes of a diverse civil service in Russia are not always being perceived by the respondents as positive and advantageous.

At the same time, there are some rather simple but important steps that may help civil servants in Russia to open their minds, overcome the Soviet legacy and change their attitudes towards multiculturalism and diversity within the civil service institution. The UK experience suggests, for instance, the following measures to be undertaken: consider reinforcing and making transparent relations with ethnic communities via organizing joint committees, 'think-tanks', advisory boards in order to discuss and articulate minority interests with regard to the civil service institution openly and publicly; consider developing educational and training courses for the senior civil servants aiming to develop their intercultural competences; consider pending legislation directly related to the issues of equal

opportunities in the civil service in Russia; etc. In general, principles of multiculturalism have appeared to be significant and in practice largely achievable in the UK, even though they may not have been always been supported and understood by all employees. Therefore, the role of government leaders and the role of the senior civil servants was described as fundamental. Leadership, supportive legislation and positive action could also help a lot in promoting multiculturalism within the civil service in Russia as it did in the UK.

According to the results of the study, all the three levels of the Russian civil service as an institution – the governance, the operational and the performance levels – have been significantly affected by the ‘nationality question’. Moreover, that influence was mainly driven by ideological and institutional legacy of the former Soviet Union and have appeared to be an impediment, rather than a supportive force for incorporation of multiculturalism’ principles into the civil service in Russia. As the study has shown, none of the three levels of the civil service as an institution in Russia has demonstrated a capacity to adopt multiculturalism as a policy which is based on the principles of social inclusion, equal opportunity and respect for ethnic diversity. The operational and performance levels have appeared to be slightly more inaccessible for multiculturalism than the governance level.

Based on the data gathered, it is possible to say that officially there is no place for discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity/nationality in the national or regional legislation. However, neither a narrow legislation in the sphere of the civil service in the Russian Federation, nor a more broad nationality policy in general have touched upon the issue of ethnic discrimination directly, suggesting specific and real mechanisms for actually providing equal opportunity for all the citizens in Russia regardless of nationality. At the governance level, existing laws and acts are being easily violated within the civil service system and evidence of indirect discrimination was given by a majority of the respondents from the Russian regions as the study has shown. Moreover, the potential outcomes of a diverse civil service in Russia for the governance level of the civil service were assessed by the respondents from Perm and Saratov as undesirable, bringing tensions into ethnic relations in regions, decreasing the level of public trust in the civil service as an institution and raising ethnic minorities’ lobbying in regional governments.

The operational level of the civil service in Russia does not have a trace of the fair representation of ethnic minorities in the senior civil service and does not seem to be a ‘diversity friendly’ place for the potential non-Russian staff. A ‘moral’ argumentation in favour of multiculturalism is not considered as important for the senior civil servants in Russia. The level of diversity awareness, as well as personal and professional cultural competence is rather low among the regional civil servants. The fundamental aspects of recruitment, selection and promotion suffer from the corrupt and authoritarian administrative system and therefore do not support the principles of multiculturalism. At the same time, a number of ‘business cases’ in Russia from the respondents’ points of view, are referred to as beneficial

for the civil service and providing legitimation for action. Among those benefits, attraction of ethnic minority resources for businesses in the regions as well as an opportunity to establish a more open dialogue on ethnicity related issues in the media have been mentioned.

The performance level, which is closely linked to the operational, also does not provide an optimistic picture with regard to multiculturalism in the civil service, because the attitudes of the civil servants to the 'nationality question' and to ethnic diversity have appeared to be far from positive. At the moment, the respondents from Russia do not see the civil service as a multicultural institution and have expressed a number of negative opinions explaining why they are more likely to support the existence of the present monocultural civil service in Russia.

Therefore, one of the fundamental findings of the study is that at the moment the civil service in Russia is not ready to adopt multiculturalism in its norms, practices and values.

Whatever level of the civil service institution was studied – the operational, the governance, or the performance level – the main factor that appeared to influence the attitudes and values of civil servants; the processes of recruitment and promotion of civil service employees; the potential outcomes and challenges of a diverse civil service in Perm and Saratov with regards to the findings of the study was a historical complexity and delicacy of the 'nationality question' rooted in its Soviet legacy and still dominating in the minds of civil servants.

This finding suggests that some strategy could be proposed in order to make changes in the existing approaches to the solution of the 'nationality question' in the civil service and in Russian society as a whole and therefore to make the adoption of a kind of the 'Russian multiculturalism' more feasible.

Among the main aims of this strategy, the following positions could be mentioned. First, it would seek to prepare the multinational population of the Russian Federation to think about the spectrum of the existing nationalities, including the Russian majority, and about the state response to ethnic diversity, in a way quite different from the primordial, and assimilationist approach of 'soviet internationalism'. This kind of enlightenment stage of the strategy proposed seems to be the most important and time-consuming, as any change in the way of thinking usually takes a lot of time and has to be incremental. However, in this particular case of the adoption of multiculturalism in the Russian civil service, the process of educating the civil servants about ethnic diversity and multiculturalism could not be skipped, as the vacuum in their heads and minds on the issue of the 'nationality question' resolution within the civil service and in Russia as a whole has to be filled. The fact that the national strategy in the field of inter-ethnic relations and the nationality policy has been missing in the country since the beginning of the 1990s makes it clear that neither federal, nor regional governments have yet tried to create a workable policy in order to accommodate ethnic diversity within the civil service system. Thus, an enlightenment and education, which is promoting the main principles of multiculturalism, such as social justice, equal opportunity and respect for all the nationalities would be the first step of the

strategy proposed in democratic Russia. Evidently, it would call for the working out of new courses in university curricular, which would build diversity awareness among civil servants and develop their professional and personal diversity competence.

When the first step of the strategy is fulfilled and when the attitudes of civil servants towards ethnic minorities and the 'nationality question' have been amended, so that persons start valuing and respecting ethnic diversity, the next step might be taken with regard to the second aim of the strategy suggested. This aim assumes that the strategy would seek to adjust the policy of multiculturalism to the Russian context, in order to make it more suitable for the Russian circumstances and also more functional.

A number of policy moves also could be developed according to a three-level model of the civil service, as follows.

At a Personnel System level:

- Introducing Assessment Centre technology that can be applied to staffing policies within the civil service;
- Attracting senior civil servants from different regional government departments to participate in selection committees;
- Monitoring the number of applications submitted in relation to civil service job positions - with particular attention being paid to the senior positions - from members of ethnic minorities;
- For the sake of an equal opportunities policy, keeping a record of the nationality/origin of all civil servants in regional government;
- To make training and professional development courses on diversity management obligatory, and courses in curricular should be started in regional Academies for the Civil Service;
- Guaranteeing open and wide advertising for vacancies existing within a civil service;
- Giving citizens equal access to information about job vacancies within the civil service in the region - by the means of regional media, ethnic communities and the civil service institution itself.

At a Governance level:

- Ensuring that federal and regional legislation dealing with the civil service is being implemented and treats citizens equally, and without discrimination on grounds of ethnicity;
- Establishing a regional government body that is responsible for handling ethnic diversity issues in a region (i.e. Committee on Inter-Nationality Relations), with the participation of the minority representatives;
- Ensuring that ethnic diversity issues are being included in regional government agenda.

At the performance level:

- Setting up targets in regional governments so that they improve minority participation and change organizational culture by making it more tolerant to minority presence;
- Disseminating 'best practice' experiences in terms of ethnic-minority representation within the civil service;
- Evaluating the efficacy of regional civil service institutions on the basis of the degree of active participation of ethnic minorities occurring;
- To develop and teach 'professional development' courses on diversity management in Russia.

Therefore, a Russian kind of multiculturalism can be recognized as an 'introductory policy', aiming to enable civil servants and regional populations to understand, recognize, value, respect and manage the variations of cultures. This policy might be seen as being a transition from 'internationalism' to some new national policy, one which has yet to be worked out... Being a proactive, rather than a reactive policy, 'Russian multiculturalism' would serve as a mitigating factor when civil servants have to deal with a sensitive and perhaps rather scary 'nationality question' in Russia. The proactive nature of 'Russian multiculturalism' is exactly the specific feature making it different from more reactive multiculturalism being adopted in the UK civil service.

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Situationally Defined Group Representations: Methodological Approaches to the Empirical Study

Contemporary social sciences focus on the individual “actor” as an active subject capable of designing the future on the basis of one’s own and group aims, motives, needs, values and views. Such a focus suggests applying the interdisciplinary approach to any empirical study of group phenomena regardless of the disciplinary self-affiliation of researchers.

Social representations have always attracted attention of social psychologists and sociologists, but we cannot say the same about the so-called group representations, for the researchers prefer to work with the group dynamics phenomenon. We consider this situation quite inadequate because implicit group representations determine the group members’ behavior patterns and can act as serious conflict-generating factors.

The “implicit personality theory” developed by J.S. Bruner and R. Tagiuri [11] seems to be the most appropriate framework for the empirical study of group representations within, for instance, student communities. The authors experimentally studied the subjective representations reconstructing personal perceptions of others. So, an individual is acting as a “naïve scientist” who intuitively structures his group life and social life identifying the others’ roles. This model bases on the methodological assumption that every man is free from any prejudices, is pre-social by nature and possesses just some implicit basic knowledge. This theory can be socio-culturally modified for the purposes of the empirical sociological research. We also suggest applying the analysis of “implicit knowledge” [1] based of the methodology developed by M. Polanyi [10]. His idea of “tacit knowledge” as an unarticulated and non-reflexive part of human experience is consonant to the cultural-historical approach developed by L.S. Vygotsky [2, 3] (here the higher mental functions are mediated by symbols).

To build a bridge from personal conscience to the group representations we propose to use the concept of social representations developed by S. Moscovici and his followers [9, 12]. They identify social representations as a tool of social cognition, a way to translate any new and unknown phenomenon into something familiar within the consistent world picture. If we qualify social representations as a sum of statements, reactions and evaluations [4] we have to admit that they can characterize both a person and a group. This is why the conception of social representations complements cognitive-based approach emphasizing the social context of the formation of personal and group values.

We decided to study group representations concerning situationally defined personality features within the educational process in terms of general

methodology and specific methods of empirical research. We aim at developing a research instrument that would incorporate the advantages of the existing methodological approaches to such analytical work. To achieve this goal we find it necessary first to systematize the interdisciplinary field of scientific study of personality as a creative actor; to identify the basic models to analyze group representations concerning the individual in situationally defined frames; to evaluate content and structural elements of group representations of situationally defined personality traits within a local educational framework; to compare these representations with the students' self-assessments obtained by the self-report technique.

So, the methodological basis of our research was formed by the following groups of conceptions: theoretical works devoted to social representations; the fundamental ideas of the human activity theory; conceptions of dialectic subject-object relationships; phenomenological sociology ideas; a wide range of Russian scientists' works representing the results of relevant empirical studies based on the theory of social representations; the basic sociological and socio-psychological texts focusing on the methodology of empirical research. Within the psychological tradition, we rely on the ideas of cultural-historical and activity approaches developed by L.S. Vygotsky (the genetic origin of students' mutual understanding), S.L. Rubinshtein (the conception of life course as an objectification of society material and spiritual culture) and A.N. Leontiev (the study of personality within the system of external conditions and personal constructs of different types of activity). As an additional methodological base, we appeal to M. Polanyi's idea of "implicit knowledge" – explicitly articulated knowledge which is expressed in words and statements, with tacit knowledge embodied in physical skills, patterns of perception and practical skills that can be "read" through the context. All the conceptual models mentioned allow us to identify a particular individual as the holder of socially important personal qualities acquired in the course of activity in a given social and cultural environment.

Additionally, we referred to the key Self-concepts relevant for studying situationally defined group representations: the Self-concept model as a specific psychological unity developed by W. James; H. Tajfel's social identity conception emphasizing the priority of social relationships in the formation of a positive social identification (in constant opposition of "we" and "they" groups); L.S. Vygotsky's cultural-historical approach considering social experience interiorization as a basic mechanism of personal behavior regulation and optimization.

And, finally, we appealed to M. Scheler's idea of a certain "kinship" of different types of knowledge represented in the "educational" language through "artificial" sign systems and use Scheler's model as a scheme of group representations formation in the course of educational and professional activities. We supplement this scheme with the following phenomenological sociology concepts: inter-subjective world, cognitive style, social reality construction, formalization of social interaction within an educational activity due to the

teachers' institutional roles, and "another" student as an example, facilitator and colleague in the joint action, etc.

The logic of our empirical research was determined by the following hypothesis: in any joint action, when a collectively-centered (business) communication is involved, the latter increases the success of interiorization of social meanings and reduces the likelihood of anxiety and anger feelings due to the actors' incorporation in the responsible relationships peculiar to all labor teams. The success of joint work is largely determined by the adequacy of its actors' mutual representations. The secondary analysis of many socio-psychological studies of representations has shown that their incompleteness or inadequacy (expressed in the form of different biases and prejudices) have a very negative impact on the implementation of joint activities. That was why we decided to conduct an empirical study of the representations and situationally defined mutual assessments of participants in joint educational-professional activities. We chose the educational-professional activity for it is relatively easy to monitor its main variables. Thus, the object of our study is the students' ideas of their fellow students' personal characteristics, especially those which are situationally defined by the educational process.

When developing tools and procedures for the empirical investigation of group representations of the personal traits of the educational process participants, we used the following research methods:

1. A "student evaluation list", initially developed for the analysis of secondary school students representations and adapted for the high school students sample. It is a kind of questionnaire designed for the respondents' peer review of situationally defined behavior of their fellow students. The answers are designed in the form of the Likert scale, so that the respondents can choose the most acceptable answer corresponding to their degree of agreement with the statements describing another student: "+" – characteristics specified in the questionnaire are fully consistent with the estimated student; "-" – characteristics do not correspond to the person in question; "+" and "-" – intermediate positions showing no unambiguous assessment.

2. A number of universal personality questionnaires that allow to evaluate the actor's behavior regardless of the specific situation it appears in (the identification of general personality traits) [11, 13, 14, 15].

3. Several questionnaires that allow the researcher to estimate the students' situationally defined behavior in higher education institutions [5, 6, 15, 16].

These three techniques served as the basis for developing a new questionnaire aimed to identify general personal features and evaluate situationally defined behavior. The survey was conducted in Moscow higher education institutions: 123 respondents were interviewed, 42% were male, 58% – female. As a result we obtained 662 completed "Student evaluation lists" (on average, every respondent assessed five fellow students) and 123 personal profiles which reflected the respondents' general features ("Satisfaction with one's life", "Non-localized fear", "Aggressiveness", "Perseverance", "Focus on achievements", "Sociability",

“Domination”, “Curiosity”) and situationally defined characteristics (“Satisfaction with one’s higher education institution”, “Fear of examinations”, “Aggression against others”, “Ability to work diligently”, “Focus on academic achievements”, “Sociability in the university”, “The tendency to dominate”, “Interest in learning”).

Thus, we can build the structure of group representations for the students’ situationally defined behavior in their conjunction with the situationally specified and general traits identified by introspective methods. We have found that the main factors defining the situationally specified personality “image” in the eyes of one’s fellow students are as follows: diligence in the classroom, sociability in the learning process, detachment and dominance in the classroom. More specifically, detachment reflected in the group representations is negatively associated with such personality characteristics as focus on achievements and tendency to dominate. Diligence in the classroom correlates positively with satisfaction in learning, while detachment is perceived as correlated with fears associated with learning.

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Unification of Political Symbols in the Late Modern Age

In the modern world being constantly in the process of globalization, which witnesses the tradition values to be slipping away, disappearing or being discredited, the political symbol becomes a mark of the social life's certainty. Increasingly, the political symbols take uniform «clothes» in order to «survive» in the modern world with its values continuous while broadcasting on various media channels. Political symbolization seeks to conciliate the global and the local, which is given an impulse with a regularity and commonality of the symbolic. As the symbols contain the levels of generalization and empirical identification, by means of symbolization one can inspire confidence in the abstract ideas. The political symbols containing the socially important information in the encoded form meet certain political needs at the Nation's and world's level: the political symbolism is marked with the balance between tradition and innovation being restored, alongside with the reconciliation of the global and local.

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Modernization of Russian Society in Sociological Dimension

Modern Russian society is in a state of finding the way of its development. In this connection, it should be mentioned that during the perestroika years Russia pursued the course of organic entry into the community of western democratic countries with the prospect of joining the European Union and other organizations. Our country intended to come to the policy of full-scale cooperation with the West on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, fighting against terrorism and drug dealing. Russia was supposed to be a full member of the WTO.

However, one should not forget that the western democratic countries are united by the common values of the European civilization. First of all, these are individual freedom, private property with guaranteed privacy, human rights and others. They have socio-economic and political structure of the same type too. In all likelihood, Russia will be able to join the community only when it accepts these values in practice and conducts its domestic and foreign policy properly.

For justice' sake, it should be noted that our society has some certain grounds to follow the mentioned way. In particular, Russia has the democratic constitution; it is the member of the OSCE and the Council of Europe. Russia has signed and ratified the protocol No.14 to the European. Convention for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. This document gives the possibility to reform the European Court of human rights. Though, it was done with more than a three-year delay which has impacted on the image of our country badly. The State Duma acknowledgement of the Katyn massacre by Stalin's regime and the screening of the film "Katyn" by Polish director Andrzej Wajda on the Russian television are considered to be positive moments. It is also worth mentioning that the Russian society has great intellectual potential. It is appropriate to cite the opinion of Polish public figure Adam Michnik (he was the participant of the meeting of the Valdai Discussion Club), "The things I heard during the discussions on the ship, the things that Aleksashenko, Kirill Rogov, Ryzhkov, Inozemtsev said, were fantastically interesting! It was a fascinating discussion. I knew that there were a lot of brilliantly thinking people in Russia, but did not know there were so many of them!" [1].

The socio-economic status of the Russian society and the broken out financial crisis of 2008 are the considerable factors to predetermine its modernization. The crisis has convincingly shown that Russia is irreversibly included into the world economic relations. However, at the same time we have more dramatic production decline, more dangerous state budget deficit and more than 10% of inflation rate. The level of unemployment is still high (5.5 million) and the monetary reserves are reducing more rapidly than it was predicted lately. Though, the tendency has changed recently due to the oil price growth on the world market. In this connection one can often hear the specialists' statement about the necessity to

change the economic model. Five directions of modernization are announced by the authority as the way of changing the model; they are power efficiency, space, nuclear, medical, and information technologies. Besides, some economists observe that the changing of the development model in Russia is not only the search of the directions of the technological breakthrough, but the rethinking of "power" role in the market relations.

Many experts agree that there is a necessity to pursue such an economic policy which, on the one hand, would fill the economy with money (otherwise there would be no GDP growth) and, on the other hand, would prevent the price rises because of the extra money. Moreover, Arabic revolutions will lead to another round of oil euphoria and Russia will face again the unmanageable burden of easy money. The money should be absorbed by the investment process to prevent the price rise. It is not about us, the foreign investments do not come to Russia. Investors are concerned about the reputation of Russia as a historically unstable state. Thus, during the first six months of 2010 the direct foreign investments went down on 11% (to 5.4 milliard USD) in comparison with the same period of 2009 [2]. Therewith, the image of Russia abroad is on a low level after the recent sentence to Michael Khodorkovsky, the owner of YUKOS, the former assets of which are the basis for "The Rosneft" company.

Most experts believe that the reason of such poor results is a bad investment climate in the country. "There is a very strong distrust of businessmen to the state, E. Yasin notices, I do not mean the "non-fed" representatives of big business, but the majority of medium-sized entrepreneurs: their business is under the constant pressure on officials' and security officials' part, while the property rights are not guaranteed"[3].

The structural problem, which frightens off the investors, is Russian corruption. In the recently published rating of world corruption, prepared by the Transparency International, our country ranks on the 154th place out of 178 being close to Papua New Guinea, Congo and Tajikistan. The New Times magazine, in its turn, published the rating of such the most corrupted spheres of Russian economy as the state-owned companies (the corruption volume a year is 800 milliard – 1.2 trillion rubles); the system of Government Purchases (the corruption volume a year is about 1 trillion rubles); the sphere of the regulated prices (tariffs) (the corruption volume a year is 500-600 milliard rubles) [4].

The other experts notice that the administrative obstacles for business in our country are very high. According to the former prime minister's Kasyanov apt expression we "treat the entrepreneurs like thieves". By the way, since the 1st of January 2011 instead of single social insurance tax the rate of which was 26% the employers will pay to three social funds, including the pension one, all in all 34% of wage fund. According to some analysts this measure will badly influence the small and medium size enterprises, first of all.

The time assigned by the technological evolution to implement the process of modernization in Russia is limited by 2020-2025. If something goes wrong, in Krichevsky's opinion, will find ourselves under the threat of not only loosing the

national competitiveness, but, ultimately, of the territorial integrity of the country [5]. The fact that we do not have the comprehensive program of movement toward modernization, which would include not only the goals, but also the means towards their end, causes anxiety. Perhaps, the most famous innovation project of ours nowadays is Skolkovo centre which is supposed to be the analogue of Silicon Valley in the USA.

It is obvious that the initiators of the Russian society modernization have to face with our realities. Two-thirds of the population lives in small towns and villages. They have no means and accounts even in Sberbank (Russian saving bank). As a rule, people live from payday to payday and they have no opportunities to come out of these difficulties. The CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) statistical committee and the audit chamber of the Russian Federation published recently the data according to which 10% of the most well-to-do people are almost 17 times richer than 10% of the poorest ones. Under this index Russia left behind its neighbors: Kazakhstan (the difference there is 5.3 times), Belorussia (5 times) and the Ukraine (9 times). In the EU countries this difference before the crises was 6-8 times and during the last two years it decreased to 5-6 times. In Russia 30.5% of the total cash income falls to share of 10% of the most well-to-dos, while to share of 10% the poorest ones falls only 1.9% [6].

It seems that we crossed the threshold of social security here. Nevertheless, the low-income groups of the population are the basic electorate of the party in power, which supports the existing political regime. According to the last surveys of Levada Center, 41% of those who go to the polls in 2011 will vote for the Yedinaya Rossiya (The United Russia). Taking into account the fact that only 50% of the population are going to the elections it means that the party in power will get up to 60% of votes or even more [7]. The positive changes in social sphere are taking place in bounded space of big cities where the most educated, active, and independent people live. Here they have much more open system of relations. The indicator of material wellbeing of this part of population is their use of the Internet. According to the Levada Center surveys only 28-30% (approximately 40 million) of the population uses the Internet regularly.

At the same time we should remember that the economic development is possible only in connection with the transformation of the political institutes. Many analysts believe that the current crisis has clearly shown that the Russian political system formed in 2000s is quite conservative as it resists to its own changes. It is a social institute, one of the functions of which is control, blocking or even paralysis of the other subsystems of the society including economics, science, education, communications, civil society, public sphere of life. Many Russian scientists such as A. Auzan, L. Gudkov, M. Delyagin, Y. Ryzhov, L. Shevtsova, O. Yanitsky, E. Yasin and others are appealing to these abnormalities.

Our partners from the European Union are also noticing the necessity to establish the democratic values in the Russian society. The historical initiative – Modernization Partnership, launched in November 2008 in Stockholm summit the EU – Russia and repeated in joint statement on the 1st of June 2010 at Rostock on the

Don, is on the agenda nowadays. The same subject was the talking point during the negotiations between the president D. Medvedev and the EU officials on the 7th of December 2010 in Brussels. Europe is ready to help Russia in modernization, but states not only for the transfer of technology and know-how but also for the far more complex approach.

This idea was discussed on 24th of February 2011 in Brussels during the negotiations between the Russian government representatives, headed by V. Putin, and the Eurocommission, headed by Zh. Barrozu. Zh. Barrozu in his speech at the press conference paid attention to the human rights and the rule of law in Russia. In his opinion, there cannot be any technological modernization in Russia without the democratic freedoms and the participation of all the civil society.

It is known that the sense of democracy is detection, representation, and taking into account the different social groups; democracy is a system of state institutes, which form policy as a compromise. In this connection we should mention free and competitive elections, actual pluralism, true separation of powers both vertically and horizontally, independent and powerful parliament, independent judiciary. Unfortunately, these democratic values are being weakly implanted in our society. According to Levada Center surveys almost 40% of our citizens consider Russia to develop democratically while 47% of them affirm that there is not a hint of democracy [8].

Many specialists say that the return to the customary paternalistic model of relations with the state is accepted by the overwhelming majority of the Russian society. At the same time some shifts in direction of social modernization are still taking place. The accumulated life experience in the conditions of individual freedom and market economy causes the birth of the new group people who can make a decision and take the responsibility. According to Levada Center only 4-6% of the population belongs to this modernized group [9]. These are people with good education, fairly well-off, well-informed, with lateral thinking and rational mind. The most "advanced" part of our society is the young people.

The number of momentous events, which have taken place recently in Russia and the reaction on them from the state, causes the anxiety in the public. In particular, these are the construction of the road Moscow – St. Petersburg through the Khimki Forest; the "Strategy - 31" action on the Triumphal Square in Moscow; the administrative 15 days detention of the former vice-premier B. Nemtsov for his participation in the legal public rally on the Triumphal Square on the 31st of December 2010; the second law suit and the sentence of the Khamovnichesky District Court to the heads of YUKOS M. Khodorkovsky and P. Lebedev on the 30th of December 2010; the tragic death in prison of the Hermitage Capital lawyer Sergej Magnitsky on the 16th of November 2009; the death of the entrepreneur Vera Trifonova in the confinement cell; the unavailability of regional and federal leaders to the fires of summer 2010 in the Central Russia; the massacre in Kuschevskaya stanitsa; the brutal assault of "The Kommersant" correspondent Oleg Kashin; the developments on the Manezhnaya Square in Moscow on 11th of December 2010. All these facts can provoke different feelings but the conclusion will be the same: it

does not correspond to the democratic values and to the modernization of the Russian society.

Certainly, everything that happens can be explained through our history, the circumstances, which brought up the lack of personal dignity, the Mongol overlordship, the serfdom which was abolished 150 years ago by the Soviet totalitarianism and etc. In this connection it is worth referring to the study of the sociologist N. Lapin. The scientist comes to the conclusion that the ratio of contemporary and traditional values cannot be the fatal obstacle to the modernization of the Russian society. He believes that the most significant brake of the modernization is the lack of the network institutes of self-development, innovative ones, first of all [10]. We cannot but agree with the sociologist's point of view. Thus the process of modernization in Russia is the insistent need.

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Contemporaneity and its "Faces" (Notes on a Novel)

Fascinated by the idea of forming a knowledge society, contemporary intellectuals are eagerly waiting for this new state to impact them. If the hypothesis that we are about to enter an era of knowledge is correct, then it is inevitable: that intellectuals will be transformed into experts with exclusive knowledge and special skills that will distinguish them from the masses of only "well-informed citizens". In this sense they will be able to evaluate incoming information, know how to navigate in its vast flow, and to understand its true meaning. In essence, they will be able to transform information into knowledge: from the data and numbers, which are available to anyone who knows how to turn on the computer. Consequently, intellectuals form a socially important, practically and theoretically oriented "knowledge - power."

What the nature of this new knowledge is forms an important question, it is also a matter of principle, but (as is often the case with questions of principle), it is somewhat intractable, as evidenced by the persistent and yet unsuccessful attempts to resolve it. Knowledge is often assessed from the perspective of a particular methodology, however, it loses its significance beyond a certain episteme (Foucault); and is often a set of characters generated by the cultural code, and true to the extent that the code itself is true (Umberto Eco) and etc.

But, most often one finds that the new knowledge is defined negatively, carefully listing what it no longer is: i.e. that it is not absolute, has no fundamental novelty, and is not the result of the work of academic scientists, etc. But the main thing - it has ceased to achieve some kind of universalistic notion of the "Truth", which, as they say, simply doesn't exist. The latter circumstance could have created frustration in their own strength, but the intellectuals still have not abandoned the idea of their exclusive social significance. To substantiate this fact logically would not be easy in the new environment as the verification mechanism is significant only when there is at least the hypothetical possibility of relating to the truth or to what is meant by this in modern science.

However, because the guidelines do not actually exist, then you can say anything you want. For intellectuals, this means absolute freedom - and this also implies absolute unaccountability as well. The age-old dream has come true - you can now play the "Glass Bead Game", and sit in an ivory tower and tell others obscure, but precisely because of this, mystically appealing words. What has been formed is an interesting version of a kind of "intellectual shamanism": it is not I who mumbles unintelligible words, but it is you, the mere mortals, who are not able to understand me, so be jealous, but do not dare cross the threshold of my cell. Your job as minions is to provide for me financially, but I will reflect for the benefit of your spiritual progress, or so the argument goes.

Such an approach is felt even when it isn't blurted out loud (and it certainly never blurts out ordinarily). Society, for their part from time to time may wonder about what the intellectuals still do there, but such questions typically receive a decisive rebuff. The intellectuals do not care about "material matters" or the problem of who and why should contain a decent state of their comfort "cells". The attempt to classify them in accordance with clear criteria of practical significance is found to be annoying and rejected very strongly by the intellectuals themselves, on the grounds that only a very small professional community of scholars, the exalted "inner circle", is able to evaluate such "Ideas". Thought for the sake of thinking, like art for art's sake, becomes a slogan justifying the status of the intellectual elite, that is so well advanced in the way of intellectual perfection, that from the "outside" of the circle must be heard just wondering silence (in the worst case - just silence, at best - a quiet reverence saturated with adoration).

It seems that society accepts such claims and not without sympathy. Even in Russian public opinion surveys there is some certainty in the relative prestige that academic careers occupy in the public consciousness. Although there is no consensus on this point: "41% of respondents believe that to be a scientist in Russia today is prestigious ... Almost the same statistical weight - 42% - has the opposite view, according to which to be a scholar now is not prestigious. This opinion is more often shared by residents of Moscow (60%) and other major cities (57%), people with relatively high incomes (53%), and, most notably, those who possess higher education (54%), and those whose relatives are of academic professions (53%)¹. In opposite vein, the opinion about the prestige of being an academic mostly shared by people with low income, low levels of education as well as amongst rural residents - in fact, the farther away from the intellectual, the better opinion of him. However, the belief that it is good to be a scholar, rare among scholars themselves, who often complain about the lack of understanding of their higher mission and their perceived lack of financial rewards, remains quite stable.

The image of the scholar-intellectual becomes the subject of proper academic research rarely and the existing thoughts on this subject cannot be called uncontroversial. On the one hand, it is obvious that in the knowledge society, their role should be exceptional - in their hands surely lies the keys to progress and innovation - the consciously created fetishes of modern society. We will not dwell on these well-known concepts, treating, if not present, then the near future of mankind as a meritocracy - the power of people with knowledge. According to F. Webster "the world is changing due to the "experts" of all sorts". Andre Gorce, Serge Mallet, Kenneth Galbraith, Daniel Bell, "all of them, describing the role of the educated members of society, pointed out some of their differences. Some isolated their technical skills, others - cognitive ability, and others - formal education. But, in fact, has always stood out one thing: the educated elites play in society a key role."²

¹ Baza dannyh FOM. O nauke i uchenyh. Opros naselenija.
<http://bd.fom.ru/report/cat/cult/sci/sci/d082324>. (Date accessed 1.5.2011).

² Webster F. Teorii informacionnogo obshchestva. M., 2004. P. 154.

The list of researchers involved in various aspects of this problem can continue almost indefinitely. At the same time it is often difficult to understand how a society of knowledge really functions. One thing is clear, for intellectuals themselves the classical structure is still significant - universities and laboratories must exist as well as material support for the intellectual activities and periodically declaring to the world the message of the greatest discoveries made in them by intellectuals, and to disseminate this knowledge to the "unenlightened" world. In particular this world is represented by the students who voluntarily accept this mission (originally hoping to change places with their professors someday, and by the end of the course are almost sure that it will not make much effort to exceed them).

Without going into the debates on the specificity of their status in contemporary society, intellectuals still have the opportunity to see themselves from the outside and get an interesting picture, drawn by very curious writers. In any case, this is exactly the first impression created by the novel of M. Bradbury, *Doctor Criminale* (on closer examination it becomes clear that the novel is written by a university professor and what is captivating in it is not irony, but self-irony).

From the first glance it is clear that *Doctor Criminale* is a prominent figure, as an intellectual is naturally supposed to be, and has managed to accomplish that status in all aspects: he is both an outstanding scholar, a real philosopher, on the one hand, and a well-known, respected member of society, recognized expert on a wide range of issues and what is now referred to as a "media persona", familiar to the general public, who do not read books, but "know" something about everything as they "have heard", on the other. Most significantly, *Doctor Criminale* acts as a carrier of that same scholarship that is so highly regarded - (or, at least, should be valued in accordance with the norms generally accepted by scholars themselves) - in a knowledge society. If we were to analyze this as a philosophical text and not a novel, it would be necessary to discuss the concept of *Criminale*, but the novel retains the position of being written for wider audience, or "public". It is interesting that the author doesn't actually open the philosophical ideas of the famous professor, leaving only vague hints and selected aphorisms as to what these might be from his hero, dropped in a few semi-scientific dialogues and obscure speeches given at conferences.

Such is the extent of the author's neglect of proper philosophical ideas, that it cannot be accidental; rather it accurately conveys the nature of the functioning of knowledge in modern society. That is, where the quotations and references disguise the lack of serious intellectual content, where what is valued is the ability to "speak nicely", while the thoughts are in reality shorter than sentences. This conclusion can be made based on the actual text of the novel, which refers several times to a list of popular themes, through which you can easily pass for a thinker (and, an extraordinary thinker at that!) who is able to provide expert advice on the most complex issues. "Zhurnalets" (in the interpretation of M. Bradbury - a kind of alter ego of an intellectual and, at the same time, his counterpart of the "post humanist" era "of chaos and videos, rock music, and Sony Walkmen"), the narrator

in the novel, "thanks to the last trips... learned useful words (such as Foucault and Derrida, Horkheimer and Habermas), which can open the way to the harsh academic hearts.¹" As a result, he wins the right to become a conduit for ideas, which are produced for the world and stored for future generations by the academic community, as he writes: "Great minds have come here for a month, or even for two. Here they created avant-garde novels, alternative poems written in a geometric verse, atonal symphony, tracts on the imminent collapse of capitalism, the end of humanism, the death of Literature and the loss of self-identity."²

The journalist-narrator in the novel is no less an important figure than the professor himself. Knowledge is distributed through the media; this channel is universal, and in an era when books are read less and less, it becomes the major one. Intellectuals, who have spent a lifetime in libraries and archives, are offended to accept the fact that the current generation demonstrates an "inherent spontaneity of reactions, we think, chew and desire hastily."³ This means that today, "the great Wikipedia" is able to provide anyone with answers to the greatest mysteries and most priceless ideas in a compressed and easy to read from the monitor screen format. This knowledge is ready-to-use, instantaneous and easily digestible, and for that reason gets so widespread in modern society. The present knowledge society is built on the foundation of that kind of knowledge - which offended intellectuals criticize for being shallow, for its reductionism, standardization, and primitivism. It does not have the required depth, they say, and is unable to stimulate the mind to a comprehensive and forward-looking analysis; it coarsens the great ideas or "dumbs" them down. It is exactly, as shown by postmodernists, "footprints" on the surface and also completely devoid of the moral principles involved. At the same time, the problem is not in the nature of knowledge itself but in its practical relevance and applicability. Simply put, the intellectuals are unwilling to admit modern society no longer needs the knowledge which they know and have so carefully preserved.

Has knowledge itself been transformed by the way of its own distribution, or is this situation the result of the natural processes of social development? This question is yet unresolved. At the same time the opinion about the "guilt" of the media, which certainly have become the main channel for the distribution of knowledge, surpassing the reading culture, has become almost commonplace. There are also those who go even further and declare that it is the post-modernism needs to be blamed, as it described chaos with beautiful, intelligent, but extremely immoral words, creating a philosophical justification of immorality, which has been rapaciously taken advantage of by the media.

If media is really capable to change the nature of knowledge in the course of its transmission, then we must agree here with M. McLuhan, in fact, be that as it may, but the form can influence the content. However, in this case, such transformation is mainly caused primarily by pragmatic considerations. This "High

¹ Bradbury M. Professor Kriminale. M., 2000. P. 458. (Russian edition).

² *Ibid*, p. 217

³ *Ibid*, p. 15.

knowledge" is not in any demand and not only by the wider audience, which prefers "pulp fiction" and soap operas and has not been able to understand the value of intellectual reflection and innovation. Arguably, it is not essential to the society as such. What is now needed by society can fit into the format of a text message or a Wikipedia entry. Theorists who predicted the lack of demand for manual labor, the main advantage of which was a physical force, of course, were not mistaken. However, it does not mean the need to increase the role of the intellectuals as they wish to see themselves - as the holders of exclusive abilities that exceed primitive force through the power of the mind and spirit. Society needs the notorious "middle managers" who are not as sophisticated in intellectual delights in the first place. In order to characterize them as a special category, a grid has been invented and has become a requirement standard for all resumes and recruitment agencies, the central concept of which is the notion of "communication skills", combined with the equally vague, in terms of skills, notion of "work on the computer." And they specifically now form a space of communication on the basis of that "communicability", equipped with sophisticated technical equipment, which can be mastered even by a child who is not yet able to read.

In this regard, it is curious to see the contradictory situation of the functioning of the system of education now in Russia especially, which contributes to the reproduction of the "office's plankton" and is forced to admit so. Obviously, this system was created based on certain ideas about knowledge and societal needs within it, or, at least, it has evolved in this direction and consequently demands respect.

Professors of Philosophy can teach, for example, that educating students precisely is their mission and the higher purpose of their activities. The intellectual and the university community is not too worried by other details, for instance, to consider answering the question of what happens with the great number of students after they graduate, with the somehow amusing degree of Master of Philosophy, particularly regarding employment outcomes. But with a special pride this community repeats that it simply has to provide "a broad university education." (But was there an intention to teach "deep" rather than "wide"?). This may explain Russia's widespread mistrust of Western educational standards: who are these "bachelors"? They are, they think, like the Russian dropouts, students who are not getting to get "real" diploma of a highly skilled specialist. There is an opinion that if we produce such degrees then the education will be degraded, or, more realistically, we will be forced to acknowledge that there is not too high demand for "higher" in every sense of the word, in education, and therefore in real knowledge, the association of which is qualified as a special privilege.

This twist may seem surprising, but the Russian distrust of postmodernism, it seems, is based on the same foundation. Not only that post-modernism is an absolutely western phenomenon, it also brings the theoretical basis under the dubious idea of the degradation of knowledge. To explain why postmodernism is not so transparent in a theoretical sense, is a complex issue that requires a separate study in itself. However, a "practical" aspect of postmodernism is directly related to

the issues we have discussed here, specifically, the functioning of knowledge and the role of intellectuals.

Let us return to the descriptions found above in M. Bradbury's novel, in which the author so frankly describes the life of an intellectual in the postmodern era – of course, not in the Russian reality, but nonetheless very familiar to Russian readers. It can be said that the life of *Doctor Criminale* represents if not the reality, but the dream of any intellectual. He allows himself to do what he wants or say when and what he wants; he writes the books if he has an "inspiration", which acts not so much as the "way to" put himself in the working state as is a kind of mystical insight, which he needs to wait for without worrying about the requirements of discipline, dictated by the various commitments.

In this sense *Doctor Criminale* is a recognized expert on a wide range of issues, whose opinions are interesting and valued (in both a figurative sense, and in quite a direct financial one!) by everyone. People are waiting for his statements, his name is known everywhere, they forgive him for being late for a conference where he is the "keynote speaker", as well, he is forgiven for the dubious speech, which he reads with the intonation of a holder who possesses the keys to the most profound and absolute truth. He is allowed to speak on behalf of all humanity and it seems that this right he has earned is also due to the fact that he understands how dubious his prescribed and well-deserved role really is. Regarding the content of his own "great" ideas *Doctor Criminale* does not recall them immediately, though he is able to clarify and add to them, he notes that: "I said probably about the end of homo historicus, the individual who believes in the meaning or purpose of history ... In China, some old people still believe that the history is created with rifle barrels ... But they are going soon to meet their maker. And as for the rest of us... the past bothers us, and the future, that mysterious chaos...we are doomed to live forever in the present. We know nothing, and remember nothing. And that's why we cannot distinguish right from wrong, reality from illusion. Who can lead us to a different path? Would you like a cigar?"¹

Thus, the great professor appears to be the "normal" post-modernist who doesn't believe in transcendent great ideas, and therefore finds himself in a very contradictory situation when he is invited to be the conduit and mouthpiece of those same great ideas. Among the latter it is particularly sad to observe the "death", long-proclaimed by postmodernists, of various entities: the subject and humanism, god and morality, truth and being, etc...etc. The disappearance of the author and the end of the aesthetic in this background (when the sense of history and human life is lost) - is mere "stuff", with little significance compared with the end of the social relationships.

In addition, an intellectual on the level of *Professor Criminale* (those that are smaller, are unlikely to fall behind, but we don't talk about them), is clearly not alien to anything human. The passage about a cigar in the above quote was not omitted, and this is deliberate because the professor seems to have found, if not the

¹ *Ibid*, p. 325.

eternal value, then something that is uniquely related to the Goodness / goodness. (How we should write this now - with a capital or not letters - is unknown. On the one hand, only in very godless times one can refer to good cigars in the highest matter, on the other - in the hierarchy of ideas, if their order is still preserved somewhere, and such a hierarchy exists, then "the idea of a cigar" is unlikely to be at the lowest level).

So, what, for Bradbury, is really occupying the intellectual on the postmodernist graveyard? Of course, he is talking about something, since he is being asked to speak. He also travels to conferences and congresses, embarking on an adventure of a dubious (to put it simultaneously in postmodernist-vague and classically-correct terms) financial and erotic nature – he devotes time to his hobby - erotic photography, that in times paying more attention to morality would have been considered at least slightly immoral – and now just slightly exotic. Amongst the variety of his actions, only visiting conferences and congresses can be construed as proper intellectual activity, and only if you do not know how such conferences are performed today.

The author of the impressive in scope and content "Sociology of Philosophies" R. Collins, describing the emergence of intellectual networks, insists on the need of direct dialogue face-to-face, direct communication, that type of dispute, during which the truth is born. Hence, the modern analogues of Plato's Academy, which are the source of inspiration for Collins, are those conferences, symposiums, and congresses. In this regard, "Conferences must be respected" – is echoed by M. Bradbury to Collins, naming like this as one of the chapters of his book. Let us say at once that the greatest impression on the reader of this chapter was not from the depth of the philosophical ideas expressed in the speeches of participants, but by the description of the amazing dinner, which was more sophisticated than their performances (this can be explained by the fact that technical rationality wins again over the living work of intelligence, as members gather to listen to the pre-written and printed in the proper quantity reports).

In this case, the more exciting and daunting goal of the congress, the greater the chance that he will be held, and who if not *Doctor Criminale* knows about it firsthand: "I hope, dear friends, that one week on Barolo will be enough to ... make literature friendly with the power, to combine the idea with the chaos, but at the same time it is a good idea to also patch up the disintegrating fabric of Europe, to calm inflamed nationalism, to avoid collision with the Islamic world and do not forget to solve the problem of the "third world". If you succeed everywhere, you can assume that the time has been spent well.¹"

It may seem strange that in describing the vicissitudes of intellectual activity of the distinguished professor, we do not pay enough attention to his publications. Although *Criminale* lives in the virtual-visual era and is forced to participate in a global show and play, which is basically what has happened to cultural life more generally, he remains somehow a man of the written culture, he reads rather than

¹ *Ibid*, p. 207.

watches TV. But the spirit of the time penetrates this "inner sanctum" of classical culture, in the creative laboratory of the philosopher which produces ideas. Secrets, which had a mystical significance as long as they were considered an undisclosed Great Mystery of philosophical reflection, show up before the startled eyes of the curious journalists in the unfavorable light. Public cannot always get the details or some kind of gossip about Professor's private life but in the end it turns out that his great ideas could have been produced either by one of his wives, or by graduate students who are ready to "cooperate", and the details of which are illustrated by the following long and impressively candid conversation quoted, which embodies the answer to the simple question "What are your post-graduate duties?":

A: "Well, I give students the exams ... and grade their semester work. When the professor is away, I conduct a seminar. "

Q: "And how often do you conduct a seminar?"

A: "Often, as he is often away. A professor of his level has to travel a lot, this is his fate. Meanwhile, I read the lectures instead of him, write the books"

Q: "Write a book?....Instead of him?"

A: "The Professor.....is a busy man, he advises ministers, attends conferences, sits on the Executive Commissions. If he will write the books himself he would not have enough time"

Q: "So you're saying that you compose a book...and it gets signed by the professor?"

A: "He signs, if he has no serious problems with the text. If there are, I must rewrite the book again. And when the book is published, sometimes I review it in some newspaper".

Q: "Well, what an awful situation. You are straining, and he cuts the coupons? "

A: " Not so easy. One day, I will get my degree and also become a distinguished professor, get a bunch of graduate students, and they will write books instead of me."

Q:"That's when you get paid back?"

A:"Sure."¹

It is noteworthy here that everyone within the academic community knows about it, and only a journalist who doesn't know much about the mysteries of the profession inside the academia can be shocked by this status quo.

This reveals a very remarkable way of functioning, as it was termed by the previously mentioned work by R. Collins, which discusses the notion of "intellectual networks". The surprising transformation of the student into the author is hardly worth taking notice of considering the absence of the greatest ideas

¹ *Ibid*, pp. 104-105.

on the production of which the intellectual networks should be directed its effort. "Why did he say it?" "That we wondered whether we really need the great ideas?" These questions are posed by the journalist who, according to the tradition of the previous epoch, still believes that the "Great Idea" must be "extracted" from the incomprehensible speech of the Professor with the help of thoughtful interpretation. But the truth is said here by a Hungarian, who has concluded that the only one Great Idea of the consumer society is "shopping": "He has been always attacking but not what we need." "You're talking about Lukacs?" "Oh, who is now interested in this Lukacs? But why did he attack the shopping! What is it in shopping that he is not pleased with?"¹

To explain this disappointing fact of such a primitive transformation of ideas from the "great into the funny" can only be done through postmodern approach. Ideas are no longer needed, but there is a need to hide this fact from the general public so as the public do not think that those intellectuals who they hoped would be able to provide the meaning (no matter of what – the meaning of life, history, people, art ...), only *pretend* that they work very hard in this direction. We can make a seditious assumption here that the postmodernists are not liked because they leaked out this hidden information, and openly called this fraudulent activity a simulation and a game, and even wrote a large number of works resistant to almost any interpretation and translation into plain language. Arguably, such tractates justify their profound lack of meaning in everything, including the tractates themselves and their associated translations. According to the author, the list of what cannot be simulated is disappointingly brief: a cigar, a good dinner and erotic photography. All of the above, incidentally, can be regarded as different aspects of shopping – that is why shopping is a "Great Idea", in contrast to the idea of salvation, for instance the salvation of Europe. In addition, the number of conferences on the theme of salvation has no effect on Europe itself, but every time that same academic meeting demonstrates the delights of shopping – the great quality of copiers and a good meal. And an intellectual contributes to just the simulation of order in the chaos of reality, and do not pretend to make a fairytale come true, another reason for which is because he is not sure whether the happy ending is planned in this fairy tale.

The views expressed here may seem irrelevant to reality, in any case, to Russian reality as a Russian intellectual still habitually wanders in search of a "special way", based on a shaky idea of the "mysterious Russian soul". Since the process of this search has been pretty longstanding, there are the reasons to believe that the achieved result is not included in the plans of those who are looking for this. At the same time what often gets ignored is that the Russian reality also has a virtual counterpart – the Internet – and the new generation has for a long time believed more profoundly in this reality than in the reality of a book which was created by the intellectuals. Therefore, one might refer to this as a virtual reality, firstly, as it is initially and principally a simulation, and secondly, as this reality

¹ *Ibid*, p. 208.

creates simulations of simulacra, which builds extra floors to the phantasmagoric image of Baudrillard's building.

The Russian Internet in this sense is a storehouse of examples, the strange nature of which is so obvious that it could serve to those who seek out the specifics of the Russian soul. In this virtual reality lives *Doctor Criminale*, illustrating the fate of the intellectual and his creations, the ideas! The Ideas cannot be found while searching on the Internet, which in itself is interesting. A novel, which by the process of being written has now become free from the author's control, has firstly become the subject of academic research as a simulacrum (two master's theses, which can be purchased at a reasonable price¹); and secondly, it has become a fashionable item which you need to know in order to pass for an intellectual in the "glamorous" dimension of this world (the latter area is not invented by intellectuals, and therefore is not known in academia, but exists fine just as it is).

How someone can use the novel in this sense is described in a remarkable "Dictionary of a Knowledgeable Person", published by the male web journal "Time of Men."² In the article "Literature" placed next to the "Whiskey" portion of the webpage a modern, "knowledgeable" and fashionable man recommends readers know conversational phrases like "Yes, the old man Bradbury hit postmodernists where it hurt!", without the assumption that readers should actually read the novel themselves. Therefore, after reading the novel this sentence should be pronounced differently: Postmodernists have struck back again, and this time with the words of old Bradbury!"

¹ We will not discuss here the quality of these dissertations. As well, their full titles are not being mentioned here because of academic ethics considerations. What is interesting is that the virtual price for an intellectual work is in this case 500 roubles. This price was listed in the catalogue on <http://www.500rublei.ru/> and it was the same as for other types of work as well. (Date accessed 25.4.2011).

² <http://www.mentime.ru/?id=168> (Date accessed 25.4.2011).

Brun, Olga E.

The Theory of the Social Network: the Possibilities to Analyze Modern Turbulences

The classical sociological theory studies the human interactions in the context of a specific and rather homogeneous socium (family, social group, class), stating the fact that this socium remains relatively stable. However, in the modern society, subjected to increasingly complex social, cultural dynamics and turbulences, such a "pure" socium exists only on paper. Social realities structurally and functionally are becoming increasingly complex and dynamic. Actors of social interactions, as a rule, are also diverse: they may be as separate individuals as well as formal organizations. Such interactions usually take the form of a social network. The actions of people in a social network are qualitatively different from those of their communications in a homogeneous social group: occur simultaneously at both the micro and the macro levels, they are not clearly defined, and suggest the use of alternatives, so their effects are ambiguous. The actors have to rely on their reflexivity taking into account the results of their choices.

The first sociological approaches to the study of social networks were developed by an American sociologist Richard M. Emerson. While creating his theory of the social network the scientist came from the fact that the network relationships established specific power relations that differed from those that existed in a society as a whole. First of all, the network operates according to its own rules and if the individual is dependent on other actors, the process of social interactions leads to the assertion of power over him. Secondly, the uncertainty – at times the results of interactions are postponed for a long time – creates a specific motivation, which implies the need to address the risks that the work, services, carried out by one actor may, going through a significant number of cells in the network, no bring him a retaliatory fee at all. In a large network it is sometimes difficult to estimate who produced the dysfunction. Taken together, these specific relationships lead to the fact that there appear the dynamic inequality of actors in social networks, that further leads to conflicts¹.

It may seem that the modern society which is widely based on network interactions, goes to the chaos and turbulences that undermine the foundations of its existence – social stability and predictability of the social life. But Emerson argued, holding the relevant empirical studies and using for them a complex mathematical apparatus, that chaos can be controlled. One should take into account the synergies, the complex causal processes in the networks, and, of course, the component of the trust that is an inherent essence of functioning of a social network. The scientist in particular stated the following: the features of the power-dependent relationships in the network determine the dynamics of the actors' behavior; the more one actor depends on the other in terms of getting fees, the

¹ Emerson, R.M. Power-Dependence Relation. – American Sociological Review, 1962, № 27.

greater the likelihood that the powerful actor will use the resources to pressure other actors. At the same time, if the discriminated actors are weakened due to their competition in a particular social network, they will seek to change the existing inequalities and gain some independence. There are two main ways to it - specialization and forming a coalition. If the actors choose a specialization, they will seek to develop a more efficient division of labor, and already the results of their work will determine the behaviour of other actors. And if they choose the creation of a coalition, this will ultimately lead to the emergence of a powerful collective actor. It was also empirically determined that roughly equal actors, but having a greater number of alternatives to achieve their goals, will be less dependent on their partners and thus will have a greater power for the access to the resources. In response, the temporarily dependent actors may make the already mentioned strategy of specialization and the formation of coalitions, which in practice leads to the creation of alliances, joint ventures, the use of different types of integration.

Emerson also made a study of the dynamics of risk and trust in social networks. The following was established: if the interactions in the form of works and services are not supported by agreements, joint writings about the decisions, which implies a negotiation exchange, it inevitably increases the risk of the default. If the measures lead to the greater dependence of some actors (trade imbalances, political discrimination), that respectively increases the risks of the attempts to use illegitimate means. And if, on the contrary, the confidence grows among the actors, it reduces the risk of the non-partnership commitments.

The well-known contemporary American sociologist George Ritzer notes that Emerson's research gave a start to a new perspective towards the study of the dynamic features of modern societies. In essence, the current network theory is a group of concepts based on a number of common methodological postulates that consider social interactions at both the macro and micro levels¹. This theory relies on the fact that actors of networks have different access to the important resources (finance, natural products, power, information, etc.) and therefore some of them have power over others that may provoke social turbulences. Moreover, according to the principles of the modern network theory, the communications among the actors should be analyzed on the basis of the structure of larger networks. Indeed, Emerson's approach to the study of social networks have been successfully applied in studying such areas as marketing, marriage and family relations, the functioning of organizations through change, etc.

The American sociologist James S. Coleman qualitatively developed the theory of social networks proposing a new paradigm of rational choice. The essential feature of the methodology of his theory presupposes the existence of the potential conflict between the rationality of individual actors and the rationality of

¹ Ritzer G. *Explorations in Social Theory. From Metatheorizing to Rationalization*. - London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 2001; Ritzer G. *Modern sociological theory*. - McGraw Higher Education. 2000.

collective actors. This conflict particularly manifests itself in the ever-reproducing social dilemmas that can be resolved taking into account three factors: competition, trust and coordination. All the actors are guided by the following: evaluate the quantitative and qualitative composition of the network, the availability of certain alternatives for each actor, the risks and the likely consequences of their alternative choices¹. Accordingly, there may be possible gains and losses, lost profits, different consequences. In this case, according to the theory of Coleman, it is particularly important that an individual rational action may lead to collective irrational consequences. The methodology of Coleman's paradigm focuses on the account the unintended consequences of network interactions.

The well-known Russian sociologist, V.V. Radaev argues that it is possible to stake out a market niche not only by reducing costs, improving quality and introducing a new product or service, but also by identifying the product and the company. It is widely promoted through brands that express symbolic images of certain styles of consumption². Really, in modern societies, products and services are generally advertised through the images associated with trust, security and reliability. Brands help people to overcome the influence of social turbulence.

According to Nobel Laureate I. Prigogine, social turbulence may occur in terms of «increasing dynamic complexity, which entails the "accident"»³. The component of randomness is present in all social networks, but it is possible to adapt to its consequences.

At the same time, the network interactions increasingly go beyond the specific countries and cultures. They are becoming more dynamic and turbulent and above all – they are manifested out of certain spatial and temporal boundaries. In this context, the socium acquires a qualitatively different reflexivity. Thanks to the growing this complex reflexivity people's knowledge acquire the character of the dynamic factor that contributes to constant transformation as social institutions as well as the behaviour and life-styles of individuals. There appear the reality of reflexive and plastic type capable of self-organization and autopoiesis (N. Luhmann).

Of course, these new realities affect the nature of the affirming postmodern sociological theorizing and the sociology of postmodernism. We consider the sociological postmodernism as a very important theoretical and methodological foundation. The well-known British sociologist A. Giddens calls the following features of postmodernity that

- “understands current transitions in epistemological terms or as dissolving epistemology altogether;

¹ Coleman, J.S. *Foundations of Social Theory*. – Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1990.

² Radaev, V.V. *The Sociology of Markets: to the Formation of a New Perspective*. – M., 2003. – P. 59 (Russian edition).

³ Prigogine, I., Stengers, I. *The Order out of the Chaos*. – M., 2001. – P. 256 (Russian edition).

- Focuses upon the centrifugal tendencies of current social transformations and their dislocating character;
- sees the self as dissolved or dismembered by the fragmenting of experience;
- argues for the contextuality of truth claims or sees them as “historical”;
- theorizes powerlessness which individuals feel in the face of globalizing tendencies;
- sees the “emptying” of day-to-day life as a result of the invasion of abstract systems;
- regards coordinated political engagement as precluded by the primacy of contextuality and dispersal;
- defines postmodernity as the end of epistemology, the individual, ethics”¹.

The Spanish sociologist Manuel Castells analyzes the challenges of accelerating complexity of socium and its turbulences. According to the scientist, the principal innovation of nowadays is the approval of “a different form of communication: *mass self-communication*... The development of horizontal networks of interactive communication that connect local and global in chosen time”². “New technologies, - he writes, - are also fostering the development of social spaces of virtual reality that combine sociability and experimentation with role-playing games”³. This is a new communication realm, a new medium that does not exist by itself, but represents an informational network, dramatically affecting politics, business, everyday life.

Its influence is ambivalent. On the one hand mass self-communication may produce new turbulences (events in Africa that are taking place nowadays). But on the other hand - new information technologies may help to overcome the consequences of turbulences on the basis that one network supports the other and vice versa. People should learn to live in a new social reality - “the network society” that produces as wealth as new problems, new social inequalities. Castells emphasizes the ambivalent and complex character of the network society: “networks do not stop at the border of the nation-state, the network society constituted itself as a global system, ushering in the new form of globalization characteristic of our time. However, while everything and everybody on the planet felt the effects of this new social structure, global networks included some people

¹ Giddens, A. The Consequences of Modernity. – Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990. – P. 150.

² Castells, Manuel. The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture. Volume I: The Rise of the Network Society. Second edition. – Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. – P. XXVII.

³ Castells, Manuel. The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture. Volume I: The Rise of the Network Society. Second edition. – Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. – P. XXIX.

and territories while excluding others, so inducing a geography of social, economic, and technological inequality"¹.

Castells specially analysis "information turbulences". He argues that "financial markets only partially function according to the logic of supply and demand, and are largely shaped by "information turbulences""². The scholar opposes the primitive technological determinism. He makes a non-trivial assumption that the revolution in information technology claims a liberating spirit. The network society creates the conditions for the emergence of new relations between the social processes of production and processing of symbols and the ability to produce and distribute goods and services. The success of the process of the modernization that has begun in Russia depends on the newer approaches to the network society and its theoretical analysis. I believe that new theoretical approaches can help us to overcome not only the negative consequences of information turbulences, but many other kinds of turbulences.

¹ *Castells, Manuel*. The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture. Volume I: The Rise of the Network Society. Second edition. – Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. – P. XXVIII.

² *Castells, Manuel*. The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture. Volume I: The Rise of the Network Society. Second edition. – Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. – P. XX.

Franchuk, Victor I.

World Outlook Crisis as the Main Cause of Turbulent Times

In opinion of leading Russian sociologists (G. Osipov, V. Zhukov, etc.), a principal cause of turbulent time is not economic or financial, and the world outlook crisis having moral, intellectual character, generating degradation of culture, deficiency of spirituality, devaluation of family values, destruction of an educational system and a science.

The world is broken off on parts where each part wants to become the independent democratic state. In the global development the mankind has gone to impasse. People are not ready to live in a global society. The mankind stands on the verge of self-destruction. To correct a situation, it is necessary to correct the person, to create the person with new «human qualities» (A. Pechchei) and new outlook. Theoretically, for the decision of this problem there are biological (genetic) and social alternatives. However more humane one is the social alternative. For its realization new institutes of education and formation, new theories of the social relations, the new models of social development changing a paradigm of development of a world civilization are required, as theoretical doctrines (communistic, liberal, social democratic, etc.) have not justified themselves as have more ideological, than scientific character.

In the multipolar world in which we live, it is necessary to base on the concepts connecting, instead of separating, the social world. The analysis of set of known doctrines of social development (K. Marx, N. Luman, T. Parsons, A. Etzioni, etc.) prompts, that the most adequate one is the paradigm based on renovated ideas of positivism of A. Comte and base values of P. Sorokin. So, according to A. Comte and P. Sorokin social relations in the world can be more integrated and tolerant at observance of two conditions. First, at presence of universal system of base values and norms (P. Sorokin), and, second, at presence of the planetary social mechanism (A. Comte) reproducing base values and solving social problems, arising before mankind. Otherwise turbulent time will last for uncertainty period.

Each person and social institute should know precisely the place in the social mechanism of a social organism and meaningly carry out strictly certain functions. In this case everyone will be occupied with socially useful business and social conflicts (interethnic, international, interreligios etc.) and social relations in a society will be more stable. A significant role in it should play “the brain center of the planet”, created instead of existing United Nations, the national states and their institutes of education, formation, a science, mass-media and religious concessions.

Gorshkov, Mikhail K.

Post-Reform Russia as a New Social Reality: Sociological Analysis of Social Structure

Crucially, qualitative characteristics and quantitative indicators used to describe the profundity of the changes to social layering allow us to conclude that: *over the reform years a new social reality has come into being in Russian society.*

Research results¹ show that, in Russian society post-reform, 10 social strata have replaced the Soviet Union's working class, collective farm workers and national intelligentsia. They have their own long-standing and unique interests and the standard and quality of life of each is radically different.

An obvious nuance of Russian society is, for example, the fact that, in current conditions, the level of education or professional position occupied does not always determine income level or social status. This forces Russian researchers to adopt different approaches to social stratification, one of which uses standard of living criteria and was developed by the RAS Institute of Sociology. Using this approach, society can be divided into different strata on the basis of criteria relating to consumer opportunities or the so-called *standard of living index*. This takes into account the wide range not only of financial but also other economic resources available to the public (in terms of personal property, where they live etc.), and also the degree to which its members can afford to satisfy their demands in non-product-linked areas (recreation, entertainment, healthcare, personal development, communications etc.).

The basic theory behind the construction of the index was the suggestion that the Russian population is divided not just in terms of what families have but also what they do not have. Thus, an examination of the real standard of living includes not only an assessment of the prosperity level, but also an assessment of the level of deprivation - hardships suffered and constrictions vis-à-vis common consumer benefits. The index is calculated using the following group of indicators: (1) subjective assessments of the existence of the more significant forms of deprivation; (2) material prosperity; (3) real estate owned; (4) quality of life; (5) existence of

¹ Here and elsewhere we shall refer to the results of the following research projects: "Novaya Rossiya: desyat let reform" (*New Russia: Ten Years of Reform*) (Institute of Complex Social Research, 2001); "Evropa i Germaniya glazami rossiyan" (*Europe and Germany through Russian eyes*) (Institute of Complex Social Research, 2002); "Bogatye i bednye v sovremennoi Rossii" (*The Rich and the Poor in Modern Russia*) (Institute of Complex Social Research RAS, 2003); "Sotsialnoe neravenstvo v sotsiologicheskoi izmerenii" (*Social Inequality in the Sociological Dimension*) (RAS Institute of Sociology, 2006); "Gorodskoi srednii klass v sovremennoi Rossii" (*The Municipal Middle Class in Modern Russia*) (RAS Institute of Sociology, 2006); "Rossiiskaya identichnost v sotsiologicheskoi izmerenii" (*Russian Identity in the Sociological Dimension*) (RAS Institute of Sociology 2007); "Maloobespechennye v Rossii: Kto oni? Kak zhivut? K chemu stremyatsya?" (*Those on low-incomes in Russia: Who are they? How do they live? What do they strive for?*) (RAS Institute of Sociology, 2008); "Chego opasayutsya rossiiane" (*What makes Russians apprehensive?*) (RAS Institute of Sociology, 2009); "Rossiiskaya povsednevnost v usloviyakh krizisa: (Russian Everyday Life in Conditions of Crisis: the Sociologists' View) (RAS Institute of Sociology, 2009).

savings; (6) use of paid amenities; (7) leisure opportunities entailing additional expenditure¹.

Within the scope of the identified social stratification models – on the basis of the approach described above – the first *two* bottom *strata* can be identified to which 16% of Russians belonged at the beginning of 2009 (before the economic crisis hit). This is the section of the population which falls *below the poverty level*.

The third and fourth strata are composed of the low-income population, in which two subgroups can be identified. *The third stratum* is the first subgroup of those with limited, short-term income and covers Russians on the verge of poverty (16%).

The country's fourth stratum is the second subgroup of those with low incomes. The latter covers that section of the Russian population living at what might be described as the “classic” low-income level, i.e. for Russia the most typical level, and covers over a quarter of the country's population (27%). This section of the population can therefore be described as *having low personal income*.

The fifth to eighth strata, which include at least a third of the country's population, represent *the middle layers of Russian society*. Although there are significant differences between them they can be regarded as relatively well-off in the general context of Russia. The same applies to those within the *ninth and tenth strata*, relating, at least in terms of popular opinion, to the category of the *rich*, but belonging, by the standards of leading western countries to the upper middle class (6-8%). Those within the fifth to tenth strata together represent the well-off among the country's population.

So, what is the outcome?

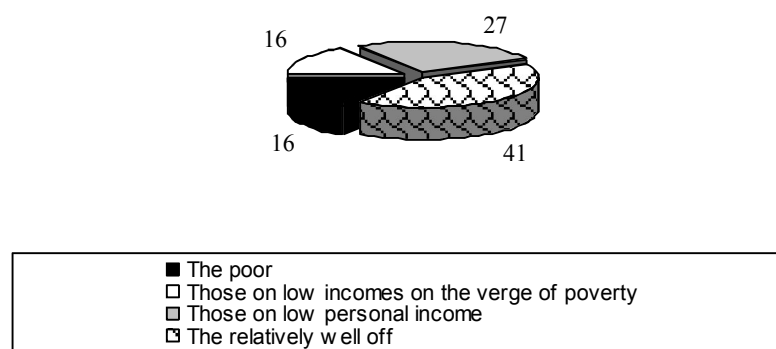


Figure 1. Numbers of people within the different layers of Russian society (2009, %)

It turns out that at the beginning of 2009 59% of the Russian population could be described using three standard-of-living measurements: "below the poverty level", "on the edge of poverty" and having "low-income", while 41% of the population were classed as relatively well-off (see Fig. 1).

¹ For details, see: "Rossiiskaya povsednevnost v usloviyakh krizisa" (*Russian Daily Life in Conditions of Crisis*) ed. M.K. Gorshkov, R. Krumm, N.E. Tikhonova. – Moscow: Alfa-M, 2009. – p. 272.

The results obtained by sociologists are also confirmed by official data. Thus, according to the Federal State Statistics Service, in the first quarter of 2009 17.4% of Russians had incomes below the minimum subsistence level of RUR 5083 per person. (USD 148.60¹) per month². It is clear that the numbers given are perfectly consistent with 16% of the population belonging to the two lowest strata of Russian society, below the poverty level. Moreover, the minimum wage at the time was fixed at RUR 4330 (USD 126.60), or 78% of the minimum subsistence level for the working-age population. Despite the clear upward trend in the average monthly wage level (as of September 2009 it came to RUR 18,702 (USD 606.20³) and exceeded the relevant September 2008 level by 4.9%), actual disposable income (income after deduction of mandatory payments, adjusted by the consumer price index) fell between January and September 2009 compared with the same period in 2008 by 1.1%.

In the context of social problems, of greatest concern are the problems of the poorest groups among the population. Moreover, a particular worry is not so much the number of the poor but rather the reasons for their descent into poverty. This is an indicator both of the inadequacy of state social policy and of the unhealthy employment situation.

From the sociological perspective, what are these problems?

First of all, they are the nuances of Russian poverty to do with where people live and with their age (see Fig. 2), where each location category has its own "set of risks".

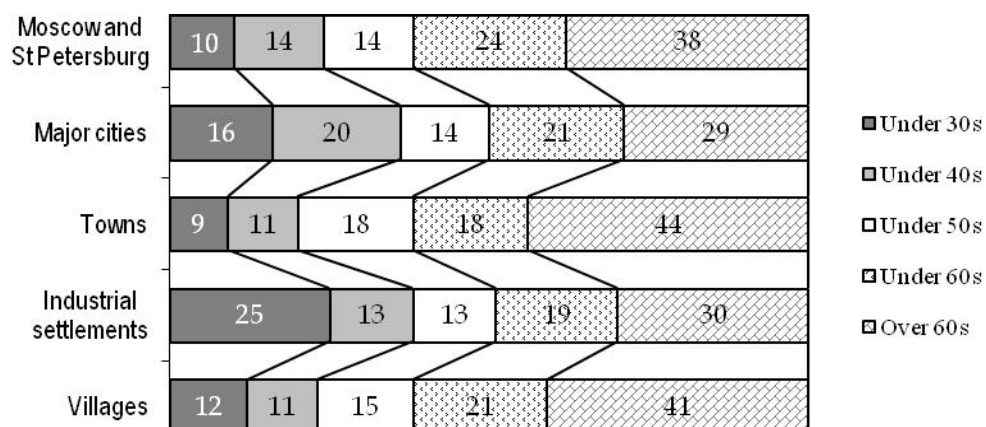


Figure 2. Distribution of poor among age groups in different location categories (2006, %)

¹ 1 US dollar = RUR 34.20

² Here and elsewhere, when dealing with official statistics we use data provided on the Federal State Statistics Service's website in the "Population" section (subsection "Employment and wages" and "Standard of Living"). Web address: <<http://www.gks.ru>>.

³ 1 US dollar = RUR 30.85

Russian poverty is made up of specific features which together make up an overall picture. Thus, up to 40% of the Russian poor come from groups in the over-60 age range.

An examination of a cross-section by location exposes a tendency for poverty to be concentrated in the Russian "periphery" (small towns and villages). While in major cities 11-13% of residents are extremely poor, in small towns and villages real poverty affects 20-30% of the population.

As far as those *at risk* of poverty are concerned, (and this is 10-15% of the population), in this case the situation vis-à-vis age and location is rather the reverse: the young and those in early middle age (under 40) account for over a third of the at-risk group. Moreover, the larger the place, the higher its share of those at risk (for example, in large cities, the share of those under 40 who are "at risk" of poverty is 54% of respondents).

Among the first to fall into the poverty trap are those with a poor level of education and qualifications. One in four of the poor did not finish school and only one in 10 has a higher education diploma.

The social and professional structure of the working population falling below the poverty level has a series of specific features (see Table 1).

Table 1

Social and professional make-up of different social strata
(2008, % among them who are in work)

<i>Social and professional groups</i>	<i>The poor</i>	<i>Those on the verge of poverty</i>	<i>Those on low incomes</i>	<i>The well-off</i>
1. Entrepreneurs and the self-employed	0	2	2	4
2. Managers at all levels	0	3	4	10
3. Qualified specialists/professionals (including the officer class)	13	20	22	30
4. Office workers	10	9	11	11
5. Shop workers and those working in the field of consumer services	14	22	17	12
6. Factory workers and labourers	63	44	44	33
6.1 Highly-skilled workers	11	14	15	17
6.2 Skilled workers	36	24	24	13
6.3 Semi-skilled and unskilled workers	16	7	5	4

For example, very few of them are qualified specialists or professionals and a significant preponderance are workers in jobs requiring few qualifications. There is also a relatively high risk of poverty among lower level workers in the service and retail sectors.

Thus, it would be wrong to pretend that poverty only affects those among the Russian population who are unemployed or unable to earn an adequate level of income because of their age (pensioners) or ill-health (the disabled) and those in villages. Poverty has affected many working Russians, albeit to varying degrees, regardless of their age and place of residence. Thus, Russia faces "working poverty".

No less significant, and a feature of recent years, is the way the problem of poverty has become a problem of an "underclass", social exclusion and the formation within Russian society of a subculture of the poor, which has a particularly negative effect on young people. This trend is all the more dangerous because the poor themselves do not see any way out of their predicament (see Fig. 3).

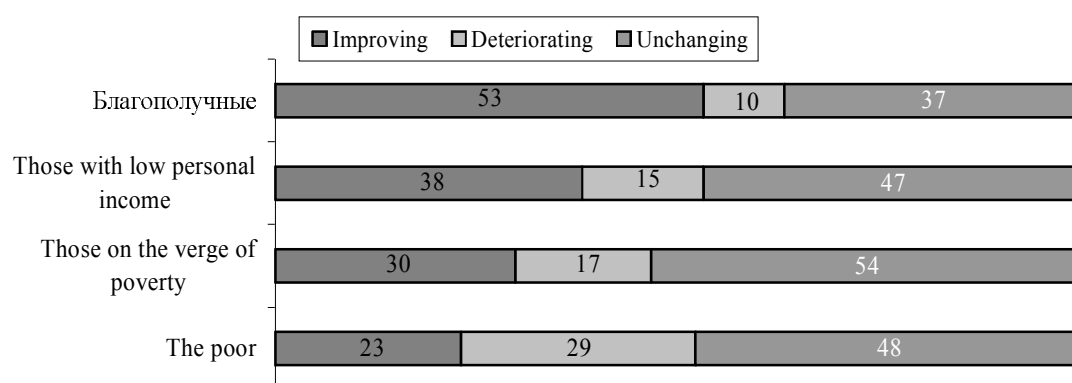


Figure 3. Assessment by members of different social strata of how their lives will progress in the future (2008, %)

The poor, particularly those who have become destitute, not only suffer from lack of money but also a failure to meet their most basic human needs - adequate food, clothing and housing (see Table 2). Moreover, research shows that the poor lose hope and deliberately do without many of the essentials they can no longer afford.

The existence in the country of a high number of people on low incomes, a significant number of whom are on the verge of poverty, is a serious challenge to national social and economic policy. In conditions of slower economic growth, this group could slide into poverty since it has no reserves i.e. sufficient (material or financial) resources which it can sell in order to compensate for any unexpected deterioration in its situation - for example, a deterioration in the health of the main breadwinner.

Table 2

Average monthly incomes per family member at different levels of Russian society
(2008, in RUR and USD)

<i>Income</i>	<i>The poor</i>	<i>Those on low incomes, including those on the verge of poverty</i>	<i>Relatively well-off sections of the population</i>
Monthly average per person	4449 (\$154 ¹)	5789 (\$201)	10279 (\$357)
Personal income (wages, pension entitlement etc.)	5338 (\$185)	7624 (\$265)	13005 (\$452)

However, the main differences between these groups' economic situation are evident less at the income level but rather in terms of living standards and quality of life.

The level of material prosperity among these sections of the population is extremely modest. Thus, 45% of Russians on the verge of poverty have no - relatively expensive - real estate other than the apartment or house they live in. Among the rest of the low-income population, 40% have no real estate other than their apartments.

An apartment, a car and a dacha - these are the items which in Russia denote a relatively high standard of living and only 2% of those on the verge of poverty and 7% of other low-income groups have all three. One in five of those on the verge of poverty and 9% of those on low incomes have neither housing, nor a car, nor a dacha.

As far as the living conditions of those on low incomes are concerned, 15% of them do not have their own separate housing and live in hostels and rented or communal apartments. A third of those in these sections of society have no - or restricted - access to utilities (central heating, electricity, plumbing and a bath or shower). Furthermore, among Russians on low incomes, what housing they have is, in 50% of cases, below the accepted social minimum (of 18 square metres per person).

These people's situation is made worse by the fact that, over recent years, they have gradually had to sell what property they previously had - dachas, plots of land, garages, reserved places in general car parks - for the sake of maintaining their current standard of living (see Table 3).

¹ 1 US dollar - RUR 28.80

Table 3

Property owned by Russians on low incomes and those on the verge of poverty (2003/2008, %)

<i>Real estate</i>	<i>Those on the verge of poverty</i>		<i>Those with low personal income</i>	
	2003	2008	2003	2008
Apartment or house	69	74	75	85
Dacha or kitchen garden with house	23	15	31	21
Kitchen garden with no house	23	11	20	11
Land	12	11	13	13
Livestock	10	5	0	6
Garage or reserved place in a car park	18	3	26	15

This is evidence of their gradual dipping into their *reserves*.

At the same time, what income Russians on low income do earn has noticeably increased over the last six years (the same also being true of other sections of the population).

But despite the growth in income, a large proportion (43%) of low-income Russians believes their situation has remained unchanged over the last six years. A further 40% insist that it has improved. (However, the proportion of those convinced of this is a fraction of that among the better-off sections of the population.) 17% of those on low incomes (the overwhelming majority of whom belong to the oldest age groups) are sure that their situation has deteriorated over the past five years.

A certain increase in income, more positive assessments of specific aspects of their own lives and an increase in the number owning durable goods indicate significant *quantitative* changes over recent years in the lives of low-income Russians. But how do things stand in regard to qualitative changes? The data we have obtained confirms that three quarters of those on the verge of poverty and over half of low-income Russians have been unable to achieve any significant *qualitative* changes in their lives over recent years (see Fig. 4).

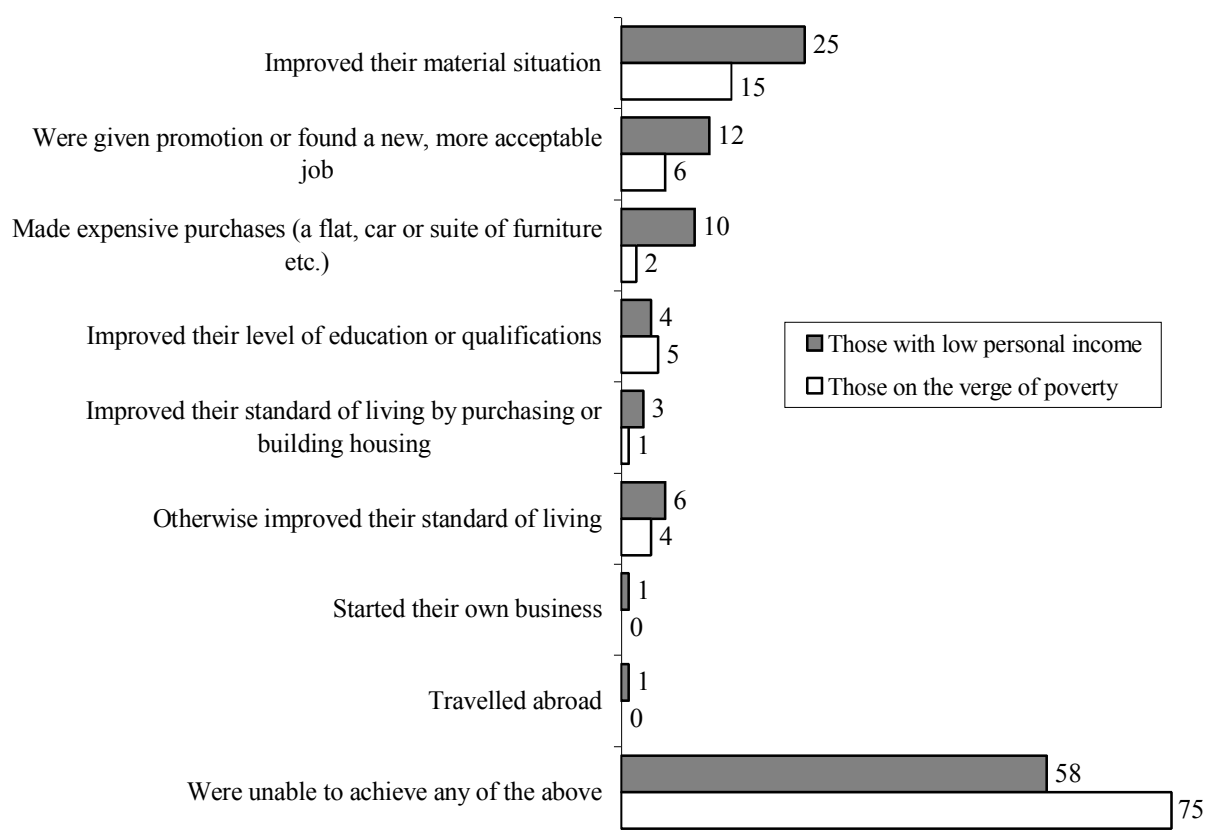


Figure 4. Achievements by low-income Russians and those on the verge of poverty over the period 2006-2008 (%)

It is clear that the material situation of low-income Russians has generally improved but that, essentially, the change has not improved the quality of their lives as a whole. All this goes to show that the situation of these sections of the population remains at a level no higher than "relatively stable survival".

What does that mean? It means that any progress in the position of low-income sections of the population is inconsistent - on the one hand, their income has gone up, as has their access to the cheapest durable goods while, on the other hand, the level of ownership of genuinely valuable real estate (at least by their standards) has fallen. Thus, by any genuinely meaningful standard-of-living parameters, their situation over recent years has deteriorated, while the level of use of the amenities they need to improve their employment opportunities and life skills has fallen.

Low-income Russians use paid amenities relatively rarely, i.e. they do not invest in themselves or their children and over recent years their use of such amenities has declined still further.

How does one explain this situation among those currently within Russian society's low-income groups? Primarily, by the fact that their members are in the worst position at the outset: they grow up in families with little education, largely in small towns and villages. As a result, their education level is lower than that of better-off sections of the population (see Fig. 5). And even where their education

level is, objectively speaking, equal, they have fewer life skills - a most important resource, capable of ensuring those who have them are relatively successful.

By no means all of those on low incomes currently view the active acquisition of new skills as worthwhile. After all, the number of "good" jobs is limited and those on low incomes are at a relative disadvantage initially in terms of competing for them.

The Poor		1	9 ²	31	1
Those on the verge of poverty			1	44	9 ¹
Those with low personal income			2 ²	45	22
The affluent		6		38	35

	Pri mary		Some secondary education		Completed secondary school
	Vocational secondary education				Higher education

Figure 5. Education levels among different social sectors (2008, %)

Socially and professionally the low-income sectors of the population in Russia today are very disparate. Thus, 44% of those on low-incomes are workers, two thirds of whom should be treated as having only very basic or intermediate qualifications. About a quarter of those in this sector are highly qualified while the rest work in retail or the service sectors. A feature of most of the manufacturing positions occupied by low-income Russians is their instability. Thus, almost a third of rank and file workers in retail and services are worried about losing their employment as a result of stiff competition for the jobs they occupy, caused - among other things - by intensive migration into a country with a large unskilled workforce.

Moreover, among the working population 67% of those on low personal incomes and 75% of those on the verge of poverty are concentrated in small towns and villages, despite the fact that only 60% of the working population live in small towns and villages.

Thus, those in Russia on low-incomes are today concentrated not so much in social sectors distinguished by the level of their qualifications as in the Russian provinces with their narrow and depressed labour market in which people are forced to agree to whatever work and wage is offered and where there is, as yet, no significant demand for skilled workers.

As far as a large proportion of low-income city-dwellers are concerned, they are able to "keep their heads above water" and not slide into poverty only thanks to their having a second occupation. However, were there to be any recurrence of economic crisis, they could end up on the verge of poverty or poor (as happened with the last crisis). This is an indication of the lack of stability among the population even in major and medium-sized towns and cities.

Among other factors leading to low income levels, socio-demographic inequality plays a major role, and this has further increased its influence over the last six years. Such inequalities are primarily associated with *age* (the older a section of the Russian population is, the larger its share of poor and those on low incomes) and *health* (any deterioration in which leads to an increased risk of falling into poverty or the low-income bracket). It is therefore unsurprising that the most vulnerable group among the Russian population are pensioners, half of whom fall into the low-income bracket and a further 30% of whom are poor (see Fig. 6).

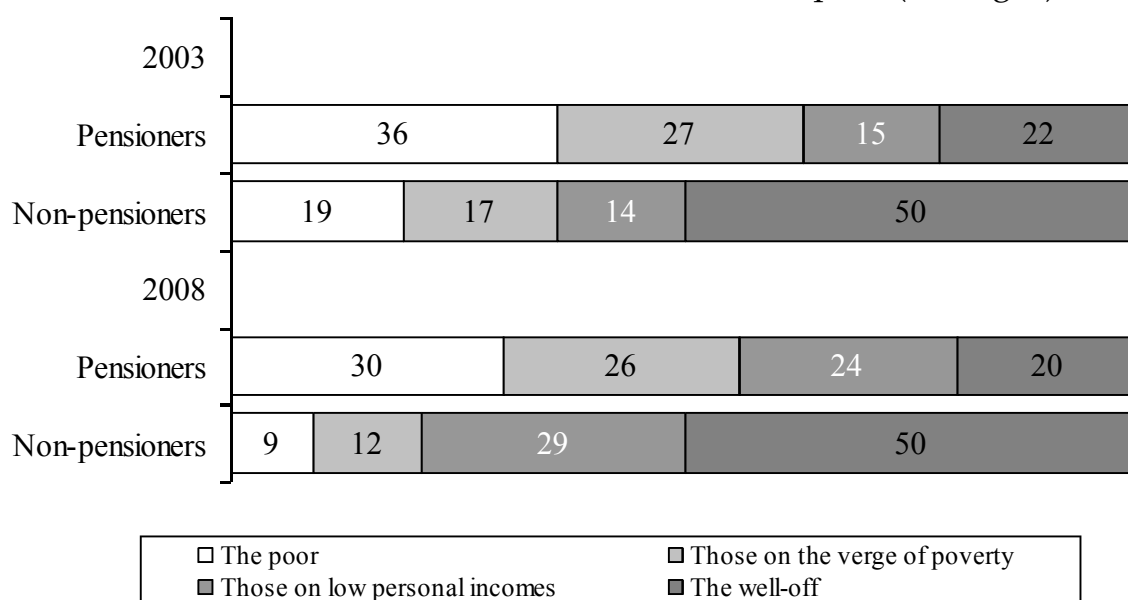


Figure 6. Different social sectors divided into pensioners and non-pensioners (2003/2008, %)

Apart from a person's individual characteristics such as age or state of health, their *family status* also influences the risk of their falling into poverty or the low-income bracket. Financial problems are most easily resolved by those who are not married, who, as a rule, have none of the burden of dependants referred to above.

Another important risk factor for those on low incomes concerns the *nature of regional socio-economic development*. Moreover, whereas regions classed as "zones of economic growth" have a higher proportion of relatively affluent among their population, others are divided into two groups. The first is identifiable by its high proportion of people on low incomes, while the second is identifiable by its high proportion of the poor. Evidently, social policies adopted by the regions to solve problems of poverty and low incomes vary in degrees of effectiveness, and this can affect the social structure of those regions.

Overall, many social groups are underprivileged as an indirect result of the institutional conditions of Russians' lives, as well as of mistakes in healthcare reform, pension fund policy which fails to make adequate provision for the elderly and restrictions on certain population groups' access to the employment market as a whole and certain sectors in particular.

A large middle class has developed in Russia over the reform years which, though close to the general population in terms of its principal features, places particular emphasis on achievement. This means that all resources are devoted to continuing professional development, leading ultimately to professional success.

Sociologically speaking, the modern Russian middle class is made up of those who have been able to adapt successfully to the new social reality, are rightly proud of this and, unlike the lower classes, feel in charge of their own destiny.

The four main approaches used to distinguish the middle class are:

The first "*marketing*" approach is associated with the day-to-day idea of the middle class as that large social grouping characterised primarily by a relatively high standard of living and level of consumption whose members are distinguished by the level of their per capita income and/or existence of a certain range of valuable assets.

The second approach emphasises how its individual members see themselves. It looks at whether people include themselves within the middle class and at their own specific assessments of their social status. This approach is therefore known as the *subjective approach*. According to this approach, almost half of Russian citizens (48%) identify themselves as middle class.

The third, *resource-based* approach takes into account not only movable and immovable property, but also details of the volume, type and structure of the assets (or resources) the middle class has at its disposal from the point of view of their life skills, including the nature of their employment (whether they are blue or white-collar workers).

Finally, the fourth, most common approach, both in Russia and the world in general, attempts to apply an *integrated approach* to contemporary Russian society based on the indicators listed above (professional characteristics, education, property and income levels and how they see themselves).

However, there is no consensus in Russia on just how this group of indicators should be applied in any definition of the middle class. Consequently, the use of different methods and indicators to define the middle class gives rise to a 10-fold variation in the numbers of the middle class in contemporary Russian society - from 2.1%¹ to about a fifth of the population².

¹ O.I. Shkaratan, V.A. Bondarenko, Y. M. Krelberg, N.V. Sergeev "Sotsialnoe rassloenie i ego vosпроизводство v sovremennoi Rossii" (*Social layering and its Reproduction in Contemporary Russia*) Preprint WP7/2003/06 - Moscow Higher School of Economics, 2003

² See for example: L.A. Belyaeva "Sotsialnaya stratifikatsia i srednii klass v Rossii: 10 let postsovetского razvitiya" (*Social stratification and the middle class in Russia: 10 years of post-Soviet development*) - Moscow: Academia, 2001; "Srednie klassy v Rossii: ekonomicheskie i sotsialnye strategii" (*The Middle Classes in Russia: Economic and Social Strategies*) E.M. Avramova, M.V. Mikhailyuk, L.I. Nivorozhkina and

Taking the following indicators into account, namely:

- the nature of social and professional status (white-collar employment criteria);
- education (having at least a secondary-school vocational education);
- level of affluence (average per capita incomes no lower than the median for that class of population or the number of those owning durable goods no lower than the median value for the population as a whole);
- how people see themselves (people's own integrated assessment of their social position on a scale of 1-10 from 5 upwards),

we can see that by the end of 2008, no less than 30% (of the population) was middle class.

In the pre-crisis period the middle class expanded rapidly thanks to its border-line members (those who met all but one of the criteria for membership of the middle class). However, despite the numbers of border-line members (see Fig. 7) of the middle class, unless Russian society is modernised the scope for any further increase in this social grouping is limited in practical terms, and its numbers in the next few years will vary between 30 and 35% of the country's working population. Moreover, the trend towards middle-class expansion was also disrupted by the 2009 crisis. Judging by the results of research, by spring 2009 the overall numbers of the middle class as a share of the population had declined from a third to a quarter (26%) and the share of middle class members of the working population had declined from over 40% to 30%.

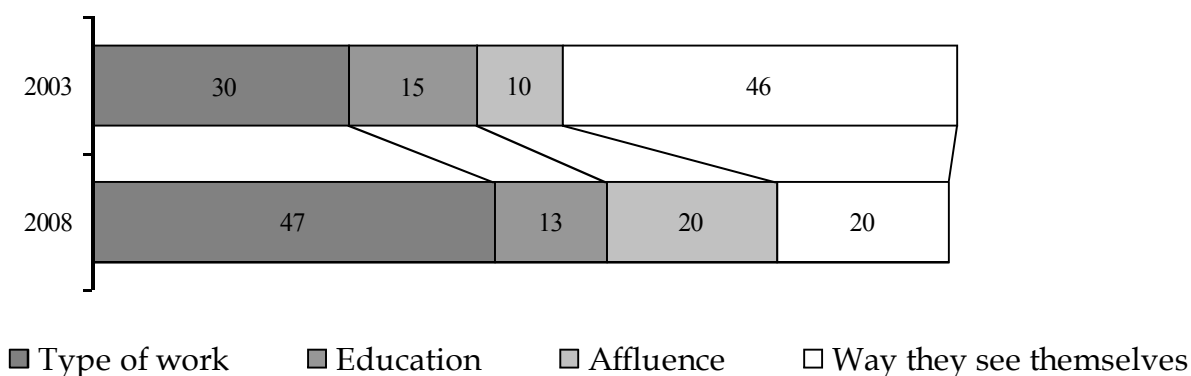


Figure 7. Criteria which representatives of the border-line middle class "did not meet"
(2003/2008, %)

Research shows that the Russian middle class's standard of living is relatively modest (see Table 4), which casts doubt on their ability to resolve their immediate social problems on their own (acquisition of housing, covering increased costs of housing and public utilities, payment for healthcare and education etc.) where such problems occur all at once.

Table 4

Monthly incomes within the Russian middle classes calculated per family member

(2009, in RUR and USD)

<i>Average monthly earning per capita</i>	<i>Social stratum level 5</i>	<i>Social stratum level 6</i>	<i>Social stratum level 7</i>	<i>Social stratum level 8</i>
Average	6994 ¹ \$243	8203 \$285	9712 \$337	11,786 \$409

In terms of property ownership the middle class differs from other large sections of the Russian population (see Fig. 8) although the difference is more quantitative than qualitative and not particularly great.

At the same time, as far as possession of durable goods is concerned, the difference between the real standard of living of the middle class and that of the rest of the population is very obvious.

In terms of household goods the main difference between the middle class's standard of living and that of other population sectors is the enormous number of hi-tech goods owned by the middle class - computers, video cameras and digital equipment. Moreover, this is true regardless of age: even among 51-60 year-olds, over half have a home computer whereas, only 15% of Russians in this age group who are not middle class have a computer at home. A major feature of everyday middle class behaviour is the active use of paid amenities (compared with the rest of the Russian population). Given that paid education, healthcare and medical and other services are essentially an investment in the development of human potential and life skills, one could say that the middle class actively invests in itself and its children.

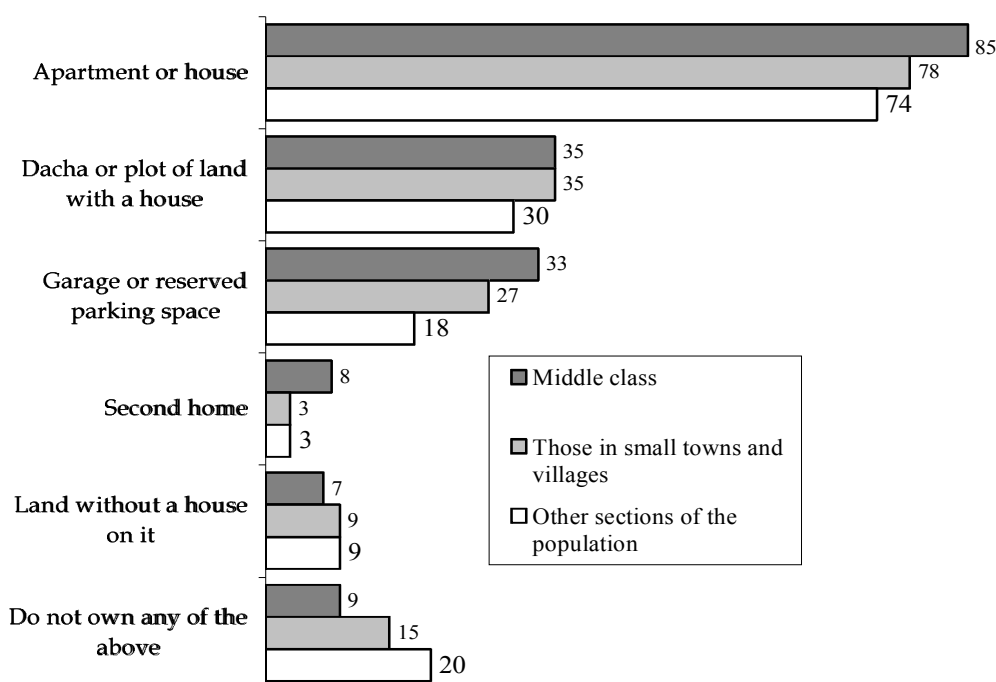


Figure 8. Property owned by the middle class and other sections of the population (2006, %)

¹ 1 US dollar - RUR 28.80

Among the typical features of the Russian middle class illustrating the different opportunities they have in life outside manufacturing (compared with the remaining large sections of the population) are the realistic chances they have of improving their lives. Thus, if one looks at how real achievements in different areas of activity vary between different population groups for the period 2006-08, then the middle class's typically positive assessment (in 2008) of its present and future turn out to be fully justified (see Fig. 9).

Overall, 28% of the middle class have been unable to achieve any of the items listed in Figure 16, whereas for the rest of the population this figure is 67%. Thus, there is a positive dynamic typical of the middle class which manifests itself in concrete and tangible ways while most of those in other social classes are unable to improve their lives in this way.

Thus the Russian middle class stands out from the rest of the population by its living standards and the specific nature of these living standards is obvious just from a calculation of the difference in the level of demand among members of different social classes.

IS RAS's numerous sociological measurements show that the middle class does not act as one. On top of the differences within the middle class itself there are also significant differences between the cities and the provinces such that, for example, Moscow is closer to western capitals in terms of its standard of living, employment structure and mentality.

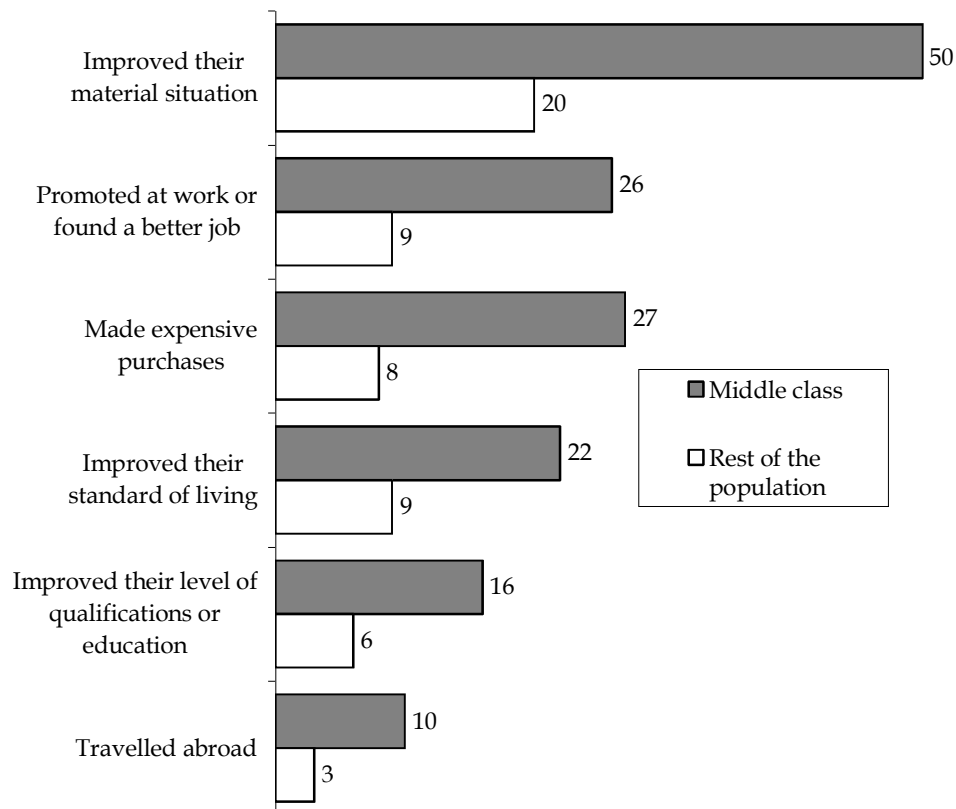


Figure 9. Share of those who in 2006-08 were able to make significant improvements to their lives of one kind or another, divided by social group (% of those among them making these improvements)

There have also been significant changes in recent years in the social and professional make-up of the Russian middle class. Some of these are associated with the general growth in the Russian economy and the corresponding expansion of the middle class, while others concern a change of situation on the employment market, allowing public sector workers to improve their situation relatively quickly. Others still are linked to the growth in importance of professional practices and ability, regardless of position held.¹

As far as the wealthy are concerned most Russians are prepared to adopt a broad-minded approach to them. Moreover, by "the wealthy" Russians have in mind less the elite of society, from whom they are far removed and who are associated sooner with the term "power" ("*vlad*") and "riches", but rather the upper middle class who they think of as being securely provided for in material terms. Results of research indicate that most Russians' *image* of the rich is of someone with a per capita monthly income of about USD3000-4000 (in the provinces) and USD 5000 (in Moscow and St Petersburg). At first glance, the low threshold of the definition of "rich" may be surprising. However, one should not forget that, as regards the income level at which wealth begins, the decisive influence on Russians' perceptions is their own, extremely unenviable, material position, as shown above. The rich are, in modern Russia, made up primarily of relatively young entrepreneurs. Whereas the average age of the middle class is 42, the average age of the rich is 33.

As the rich themselves would agree, the main differences between their lives and the lives of all other sections of society is a much higher standard of living, the ability to acquire a good education, the spending of holidays abroad, the availability to them of high-quality medical services and the ability their children have to achieve a great deal more in life than others their age.

¹ For details, see: N.E. Tikhonova, S.V. Mareeva "Srednii klass: teoriya i realnost" (*The Middle Class: Theory and Reality*) – Moscow: Alfa-M, 2009.

Gutova, Svetlana G.

Model of a socialism and the future of Russia in Vladimir Solovyov's doctrine

Social transformations of the last century strongly confirm the prophetic sayings of the famous Russian philosopher Vladimir Sergeyevich Solovyov (1854-1900) concerning the impossibility of building a perfect society merely on the basis of solutions of certain material problems that relate to the concept of economic justice. The belief that you can not radically transform society without affecting its essential spiritual and moral foundations is strengthening now in the minds of local Democratic politicians. But who can be the bearer of such ideals in this rapidly changing world and what can stand surety for the existence of absolute moral principle?

In that event, on what should be based society in its development? Where should we look for a positive basis that has supernatural and superhuman character? Solovyov says that social order cannot be determined by power of the Government only, because this power itself requires something more significant. According to him, either God's will or the will of the people could be this significant part[1].

Solovyov is not going to refute socialism, so far as he considers it a historically justified completion of the Western historical development. According to him, Western culture adopted the human right instead of the former divine right and brought it to the two main rights: freedom and equality that must be reconciled to a fraternity. Thus, socialism represents an attempt to implement these principles. However, the outcome of all revolutionary changes, subject to the inevitable social inequality leads to the fact that the release of a ruling class causes the subordination of another class again.

In this case, the inevitable question arises whether it is possible to consider the welfare of the community as the supreme law and the law? And whether justice could be suggested as the wealth owned by those who produce it? Solovyov points the fact out that socialism above all is seeking the equality of material welfare and in this regard it is historically justified force, that owns the nearest future in the West.

But the most dangerous, says Soloviev, that socialism does not want to be only a historical force, to have only a conditional acquittal, it intends to be the highest moral force, seeks to establish itself as the sole and absolute truth in the field of public relations. But then socialism contradicts itself fatally and inevitably, and its untenability becomes evident. Socialist theorists tend to realize the truth in a society that comes to the uniformity of the material welfare and eventually it becomes a purpose itself.

Disproving the view of socialism, Solovyov expresses the idea that: "Justice, in a moral sense, it is a certain self-restriction of your own claims in favor of the rights of the others; thus, justice, it is a self-sacrifice, self-denial, and when there is more self-sacrifice, the more self-denial, the better in a moral sense [2]. In this case, it is impossible to attach any special moral importance to the requirements of the working class concerning the uniform distribution of material wealth, as this requirement is extremely mercenary and obviously can not have moral content.

Thinker wonders at the number of issues especially in this regard that socialism pretends to realize the Christian morals. In this connection, Solovyov jokes that someone made a witty remark that between Christianity and socialism there is a small difference in regard to Christianity demands to give back what you have, and socialism demands to expropriate something that has someone else [3]. Solovyov is convinced of that working class takes far more legal position in their demands rather than moral. The desire of the indigent class is justified only by claim of a social truth and disagreement with the social system where everything that is produced in society, belongs only to a small class of people. Solovyov says that it is obvious that social order is based on the selfishness of individuals, and this is the root of the struggle, strife and all social evils.

According to the socialists, if the solution of major problems consists of simple selfish ideas of equality, then the veritable public truth must be based on the opposite thing, namely the principle of self-denial and love. However, it requires more complicated twofold process, where each individual in society must support the self-denial point of view and abandon its exclusive will to donate it. Solovyov poses the question: But for whom should an individual sacrifice his will? For the benefit of the others? But they can not be the real purpose of the human activity. Thus, the implementation of truth or moral principle could exist when the will of all people becomes a moral law.

Thus, love and self-sacrifice towards others can be implemented only if they realized something that is beyond their own selfishness and what does not belong exclusively to the material world, immersed in the defense of their selfish interests. "Otherwise, if there is no any absolute moral principle that is recognized and if others are all just as contingent beings that represent the known life force, thus the obedience will only be the violence from their own side" [4].

Any power that is not striving for the moral content of the truth is the violence, as the subordination to it can not be voluntary, conscious, and it always has only forced nature. It is the free obedience of all people to the unconditional moral principles that makes them equal to each other. But how about the fact that people by their very nature are not equal among them, they have unequal powers, and therefore primordially they are not free? Finally, people are hostile to each other, which means that even the natural state of mankind does not represents the brotherhood.

Perhaps there is no sense in seeking for justice in the world of nature, because it does not require the justice. Then Solovyov concludes that justice could be found

only in the moral sphere where there is a divine presence. Socialism contradicts itself when it demands for a claim of social justice, pointing to the impossibility of implementation. Thus, the only one conclusion is evident it is the need of recognition the absolute life that personifies the true religion according to Russian thinkers.

Before realizing the ideal it is necessary to have it already existed, that was given to us as something independent from man, as an free and self-sufficient reality. Solovyov is very determined in his expressions concerning this issue - only the truth and verity are the subject of religious knowledge. Therefore, religion is the only correct way to reunite man and the world with the absolute and entire beginning.

Only the establishment of true religion will lead to complete solidarity and free unity of people, excluding any forcible compulsion. But at the same time, the Russian philosopher notes that: "Modern religion is a pitiable very thing – there is no any predominant beginning at all as the center of a spiritual bent, but instead there is a so-called religion as a personal mood, personal taste ..." [5]. Philosopher considers no way but to find the true religion. The only way to salvation, the implementation of equality, true freedom and fraternity is through self-denial, it leads inevitably in its turn to a free union with the divine spark.

Solovyov thinks that: "according to the law of the historical differentiation of labor, the same cultural type, the same nations can not realize two world ideas, do two historical deeds, and if Western civilization had its global aim to carry out the negative transition from religious past to religious future, but it is destined to another historical force to initiate this religious future"[6]. Perhaps, there is solidarity with the ideas of the Russian thinker with the ideas of Slavophiles.

In the modern Western world the denial of absolute beginning in a man led to the absolutism of the individual in all spheres of human activity. As far as civilized people achieved the considerable success in the material world, they are still far from satisfying their desires, and especially what concerns the spiritual and moral needs,

Prophecy of the Russian philosopher based on his profound conviction that the human world can not solve the problem of social and economic inequality and creates a truly just society in the pursuit of material goods. He believed that the theory of socialism predominantly affects the practical interests of public life and set itself the solution to the most simple and obvious problems only. According to Solovyov the contemporary state of society is: "The entire modern civilization is characterized by the striving to organize the humanity out of the absolute religious sphere and to assert itself and settle down in the field of temporal and ultimate interests" [7].

"Modern socialism requires the public forms to be determined solely by economic relations and state power to be the only organ of the economic interests

of the majority. What concerns the spiritual community modern socialism completely negates it of course "[8].

The correlation of such concepts as "old" and "new" socialism will help to understand the Solovyov's views on socialism. "Old socialism" existed in the first half of the XIX century according to Solovyov. Statements of the Russian thinker concerning "old socialism" are ambiguous: on the one hand, Solovyov sees in it an attempt to merge the spiritual society with the economic, that means to give the former a value of the first, on the other hand, he refers ironically to the very idea of the opportunity to make the church from the labor union. Solovyov says directly that it is "the absurd attempt that led only to comic results" [9].

Solovyov in his critical expressions about the so-called "new socialism", mainly means some of the ideas of Western philosophy that concern the evolutionary development of society. He does not deny the possibility of its realization in contemporary Western civilization and defines this stage as follows: first, a secular society is separated from the church, and then this very secular society is divided into state and district council (zemstvo). Finally, there are three public organizations, where each one uses the supreme domination and seeks elimination or subduedness of the other two.

Solovyov thinks this process to be quite natural and even necessary, followed by the overwhelming dominance of the third public economic organization that is principally approved by modern socialism. However, this new stage of the social development, like the previous ones (the supremacy of the Catholic Church and the absolute monarchy), is conditional and temporary. And so, he says: "... it would be funny to see in socialism the last universal revelation that should regenerate mankind. In fact, there is no change of social relations, no rebuilding of social forms that can meet those requirements, and the eternal issues that define the proper human life "[10].

Mass society that focused on consumption, constantly feels the unquenchable thirst for material satiety, power, recognition and success by any means. And at the same time, those who are far more close to realize their own selfish desires they feel acutely that they are betrayed. The modern man has not a complete sense of freedom obtaining the power and wealth. He is becoming their slave and loses freedom and dignity; meanwhile the evil still thrives in a world of illusions.

According to the Russian philosopher, searching for an unconditional moral principle in the external limited world, although it is not evitable at this stage of historical development, but it is doomed in the end, of course. Therefore, the project of Vladimir Solovyov, "Free Theosophy" can be seen not only as a methodological innovation, but also as a instrument to bridge the gap of time. "Thus, any social changes associated with genuine human development are possible only when the personal self-improvement. The strive for the divine within us can change a person, bringing him to the moral degeneration and such a desired freedom, full of solidarity, true equality and fraternity.

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Ignatyev, Vladimir I.

Virtual strata as agents of social instability

In the last world crisis the old and new players as an agent of social instability most strikingly declared itself. Net financial speculators - it's destabilization financial market instability veterans, and provocateurs of industrial and commercial capital flows. Virtual economics players are relatively new, but the virtualization scale of economic processes and institutions have reached unprecedented dimensions. Global political and economic elites play the role of initiator, if not a world government, then declare themselves more aggressively again. But there are new players on the field of crisis. Above all this are the "glam-capitalism" agents, new users and creators of products and services of a new type - provocatively glamorous, bringing brands to the extreme as a short-term symbol of infinite change of something unsustainable. The representatives of the mass migration to Europe, USA introducing instability in a well-functioning social life are of particular concern.

New approaches are needed to explain the reasons of activation of these social agents at the period of crisis. The topic of the rise of chaos and possible vectors of development prognostication becomes particularly actual. Explanation should be sought not in the demonization of new historical and economic laws, that is a mystification of social actuality, but in the implementation of scientific - sociological - paradigm, which means the search of social actors, the initiators of change - the "social agents". It can be assumed that in the era of chaos and instability these agents change their behavior, creating a new scenario of social roles and begin to form a previously unknown set of community and strata.

The strata formation topic in the era of chaos and instability in contemporary sociology is undeveloped. The rare studies of this kind is the concept of "virtual stratum", developed by Russian sociologist, L.E. Blyakher [1]. The essence of the concept of virtual strata formation is as follows. Profound manifestation of social chaos consists in the identity destruction and the blur of self-concept. There comes a disregard for previous behavioral standards, norms, motives. Future ceases to be a guide. The moral consciousness is blocked. *Atopy* arises in the chaos. Instead of values the dictatorship of practices of everyday life comes. Social space is divided into segments, in which people form a special orientation and conceptual practice, specific "social reality". These segments are formed multidirectional striations. They form a new social reality that came into conflict with the remnants of the old reality, creating a permanent instability and chaos. As noted by L.E. Blyakher a special kind of group solidarity - a virtual stratum - are actualized. Description of the mechanism of their formation and functioning is a description of the phenomenon of social chaos. These strata produces the "relative deprivation". Relative deprivation is not necessarily due to loss of status or loss of striations, but as a result of "negative assessment" of his position. Actualization is needed to "remove" the deprivation - turning an imaginary reality in social actuality. This new

actuality is marginal, i.e. is subordinated to a special logic of actions - actuality of possible. So the possible social worlds arise this way.

Alternative worlds perceived in the individual imagination become the social entities - strata - in communications. Once born, they actualize "projects" of his new social life through the real interaction. According to Blyakher virtual strata exists only in interaction with stable forms. Virtual stratum actualized in imaginary stratum contact. This is a short-lived stratum; it does not exist in stable social conditions.

In my opinion, L.E. Blyakher underestimates the potential of virtual strata. Being creatures of instability, they provoke chaos and instability as a permanent condition of its stable existence. The world of virtual stratum is a world of anomie; it is a world in which virtual strata are the masters of life. Due to instability and anomie, they can receive the status advantages over other strata. "Risk society", "Society of unintended consequences", "the crisis without end"- it is a social virtual world strata.

What characteristics make some strata attributed to the virtual? Among the network (global) actors have appeared recently particular "tribe" of players - the strata of financial speculators - professional strata of players on the exchange. They do not use so much a situation of instability and unforeseen consequences, as they themselves create, manipulate the consciousness of the economic agents not through economic mechanisms, and through the channels of communication, driving opinion, motives and evaluations, offering contractors profitable for itself projects a virtual practices.

They are marginalized, as deprived relative to domestic financial systems. To achieve the identity, i.e. to play the role of financial players in the global network or global not local society, they are create and execute a new type of role through communication and global financial interactions - the role of alternative "virtual stratum. They are alternative as "other" and as provokers of instability of national financial systems.

The latest crisis is the sample of influence force of agents of the market market on the real economy. The danger lies in the integration of the agents of the market market in the world financial system. The less the market agents involved in market speculation, the less they feel the crisis and generate a particular virtual reality - the crisis of confidence. Market speculators from outsiders of the real economy become an influential stratum affect the behavior of other agents through the establishment the lack of money myth into the communication channels. As a result of the crisis of confidence, all the liquidity of economic agents is detained, is frozen because of uncertainty of the future.

A typical virtual stratum also occurs. As a result, wealth creation is a change of identity code (positive relative deprivation) for consumers: they become investors. When their income increases, consumers receive surplus funds, which have to invest. Thereby «I am-identity» changes. Investment market is replenished by the "Investors-dilettante" (virtual strata) who do not realize that putting money into and make any mistakes. Then «I am-identity» evolves: the investor is reborn as

a speculator. For the speculator's sphere of influence shrinks - it goes where the enrichment is quickly and with minimal risk.

This process has deprived the future of the world investment market, led it to a standstill. If the mass of the virtual strata - the speculators - exceeds the critical value, then the whole financial market is speculative, the real economy becomes virtual, it is time of sustained chaos. New virtual stratum found its identity and has ceased to be marginal. Consequence - the change of mass psychology. People focus more on short-term plans and projects. Society at risk with undetermined consequences was born. Sociologists put the dilemma: "liquid modernity" (Z. Bauman), "Runaway World" (A. Giddens). Behind all this is the shadow of the virtual strata.

But the consequences of the invasion of virtual strata are even more disturbing. There is the phenomenon of "the opposite deprivation" - high self-overrated status mark of top managers increases. Reward grows rapidly, appointments are less dependent on their professional qualities, the more money received by representatives of professions that do not create anything useful (agents, virtual economy, glam-capitalists and consumers). Labour ethics is destroyed, motivation to work is reduced, the middle class is gradually washed out of society, very rich and very poor remain.

Morale is destroyed. The population begins to focus on the most primitive joy. Their «I am-identity» comes to the crisis. Since the chaotic growth of "fast and easy money" provokes the rise to dominance of virtual strata, which reinforces the chaos and instability.

Under conditions of instability are activated and traditional global actors - agents of globalization. This - mondiacracy (see Population and Globalization / N.M. Rimashevskaya etc. - M. Nauka, 2002. - 322 sec.) They are all more out of the shadows. "Idealists-globalists" openly appealed to the international community with projects of joint action against global challenges. "Radical" globalists again require the creation of a world government. "Individual" globalists require the lifting of restrictions on their activities and harmonize national legislations. "Institutional" globalists - the top managers and transnational corporations - expressed the need to complete submission to the national economies of the global networks of transnational corporations. On national governments and elites, the flow offers and requirements to recognize the interests of all mankind priorities, abandon the absolute sovereignty, to recognize the universal paradigm of development and to refuse follow national identity, to create a world government falls.

A special case of virtual strata should recognize the emergence of agents of virtualization and "glam-capitalists" - the capitalists of "glamorous economy". [2] In this economy, unrealistic things, but more and more images are traded on the market. Economic process moves to the marketers to consultants, ad agencies, studios and the media. The share of employed in primary and secondary sectors of the economy declines, the share of employment in services - is growing.

Simulation of things in advertising starts to dominate over their own thing. There is a simulation of innovation. Virtual producers as a new type of market agents appear. They produce economic practices simulations - design images. There is a virtual entrepreneur, creating new images - simulacra. In this virtual stratum consists of representatives of professions such as office designer who specializes in corporate image, PR-manager. All of them are involved in building the prices of goods more quickly than their value, produced by other agents of the real economy. Thus they participate in the virtualization of the economy, and even pretending to replacing the production of goods, causing permanent inflation, and displacing the strata of the real economy with their positions.

As a result of changes and the economic crisis: now the rise in prices is directly proportional to the growth of goods, rather than vice versa, as the price of goods includes "virtual value". This stratum provokes a rise in trade image. Consequence of this growth - speculation on the exchange. So there is a market market boom in the background of weak growth.

Money became not the real vice of goods, but the right to borrow. Lacking the money they can present an image of solvency. So there is a community "virtually solvent", i.e. availability of money is replaced as the possible presence of money. This image and pretend to actualize and individuals, and those financial institutions, and the players on the exchanges. So there is a virtual stratum. It provokes the expansion of money supply is not supplied by the labour. The bank itself as the business community becomes the representative of the strata; it becomes a malingerer pay. Its foundation is a right to borrow, i.e. virtual money. Their dominance - the offensive dominance of norms, values and meanings of a new virtual strata. Conversion of money as a social relationship in the simulacrum gives rise to all the new representatives of this stratum virtual - virtual taxpayers, lenders and borrowers. Financial system as an institution, consisting of a stable stratum and norms, through the chaos and instability triggered by the birth of a new stratum, become unstable, permanently unstable system, dominated by representatives of the virtual strata.

New, coming out of the marginal zone of the virtual stratum in the era of chaos, virtual economy - a glam-capitalists. They are holders of copyright and related rights for inventions, business ideas, texts, music, and the body's own name. They began to control the low-cost brands. The second layer - a supernew professionals - creative director, project managers, designers, stylists and consultants. They differ from traditional bourgeois by the fact that getting rich quickly and treat the life as a "project". Their style is intense overconsumption. They spend efforts to create products for glamour consumerism. These include the "creative class" and "bobos" (bourgeois bohemians). "Creative Class" is one third of the workforce. It is artists, writers, musicians, scientists, artists, engineers, designers, financiers, managers, lawyers, doctors. Through communication, they form a glamorous type of consumption of the stars of show business, the speculators, the top managers.

Of particular concern in Western societies is the emergence of a new underclass - a typical representative of the virtual strata. [3] The new underclass is sustainable numerous migrant community in Europe and the USA. This virtual stratum was updated gap in living conditions between the North and South. Comparison with the standard of living in the north led to the experience of relative deprivation, based on the real absolute deprivation. As a result, in third world countries there was a meeting of cultures of two worlds. European democracies failed attempt to integrate immigrants into Western society. There was a conflict of values. The main thing in the situation of immigrants - their lack of citizenship status. This is a special underclass - "negatively privileged class of owners, class, excluded from the constitutional guarantee of human rights. But they are not excluded from the special economic activity: a temporary employment in the criminal and illegal business. They have a special social (ethnic solidarity) and symbolic (the unity of religion and tradition) capitals. Of those introduced from outside the social practices emerging virtual stratum. This stratum is not committed to social inclusion. It reproduces its social capital, and subject to its logic: expansion of two types of capital in host countries. These virtual strata are in the potential and actual confrontations with Western societies, interested in maintaining its dominance. They will enhance political and everyday violence. Escalation of radical sentiment, irrational social practices. In this strategy there is the lowest level of confidence in institutions and legitimate forms of social life and an increased level of confidence in illegitimate forms. These virtual stratum is now the most dangerous for Western societies, and Russia, because they are long-term factor of destabilization. For the first time in Western society appears hostile to its foundations of social power, which did not originate in the depths of Western culture and beyond, but its appearance is triggered by the very Western civilization.

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Sociological Reflexion of Sociocultural Problems in Modern Russia

The attention to sociocultural problems is based on the necessity of sociological reflexion of practice and value basis of different social groups and personalities, including into contemporary social relations of specially transforming Russia. Behaviour orientation of personalities is mainly determined by contradictions of social processes in general, influenced by globalization-localization, virtualization-objectivation, integration-disintegration, cooperation-conflict and their character in sociocultural situation.

For personalities the sociocultural situation is represented by, **firstly** value uncertainty, polysemy and heterogeneity, social stratification and polar values, **secondly** different emotional estimation (optimistic, pessimistic, uncertain, unsure) of society development and personal perspectives, **thirdly** changing of social conditions stabilization forming the stability of sociocultural system (family and education in particular), **fourthly** the ways of communication are losing personality and formalizing, which is determined by information technologies giving the freedom of choice but demanding submission to standards, **fifthly** westernization of culture in general and subculture of social groups influenced by mass media, **sixthly** in glocalization, connected with irregularity of sociocultural changes in the world, country, in the centre and periphery, which have culture traditions, culture and nature peculiarities, which give the situations in regions specific features.

These peculiarities of sociocultural situation lead to deep sociocultural changes of life strategies of different social groups and personalities, including relations between people and value self-attitude and attitude to others on the one hand, and their strive for freedom and possession, on the other hand. But the specific of person's behaviour and social group behaviour lead to the risk rise in social development.

There are plenty of scientific approaches to social practice of collectives and individuals in contemporary sociology. We pay attention to sociology-synergy approach connected with accentuation of **fractal and fluctuation** cultural phenomena. Fractality is self-resemblance, denoting phenomenon of invariance when future forms of self-organization resemble the previous forms¹. In society it is connected with saving traditions, experience reproduction when "fathers' perception" form "children's perception", when children follow their fathers' steps. Fluctuation is characterized by novations of different scales which can serve

¹ Kotelnikov G.A. Nature and Society in Synergy Measurement. Monograph. – Belgorod, BSTU named after V.G. Shoukhov, 2005. – P. 187.

“starting device” for social relations development changes between people and social system in positive and negative directions.

The peculiarity of fractal and fluctuation in culture is connected with the fact that culture as social phenomena has special properties of space and time changes. We can say about its theoretical and empirical **dimension**. The scale of dimension is rather wide¹ which models processes of culture self-organization, self-displaying of its elements from zero to infinity.

Taking into account that there is a meeting between a personality and culture and the meeting is always unique, in contemporary culture-social Russian context sociocultural process is influenced by traditions and innovations. There are several social constructs connected with life claims – *realistic*, oriented on traditions, *idealistic* connected with biographical striving for self-assertion of person's originality, realizing in way of life individualization, *negativistic* leading to contradictions with others, *pofigistic* characterizing aims, principles, self-appraisal and all-sufficiency of the personality.

Comparative analysis of sociological surveys lets us confirm the dispersion of life claims of collectives and individuals, the specific of their inclusion into social practice².

This system lives in communication context and we can't study culture functioning without it. That's why we pay attention to discourse practice in which people communicate and isolate, including into common sociocultural process.

Every person included in culture looks for some integrity which helps to find the roots in every day life. Self-search in culture can and cannot be typified. The possibility of typifying is connected with culture archetypes which give certain direction and show the boundaries of typifying. But reaching the distinctness going through assessment stage, idealize and gives theory to every day reality in person's consciousness who drives for originality. That's why culture cannot be typified. The way out is systemic vision of culture. Systemic vision includes synergy principles on the one hand, and Bogdanov's tectology principles, on the other hand. Bogdanov considered transition from one level to another through understanding error of well-ordered and indigested processes, which is connected with harmony and chaos.

Traditional approaches to culture don't give us clear view on its development direction. Synergy paradigm lets us describe human culture evolution and personality through denoting bifurcation points in non-linear space-time. These bifurcation points can be connected with dotted lines which will show society transformation from under personal to personal, from personal to mass, which gradually moves inside the person, giving mass and part objects, forming dependence from mass media, from isolation from events in social space-time to

¹ Danilov J.A. The Beauty of Fractals // Synergy Paradigm. The Variety and Search for Approaches. – Moscow, Progress-Traditsia, 2000. – P.186-190.

² Gegel L. A., Zoubkov V. I., Nikolaev G.G. Value Orientations of Students: Socio-political and Educational Aspects. – Moscow: OOO “Paradise”, 2008. – 200 p., Transforming Russia. Annual Edition of Institute of Sociology. Issues 4-8.

virtual reality involving everybody which gives the feeling of under-personal non-necessity. Under-personal attitude becomes consolidated in every day reality and continues its own life giving chaos into the order in which person's psychology used to exist.

All culture achievements became dependant from under-personal factor. It doesn't matter for civilization but destructive for culture. We agree with Malinetsky's opinion that culture has become the means of person's consciousness manipulation and means of society destruction¹.

Paradoxical role of culture in modern society has led to the fact that cult of play appeared in social relations, which embraced main life spheres in general and person's every day life. As Berne denoted all world became a play, which has different forms and joins a person to culture but in a very special way. The specialty is that the forms of culture existence are connected with culture in which personal and under personal are combined. There are spontaneous rules in any play (as a form of culture). But every person should follow generally accepted rules which he tries to break. So, there are rational and irrational facts in personal and collective behaviour. But there are some peculiarities in substantial side of culture, which creates a great amount of unique culture values.

There are cultural values in every person's conscious, which is called a **buffer zone** between virtual and real world, between virtual play world and reality. It creates stable imbalance in which a person should exist and adapt to its changes. It means that value self-conception of life in unsupported world (eternal buffer zone) should be identified with social environment values in order to live in it.

So we come to person's identification trajectory in transforming world. Every person is living in conditions of unfinished self-organizing process in situation of choice in bifurcation point.

The main modes forming person's behaviour choice are social system mode, characterized by open-close, stable-unstable, linear-non-linear functioning, social environment mode, in which status distinctness, identification methods, acceptance its values take place, personal characteristics mode, connected with personal characteristics, positions, value orientations and individuality in culture assimilation.

These modes are brightly shown in crisis life situations. For example in period of adolescence, this can be called buffer zone and teenager's life is bifurcation point in his development.

To create a model of person's trajectory identification in modern transforming society you can use the following algorithm of seven steps: 1) denote the system of subjects actualizing transforming processes in society; 2) analysis of socio-cultural conditions of transformation processes which can be possible social resources and barriers for successful transformation; 3) denote motivation factors of transformation; 4) denote possible stable-unstable situations under the influence

¹ Malinetsky G.G. About "Culture Risks" in System Crisis Conditions // Synergy, Philosophy, Culture. – Moscow: RAGS, 2001. – P. C.107-112.

of traditions and novations; 5) new formation in person's value structure; 6) necessity of search of self-determination of every person; 7) showing up life claims.

There are eternal and external conditions and factors, which determine person's subjective qualities, his personal qualities and at last his individuality, providing inclusion into life situation "here and now" and contributing into cultureness further development.

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Some aspects of the design of social time in an unstable society

The situation of instability of social life provides the best opportunity for meaningful window of its fundamental characteristics. They are perceived by us both as a fault line and the base of stability. Among these basic characteristics, of course, a key place takes Time. This is the one of the fundamental substances, which the situation of crisis gives us a chance for better understanding. Social time is often perceived as a simple form of physical time. Such an interpretation is a source of composite representation of society as the sum of individuals. Of course, in a sense, society can be so regarded, but only if we accept the individual as a result of social interactions. It is these interactions and makes the texture of society. But they occur precisely in the social time. In a social time past and future are represented in a single continuum with the present. This is precisely the "time interdependence", about which there is a replica of Hamlet: "The time is out of joint". [1] The relationship that exists not in a mechanical sequence of minutes and hours, but joins, shared meanings, social behavior of individuals. In a sense, agreeing with the fact that people have, over time, other ideas about the values we thereby destroy those values now. Of course, this simply articulated the inevitability of change our ideas about the world. But for most people the perception of values, such as constant, is an important condition for adopting these values generally.

In a sense, Shakespeare speaks about anomie. The anomie with the need to accompany crises, accepted for believing. However, for the time lost their sense of unity it could mean not only offensive chaos. In the Soviet Union officially recognized by the perception of time was teleological, in the spirit of St. Augustine the Blessed, although the Soviet ideologues saw themselves as heirs of the *Siècle des lumières*. With regard to perceptions of social time, and their views closer to those expressed Bishop of Hippo, rather than Diderot, Rousseau, Franklin, d'Alembert, because their Time – this is the deployment of destiny, and not progress. For Soviet ideologists future is not predicted, but described by Marx in the details. Meanwhile, progress implies the possibility of options, and not by accident thinkers Age of Reason avoided to make predictions. In this case we see really Predestination. Indeed, there is some reason to interpret Marxism by the same rules as interpreted by some religions, not only with respect to the similarity of formal organizations of its supporters with religious organizations, but also in doctrinal aspects.

In our study of the processes that determine the logic of constructing social time, we take as a basis for tools of sociocultural analysis. The most obvious analyzed patterns are identified when accessing the society's interaction with literary texts. Significantly, in this regard, reference to the evolution of the concept of time in the texts of Ivan Efremov. His early works are based on the linear concept

of time, while the future is the deployment of the communist idea. As written by S. Pereslegin, "Efremov's world is not focused in time, in the sense that rampant "development" is not a principle of structure-built Soviet paleontologist low entropy civilization".[2] In contrast to the official ideology, here the emphasis is not on the path to the future, and hence the "fight against the enemies", and the final result.

Since the mid-60's (especially clear, of course, in the novel "Hour of the bull") Efremov sees social time as more inextricable. It is not only recognition of the possibility of branching, alternatives. [3, 4, 5, 6] On Tormanse people on the communist future meet with their own past, the time is not linear, but cyclical. S. Pereslegin rightly points to the sharp deceleration of social time in the society described in the novel "Andromeda Galaxy". But a significant part of his contemporaries and compatriots of I. Efremov slowing traffic to the future here and now perceived as a shift in the cycle. Strugatsky's success against this backdrop is quite clear: in their books, the future begins tomorrow. Instead described (in passing, behind the scenes) Ivan Efremov stretched for centuries road – short jump, perhaps by the formula N. Khrushchev, "the current generation of Soviet people will live under communism". However, having become friends, the future turned out to be vulnerable. Efremov pushed away a century precisely because they clearly understood: in the described world must live very different people. Strugatsky tried to believe in the total success of pedagogy, capable of over the life of one or two generations to create the infamous "new man" (another dream of Khrushchev, nursing). But by the time of writing of his later texts they understand such fundamental change is real only at the gene level. And displacement garbing of the safety of people is quite natural result "leap into the future".

We can only speculate to what extent these considerations, which are obvious to us now, were those of the authors. The strength of fiction is that its format allows you to operate freely hypotheses – and make, often, effective forecasting. But it is obvious that the vast majority of readers not intended on the problems of Time in the texts of Ivan Efremov and Strugatsky. For them, this book was critical of existing social reality, latent easily readable code. However, since many years, we have little interest, as was the Soviet Union is similar to Tormans and Komkon for the KGB. We can peer into what is really worth attention.

The crisis not only gives us a chance to understand the full measure of volatility, the vulnerability of civilization linear time (understood in terms of progress, or predestination), in which we live. We can feel the full measure of our power over the future. Power, which at one time was afraid Edmund Burke, the French Revolution failed in the right to change the world so that descendants can not get it from us as we got it from their ancestors. Today we know much more, including about what the future may simply not be, and by our fault. But it still remains true to the arguments of T. Paine, which unconditionally true, if it is a separate society, and as unequivocally false as applied to all mankind, because Payne, in fact, only justified selfishness. This must be done again and again, because otherwise people will pay a means to achieve someone else's someone

else's benefit. But the right of everyone to live life the way he thinks is right, should assume the same right to others, including children, otherwise the world will turn into chaos. And this inevitably requires exactly the atomization of society, as the only real condition of minimizing the effects of decisions taken by the actors. Any synergy, combining the efforts of large numbers of groups, is fraught with irreversible consequences.

In futurology, a historical retrospection consistently serves as one of auxiliary instruments. It does not come into conflict with the installation, for any natural science - to operate with objective reality, not virtual reality, as a finite range. Future of the definition, whether it is unconditional, and futurology would not exist at all. Alternativeness laid in the very basic facilities of simulation of reality, taken in this science. [7]

For fiction simulation of reality, the construction of its virtual counterparts is a common, basic, strategic practice, contrary to the representations of some critics, that the artistic mimesis is simply fair copy of reality. How accurately observes I. V. Bestuzhev-Lada, if the past is no alternative, they can not be well at the present or future. It is crucial to the literary practice, the distinction of "prediction": reconstructive (forecasts of possible state events or ancient monuments on some initial data that has survived to the present) and reverse (forecasts of possible state events, and processes of the past when a logical extension of the well-known tendency to present to the past or from less to more distant past) .[8] These methodological considerations apply to the use Retro Forecast opportunities for philosophy of history. They have limited use because his number of people for whom such issues is important, it is extremely narrow. For society as a whole far greater sense of acquire operations in the past, focused primarily on its interpretation in accordance with predetermined ideological views.

Historical reconstruction always offers us a version of reality that is absolutely accurate in principle, it can not be. A. Bushkov cites the example of discussion of the reliability of one of the most well-known facts of world history, the discovery of America, and shows that the evidence does not prove definitely successful maiden voyage. The overall picture has not changed much, if we accept the A. Bushkov's hypothesis on which the results of the first expedition had been falsified. But the facts are rarely deformed without some ideological purpose. Comprehend this mechanism helps to appeal to the most brutal attempts to falsify undertaken in the 20-th years of 19 century. As part of an ideological campaign Restoration of the Bourbons attempt was made to prove that Napoleon was not at all. If this is determined by the magnitude of the fraud temporal proximity and the political significance of distorting events, our contemporaries A. T. Fomenko, G. V. Nosovskii certainly go further, in the aspect of the scale of the proposed revision of history. In all these cases it is not about fiction, but the texts that claim referred to research or journalism, is "fantastic fiction".

In the inevitability of globalization believe and those who are trying to find ways for Russia to avoid it. Alternatively, is almost exclusively the revival of the empire, and fenced off from the whole world a new Iron Curtain. Empire itself may

be different. R. Zlotnikov offers heroic image. [9] P. Krusanov - mysterious, tragic in its basis, versify. [10] In something like utopia H. Van Zaichik (joint pseudonym of Russian science fiction writers and scientists Sinologists, the main role in which belong to Vyacheslav Rybakov and Igor Alimov) and Rybakov, [11] in the sense which are based, if I may paraphrase Vl. Solovyov, "excuse by weal". This image is alternative to today's world empire populated by people who have an almost flawless in terms of our contemporary moral character. The texts of H. Van Zaichik Empire Ordus is not a "national clean", and cycle, in fact, is called "Eurasian Symphony". However, it is not an obstacle for many readers. The reason for this is not the commitment of the Eurasian ideas in the spirit of "Exodus to the East", but appeal to the habitual experience of the Soviet Union. Actually, it was the Soviet model, primarily used to "build" alternative empires.

Low likelihood of such a model, however, is obvious, by virtue of which it remains virtually unique. Not accidentally Rybakov, nor under its own name or as H. Van Zaichik, not trying to describe her way of folding. Eurasian Symphony is just a dream, a real empire built on force and coercion. That such worlds described Zhukov, A. Zorich, M. Tyurin, V. Burtsev (Y. N. Burnosov), V. Serebryakov, A. Ulanov. It is not surprising that popular dystopian, totalitarian model describing control of all spheres of social life. This dystopia can be regarded differently, cause a variety of emotional evaluations, from horror, to hidden or open sympathy. But the authors can confidently rely on the understanding the reader perceives the current situation as temporary, unstable, and waiting to return in some form or other, to total state control.

"Imperial vector" of the current Russian fiction deserves attention as a literary and aesthetic, and as a political and psychological phenomenon. Writes O. Slavnikova, Empire aesthetically attractive and ethically comfortable not only for the ruling upper class, but also for ordinary citizens that make up its construction material.[12]

Judgement on the V. Rybakov, alternate history texts with complete frankness demonstrate the nature and emotional intensity ratios of different social groups to those or other real or fictional historical events, reveal the historical expectations and phobias these same groups.[13] "Unfortunately, this kind of speculative Experiments with an objective point of view, we can assume is not too moral",[14] adds an assessment of A. N. Osipov. There are a sharp judgments. Thus, A. D. Bykov wrote: "alternative history - a classic product of postmodernism, which rejects any rightness as such and claiming the equality of all points of view - is a powerful weapon ... corruption, if you want. Because if everything is vague and nothing is exactly when Kutuzov was no at all, or Bagration was a Chinese - a big question are national shrines and national same values, and not something to die for, or just to live ... It turns out that, ultimately, alternative history - a game for a fall. For a multiple, unsteady reality can be neither right nor blame ... The main problem it's not even that legitimizes the pseudoscientific approaches to reality, but the fact that an alternative history overrides reality".[15]

In a sense, the apparent poetic exaggeration last phrase pretty accurately conveys the essence of the matter. Unimportant in this case, that D. Bykov believes, postmodernism is almost a manifestation of the intellectual collapse of humanity. Here, as already mentioned in the episode with an attempt to Bourbons journalism “undo” the Napoleonic era, the reality remains true, whatever is claimed about her ideology. We live in an age of postmodernism, not according with realization of our intentions, but simply because the paradigm of modernity has exhausted itself. Of course, this situation can not be liked by people whose consciousness is the modernist paradigm is oriented. But it’s – their problems.

At the time, became a bestseller, the Fukuyama's article, in our opinion, incorrectly defines the status quo. The death of history itself does not come, and, in a sense, it's impossible, if we talk about history as a process of social change. It should be about the attempted assassination of the history. It is quite legitimate as long as people are aware of themselves as individuals. They do not want to be sent to kill other people in the name of any “national interests”. They do not want to be a bomb dropped on their heads for the name of someone invented ideals, not to mention the means to implement the ideals of what have concentration camps. In other words, mature society rejects the historical process as the realization of political relations.

But naive to think that while it will limit the damage of totalitarian systems. Totalitarianism itself is just one of the most extreme forms of democracy. N. Berdyaev was a deeply right, opposing the idea of democracy as such human rights. Society had to undergo various forms of dictatorships, generated by democracy, beginning with the Jacobin, to grow to the thesis of the inalienable rights of man, but this does not imply the legitimacy of idealization of democracy as such, and with it, and other values Nouveau era.

Post-modern games with the history, and with Time, only superficially similar to the experiments of Alexander Dumas, but have completely different meaning. Designing variety reality – it is one of the operations of the process of deconstruction of reality. And it concerns not only the representations of the past. These performances are only part of the identity of the society. Authors and readers are attracted to the genre of alternate history is not the logic of choice (a discussion is the subject of discussion in several forums, but no more), but the possibility of choice. When we choose, we realize the algorithm of binary logic. When we conceptualize a situation of choice, as such, goes beyond its limits. On the precise Sobolev's observation, overcoming the most common in the mass consciousness “mechanical” approach to understanding the historical process.[16]

This is - one of the manifestations of the type of consciousness, adequate modern reality. Reality is multi-layered, virtual, is the result of social and cultural construction. In genre fiction, alternate history by testing a new type of perception of social time.

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Socio-political conflict in Russia: the state and prospects

Specifics of socio-political conflict

Socio-political conflict as if combines in itself both social and political conflicts, each of which separately is used for solving of «its own» problem. Besides, different in their qualitative characteristics parties (subjects) confront each other in those conflicts. The main differences of social conflict from political one are as follows:

1. In social conflict confrontation takes place between *social subjects* (individuals, groups, social organizations, movements and institutes). In political conflict the same takes place between *subjects of policy* (political parties, political (state) institutes, states). It cannot be ruled out that transformation social subject into political and vice versa takes place in the course of development of both social and political conflict.
2. *The objects of social conflict* (in a narrow sense) are social interest, needs, values, social statuses, etc. The integral *object political conflict* is political (state) power and relations of power.

Since socio-political conflict combines in itself both social and political conflicts, then both social and political subject may interact and counteract therein simultaneously. But the subject matter of such conflict may be simultaneously social and political interests.

Thus, *socio-political conflict is confrontation of two or more social and political subjects (parties) resulting from incompatible socio-political interests, objectives and values directly or indirectly connected with political (state) power*. It is any social conflict affect political relationship and/or for settlement of which it is necessary to use political methods and means. For example, if in the course of any strike of employees of a large enterprise or the whole industry turn out to be impossible to solve social (economic) problems underlying a conflict then such strike may be transformed into a political action with political requirements (for example, resignation of a governor, the government, the president). But political this action cannot become political one until it will «force» government institutions to solve arising problems by political methods.

One of conflicting parties in a socio-political conflict is represented by large social groups (labor teams, retired persons, young people, population of a region, ethnoses, etc.), as well as social institutes, and political ones opposed to the power (parties, trade unions, social and political movements). The other party to a socio-political conflict is the ruling political regime or some of its institutes.

The common object for the both conflicting parties in a socio-political conflict is political power. But either of the parties may have its own subject matter in such conflict. For example, for subjects of policy (state and its institutes, political parties)

the object of any conflict is the state power, and the subject matter thereof are the limits of power authorization. For social subjects of a socio-political conflict political power is not, as a rule, the goal in and of itself (subject matter) in such conflict. Power (public authorities, officials) is considered here only as the cause of arising social problems and/or as a method (means) for achievement of desired social purposes. But in certain conditions social subjects may be transformed into political ones and to lay claim to political power also.

Socio-political conflict may be considered as one of forms of political conflict. But there are certain differences between those conflicts in the nature of problems to be solved and qualitative characteristics of conflicting parties. In political conflict (in a narrow sense) formal subjects of policy (state institutes and organizations, political parties, political leaders) confront each other.

Formal subjects of policy (professionals) usually do not wish to involve large social groups in political conflicts, since this may result in destabilization of the political system. They strive to monopolize political activity and, in the opinion of P. Bourdieu, to produce political product meeting, first of all, the interests of monopolists themselves.¹ For example, in the last 10 years the legislative bodies of Russia (the State Duma and the Federation Council) adopted, and the President of the RF approved a number of laws and legislative acts prejudicing substantially the rights of average citizens and expanding the rights of the ruling class. For example, 52 article of the RF Criminal Code providing for confiscation of illegally acquired property was abolished (without any special publicity) at the end of 2003. «The law on monetization of benefits» deteriorating considerably the economic situation of millions of individuals being in need of social protection was passed in 2004. The Water Code of the Russian Federation legitimizing construction of villas on the shores of rivers and ponds was passed in 2006. The Forestry Code passed in 2009 is also scandalous. This and similar «lawmaking» of the ruling regime enables future socio-political conflict.

Thus, it may be stated that political conflict (in a narrow sense) is small-scale in comparison with socio-political one. Usually it arises and develops within the limits of the function political system, which may be «narrowed down» to the minimum limits, in which case people «keeps silence» and does not prevent the ruling class in exercise of its power and use of the country's resources for solving its own problems.

But if in the country exists real opposition to the ruling class, which can initiate political conflicts both in the political system itself and outside of it then the limits of the political system expand. Real opposition to the authorities strives to give a political tone to any contradictions in any sphere of the society and so «to force» the ruling class «to fight» in the «alien» socio-political field which is uncomfortable for the former. It strives also to enlist sympathies of social actors

¹ Bourdieu P. Sociology of politics. – M. P. 184-185.

(large social groups). Thus, political conflict may be transformed into a socio-political one.

Another variant of origination of socio-political conflict is the situation wherein social subjects dissatisfied with the policy of the ruling regime, initiate themselves socio-political conflict. For example, retired persons and other social strata dissatisfied with enactment of the Law on monetization of benefits (January, 2005) forced public authorities by their mass protests to reconsider and improve this Law. In June, 2009 people of Pikalevo in Leningrad region dissatisfied with closure of the township-forming enterprises blocked off a federal highway and forced the RF Government to solve the problem using political methods.

Depending on the scope, forms of confrontation and applied means, socio-political conflicts may be classified on the following bases: 1) local (regional) – large-scale (nationwide); 2) non-violent (meetings, strikes, manifestations, marches, etc.) – violent (revolt, civil war); 3) system conflicts (not supposing replacement of the ruling regime of power) – regime conflicts (supposing replacement of the ruling regime of power).

If a regime socio-political conflict presuppose deep qualitative transformation of all spheres of life activities of the society and state then it is named *social revolution*.¹ The Great October revolution of 1917 in Russia and the Islamic revolution in Iran (January, 1978 – February, 1979) may exemplify such conflicts.

2. Subjects (parties) of socio-political conflict

The issue of the kind of social actors who may be transformed into political subjects and form a conflicting party able to confront the existing political regime is very topical for modern Russia.

Political science assumes differentiation of the notions of «subject of policy» and «political subject». For any *subject of policy* political activity is principal. State, political parties, political institutes and organizations, political leaders may be attributed to this category. The category of *political subjects* include those persons who forced be engaged in politics apart from their principal activities (average citizens, social groups, public organizations, etc.)².

In accordance with the current Constitution of the RF (article 3), «1. The bearer of sovereignty and the sole source of power in the Russian Federation shall be its multinational people. 2. The people shall exercise its power directly, as well as through State government bodies and local self-government bodies».³ However, it should be realized that *subject of law* and *political subject* are not identical notions. This article of the Constitution confirms the right of the people to exercise its power, including direct exercise thereof. But it cannot impart the qualities of a subject to people the majority of whom are bearers of the loyalist political culture.

¹ On specifics political and social revolution. See: Kozyrev G.I. Political conflictology. M., 2008. P. 286 – 293.

² See: General and applied politology. M., 1997. P. 514.

³ Constitution of the Russian Federation. Article 3. M., 2004. P. 2.

Political authorities are gained in the course of political struggle. Social or political actor evading political struggle cannot be a subject of socio-political conflict. As a rule, such «subject» loses also the status of a subject. For example, A. Akaev, the president of Kirgizia, striving to evade bloodshed during public disturbances (in the spring of 2005) left the country and lost the president's position. Nicholas II abdicated in February, 1917; he was a subject of socio-political conflict and became a victim thereof. Citizens (according to the Constitution) unable or not wishing to protect their interests are *the subjects* tolerating any arbitrary treatment on the part of the ruling class.

The tragedy of the modern Russian society lies in the fact that the majority of the Russians because of their passivity, the lack of organization, the lack of trust in the possibility to affect political process do not wish to take part in policy. For example, only 19% of respondents asked in the course of questioning of the Russians conducted by Levada-Center in February, 2010 answered the question: «Are You ready personally to take more active part in policy?» as follows: «certainly yes / to a certain extent yes »; 77% of them answered: «rather no than yes / certainly no» to this question. This data is identical to the same obtained in the course of similar questioning in February, 2006.¹ Hence, even the economic crisis failed to «force» the Russians to increase their political activity. One of the causes of political passivity of the Russians is the fact that 85% of respondents consider that they cannot affect governmental decision making in the country.² This being the case, the highest passivity, according to expert opinion, is demonstrated by the Russian students, i.e. the social stratum, which is the most active participant of socio-political processes in developed democracies.³ The highest activity was also demonstrated by students and other young people in people's uprisings, which took place in the beginning of 2011 in a number of countries in North Africa.

A serious problem for the Russian society is the lack of legitimate political leaders constituting real opposition to the authorities and able to support wide strata of Russian citizens. So-called «systemic oppositionists» like Zhirinovskiy and Zyuganov, have long ago become inherent attributes of the ruling regime, which uses them extremely efficiently in order to let off periodically excess pressure from «the boiler of the people's wrath». «Non-systemic oppositionists» like E. Limonov, G. Kasparov and B. Nemtsov, because of their marginality, eccentricity or past «sins», are unable to attract in their ranks wide social strata of citizens.

The absence in the Russian political field of any significant opposition leaders is conditioned, in particular, by preventive actions of the ruling regime, which strive to prevent the appearance and formation of such leaders. For this purpose the authorities provide wide field of activities such pseudo opposition leaders like V. Zhirinovskiy, other persons are attracted by them by senior positions and

¹ Cherepova P. Relationship between society and state in the eyes of the Russians // <http://www.levada.ru/press/2010031602.html>

² Ibid.

³ Novikova I. No wisdom like silence. Why political activity of the Russian students is practically non-existent // Novie Izvestiya, December 21, 2010

academic ranks (D. Rogozin, N. Belykh, S. Glazyev), the activities of third group of persons (E. Limonov, G. Kasparov, B. Nemtsov) are discredited and restricted in every possible way. But the main reason for the lack of significant opposition leaders in the Russian society is insufficient maturity of the civil society itself.

The main social base of civil society in industrially developed democracies is the middle class, which constitutes the majority of population (from 60% to 80%). The class is also opponent the upper middle class, high official and a part of the lower social strata inclined to extremism. Besides, the middle is the main productive force in the society able to work intensely, to learn new information, to be engaged in creative work, educate new generations of citizens, etc.

However in Russia over the period of the last 15 years the share of the middle class in the social structure of population ranges from 14 to 25%. This being the case, in certain periods of time after small increase of the middle class follows usually its reduction. Thus, within the period from 2003 to 2006 the share of the middle class in the country decreased from 25% to 20%.¹ The point is that the ruling political regime created socioeconomic, political and legal condition unfavorable for development of the middle class. Taxation existing in Russia does not facilitate the development of small and medium business. The facts of criminal outrage in Kischevskaya Cossack village, Krasnodar Territory, in Gus-Khrustalny, Vladimir region and other regions of the country which came into the public domain in the autumn of 2010 evidence that gangsters, a considerable part of defense and law enforcement agencies and corrupted officials joined forces in the fight for liquidation of the middle class and civil society. For example, in the course of investigation of tragic events which took place in Kischevskaya Cossack village the Federal Protection Service (FPS) came to the conclusion that «the structure of management» of population in this Cossack village was formed and functions throughout the country. «Executives manage with the help of criminals the territories of the country they are entrusted with».² It is needless to speak under such conditions about the development of the middle class and civil society.

As for formation of legal culture, then the behavior of the ruling class may be compared here with the behavior of negligent parents whose way of life is immoral, but, at the same time, they require chastity from the children educated by them. The overwhelming majority of citizens of Russia consider that it is legislative bodies and public officials which do not observe the laws developed by themselves and force other people to observe the same. For example, according to a survey, 76% of respondents find oneself unprotected from arbitrary treatment on the part of the authorities, 65% consider that many officials today disobey Russian laws. Therefore, in the opinion of 60% of citizens, they are unable to protect their rights in the event of violation thereof.³

¹ The middle class in modern Russia. M., 2008. P. 18.

² Kischevskaya» Russia // Argumenty nedeli. № 49 (238), December 16, 2010. P. 3.

³ <http://www.levada.ru/press/2008070101.html>

In the last 10 years the ruling political regime «trample down» purposefully infirm yet sprouts of young Russian democracy, both in the political system itself and in the socio-political field of civil society. As a result of that, there are no political parties, which are real opposition to the ruling class, in Russia now. It is difficult recollect substantial enough public protest organized during this period and headed by any particular political party opposed to the authorities. Hence, it is unreasonable to expect that any political party able to initiate and head a large-scale socio-political conflict will appear in Russia in the nearest future.

As for initiatives coming from the civil society itself, then there is slow, but steady growth of protest movements in Russia in the last 5 – 6 years. The reasons for such actions are: deterioration of socioeconomic situation for the majority of people in the country, growth of community charges, increasing gap between revenues of «the poor» and «the rich», aggravation inter-ethnic relations, alienation of people from power, arbitrary treatment on the part of security, law enforcement and defense authorities, provoking behavior of top-ranking civil servants. But protest actions of any particular social groups are of adaptive, «self-protective» and not offensive nature. When people are afraid to lose something they possess.¹ Many of those actions may be characterize as: «gesture of despair» - the events in Pikalevo; «massive protest» - public protests of the Russians against monetization of benefits; «actions of defiance towards arbitrary behavior of officials» - the fight of car drivers against flicker devices; «social protest» - events in Moscow and other cities in December, 2010.

3. Prospects of socio-political conflict in Russia

But, suppressing in every possible way democratic opposition, the ruling regime did not pay sufficient attention to newly-emerging ethnic extremism and racial intolerance. Moreover, not preventing illegal migration and not fighting properly against ethnic criminal groups, public authorities facilitated the growth of inter-ethnic tension and extremism. For example, according to the data from the RF General Prosecutor Office, 130 acts of extremism were performed in the territory of the Russian Federation in 2004, 152 in 2005, 230 in 2006, 356 in 2007, 460 in 2008, 548 in 2009.² According to estimates human rights activist organizations, during the first half of the year 2010 90 attacks owing to aggressive xenophobia were fixed in the country as a whole, 22 people died and 105 were wounded.³ 36 people died and 550 were wounded in inter-ethnic clashes during the year 2010.

A kind of «the moment of truth» occurred on December 11, 2010. This day about 5 – 6 thousand soccer fans (and not only fans) arrived to Manezhnaya square in Moscow with the requirement to the authorities to put things right in enforcement bodies. During several days similar actions took place also in other large cities in the country (Saint Petersburg, Rostov-on-Don, Samara, Bryansk,

¹ Dudin B. Institutes, networks, rituals // *Pro et Contra*. № 2-3 (41), March-June, 2008. P. 24.

² Pogroms in Moscow: radicalism or the majority's attitude // *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, December 17, 2010. P. 5.

³ Ibid.

Krasnoyarsk, etc.). The reason for such unauthorized action became the fact that enforcement bodies released from investigatory isolation ward a group of immigrants from Caucasus suspected of the murder of Egor Sviridov, a Spartak fan. But the actual reason for that socio-political protest initiated by friends of the killed young man became absolute corruptness and inefficiency of the entire system of state administration and infringement of laws by the authorities existing in the country.

In the course of development of the socio-political protest it was joined by various nationalist and extremist groups, and the nature of the conflict became ethno-political. The main hatred of protesters disposed to extremism was transformed into beating of persons with non-Slavic appearance, which gave many analysts and politicians (including chief executives of the state) a reason for naming xenophobia and extremism as the major causes of the massive protest.

However, such point of view regarding the causes of protest, in our opinion, is true only in part. It is expedient, first of all, for the ruling regime of power. It is more simple to accuse tens of thousands of teen-agers and young people of ill breeding than to admit corruptness and inefficiency of the power itself. But many analysts accused the ruling regime of the events which took place on December, 11 and during several days after that in Moscow and other cities in the country. For example, in the opinion of Ilya Yashin, the chairman of the federal bureau of «Solidarnost» movement, «corruption and lawlessness, impossibility to achieve justice legitimately path provoke revolt and mob punishment».¹

Notwithstanding ethnic coloration of mass actions in December, 2010, the main causes of those actions were social contradictions. For example, according to the data obtained as a result of questioning of the Russians conducted by Levada-Center on December 24, 2010, the overwhelming majority of respondents named as the main cause of the December events *impunity of disorderly person and criminal, i. e. those who, using money and contacts evade responsibility*. In this connection 37% of respondents agree completely with this point of view, and 39% of the same agree in principle. Such reason as: *strong stratification of the society, unsettled state of young people, the lack of prospects and inequality of chances for the Russians in Russia* ranked second in the number of those who named it (33 and 35% of votes, respectively). *Defiant and violent behavior of newcomers themselves* (29 and 38% of votes) ranked third. Such reasons as: 1) *provocations of ultra-nationalists and extremists*; 2) *criminal ethnic groups «covered» by law enforcement bodies and bureaucrats* ranked only fourth among the causes of mass protests (28 and 37% of votes).²

Thus, the overwhelming majority of the Russians consider ethnic antagonisms as a consequence of ineffective and sometimes criminal policy of the ruling regime, and not a «all-sufficient» cause of mass protests. Therefore December events in Russia must be considered, first of all, as *socio-political protest* of

¹ Revolt at the Kremlin walls // Argumenty i fakty. No. 50, 2010. P.4.

² <http://www.levada.ru/press/2010122406.html>

the Russians directed against socioeconomic, legal, inter-ethnic policy conducted by the ruling regime.

According to the data from a survey conducted by the All-Russian Public Opinion Research Center, 11% of the Russians do not exclude their own participation in mass protest actions.¹ On a national scale this is large enough number of people able, in the event of their organize action, to force the ruling regime to meet the requirements of the civil society. But to declare their «eventual participation» in an action and real participation therein are different things.

There are no efficient socio-political institutes of self-organization of people in Russia now. Presumably, only soccer fans whose organizations are stable and exist over a period of several decades can call to the streets several thousands of people in an orderly manner. But those organizations are under control of state and other political forces not oppositional thereto. Many social strata try to carry out self-organization for protection of certain «particular» interest. For example, among them are «car drivers of Russia», «defenders of the Khimki Forest», «deceived investors», etc. The purposes of such social movements are of local nature.

The situation being what it is now when the growth of protest moods is observed in the society, but legitimate opposition institutes and leaders able to give the organized nature to spontaneous protest actions of the Russians are absent, the growing social tension may provoke «the Russian revolt, senseless and ruthless». Such «revolt» may be also classified as «socio-political conflict». But this conflict is already not institutionalized, but absolute (according to L. Kozer), in which the fight is conducted without any rules, perhaps, for extinction of each other by the parties. If social tension in Russian society will surpass the tolerance threshold then next thoughtless or criminal action of law enforcement bodies or an escapade of extremists may become a reason for such conflict. The reason for the conflict is poor response of the authorities to the main demands of the society.

People's rebellions in January-February, 2011 in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and other countries of North Africa and Near East were started according to the scenario described above in many respects. Undoubtedly, Russia is not Africa. But their problems are similar in many respects, and the theory of origin and development of socio-political conflict is the same for all of them. In order to prevent development of socio-political conflict in Russia according to the Tunisian or Libyan scenario, the ruling regime must support development of the institutes of civil society (including oppositional ones), start real fight against corruption, first of all, in its own ranks, and respond more adequately to the main demands of the society.

¹ <http://www.levada.ru/press/2010122406.html>

Kravchenko, Sergey A.

The Dynamics of the Sociological Imagination

The founder of the theory of the sociological imagination was C. Wright Mills (1916-1962). In the work *The Sociological Imagination*¹ he challenged the dominant theorist of his day, T. Parsons, as well as the dominant methodologist, P. Lazarsfeld. According to him they overorganized the sociological theory belittling the role of *innovative thinking*. *The Sociological Imagination* is also noted for the effort to keep *original methodology* of the founders of science alive in sociological theory especially a Marxian one. On the basis of his innovative thinking Mills put forward the ideas of *methodological integrity* of social nominalism and social realism, the *links of global and region/local problems* as well as the *relationship between the personal troubles and public issues*, the *innermost acts of the individual with the widest kinds of socio-historical phenomena*, the *ambivalent functions of science*, the *multicultural development of culture*, *cultural relativism*, the *dynamics of institutions and social meanings* etc. He especially praised the *original intellectual thinking* of Marx and the founders of Sociology, their ideas of *immanent critique* of intellectual, social, and political orthodoxies, the *liberty based on the reason* considering these values to be in danger. Since then these issues have been extraordinarily influential in Sociology².

However, Mills didn't show concretely the sociological imagination of the founders of Sociology and the representatives of the next generation of scholars, neither did he analyze the factors of 'ageing' sociological theorizing and thinking its dynamics. Besides, Mills' work is more than a half century old.

The codependence of sociological theorizing, thinking, and imagination

The character of theoretical and methodological instruments of Sociology is influenced by the social and cultural dynamics of a society, intellectual traditions of the country in which it developed, and, certainly, by the achievements of the science. New theoretical approaches are also based on the shoulders of the previous giants of the sociological thought. The consequences of these factors are both non-linear and liner in character. So we have a very contradictory process. As R.K. Merton writes: 'I adopted the non-linear, advancing-by-doubling-back Shandean Method of composition at the same time I was reflecting that this open form resembles the course taken by history in general, by the history of ideas in particular, and, in a way by the course taken in scientific inquiry as well'³. Thus, *Sociology attends to continuities as well as discontinuities, jumps*.

¹ Mills, C.W. *The Sociological Imagination*. – New York: Oxford University Press, 1959.

² Merton, R.K. *Sociological Ambivalence*. – New York: Free Press, 1976.

³ Merton, R.K. *On the Shoulders of Giants*. – Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993. – P. XIX; *The Sociology of Science*. – Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.

Commonly sociological theories are classified by two criteria: a historical-cultural and national-regional context. Accordingly, it is accepted to allocate the classical sociological theory¹, modern sociological theory² and postmodern *social* theory³ which loses many actually sociological characteristics of the predecessors, including thus in itself even "antisociology".

We offer *another criterion* of the classification of sociological theories that is *the capability of the theory to analyze the becoming complicated social and cultural dynamics of the society, accelerated development of human communities, including their discontinuities as well as continuities*. There is some basis for it. As the society passes a certain threshold of evolution – such as the 'ageing' of socium – it assumes new qualities on a large scale. As a result there appear new challenges to the sociological knowledge, thinking and imagination.

The well-known scholars discuss this problem expressing rather different views. Thus, H. Joas considers the development of Sociology with the action-theoretical perspective that can cover 'many modernisation'⁴. S.A. Arjomand tries to overcome the challenges by metatheorising in Sociology. He does a metatheoretical analysis of Weber's rationalisation theory on the basis of which he puts forward his theory of hyperrationality. For him this is an attempt to rationalise the whole world experiencing non-linear development, modernisation and globalisation⁵. R. Collins focuses on the relationship between Sociology and Philosophies. The unity of them may form a global theory of intellectual change⁶. Z. Bauman's lifelong topic is postmodernity that is characterised not only by peculiar dynamic mechanism, high polarisation, specific postmodern ethics⁷, but but by liquid modernity and liquid times as well⁸. A. Giddens introduces the notion of 'runaway world' to denote the process of manufacturing uncertainties and discontinuities in modern society. He claims that Sociology and his theory structuration should study the reflexivity and risks of the modern world⁹.

The range of views held within the discourse of challenges to the sociological knowledge, thinking, and imagination displays that Sociology has not been successful enough in handling the problems of discontinuities and

¹ Ritzer G. Classical Sociological Theory. – McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2000.

² Ritzer G. Modern Sociological Theory. – McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2000.

³ Ritzer G. Postmodern Social Theory. – McGraw-Hill Companies, 1997.

⁴ Joas, H. The Changing Role of the Social Sciences. An Action-Theoretical Perspective // International Sociology. – 2004, № 3.

⁵ Arjomand, S.A. Theory and the Changing World. Mass Democracy, Development, Modernization and Globalisation // International Sociology. – 2004, № 3.

⁶ Collins, R. Sociology and Philosophies. A Global Theory of Intellectual Change. – Cambridge, Mass.-L., 2000.

⁷ Bauman, Z. Intimations of Postmodernity. London: Routledge, 1992; Postmodern Ethics. – Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1993; Globalization. The Human Consequences. – Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 1998; The Individualized Society. Cambridge: Polity, Oxford; Malden: Blackwell, 2001.

⁸ Bauman, Z. Liquid Modernity.- Cambridge: Polity, Oxford; Malden: Blackwell, 2000; Liquid Times. Living in an Age of Uncertainty. – Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009.

⁹ Giddens, A. Runaway World. How Globalization is Reshaping our Lives. – London: Profile Books Ltd., 1999

continuities within its own development. So, according to the above mentioned criterion - the capability of the theory to analyze the becoming complicated social and cultural dynamics of the society - we propose the following **five generations of the sociological metatheorizing, thinking, and imagination**.

At the same time, we argue that peculiar sociological thinking and imagination are *located within Sociology, to be more exact - in its metaparadigm, but not outside*. That is why sociological metatheorizing, thinking, and imagination are *codependent*. Each metaparadigm has its limits in historical and intellectual terms, and the same can be said about the corresponding types of sociological thinking and imagination. They are all *determined by self-development of socium* that is becoming more and more complex.

The first generation - the theories considering social development as *evolutionary and linear*, recognizing that the development of a nature and a society can be interpreted by the same theoretical and methodological instruments. The first sociologies - O. Komte, H. Spencer, E. Durkhgeim, K. Marx - tried to prove the *objective historical laws* which, in essence, were applied to the interpretation of societies as well as the lifeless matter. So, there appeared the **positivistic metaparadigm** which is based on a postulate of *eurocentrism of scientific knowledge, convertibility of social development and linear development in general*. The supporters of this metaparadigm considered that studying the various social facts enabled scientists to learn the society, its structures and functions and thus to create the social order, progressing on the basis of the intellectual development and moral perfection. In essence, the universal determinism of reason and morals was established. At the same time they developed the **sociological imagination** with a specific scientific ethos and innovative thinking in the form of '**organized scepticism**'. According to R. Merton it requires the scientist to doubt about the existing "truths" and then to check whether the doubt is well founded¹.

The second generation - the theories that are based on actually *social* theoretical and methodological instruments which interpreted the causality as *probability* of the fulfillment of events. This led to the assumption that the human society is not something 'historically inevitable', but the result of many alternatives. The theories of this generation form the **interpretive metaparadigm**, asserting *pluralism of possibilities of development and subjectively designed worlds*. The methodology of this metaparadigm is based on the postulate that each socium has unique values and the circumstances are always subjective. That is why there can not be uniform, universal explanations of social realities. The research instruments used by them (M. Weber, G.H. Mead, C. Cooley, A. Schutz, S. Freud, etc.) are aimed at declaring the inevitability of pluralism of valuable systems and of alternativeness of social realities. All together they worked out the **antipositivistic sociological imagination** with a new model of thinking - the socium appears as a set of events which can not be determined as sociological facts. Its essence was

¹ Merton, R.K. On Social Structure and Science. - Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996. - P. 267-267-276.

firstly well expressed in W.I. Thomas' statement: 'If men define situation as real, they are real in their consequences'¹. Later the principles of antipositivistic thinking – knowledge depends on language and social learning, the limits of different theories, critical analysis of timeless truths, direct involvement in social change etc.- were developed within critical theory by M. Horkheimer and T. Adorno in *Dialectic of Enlightenment*².

The third generation - the theories interpreting the social and cultural dynamics as *uncertain fluctuations* (P.A. Sorokin), *choices of actors* (T. Parsons), and *ambivalences* (R.K. Merton). They elaborated the *integral metaparadigm*. It states that social and cultural changes are becoming *more and more dynamic*, in fact the development of socium consists of uncertain fluctuations. It includes the theories of non-equilibrium systems proving, that the complete systems based on the determinist processes, are exception. The methodology of integral metaparadigm postulates cultural pluralism, assumes integrated use of channels of knowledge. Such methodology was claimed by the increase of the dynamic complexity of social life. At this historic time Mills proposed the theory of *sociological imagination* the essence of which was *dynamic-integral thinking* that required a new sociological ethos and thinking in terms of increasing varieties and ambivalences. As Merton argues: 'In this situation of stress, all manner of adaptive behaviors are called into play, some of these being far beyond the mores of science'³.

The fourth generation - the theories analyzing a modern society, its main characteristics such as institutional and individual *reflexivity*. They form the *reflective metaparadigm of radicalized/reflexive modernity*. It is being crystallized under the influence of fragmentation, dispersion, and breaks of the social reality in which self-organized actors operate. The methodology of this metaparadigm defines the extreme dynamism of nowadays world, and the individuals become predisposed to change their self-identifications. The radicalized modernity has brought institutional, culturally cultivated risks in our life that is why the living becomes disorienting. For A. Giddens 'The reflexivity of modern social life consists in the fact that social practices are constantly examined and reformed in the light of incoming information about those very practices, thus constantly altering their character'⁴. To this it is necessary to add the tendencies of structural and functional 'ageing' of the societies of Europe that became the subject of special sociological investigation⁵. As a result the demand for a new theory of the sociological imagination was realized by the world sociological community. Thus, there appeared the **reflexive type of sociological imagination**. P. Sztompka made a fruitful effort to work out a new theory of the sociological imagination that is aimed

¹ Thomas, W.I., and Thomas, D.S. The Child in America: Behavior Problems and Programs. – N.Y.: Knopf. Thompson, Becky W., 1928. – P. 572.

² Horkheimer, M. and Adorno T. Dialectic of Enlightenment. – N.Y.: Continuum, 1987.

³ Merton R.K. The Sociology of Science: Theoretical and Empirical Investigations. – Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973. – P. 323.

⁴ Giddens A. The Consequences of Modernity. – Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990. – P. 38.

⁵ The 6th Conference of the European Sociological Association. Ageing Societies, New Sociology. – Programme of Sessions. – Murcia (Spain), 23-26 September, 2003.

at interpreting reflexive social life in constant dynamics. According to him, the essence of this type of the sociological imagination is innovative, reflexive thinking about *social becoming*¹.

The fifth generation – the theories studying *non-linear social and cultural dynamics*, processes of self-organizing socium, providing the appearance of a new type order developed from chaos and also the theories analyzing the desocialized socium, putting “*the end to the social*”. As J. Baudrillard writes: ‘The only “sociological” work I can claim is my effort to put an end to the social, to the concept of the social’². G. Ritzer argues that the social world is ‘increasingly characterized by “nothing”’. In this case “nothing” refers to a social form that is generally conceived, controlled, and comparatively devoid of distinctive substantive content’³. Nothing is expressed in non-places, non-things, non-people, and non-services⁴. However, the desocialized socium and nothing exist only in relation to the *social* and *something*. G. Ritzer states that ‘all phenomena exist somewhere between the extremes of nothing - something poles of the continuum’⁵. The theories of this generation manifest the *non-linear metaparadigm of postmodernity* that is caused by the transition of *some* socium a new threshold of dynamic complexity thus entering the stage characterized by non-linear self-development, globalization and glocalization as well as bifurcations. For non-linear social and cultural dynamics the breaks of socium are becoming natural. The rhizome development (*Rhizome* – the book by G. Deleuze and F. Guattari) has come into life that, in essence, promotes the end of the familiar world and creation of the new world with the new understanding of order and chaos. The complexity of the non-linear metaparadigm of postmodernity presupposes *the need for different types of sociological imagination, the pluralism of them*. In G. Ritzer’s view, ‘different imagers of the subject matter are the key paradigmatic splits in sociology’⁶. As a result, sociologists have to deal with the pluralism of models of sociological thinking and imagination.

One of the attempts to construct a new model was recently undertaken by British sociologist Steve Fuller in *The New Sociological Imagination*⁷. The author sums up his idea to write this work in the following way: ‘The original idea was for me to write a 21st century version of C. Wright Mills’ 1959 classic, *The Sociological Imagination*. This book shares Mills’ somewhat paranoid political sensibility, his broadly positivistic methodological sympathies, his allergy to trendy academic Newspeak (with structural-functionalism here replaced by postmodernism) and his conviction that social science is vital to confronting the (now very different) future that awaits us. A sense of just how much the world has changed since Mills’ day

¹ Sztompka P. *Society in Action: A Theory of Social Becoming*. – Cambridge, 1991.

² Baudrillard J. *Symbolic Exchange and Death*. – London: Sage, 1993. – P. 106.

³ Ritzer G. *The Globalization of Nothing*. – Sage Publications, 2004. – P. 3.

⁴ Ritzer G. *The Globalization of Nothing*. – P. 10.

⁵ Ritzer G. *The Globalization of Nothing*. – P. 8.

⁶ Ritzer G. *Explorations in Social Theory. From Metatheorizing to Rationalization*. – London, Sage Publications, 2001. – P. 62.

⁷ Fuller S. *The New Sociological Imagination*. – London: Sage Publications Ltd., 2008.

can be gleaned by glancing at the terms and definitions listed in this book's Glossary, only about half of which he would recognize'¹. The book critically examines the history of the social sciences to discover what the key contributions of sociology have been and how relevant they remain, demonstrates how biological and sociological themes have been intertwined. Fuller argues that in terms of reflexivity Giddens replaced 'theory' in the Marxist sense of a second-order epistemological critique with a less threatening Wittgensteinian first-order mapping of the lived social ontology, or 'lifeworld'. Social theorizing in Giddensian mode constitutes spontaneity's reification. The above developments have subverted the social scientific imagination from opposing sides – that is, from *humanities* and the *natural sciences*². This theory of sociological imagination also presupposes a new type of theoretical integrity of sociology with 'progressive' sciences of sociobiology, evolutionary psychology, and behavioral genetics³. At the same time, the author considers that we should revisit the aspects of biological research from which the classical sociological theorist originally drew intellectual sustenance. The histories of sociology and biology have been always intertwined⁴. The proposed methodological integrity certainly facilitates new opportunities to investigate the reflexive socium, especially it concerns our control over the consequences of human's activities⁵.

There appear one more theory of sociological imagination though quite a different one. U. Beck, the author of the theory of 'Risk Society' argues that 'we need a new sociological imagination, one that is sensitive to the concrete paradoxes and challenges of reflexive modernity and which at the same time, is thoughtful and strong enough to open up the walls of abstraction in which academic routines are captured'⁶. Through his sociological imagination Beck innovatively overthinks the history of humanity: 'The concept of risk reverses the relation of past, present and future. The past loses its power to determine the present. Its place as the cause of present-day experience and action is taken by the future, that is to say, something non-existent, constructed and fictitious. We are discussing and arguing about something which is *not* the case, but could happen if we were not to change course'⁷. Through the prism of his sociological imagination Beck also analyses unintended consequences of the logic of control, manufactured uncertainties, growing unawareness and non-knowledge in the wake of the modernization of knowledge, risk trap, self-critical societies, loss of clear distinction between nature and culture, risks as man-made hybrids, relations to definitions and others⁸.

¹ Fuller S. The New Sociological Imagination. – P. vii.

² Fuller S. The New Sociological Imagination. – P. 19.

³ Fuller, Steve. The New Sociological Imagination. – P. 29.

⁴ Fuller, Steve. The New Sociological Imagination. – P. 80.

⁵ Fuller, Steve. The New Sociological Imagination. – P. 54.

⁶ Beck, U. Risk Society Revisited: Theory, Politics and Research Programmes // The Risk Society and Beyond. B. Adam, U. Beck, J. van Loon (ed.). – L.: Sage Publication, 2007. – P. 212.

⁷ Beck, U. Risk Society Revisited. – P. 214.

⁸ Beck, U. Risk Society Revisited. – P. 215-224.

These and other attempts to work out a new model of sociological imagination or to use its approaches¹ manifest the importance of this problem. All these attempts are scientifically fruitful. But in our opinion they all lack the *humanitarian basis* and *special ethics of humanism* that are very important in Russian sociological traditions. Under these conditions we have put forward our interpretation of *non-linear and humanistic sociological imagination*. It states the increasing speed and complexity of social and cultural dynamics, the interdependence of humanity, takes into account paradoxes, dispersions of *socium*, its objective realities as well as socially constructed and virtual ones, but above all seeks to investigate men's life to find new form of humanism. The methodological instruments of this type of sociological imagination include in themselves both non-linear and humanistic aspects:

- *riskological turn* based on the thesis that the mainstream of the world sociological thought becomes the investigation of the non-linear, reflexive, self-organized *socium* the immanent essence of which are risks dominating people's life. Certainly, not all sociologists declare that they study risks. The problem is deeper – the modern type of the sociological imagination can't help studying the *inner reflexivity of socium, cultural traumas, points of bifurcations, uncertainties, and risks*. The development of human civilization becomes increasingly more and more complex depending mainly upon spontaneous activities, chances, multiplicity, and access to alternatives. There appeared specific *socium* that can be studied only in terms of manufactured uncertainties and risks;

- the *influence of the unintended consequences* of human's activity increases on the existing technologies, environment, but mainly on *human-cultural relations producing new and new forms of alienations*, and they are caused by human activity. The outstanding sociologists are talking about different processes of *dehumanization*. Here are some vivid examples: G. Ritzer argues that there appear *nothings* – 'generally centrally conceived and controlled social forms that are comparatively devoid of distinctive substantive content' (non-places, non-things, non-people, non-services)². Z. Bauman states that 'human identities are narrated, they are *ineffable*' as as people *lose* their place on earth becoming new untouchables, unthinkableables, and unimaginables³. A. Giddens analyses the effect of threats to humanity calling it 'Giddens' paradox'. According to it, 'since the dangers posed by global warming aren't tangible, immediate or visible in the course of day-to-day life, however awesome they appear, many will sit on their hands and do nothing of a concrete nature about them... People find it hard to give the same level of reality to the future as they do to the present'⁴.

¹ See: Elwell, Frank W. *Macrosociology. Four Modern Theorists*. – L.: Paradigm Publishers, 2006; Ray, Larry. *Globalization and Everyday Life*. – L. and N.Y.: Routledge, 2007; Wainwright, David (Ed.). *A Sociology of Health*. – L.: Sage Publication, 2008, etc.

² Ritzer G. *The Globalization of Nothing*. – California: Sage Publication, 2004. – P. xi.

³ Bauman Z. *Liquid Times. Living in an Age of Uncertainty*. – Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009. – P. 45.

⁴ Giddens A. *The Politics of Climate Change*. – Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009. – P. 2.

On our own turn we point to the ambivalent character of *the gamization of socium* that is a rather complicated process that needs to be analyzed through the prism of *non-linear and humanistic sociological imagination*.

The gamization of socium: unintended consequences and ambivalences

Under the gamization of socium we subsume the following:

1) introduction of game principles and heuristic elements into pragmatic life strategies. Such introduction enables individuals by means of self-reflection to adapt to new uncertainties and to perform efficiently their actual professional and social roles in a constantly changing society; 2) new paradigm of rationality, typical for modern conditions of indefiniteness and the expansion of institutional risks; 3) the factor of contracting and reproduction of virtual reality of imbalance type; 4) a new sociological paradigm with a set of theoretical and methodological instruments suitable to analyze the postmodern society.

We note that our approach to the gamization of society through the prism of our sociological imagination has been discussed by L.R. Mitrovic¹.

First of all it is necessary to compare the game-ization with the game. There may be helpful the book *Homo Ludens* by J. Huizinga where the well known concept of game is presented. Like higher forms of the game itself (contrary to plays of animals), the game-ization is a way of experiencing reality that presupposes the interrelation of game activity and culture. Social games (spectacles, music, masquerades, competitions) are essential for humans only. The game-ization and game embody only free activity of a man. They cannot be fulfilled 'by force'. The game-ization as well as the game is based on a passion of the highest order or what J. Huizinga calls 'tension': tension is the evidence of uncertainty and at the same time – of a chance. Exactly the factor of tension imparts the game activity that itself underlies outside the sphere of worth or evil this or that ethic matter. The tension of the game puts the abilities of the player to the test: his physical strength, inventiveness, resourcefulness, courage and endurance as well as his spiritual strengths.

At the same time the game-ization and the game are different: the last is an activity without immediate purposefulness. All in it is done 'if only simply', 'as if in reality', 'just for fun'. "That 'if only simply' of any game, J. Huizinga writes, contains the realization of its inferiority. Not being the 'actual life', it stands outside the process of satisfying the needs. The game-ization is on the contrary pragmatic that manifests in following narrow practical interests, pursuing profits and benefits. The rules of the game are indisputable and obligatory, there is no doubt about them. Without being imparted with rigorous rules, the game-ization constantly modifies them and creates new models of activity. The game community

¹ See: Mitrovic L.R. Paradigms of games and playfulness through the prism of Sergey Kravchenko's sociological imagination // L.R. Mitrovic. Makers of New Paradigms in Sociology. – Belgrade: Institute for Political Studies, 2009.

tends to preserve its regular staff even when the game is over, only the elite can fully enjoy the game. The game-ization encompasses practically all strata of society. Evidently *the game-ization according to its matter and functions (manifest and latent) differs from the game.*

1. *The game-ization facilitates the introduction of game principles and heuristic elements into pragmatic life strategies.* It practically covers all social spheres. In politics it manifests itself in the diluted political goals. The very sources of power may be substituted with game-ized simulacra: there appear virtual parties and movements quite alien to the people's interests, some of them do not carry out purposeful activities at all, they are not orientated to the *essence* of the matter, to the struggle for power, (according to M. Weber, these are the main characteristics of politics). We can see the production of the game-ized *simulation and simulacra* of struggle. The game-ization rejects the idea that there is some ultimate truth to be discovered or goal to be achieved.

Through culture the game-ization enters our daily lives and forms *the game-ized masses the members of which are not socially connected with one another.* They are alienated. Intimacy, sex and sexuality are also influenced by the game-ization. Sexuality is connected with the knowledge and cultural life that is with spontaneous charming chances. Sex discourse is being game-ized that increases and extends the forms of sexuality.

2. *The game-ization is new paradigm of rationality, typical for modern conditions of indefiniteness and the expansion of institutional risks in which order is born from chaos.* Firstly, in its rational character game-ization is much akin to that of McDonaldization. But if McDonaldization according to G. Ritzer has become 'the religion of consumption' then the game-ization we argue may be called *the religion of success and chance.* Both the religions are relatively independent. Nevertheless they have at least two bounding links in common. First, *entertainment and performance* should be mentioned. That is, social life is centered on the production of goods and service provision in which the entertainment and performance play a very important role. 'Consumption has less and less to do with obtaining goods and services and more and more with entertainment. In fact, the means of consumption are increasingly learning from, and becoming part of, show business'¹. The game-ized practices as well as goods and services have become so popular due to their *performative values*. I argue the *performative value* becomes a part of the use value. Many people do not buy goods and services if they have not performative values. Thus, skilful game-ization is being required at modern institutions and social practices become game-ized.

Secondly, similar to McDonaldization, the game-ization may be measured in accordance with the four dimensions of Max Weber's formal rationality: efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control. But certainly its forms are quite different due to a specific role of a *chance*. Both the game-ization and McDonaldization offer

¹ Ritzer G. Enchanting a Disenchanted World: Revolutionizing the Means of Consumption. – California: Sage Publication, 1999. – P. 194-195.

efficiency, or the optimal, fastest way for getting from one point to another. But if McDonaldized systems function on 'following the steps in a predesigned process', 'organizational rules and regulations'¹, the game-ization presupposes the way *counter* to common rules and traditions of conduct, it constantly modifies the rules and creates new models of activity. For example, some institutions offer mastering the language through playing different practices or getting knowledge while traveling, or even arranging scientific conferences in an attractive form. All these practices help managers and consumers function more efficiently.

Calculability is accounting for the quantitative and qualitative cost of fulfilling specific pragmatic goals. In McDonaldized systems calculability concerns portion size, cost, time to get the product and thus is very precise. The wealth as well as the risks of game-ization can be also measured bearing in mind the new flexible patterns of security and risk². All spheres of the game-ized activity are connected with the permanent counting of risks and their parameters can be calculated. Personal and institutional reflexivity also presupposes the calculation of uncertainty and unpredictable fluctuations in modern societies. All this gives a man only *a certain approximately calculated chance*.

Predictability is typical of but different in McDonaldization and the game-ization. 'Customers take great comfort in knowing that McDonald's offers no surprise... The workers in McDonaldized systems also behave in predictable ways. They follow corporate rules as well as the dictates of their managers. In many cases, what they do, and even what they say, is highly predictable'³. In case with the game-ization predictability means the following: the conscious acceptance of the absence of compulsory causality along with rigorous regulations of activity, and of indefiniteness, risks, and chance. Yet, the multiplication of accidents may be determined by *statistical causality* and *the shared resulting consequence* of both a given structure organizing itself and the specificity of interactions among social actors.

Control is direct and mainly done through nonhuman technology in McDonaldized organizations that are also characterized by a high degree of centralized planning. In the game-ized practices control is *reflexive* and planning take the form of a desired project. Control should also be applied to how other actors shape their course bearing in mind their game codes and discourses to which they are attached. As a result the reflexive monitoring gives the actor a chance to control his own activity, realizing his needs with the possibilities in the context of interaction with other people.

Thirdly, the game-ization is a very specific *hybrid type* of rationality. In accords with M. Weber's views on the typology consisting of four types of rationality – practical, theoretical, substantive and formal – it accepts from them only some parts. And at the same time the game-ization is related though also to some extent to Mannheim's *self-rationalization*. Really, the game-ized actors must

¹ Ritzer G. The McDonaldization of Society. New Century Edition. – California: Sage Publication, 2000. – P. 12.

² Beck U. Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity. – London: Sage, 1992.

³ Ritzer G. The McDonaldization of Society. New Century Edition. – P. 13.

exercise self-rationalization. But unlike all of the other types of rationality, the game-ization as a new hybrid type of rationality occurs only in postmodern societies or societies moving towards postmodernity. If formal rationality, in Weber's view, comes to overwhelm all the other types of rationality, the game-ization rather peacefully coexists with the other types of postmodern rationality in particular with McDonaldisation and sneakerization (S. Goldman).

Forthtly, it stands to reason that the game-ization has required actors with the adequate *performative habitus*, such that they can play the roles of 'virtuosos of plurality' (P. Berger) who are able to use the chaos to their advantage; that is, to act swiftly and unpredictably for opponents. The game-ization implies one's ability to bend the rules of the game to one's advantage in the very process of playing. Naturally, game-ization is unthinkable if one cannot bluff, manipulate the minds of others, apply demagoguery and simulacra. The performative habitus may increase or decrease the feeling of uncertainty so typical of the postmodern culture and may also influence the quantity and quality of the consumed goods. It's no rear that when one speaks of an individual as a 'clever man' he means first of all a high level of the performative habitus that now becomes independent social and cultural value.

3. *The game-ization is a factor of contracting reflexive reality of imbalance type that includes social paradoxes.* Really, the game-ization is ambivalent. It has as liberating as enslaving components. It is not without positive implications for the socio-cultural development of modern society. The game-ization makes more services available to more people, millions of them. Actors of the game-ization can keep their hands on the switch regardless of place and time. The game-ization makes for the gentle application of such defense mechanisms as repression, denial and sublimation. In particular it helps to get rid of the mind of the idea of a risky chance as something unusual. Unpleasant real events may be denied with the help of substituting them with simulacra of happy chances.

At the same time, the game-ization enslaves men becoming a new form of alienation. The game-ized individual is not the master of his own actions. More over he enters the world of unfreedom: though the individual illusively thinks that he does what he wants in fact he is moved by passion, irrational forces that are detached from his conscious Ego. The individual may believe that he has a free will that presupposes making a rational choice. But this choice is false because practically it leaves little room for mastering the world with the help of mind.

The alienated man produces idols for himself in the form of a happy chance, easy money that could be done via tricks and bluff. One stops to be a conscious actor, becoming a slave of idols made by his own hands. Thus, there appear a social type of an adventurer motivated by the thirst for gambling games, success at any cost. For him freedom means to do what ever he likes, to bluff, to manipulate the minds of other people. At the same time some people begin to feel themselves puppets. The social type of a puppet does not have his own Ego, and the people who have in fact become puppets cannot possess self-awareness, they are predisposed to be deceived, quite easily enter this or that game-ized mass, their main motivation is that of envy, their self-assessment depends on how lucky they

have been in gambling games. There is a danger that such social types of adventurers and puppets may increase in number as a direct result of the game-ization.

The game-ization as a new form of alienation is accompanied by regression – the transition to more simple, primitive actions that facilitate the destruction, increase drinking, using drugs and apply to risky and gambling actions. Some people believe that risky chances really help them to settle their problems, give them relaxation. At the same time the game-ization manifests itself in doubts, anxieties, social and cultural traumas. The reason for this is that a man practically loses the outside orientations determining his behavior. As a result neurotic solutions (K. Horney) have come into our life and destructiveness has become nearly a norm.

It stands to reason that the game-ization has required actors with the adequate *game habitus*, who are able to use the chaos to their advantage; that is, to act swiftly and unpredictably for opponents. The game-ization implies one's ability to bend the rules of social practices to one's advantage. Naturally, the game-ization is unthinkable if one cannot bluff, manipulate the minds of others, apply demagoguery and simulacra. Furthermore, one's position in the social field now depends on the *game habitus*, ability to exert influence of chances.

Certain ethic is typical of the game-ized consciousness oriented on reflexive reality, free play of structures and actors. It is characterized by unprecedented individualism, permissiveness and moral voracity. The moral universe common for all disappears. Accordingly the individuals stop to be nice or bad but become morally ambivalent. Essentially the game-ized consciousness presupposes the acceptance of cultural pluralism including the change of game codes. This consciousness develops in the direction of acceptance of difference, taking into account accidental and unintended circumstances as a normal factor in the construction of social reality. This kind of consciousness treats the loss or crisis not as P. Sztompka's 'social trauma', but as the beginning of a new cycle of spontaneous activity. The game-ized consciousness helps the individual to cope with the risks of postmodernity.

The peculiar ambivalent feature of the game-ized consciousness is on the one hand the increasing freedom of the people from the compulsion influence of social structures and on the other – the increase of risky chances and uncertainties provoked by the same structures. The game-ized consciousness gives the individuals the possibility to get over the power of the institutional structures.

4. And at last, but not least, the game-ization is *a new sociological paradigm with a set of theoretical and methodological instruments suitable to analyze the postmodern society*. In our view, today it is possible to speak not only about the game of structures (J. Derrida), the game of truth (M.P. Foucault), but also about the game of sociological theories, their methodological instruments, that it is becoming common for non-linear metaparadigm, focused on uncertainties, rhizome processes, breaks of knowledge. Their methodology is becoming more and more plastic and open, attends to both discontinuities as well as continuities. Besides,

when the social reality becomes more and more diffused the game-ized discourses appear to be *specific and relatively stable, rather long living social practices* that the scholars may relay upon while studding the reflexive reality.

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Kravchenko, Sergey A.

The Formation of the Network Human Capital under the Conditions of Turbulence

The content and, therefore, the conceptual interpretation of the human capital is multifaceted and many-sided, depends on the historical time, cultural space, the peculiarity of social and cultural dynamics, nowadays - on the conditions of turbulence. Its interpretation is also influenced by the sphere of scientific activity of the scholars engaged in these issues. It is, in particular, studied by philosophers, economists, political scientists, psychologists, and, of course, sociologists who use different theoretical and methodological tools. The numerous representations and definitions of the human capital also include ideological and political components. It is therefore important, first of all, to make a decision about the methodology, or rather the methodologies, because we need an integral approach for the submission of the proposed network model of the human capital that is adequate to the increasingly complicated nonlinear dynamics of the modern society and the emerging network society.

In the most general terms, under the human capital we mean the integral complex unity of quantity and quality of the human resources that empower people to be rational thinkers, creators of innovations in large systems of science, technology, economics, politics, law, art and culture. The human capital is understood as the integral unity of all its components that function mutually. This complex vision of the human capital distinguishes our approach from pragmatic, one-dimensional interpretations that have deep roots in a number of social sciences and in modified forms survive until the present day. Thus, even since the 17th century the economists have attempted to estimate the population in monetary terms. Nowadays there circulate techniques offering the measurement of the human capital according to the annual production growth, or simply in terms of per capita GDP. Similar methods exist in politics whose representatives as shown by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu tend to evaluate people according to their "political weight" and other types of capital, as a rule, leaving aside the fact of actual differentiation and political deprivation of some part of the population: "the concentration of political capital in the hands of a small number of people...", he argues, - is more possible when the ordinary members of the party are deprived of material and cultural tools necessary for active participation in politics, namely, free time and cultural capital"¹.

Psychologists evaluate people according to the nature of the dominant needs, guided by Maslow's ideas of the established tendency that rational people move to ever higher needs: "The most fundamental consequence of the satisfaction of any need is its transition into the background while new needs of higher level

¹ Bourdieu, P. *Sociology of Politics*. – M.: Socio-Logos, 1993. – P. 183 (Russian translation).

emerge"¹. We think that in increasingly complex dynamics of society with its value turbulences this postulate does not always work. The reverse movement is possible when axiological chaos appears in socium, and bestsellers dominate instead of the classics, when the society does not encourage the importance of higher needs, and show-makers replace the educational programs.

Of course, it is necessary to study the components of the human capital in concrete spheres of life taking into account the specific subject of the science. But one should mind at least three factors: 1) such knowledge has *locally specific nature* and according to it is not correct to judge about the general content of the human capital; 2) the mechanical sum of specific knowledge about the human capital or a simple increase of indicators does not make the understanding of the human capital more valid if these indicators do not comprise the *quality of daily life* (social well-being, tolerance, security, etc.); 3) most importantly - the *humanistic component* of the human capital.

Until recently in the history of Russia in the implementation of this or that modernization the question about the humanistic ways and means to achieve the goals was not even discussed. Any good intentions by themselves do not lead to prosperity, harmony, peace, if they do not provide the production of humanism, its penetration into social institutions, culture and governance. Here is a recent example of this: the politics of the liberal democracy in Russia in the 90 years was focused on a variety of pragmatic goals - privatization, bank loans, tax collections etc. - but not on the improvement of actual human relations in the context of their humanization.

Taking into consideration the importance of the humanistic ways and means to achieve the goals we argue the following methodological principles. 1. The content and nature of the human capital do not have a universal character: they vary in space and time and are specific to a particular country, depend on the mentality of its people. This, however, should not be exaggerated: of course, there should be essential techniques for comparison of the human capital in different countries. This is even more important as the processes of globalization are taking place that increase the interactions among peoples. So we believe that globalization at the present stage of the human history takes the form of glocalization. The human capital has global and local content at the same time and sociological scales are needed to measure it.

2. The human capital can and should be managed on the basis of two fundamental requirements: 1) this management should take the form of a civilized, rational and humane way of the interactions people; 2) management should take into account the nonlinearity of the human capital formation, dynamically complex causal relationships, and certainly the factor of turbulences. It is necessary, in particular, to abandon the presumption of external causes as the only source of maintenance of human capital.

¹ Maslow, A. Motivation and Personality. – St. Petersburg, 2003. – P. 81 (Russian translation).

3. The management of the human capital should be based on the balance between the control and the self-organization of the human capital as a complex system. Its immanent quality is self-determinism.

4. The next methodological principle demanded by us is taking into account the latency of the formation of the human capital, that is - the study of the unforeseen and unintended consequences of human activity. This principle was fully justified in the works of R. Merton¹ and R. Boudon². Now it has become an integral requirement of the modern sociology: it is important to show not what is clearly evident, but that is not obvious, not openly manifested, happened as a result of unforeseen turbulences. If the advances in science and technology, art and painting are almost always evident, their functionality / non-functionality or dysfunctionality is enough expressed, the results of overcoming aggression or hostility, the formation of humanism are rather vague.

5. It is necessary to consider the delayed hazard to the human capital as derived from the scientific research and innovation. Thus, the effect of "normal accidents" founded by Charles Perrow³ reveals the ambivalent effect of complex technological systems, which manifests itself in the form of postponed dangers. In our opinion, it should be extended not only scientific and technological innovations but also on economic and political spheres, as well as on the processes of medicalization, urban design, new information technologies, tourism, fashion, diet etc. In this case, "normal accidents" shouldn't be seen as inevitable hazards - a systematic monitoring of the increasingly complex institutional systems and their turbulences are demanded to identify the dehumanizing side of the ambivalent effect of innovations in order to neutralize or at least minimize the negative factors to the human capital.

6. A number of latent and delayed hazards are associated with the speed of changes of the socium. The well-known contemporary sociologist A. Giddens substantiates the effect the speed influence on the human life and humanity, calling it "Giddens's paradox." It states that "people finding it hard to give the same level of reality to the future as they do to the present"⁴. Thus, in his opinion for a teenager who knows that "smoking kills" "it is almost impossible to imagine being 40, the age at which the real dangers start to take hold and become life-threatening"⁵. The similar effect occurs with politicians who are particularly evident with the regard to climate change: all are well aware of the many risk consequences of their policies, but under the influence of the speed of modern life and the actually limited time of their political career do not take adequate efforts to change it. Many politicians are simply not ready for the races at the speed of social

¹ See.: Merton, R. The Unanticipated Consequences of Purposive Action // American Sociological Review, vol.1, 1936.

² See.: Boudon, R. The Unanticipated Consequences of Social Action. - London: Macmillan, 1982.

³ See.: Perrow, C. Normal Accidents: Living with High-Risk Technologies. - N.Y.: Basic Books, 1986.

⁴ Giddens A. The Politics of Climate Change. - Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009. - P. 2.

⁵ Giddens A. The Politics of Climate Change. - Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009. - P. 3.

change - for the sake of pragmatic problem solving they practically do not consider the influences on the human capital. Thus, taking into consideration the increasingly complex dynamics of society and its turbulences, we put forward the idea of the formation of nonlinear humanistic thinking as the intellectual foundation for dealing with the human capital nowadays. This thinking emanating from the speed and complexity of socio-cultural dynamics, states the integrity of the humanity, the indivisibility of the human capital of all the peoples, searches for new forms of humanism focused on their existential needs.

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Sociology and Risk Philosophy

The beginning of the 21st century is characterized by an increase in the number of natural and anthropogenic disasters. They are caused by a number of global issues in social, natural and anthropogenic spheres. Natural disasters, social instability, and spread of dangerous technologies decrease the safety of the mankind. An accelerated increase in the number of risk situations is rather natural. Objectively, the human civilization penetrates all the corners of the globe, carries out its activities under severe and extreme conditions, and extends the scale of anthropogenic influence on the natural environment. The result of global problems of the mankind growing larger is a system of risks recognized by people as multiple hazards. Under these conditions there arises the necessity for philosophical and sociological understanding of the process through which various risks affect social reality, determination of their features, typology and essence. Humanitarian knowledge experiences the need in creating new models of social life providing people with safe life and development.

Such notions as “disaster”, “emergency”, and “catastrophe” are fundamental for studying a recessionary and controversial society. The category of “risk” plays a major role in the life of a modern person and it acquires fundamental significance from both sociological and philosophical-sociological perspectives. Thus, if the risk analysis is conducted on the sociological level, a person functions as both a subject and an object of the risks affecting his immediate existence and inner world. Social-philosophical generalization of social life requires not only the statement of numerous empirical risk-related facts and tendencies, but the creation of a modern society model which would provide a total safety guarantee to a person.

What is “risk” as a social-philosophical category? In the end of the 20th century the social and philosophical justification of risk within the framework of the “risk society” concept became widespread (U. Beck, A. Giddens, N. Luhmann) [1-5].

The key argument by Ulrich Beck, a proponent of the modernization theory, is the following statement: “Development of new technologies leads to the production of new technological (primarily industrial) risks”. Sociocultural context of the risk society is the environment which reacts to the consequences of ecological, technological and humanitarian disasters (pollution, industrial accidents). U. Beck points out significant social characteristics of risk. Firstly, risk is always created in the social system; secondly, the amount of risk is a function of quality of the social relations and processes; thirdly, the degree to which society can minimize risk is dependent on the work of experts and expert knowledge [see: 2, 23].

The problem of risk in the Western sociology was understood as related to the formation of the anthropogenic society on the one hand, and related to the

unforeseen (negative) consequences of technical and technological progress on the other hand. U. Beck makes the following comparison: the production and distribution of wealth in the industrial society gives way to the production and distribution of risk in the today's risk society. From this logic follows the definition: "Risk may be defined as a systematic way of dealing with hazards and insecurities induced and introduced by modernization itself. Risks, as opposed to older dangers, are consequences which relate to the threatening force of modernization and to its globalization of doubt" [quoted in O.N. Yanitsky, 6, 21]. Transition to the risk era is interpreted as an objective law, as a result of modernization mechanisms. This transition is carried out through the initial emergence of risk as a "latent side effect" of the social progress, and then through realization of the fact that the risk became an essential feature of modern bourgeois society. In such a society, the man is an object of the influence of the risk-generating system which makes his existence natural only in the artificial environment, separated from nature and social reality.

The Third World countries become a part of the "risk society" in the 20th century. "Entering the risk society happens at the moment when risks which are deliberately (based on decisions) generated by the society, undermine and/or completely destroy the established security system" [see: 2, 31-32]. These countries are deprived of the ability to properly carry out the reflection of the inner processes and as a result they produce higher amounts of risks. The priority of material goods production, political and social instability do not favor the reduction of risks and hazards generated in the society. In an attempt to prevent the explosion of dangers, many of the Near and Middle East countries focus on the traditional society as opposed to the modern society.

The philosophical and sociological understanding of risks in Russia begins in the end of the 20th century. The Russian Society for Risk Analysis was founded in 2004. It is an independent scientific organization which functions in the sphere of development and application of the methodology of risk management analysis in different areas of scientific and practical activity. The organization publishes a scientific magazine "Issues of Risk Analysis", in Russian and English languages, on a monthly basis. As regards to the contents, its important feature is the interdisciplinarity of the research tasks and areas. The Russian researcher O. Yanitsky considers the modern Russia to be "the universal risk society" due to the predominantly traditional character of the risk-reflection in the professional culture and scientific knowledge [see: 6, 24-25].

Domestic and foreign researchers pay careful attention to the analysis of risks in the society. Thus, a British sociologist Anthony Giddens analyzed the notion of risk at the level of social systems. In his opinion, globalization processes intensify risks. The modern society created broad areas of relative security for the continuous flow of daily life, and they are safer than before. However, the globalization increases the complexity of social systems and relations and intensifies the processes of social production. Giddens pointed at an increase in the number of negative consequences of social problems. Modern man is surrounded by risks

produced by technological and social systems. Life-threatening risks go beyond control of not only individuals, but also of states. The inevitability of the situation questions ontological security of humanity [see: 4, 7].

Giddens puts forward a thesis: risk creates its environments which influence the multitude of individuals (megapolices, large industries, etc.) The recessionary condition of human activity in the social space creates risk-generating environment. Safety in such environment looks like a specific set of minimized dangers. The individual experience of safety in the risk environment is based on the balance between trust to the society and the level of risk that is considered acceptable by the individual.

The typology of modern risk systems can be presented in the following way:

1. Global risks (threats) on a planetary scale. For example, the risk of global ecological disaster, the risk of accidental use of nuclear weapons, etc.
2. Socio-natural risks, reflecting the actions of natural and social elements on a regional scale (Europe, Asia, the Atlantic Ocean, the Mediterranean, etc.) These are the risks caused by the general spread of the risk-generating environment. They influence large numbers of people. The examples are the risk of global warming, the risk of exhaustion of natural raw and energy resources, and the risk of the Earth colliding with a cosmic body.
3. Socio-humanitarian risks of a social nature. These risks appear from the socialized environment that has antagonistic nature. The majority of population in modern Russia experiences the risk of losing their jobs and suffers from doubts timely payment of wages. Humanity is threatened by the danger of terrorist activities.
4. Human existence risks. They may be caused, for example, by the dangerous behavior of an individual directed to himself or to other people. Negative changes in the relations between a person and the environment promote the formation of risks in the socialized space of human existence. On the individual level these are risks of losing health, the issue of recovering after the disease. In the professional life of a scientist the risks are due to the human knowledge invading the world of social and natural laws. Therefore, risk is awareness of the qualitative and quantitative characteristics of a danger by an individual and by mankind.

The objective sources of risks are various ecological and technological contradictions originated from socio-natural systems being transformed under the influence of negative consequences of human life activity. Among these are wars, imperialism, militarism, terrorism, social and ethnic conflicts, and acts of criminal elements.

In the context of bourgeois social reality the risk-generating environment is recognized not only as a fact, but as a specific institution of existence affecting the

interests of millions of people. For example, system risks are reproduced by the economy that is suffering from crisis and stagnation. Numerous state institutions create an environment where risk is present. If a state does not possess effective mechanisms of protecting its citizens from market crashes, terrorism, and anthropogenic disasters, then practically every person, regardless of him being or not being part of the system, becomes subject to the impact of risk, of recessionary environment.

People develop awareness of risks through interaction between their inner world and the outer reality. Thanks to the scientific knowledge a man acts as a conscious creature and creates the world outlook that helps him to overcome risks and dangers appearing in his life. Scientific and philosophic world outlook allows one to act rationally and wisely in difficult and contradictory environment. The existence of risks is recognized on both theoretical and everyday levels of consciousness. The very fact of recognizing a risk in different forms of human activity allows people to overcome crises and regressive tendencies. In traditional cultures, risk-generating activity is often compensated by common sense, religion or mythology. In modern societies the presence of various risks is recognized by general public [see: 4, 129].

Today's social risks, which penetrate different spheres of society, create the effect of their own negation. Risks are minimized through the humanistic orientation of the human activity and formation of social mechanisms to overcome them. There is an increase in the number of people recognizing risks as an anomaly for the fully civilized society.

Therefore, the concept of risk became fully established in the system of humanitarian knowledge. The sociological approach to the risk research and analysis is directly linked to the social philosophy which allows one to identify the relevant regularities at the level of historical process, inner world of a person, and to find mechanisms for overcoming them.

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Sociology of Globalization and the Philosophy of Cultural Interaction

Contemporary globalization manifests itself as a process of universalization of the material aspects of human existence, while the spiritual content of cultures remains generally committed to the traditional ways of life.

Studies of contemporary global problems highlight a new aspect of the differences between actors in international relations, which are in the plane of the economic, cultural, religious, ethnic interactions. On the forefront there are cultural and civilizational differences in the countries and peoples that originate from the variety of living conditions of people in the modern world.

Sociology studies the content of global issues at the level of social reality: the peculiarities of their manifestation in the interaction between man and nature, society and people, the growth prospects and resolution. The subject of our study is the philosophical and sociological interpretation of the interaction of cultures in a globalizing world.

Philosophical approach to the analysis of complex global problems is characterized by the striving to identify regularity of their occurrence and development trends. In addition to the eternal philosophical problems of existence, consciousness, the meaning of life and other matters of philosophy, modernity has introduced in principle a new previously unknown topic – what is globalization, which can be defined as a matter of common destiny of mankind and the survival of life on Earth [1, p. 147].

The system humanitarian approach to understanding of global issues contributes to defining the content of a constructive human activities and aims at understanding the objective process of the controversial development of human history. The function of cultural studies of the humanities helps to get acquainted with different cultures, apart from which none of the problems facing society, can not be solved [1, p. 149].

The age-old desire of people to achieve harmony in the contemporary contradictions of globalization and localization is manifested at various levels, especially in the dialogue of cultures. It seems that the possibility of achieving harmony in international relations is situated at the level of intercultural dialogue. Context of interaction between cultures can be philosophical, sociological, religious, biological, anthropological, historical, and so on.

Professor at the Universities of Bremen and Munich, the President of the International Society of Intercultural Philosophy Ram Edgar Mall deals with the issues of intercultural philosophy. In his work "Intercultural Philosophy" [4, Section 3.2], he cites a number of systematic arguments that define the essence of intercultural philosophy.

Intercultural philosophy is a new direction and simultaneously a component of comprehension of reality. The theory of intercultural philosophy, developed by E. Cassirer [2] and R. Mall, comes from the overlap and at the same time the perennial philosophy (*philosophia perennis*). This allows both theoretically and practically to interpret all the sections of philosophy in terms of cultural interaction.

A characteristic feature not only of culture but also of the philosophy is the diversity. According to R. Mall, the task of philosophy is, on the one hand, – to establish links between all areas of philosophical thought, inherent in different cultures, but on the other hand – to form a universal philosophy, which is not related to a particular culture.

According to the Latin American philosopher R. Fornet-Betancourt [3], the duty of intercultural philosophy is to make adjustments in the globalized world view promoted by the western society. Through the dialogue of cultures one can provide and strengthen better understanding of human virtues. The author concludes: intercultural philosophy makes sense, when the exchange between cultures will allow humanity to use the achievements of the mind.

Intercultural philosophy has four-fold perspective: philosophical, theological, political and pedagogical [4, p. 6]. Intercultural philosophy thinks it is an error to determine the philosophical truth on the basis of one specific culture of the West or East. From a religious point of view, interfaith is an important aspect of cultural interaction. From a political perspective, intercultural is another name of pluralistic democratic and republican beliefs. Pedagogical side goes back to the practical attempt to learn and teach.

Philosophy aims to contribute to the achievement of a truly human convivence by means of "the task of the creation, on a planetary scale, of a culture of convivence in solidarity, which overcomes the asymmetries and inequalities in every ambit of human relationships, as much on the personal plane as in the international field, which might, in this way, be the culture of a humanity equilibrated economically and politically, but also affectively, culturally and epistemically" [5, p. 279].

Study of the interaction of cultures in the modern world is based on comparative studies, in particular, on comparing cultures and their traditions on the development of the humanities. But as a universal human knowledge does not exist anywhere in a pure form, so the internal manifold is inherent in cultural-conditioned varieties of philosophy, sociology, political science.

To achieve the goal of intercultural understanding it is necessary to allow all cultures to bring their arguments and to allow others to argue. In the case of suppression or absorption of the arguments of others, the spirit of interculturalism is being destroyed. "In search of an adequate hermeneutic for intercultural philosophy is the only one Hermeneutics – Hermeneutics fair to understanding the other" [4, p. 3].

Contemporary society is experiencing a need for a sociological study of the interaction of cultures. Sociology of cultural interaction, as a kind of sociology of

culture, should be based on the following principles: the philosophy, culture or religion should be studied without bias, the idea of hierarchical gradation of crops is obsolete; idea of cultural pluralism has priority. Sociological study carried out in terms of interaction between cultures, should avoid centrism and be committed to a model of reciprocity.

Intercultural phenomenon manifests itself in all spheres of life. According to R.A. Mall, there are three types of reactions of people to these events. Во-первых, люди при столкновении с проявлениями другой культуры всё больше придерживаются традиций собственной культуры. First, people when faced with manifestations of other culture are increasingly adhere to the traditions of their own culture. In these cases, we are confronted with the facts of the problems in intercultural interaction. Во-вторых, может происходить отрицание чужой культуры. Secondly, the denial of a foreign culture may occur. In such a situation may have been instances of conflict in a multicultural society. Third, people are trying to relate impartially to the phenomena of alien culture, "resorting to the theory and practice of pluralistic norms of life" [4, p. 4]. The third reaction is, in essence, a truly intercultural philosophical phenomenon and defines the spirit of intercultural philosophy.

The essential issue is the understanding of the challenges of intercultural sociology to international relations. In the conditions of increasingly growing global problems it is necessary to study how it is possible to improve the world. Scientific sociology is inherent in the recognition of all cultural traditions. Distribution of cross-cultural sociology requires a process of mutual exchange of diverse traditions of translating human knowledge. Thanks to cross-cultural sociology, it is possible to promptly respond to all the circumstances, when social and cultural contradictions alienate other peoples and cultures from each.

In the political process, representatives of Russian philosophy and sociology of interaction between cultures reveal the erroneous conclusions of advocates of unipolar globalization and argue in favor of the fact that reconciliation between peoples will be achieved through the universality of a multi-polar world view, which stems from the free exchange of cultures.

Philosophical investigations conducted by R. Mall, R. Fornet-Betancourt and others serve as another confirmation of the fact that globalization, along with economic and geopolitical changes, has led to the demarcation of sociocultural nature. In various regions of the world the Western-centric projects of world order is increasingly perceived as unable to establish a just and stable international system.

Philosophical and sociological researches, searching for answers to contemporary challenges taking into consideration the historical context and cultural identity, promote understanding of cultural and civilizational specific features of Russia.

Thus, the unity of the world does not negate its cultural diversity, which involves the mutual perception of different cultures while maintaining and developing their identity.

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Negrova, Marina S.

Mental Peculiarities of Stabilization Processes of the Russian Society in the European Context

For the Russian society at the present stage the question on its stabilization remains urgent. And it is dictated, first of all, by not so much recent events in the historical dimension, connected with disintegration of Soviet Union and all followed after, but with events which define modernity. These events as a whole are designated by Organizing Committee of the conference as troubled times. Society, as it is known, is an abstraction if it is discussed out of a context, and each society is, first of all, those people who live in it, create and reproduce it daily, i. e. you and we. Estimates and expectations of sociologists depend on what is the individual, and how many individuals in society can be observed. The person is at the forefront and defines the course of events perceivably or not. Peculiarities of mentality give understanding of connection between the person and history, traditions of the society. Mental peculiarities determine the past, the present and the future. They are that reserve which is activated in troubled times, and help to stand and develop further basing on the past, on the available resources hidden in the nation. We, sociologists, urged to help to reveal this reserve. Let's think together about possibilities of everyone.

The last year the issue of modernization in Russian society is actively discussed. As Iosif Diskin, the chairman of the National Strategy Council, the author of the book "Crisis ... and still upgrading!", has told, the last year if only the iron did not say a word about modernization in Russia. Changes have ripened, the world is changing and all feel it. In Russia, this question is particularly acute. In turn, I want to note that modernization as a state of development, preservation and enhancement should always be actualized in any society (at all times), if a society thinks about saving. One of the main problems of modern society, both in Europe and in Russia, despite the different starting positions, is to focus on the problems introduced from outside. Problems of a difference of cultures and religions are particularly severe. We see that they can be solved in a positive way. Let's address to experience of China, which culture is absorbing other cultures for thousands of years. Assimilation process was aimed at the activation of interest, instead of imposing and had a bilateral character. Newly joined cultures became part of Chinese (Han) culture. Carriers of each of the cultures thought about advantage of other culture. This process is well described in sociology. And now we see results of this process. What is the modern China? It is the country with the greatest population, the ancient general culture, writing system and way of life, the country with recent appeared common language (Phinin). Interest to the Chinese culture is widely supported among Russians. Though, as it is known, the East has always interested the West, and vice versa. What can experience of China teach us? To respect ourselves, to keep and increase our culture. We just need to search

interesting in ourselves, first and foremost for ourselves; sometimes return to roots may be useful in our case, in the situation of volatile times. And coming back to the problem of failed multiculturalism we must underline that it is necessary not to impose the culture to carriers of other cultures, but to preserve it. Why should people, traditionally got used to meet Christmas with the Christmas tree and Father Frost and to name Easter eggs name so and not otherwise, be deprived of the familiar picture of the world? Why should the Muslim state be formed in the native Slavic territory? After all preservation and reproduction of a national picture of the world bears a powerful charge of preservation and reproduction of national culture, gives to the person a feeling of safety and security. I am not against the difference of cultures, I urge everyone to preserve their own culture. At the same time, dialogue is possible only when carriers of different cultures will cease to perceive each other through the settled stereotypes. This problem may be solved by means of such a global shock, affecting all as change of poles and all the accompanying effects of this event.

Contemporary reality impartially reveals the existing problems, problems of general insecurity. When marginalization of the population is growing, problems of interethnic strife come to the fore. Nationalism first and foremost is a result of economic, political and cultural factors. And the problem of national identity in this situation is a problem of self-determination as such. Low level of culture in society, difficult social and economic situation put a person in the situation where it is possible to be successful only in that is referring to the great generality, primarily determined by national origin. Speaking about European issues must say that they are burdened with the idea of realizable globalization.

Europe and, first of all, England along with America always popularized the idea of free trade. We will not examine the question, that the free trade has never had the form which was discussed. But globalization is a product of this policy and now the European society suffers from this itself. Globalization in the conceived scales is difficult in its implementation. Globalization is interesting only to mass manufacturers of goods, services and culture and disastrous for all special, exclusive, traditional and unique. Process of realization of globalization as the idea of a mass consumer has the limits. Consumers come off the roots, families, history. The top of globalization top is the person without accurate characteristics, asexual, easily manageable creature. The globalization problem mentions both economic and cultural spheres, and policy sphere as well. Experience of Russia has shown that it is inefficient to take an alien model of democracy as panacea from all troubles¹. Equality and tolerance are achieved by being different and individuality, while stability at the macro level is reached by instability at the micro level. Proclaiming democracy, many developed countries have put their citizens in conditions, when they should deny themselves to be themselves. Each nation must teach its representatives to be confident; to know who they are, and if the state does

¹ Moreover, the imaginary constitutionalism captured many of the newly formed democracies. See: Medushevsky A. N. What is a Sham Constitutionalism? / / Socis, 1994. 2.3.

not do this, then every person should have the courage to stand their ground and keep themselves and their history. Each culture has a right to life and everyone should remember the roots. How can we talk about the future society which does not pay due attention to population growth and maintaining family values?

Returning to the Russian society, I want to note that it has repeatedly moved away from its roots. It is enough to remember revolutionary capture of the power by Bolsheviks and disintegration of the Soviet Union. If the first social split is not so noticeable in view of its remoteness and that many oppressed social groups had left the country, the second split bears complexities not only for reconciliation of the former Soviet and the developed new Russian, but also in consciousness of modern youth which acquires this culture in a deformed kind, because of social split and often a lack of historical memory. New generations of infected spirit of the times do not remember; do not know, finally, ignore those tragedies of human lives, which were the victims of the regime. If there was and in a bit different kind there is the problem of suppression and nonconformity with the state course for Russian society, in some countries of Europe citizens suffer from a diminution of their position in favor of citizens of former colonies. How do our countries refuse from old problems, sense of guilt and losses, and at a new stage freely develop, without making mistakes of the past?

The problem demands the complex approach. So, we will try to render its essence. First of all we consider required practice of social planning. Social planning is developed enough theme in sociology, especially in Russian sociology, even more in Soviet one, and as it seems to us, doesn't demand detailed explanations. We will tell only that social planning allows to look soberly at a social situation, to assess problems and develop solutions. It is also worth mentioning that social planning allows to specify what should be done, when and what consequences should occur. Of course, the Soviet practice of social planning demonstrates that the high standards had often been set. However, this targeted step helps to mobilize and to realize the plans within the framework of the possible, ie real standards. Maybe these my estimates seem strange to colleagues, but I want to draw your attention that science in the Soviet period was deprived of abstract reasoning, though of course was too rife with arguments about good live with the Communist Party. Even so, however, note that social planning and, the theory of reflexes could develop more likely in the Soviet Union. Social planning opens for sociologists more opportunities to work with the social fact. Society has changed greatly since then, it became informative, but the new - is well forgotten past and we can not miss the chance to use the positive experience that was before.

It is social planning may become an attempt to solve problems in volatile times; step-by-step studying of society, its problems, possibilities and their realization taking into account the "local" features. Also along with this, preservation and reproduction of national picture of the world, represented in language is important in a solution of a problem of overcoming of troubled times. The study of the national picture of the world carries great opportunities for reflection, remembrance, preservation of and development of a society; affecting

the practice of word usage (frequency of use of certain words), which contain the necessary values to adjust the concept and the whole world picture. In this case the native speakers united in a generality, have a possibility to find reserves in themselves, to open that potential which contains the language of the nation. That change of the practice of usage (via the media and SMC) allows to prepare the ground among the population for successful social planning, the planned program. It's worth noting that in speaking on social, we emphasize what is maybe good and useful for a society.

At studying of society stability it is accepted to focus on the middle class. As we have mentioned before, we accept for the Russian society the notion of significant stabilization majority¹ for study of the effect on the process of stabilization of different social strata with certain mental peculiarities. Stabilization significant majority, its characteristics and the group itself, determines the current state of society and becomes a driving force of change. Based on this definition it is necessary to proceed at the analysis of stabilization of a society. At present very few segments of population concern to middle class in the Russian society if to start with the European context. And about 60 % of the population are either below the breadline, or ready to cross this line. The given indicators testify to resistant type of stability of the Russian society. How is it possible to raise a healthy nation and form a stabilizing base layer, to give it an opportunity for self-realization and number increase?

Let's try to outline a short circle of questions on the given problem within the limits of the Russian society. It is necessary to consider the Russian picture of the world and concepts of its components. From the point of view of the author the concept of heroism of the people deserves special attention, as central concept, making essence of outlook and attitude. In the Russian picture of the world there are two images of the concept of heroism – the first, traditional-cultural, has developed historically and it is reflected in the Russian folk tales. The analysis of national fairy tales helps to understand culture of the people better. In Russian fairy tales the person is brought up as courageous, assured, quiet, and corresponding to inquiries of a situation. Why do not all Russian people possess strongly pronounced characteristics of the given type?

To show age-old wisdom, the constant reproduction and consolidation in the culture of society is required, and Russia with constant revolutions and repartitions has lost possibility of preservation of certain cultural layers. The second image has been imposed and developed during the Soviet period. It is heroism of the country, a generality which is proud of the history and victories. It is very well described by L. Gudkov in some researches published under the general name «Negative Identity. Articles of 1997 – 2002». First of all it is the victory in The World War II (The Great Patriotic War) of 1941-1945 (1989 – 77 %, 1994 – 73 % and 1999 – 85 % of the answered respondents), pleasure for rescue of the whole world from Hitler's fascism. From the answers to the question about the most significant historical

¹ Negrova M. S., 2009

consequence of World War II, the most popular answer is "Destruction of Hitler's fascism" (45%, 1990).

Tellingly, among the most significant events in the history the Russian respondents generally referred to such events as military victories and winnings of a person i.e. flight into space, and this is in the country rich with talented scientists and people of art. This situation is clearly illustrated with the competition "Name of Russia", where the most popular persons are military and government officials. It is possible to look at it differently, on the one hand it shows culture of people with a need for a strong hand, the competent governor (Peter I, Catherine II), on the other hand testifies that the Russian people inspired by idea (on Spirit first of all) can move mountains. For the decision of social problems, the idea that the main victories are victories over self should get used to consciousness of Russians densely. Its implementation requires huge long-term investments and aims for the future, and inaction in this case is fatal.

Thus, realizing the program, which includes social planning, the study of the national picture of the world and influence on it, realization of the program aimed at the institutions of education and family for the purpose of inspiration citizens with confidence, orientation to national mental features, restoration and culture reproduction, we have possibility to receive the happy, effective, efficient nation.

Orlanov, George B.

Change of Paradigms of Social Management in Turbulent Times

Social management is based on understanding of the basic factors defining (determining) condition of this or that social system. To manage means to use purposefully these factors-determinants. Generally such a relation between social management and social determinism is obvious. However understandings of the determinants are rather changeable and have such a high coefficient of subjectivity that evidence disappears at once, as soon as we put more certain questions on a choice of paramount factors of influences on processes in the organizations or we aspire to understand prospects of development of a society as a whole.

For example, the history of management of the companies can be presented as a changing of management paradigms. «Management under instructions», characteristic for the classical approach of the beginning of the last century, is replaced by «management on the purposes» in second half of century and it is noticeably displaced aside «management on the basis of values» last decade. But classification of values assumes almost infinite list of defining factors, even if it is limited by scale of the separate organizations. Here are ethical-social values (believes and behavior of the person) and economic and pragmatic values (orientation to efficiency, observance of standards of manufacture and discipline), and emotionally developing values (motivation on self-realization)¹. Today concepts of modern management show unprecedented variety of accents in interpretation of determinants of organizations development.

In wider format of society problems of interrelation of determinism and management and also a variety of sights are repeatedly multiplying. The society in the increasing degree proves as a statistical variety of individual wills, each of that has a possibility to sharply expand a zone of its free actions on the basis of modern technologies of communications. Such statistical variety creates a powerful pressure upon all social institutes, compelling them to transformation. But the institute of the state, which is traditionally determining the main positions of a direct social order in a society, turns out to be under the greatest press. New type communications deduce the world market from the total power of the states and put it in front of the necessity of development of a partnership between the state and «society-market». If several decades ago civil society was sort if locked in «national apartments», with the rights granted by the government, but then today progressing computer communications blow up this isolation. They transform a civil society from «national localized» mode to a condition of a «global civil society», that is declaring its rights to new rules and mechanisms of formation of a

¹ Саймон Долан, Сальвадор Гарсиа. Управление на основе ценностей. М., 2008. Р. 35, 88. [Dolan S., Garcia S. Managing by Values. Moscow, 2008. P. 35, 88.]

social order¹. Such civil society is no longer a «younger brother» of the state, but the full-fledged subject of social management, and that cardinally changes hierarchy of defining factors, the mechanism of a social determinism and management.

Classical economists of the XVIII-XIX centuries and neoclassical economists of the XX century have made in fact the same discovery of the market: not as a «trade space», but as a social mechanism responsible for the fundamental for society statistical order. Both classical and neoclassical economic theory is the theory of market on the level of the theory of society. It is indicative that classical economist A. Smith, as it is known, called his economic works as a moral philosophy. And neoclassical economist F. Hayek believed that any serious economic theory is obliged to be the market theory by definition, as the market is a fundamental reality of social system².

Many questions eliminate if we consider the market not as narrowly economic but as wider sociological concept, as a space of social self-organizing, social self-management. Moreover, the statistical character makes related complex natural systems and society. There is a metaphor arising of the general «market law» on which all the complex systems in the world function³. Even if it is a sort of terminological liberty, then anyway, it is clear enough today, that economic relations in its base characteristics are inseparably connected with traditions and customs, values and norms of each society, its culture as a whole. Concluded contracts (contractual relations) along with precise and prescribed formal positions lean on «latent parameters» reflecting not only «pure» economic interests, but also a complex configuration of distribution of the power and social norms.

Interpretation of market economy as an economic sector of a civil society also applies to a wide sociological understanding of the market. Thereby, the market as an «economic» civil society is represented as (by) the institute of social self-management⁴. The global civil society is realized as a new social paradigm, in which balance of self-management/management is displaced towards self-management – the statistical, market principle of a society. And by the way, this can mean not that much the «narrowing» of state's role and functions (that is true only concerning «the old» state) but their radical modernization. Functional and role displacement towards development of laws of market existence are taking place. Apparently, known dispute between statesmen and liberals on degree of

¹ See, eg.: Keane J. Global civil society? Cambridge: Cambridge university press, 2003. 234 p.; Baber Z. A name for a stray dog – global civil society // International sociology: Journal of the international sociological association. L. 2008. Vol.23. № 2; Kaldor M. Global civil society: An answer to war. Cambridge: Polity press. 2003. 200 p.

² Caldwell B. Hayek's scientific subjectivism // Economics and philosophy. Cambridge, 1994. Vol.10, № 2. P. 305-313.

³ See, eg.: Моисеев Н.Н. Расставание с простотой. М.: «Аграф», 1998. 480 с. [Moiseev N.N. Parting with ease. Moscow: Agraph, 1998. 480 p.]

⁴ Резник Ю.М. Гражданское общество как объект социологического познания // Вестник МГУ. Серия 18: «Социология и политология». М., 1995. № 2. С. 36-37. [Reznik Y.M. Civil society as an object of sociological knowledge // Vestnik MGU. Series 18: The Sociology and Political Science. Moscow, 1995. №2. P. 36-37.]

state intervention in market affairs loses the former meaning today. The states of the developed world become the special and unique market players having such integrative social functions (including administrative functions) which other subjects are hardly capable to realize.

The state is compelled to change structurally and functionally, in the organizational and personnel perspective, to be able to correspond to modern challenges: accelerated social dynamics, democratization of social institutes, activization of the individual-subjective principle of society¹. The public system functions on the mechanism of interaction (collision) of set of individual wills, constrained to operate in a mode of mutual compromises and certain contracts. As a matter of fact, in such a system the subsystem of power (management), first of all political, is only a specific *part* of social self-management (self-organization) and carries out its administrative functions under the control of civil society.

Simultaneously, for a long time sociologists and economists have been concentrating attentions on the idea that it is groundlessness of an institute of politics (state, power) to claim a special position – the position *above* the society. Similar claims are peculiar to any corporation, especially to corporation of politicians, which is constituted by the «basic instinct» – instinct of power. The corporate form of organization can be defined nowadays as an «improper social technology» (the corporation as a failed technology)². Corporate and personal interests inevitably move to the first place. The statement that the system of power carries out «negative selection» of candidates into its ranks became a stereotype if we look at the selection process into «corporation of power» from the moral point of view. There is appropriate institutional environment as a counterbalance of excessive personal and corporate claims.

The idea of an institutional determinism is a sociological significant theoretic-methodological position, in compliance with that cause-and-effect relations are built from institutes as «original causes» of social events. It is not difficult to notice that the concept of development, according to which progress is carried out by the fundamental mechanism of statistical process, creates an affinity between methodology of an institutional determinism in sociology and political science of the second half of the XX and the beginning of the XXI century and social philosophy of K. Marx, evolutionary theory of Ch. Darwin, classical and neoclassical economic theories.

This mechanism provides:

(a) an accumulation of case character changes, for example, case escalating of knowledge and technologies in a society (in fauna evolution it is case accumulation of features of new species), etc.;

¹ See, eg.: Доклад Генерального секретаря ООН "Государственное управление и развитие" 2005 года (A/60/114) [Report of the UN Secretary-General. Public Administration and Development in 2005 (A/60/114)] // <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/UN/UNPAN021184.df>

² Sovacool B. Broken by design: The corporation as a failed technology // Science, technology & society. – 2010. – Vol.15, № 1. – 25 p.; <http://sts.sagepub.com/content/15/1/1>

(b) case collected changes make system-wide improvement: the system makes a stage of development, passing in a new quality, and in this new quality the system appears again in a condition (a), etc.

The mechanism of determination that is put in statistical systems begins to be realized in modern social sciences and liberal arts, which are using a phenomenon of so-called «thinking in cases» as their methodology¹. The man himself creates the case social environment with nonlinear, intermittent dynamics – from a paradigm to a paradigm. Each paradigm represents, actually, a new «agreement on the determinants» and, accordingly, a new «contract on management». In *society of knowledge* the unique knowledge, predetermining competitiveness of the subject of management, becomes the key moment of management. That one moves ahead faster today who selects more effectively than others such unique knowledge that can be separated from its creator in a lesser degree than in industrial society. Without author's «decoding» the use of such knowledge by other actors, including any subjects of management and the state, becomes sharply difficult. Such position is just another formulation of the thesis about an increasing role of individual, personal qualities (knowledge, skills) of man in a control system and in society in whole.

It is interesting to notice that with all distinction of sciences about society and nature, methodologically similar processes of reconsideration of «determinative-administrative subject matter» also occur in natural sciences. In particular, in last century traditionally understood determinism encountered with borders of its own applicability in statistical physics, genetics, quantum mechanics and other sciences that undermined its status of «creed» of any scientific research. There were amplified tendencies to interpreting the determinism as the peripheral concept that is useful only in certain parts of scientific researches: in a range of action of the objects which allows significant coarsening of characteristics. And this is in the best case. In the worst case it was the full refusal of the set of deterministic concepts in various versions of a postmodernism and indeterminism.

There is known A. Einstein's remark that if he had to refuse strict causality he would prefer to become a «shoemaker or a croupier in the gambling house, rather than the physicist»². In particular, all argumentation of A. Einstein in his famous discussions with N. Bohr is made «from belief» in this strict causality and a hope to find out the «latent parameters», to show «incompleteness of the quantum theory». However, for many colleagues of A. Einstein such his aspirations were only the occasion to regret that the great physicist had appeared to be in a captivity of old notions in this situation. For example, W. Heisenberg considered that A. Einstein couldn't comprehend the processes described by quantum mechanics³.

¹ Forrester J. Thinking in cases // History of the human sciences. – L. etc., 1996. – Vol.9, № 3. P.1-25

² Cit. By: Пригожин И., Стингерс И. Время, хаос, квант. К решению парадокса времени. М. 2000. С. 222. [Prigogine I., Stingers I. Time, chaos, quantum. Solving the paradox of time. Moscow, 2000. P. 222.]

³ Гейзенберг В. Часть и целое // Проблема объекта в современной науке. М., 1980. С. 82.

I. Prigogine, not wanting to give up the realism in understanding of a physical essence of theoretical designs, supposes that the «interim» picture of the world between two opposite – «deterministic world and any world of pure events» is forming beneath our eyes. In his opinion, «the real world is ruled neither by deterministic laws, nor by the absolute accident»¹. There is a «narrow path» that allows avoiding dramatic alternative between blind laws and random events. The science starts moving on this path. And I. Prigogine connects this way with the hope of overcoming the gap between humanitarian and natural-science knowledge, and that should be promoted by researches in the interdisciplinary area, which was named *synergy* by H. Haken. And though application of new synergetic concepts in the social sciences and the humanities hasn't shown significant results and it is more similar to fashionable fad, but nevertheless a direction of thought of researchers is symptomatic. An intensive search for the universal aims is going on, which allows to «reunite» from new positions scattered former «cozy» classical picture of a universe with its total unequivocal relations which dictate respective schemes of management.

Apparently, I. Prigogine inclines to reject a deterministic picture of the world, on the ground that the former belief in universal unequivocal relations does not prove itself anymore. Today this belief has a weak support indeed. Besides, strictly speaking, in *practice of measurements* the natural science had never received the exact parameters which are uniquely linked. Such unequivocal relations exist only in the field of ideal objects, ideal schemes, constructs, mental pictures, etc. In some cases inexactitudes can be rightfully rejected, put down to a roughness of devices and the limited possibilities of the man. This is the only chance to achieve representations about strictly monosemantic determinancy. The position of M. Weber, who always aspired to a causal sociological explanation, is indicative in this perspective. And «we design invalid causal relations to find out the valid ones»² with the clear understanding of constructivist character of such tools of knowledge, as the *ideal type*.

In other words, representations about unambiguity of relations are based on a considerable segment of conventions, the part from which is accepted by default or isn't noticed until all the reasonings are being made within the borders of usual paradigms.

As opposed to natural sciences, where the characteristics of objects of research are projected on a «screen» of functional-mathematical relations, in social and humanitarian knowledge unambiguity is interpreted differently. It is understood as an action of *one general and determinative (complex!) factor*, which predetermines course and direction of social process, with all possible deviations and features which have their own reasons. Explanatory patterns are constructing

¹ Пригожин И., Стенгерс И. Время, хаос, квант. К решению парадокса времени. Пер. с англ. М. 2000. С. 224. [Prigogine I., Stengers I. Time, chaos, quantum. Solving the paradox of time. Moscow, 2000. P. 222.]

² Weber M. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre. Tübingen. 1951. С. 287.

under this scheme, for example, in a technological determinism, a geographical determinism, an economic determinism, Marxism (inevitability of transition from an old formation to new), etc. In a counterbalance of such predefiniteness of the events that set on a time scale long before the «arrival» of system to the points of bifurcation, today many sociologists put forward various counter-deterministic arguments. However, in comparison with natural sciences, additional complexity lies in the fact that each author defines the «general reason» in his own way. In this regard, in natural sciences there are standard agreements – concerning the same «forces», «conditions», etc.

For example, in M. Weber's sociological concept «deciphered» in the analysis of history of religion, society movement is predetermined by the certain fundamental determinants, which are drawing the general direction of development – from the «magic stage» to the world religions with different relation to the world, and in particular, to the West European culture and science. These determinants are grouped round a category of «rationalization», and mathematical images are not always valid or not applicable at all to understanding of this category. In general, mathematical images seem useless in a value projection of Weber's picture of the world: ethical problematic, questions on the sense of life, choice life-determinative decisions, etc.

What in these humanitarian theories can be considered as conventions if there are so many sociological theories (creating their own determinism) as many authors exist, each of whom, consciously or not, introduce individual borders of «agreements»? In his time Russian thinker S. Frank has paid attention to this «equality», and the modern sociology has fixed a situation in the concept of *multiparadigm*. In natural sciences the authorship is as though lost in the interpretations accepted by all scientific community. These treatments become universal and obligatory for a certain period. Experiment «switches off» the author and serves (with all reservations) as confirmation or refutation of the theory. Social sciences and the humanities are more similar to art in the sense that any theory is inseparable from its creator. It is always only the author's point of view though it is stated in a fairly rational form that allows making counterarguments. What experiment can take place here and what can it confirm? Is there an entire theory conventional? Is that one right, who has convinced and involved more supporters? Are there more loyal and less l theories? Whether each theory has the right to create its own «key determinants», on which basis any explanation, understanding, forecasting and management of social processes is formed in general?

But anyway in social and humanitarian knowledge, at th level of qualitative characteristics, it is probably easier to come to an agreements on the statements expressing deterministic (unambiguous) relations. There is always a possibility to select, reveal, define «order parameters», tendencies, conditions, etc., which will be connected in proper way. The «absolute case» (or «pure event» as I. Prigogine says) is also an ideal object. It is constructed using a specific operation – the phenomenological reduction which is «switching off» the characteristics of the

external world on purpose to express their «sense», if to use E. Husserl's terms. We find the possibility to choose such «objects» with unambiguous relations of dependence. It also becomes a basis of explanation, understanding, forecast, management. Such approach doesn't contradict statistical variety (aspirations of set of individual wills, for example). On the contrary, it is based on this variety, expresses its own trends, concentrates attention on an acceptance of corresponding administrative decisions and conscious *choice* (in the communication act) – *choice* of direction of movement from the whole range of possibilities.

In social knowledge counter-deterministic aims were often shown in the critic of monocausality – the approach which (as it is considered) is connected with inevitable contradictions in an explanation of historical transformations. Thus, the concept of M. Weber was often reproach for the «paradox of causality». On the one hand, M. Weber always strove to a causal sociological explanation. The causal approach assumes emphasis of determinative in that variety of events with which certain turn in the history is connected. The aspiration to finding out the reason, and so also the mechanism, gives a hope of creation of a deterministic picture, a hope of the description of some natural historical trajectory.

On the other hand, M. Weber resorts to the concept of single historical «constellations» – a unique combination of diverse and independent from each other factors which has defined this or that turn of the history. For example, in M. Weber's opinion, formation of capitalism is caused by this single constellation. But in this case the causal explanation is not obtained. Speaking synergetic language, in the «points of bifurcation» it is impossible to isolate a determinative factor and to deduce the future condition of system on the assumption of knowledge of its previous condition. And this is principal consideration, as the new state just arises in analogous «points» and it isn't predetermined by a former state.

Also in the vein of single historical constellation I. Wallerstein interprets the process of origin of capitalism. But he consciously rejects the determinism. In his opinion, «there are all grounds to consider an event as something extraordinary, unexpected and, certainly, nondeterministic»¹. However, author's way of thinking bears obvious «signs of causality» in itself. In the same paragraph above a quoted fragment, I. Wallerstein speaks about the «determinative factor» which has provided a legitimization of «capitalist groups» – about unexpected weakening of «social opposition to capitalism».

P. Szotompa aspires to combine deterministic and indeterministic positions. So, on the one hand, meaning modern sociology, he ascertains: «It is appears to be dominating the belief in partial indeterminism (inexplicabilities with the concrete reasons) of the phenomena of social life and the direct (based on a reflection)

¹ Валлерстайн И. Социальное изменение вечно? Ничто никогда не изменяется? // Социологические исследования. – 1997. – №1. С.17. [Wallerstein I. Social change forever? Nothing ever changes? // Sociological Research. 1997. №1. P. 17.]

influence of social knowledge on a society»¹. Nevertheless, on the other hand, P. Sztopka, defining sociology, adheres to the canons of causal thinking. In particular, he treats sociology as a science «about people who transform repeated, fixed by their consciousness, sometimes inadvertent results and consequences of the actions into those structural and cultural frameworks in which there are further actions of the next generations»².

To put it bluntly, if there is repeatability, there is also regularity. If there is regularity, there is also a law. If there is a law, there is also determinism. Rejecting law (repeatability), we don't leave a place for a science. Such place doesn't remain also when recognizing the total domination of the «absolute case». Actually, in P. Sztopka's ideas we can see the variant of that very «causal paradox». And moreover, it is raised to norm the fact of inevitable presence of causal paradoxes at an explanation of the social phenomena.

Perhaps, it is a «natural norm» for language of the sociological theory? For language which is involved in ordinary-practical language and for which there is no obligation to introduce the levels for the purpose of removal of paradoxes, as in formal languages? Like that introduction of levels of language, which B. Russell has tried to realize in his «theory of types»?

Accepting the idea of peculiar equality of determinism and indeterminism, whether we get to deadlock again? In particular, we should recognize that the most essential changes – changes of paradigms of development – inexplicably occur exactly in nondeterministic areas. Besides, the position of a *partial* indeterminism/determinism generates far not superficial associations with possible word combinations. And it is difficult to reconcile with these associations, though, possibly, a «game» with them can open some new ways of the rational analysis. For example: «partially timeless processes», «partially spaceless objects», etc. Certainly, in a mental field it is lawful to construct any abstractions. Such abstractions can be also productive, as for example, «imaginary numbers» in mathematics. But the intuition opposes to recognition of reality of processes and objects (anyway – social), *partially* being out of time and space, even if representations about time and space change radically. In any case, with sufficient persuasiveness it is necessary to adhere such abstractions to practice of human actions.

Aspiring to adhere any theoretical considerations to practical activities, whether we encounter a rigid dilemma: *either the determinism exists, or it doesn't*. If so, then the treatment in the vein of principle of complementarity hardly helps, though, possibly, it is pertinent for special cases. If to cavils at words, the partial determinism/indeterminism can't exist, as, for example, there cannot be a partial pregnancy. In general, is it possible in practice to combine two variants in partial execution if one decision excludes another? In real space, not abstractly designed,

¹ Штопка П. Социология. Анализ современного общества. Пер. с польск. М. 2008. С. 23.
[Sztopka P. Sociology. Analysis of contemporary society. Trans. from Polish. Moscow, 2008. P. 23.]

² Ibid. P. 32.

the person can turn on a road either to the right, or to the left. Had turned to the right, he isn't capable to move also «partially to the left». Whether here can help attempts to draw any analogies, for example, with wave-particle duality or «crazy» geometries? Is it obligatory for human interaction with the world the «transfer» of any abstract description in bipolar opposition «yes-no», suitable for acceptance of administrative decisions and, finally, for a survival in the real world?

In general, whether during turbulent times «determination schemes» and rigidly connected with them «management scheme» move towards a *choice of precedents*, leaving in the secondary and subordinated position decision-making on the fixed canons? Whether the administrative actions on the fixed social laws turn out to be a «guarantor» against deadlock branches of development, so far as laws are not more than «repeatability» in stable conditions?

It seems that in the methodological vein a variety of modern concepts actualizes such questions. Among these concepts we can introduce the following:

1. Representation about T. Kuhn's scientific paradigms. There is an essential idea of a *competition of approaches and change of paradigms of thinking* that assumes inevitable «reformatting» of those representations about determinism and management which dominate in the periods of «normal» development. It is important that the choice of new paradigms is dramatically dictated not only by scientific logic with its known conclusiveness and universality, but also by value messages. And these value messages have no such intrapersonal plasticity and, as a rule, they are «tightly» connected to individuals and pass away together with them.

2. Phenomenological sociology (P. Berger, T. Luckmann) and radical constructivism (E. Glazersfeld, P. Vattslavik). The idea of *constructing of a social reality on cultivated stereotypes* is important. I.e., the subject of management sets the parameters of an order, and these parameters are defining steady, reproduced functioning of institutes which are perceived as an objective social reality.

3. M. Polanyi's concept of personal knowledge. Implicit knowledge is one of essential, mostly latent lines of influence, which are predetermining the change of paradigms and, actually, setting «vectors of innovations» to social management. During the periods of «normal» development the role of innovative parameters of implicit knowledge can be not really appreciable and, moreover, can be institutionally retarded and suppressed through individual selection in the systems of upbringing, education, professional training and social management in the whole (it is pertinently to remember also the «anarchist theory of knowledge» of P. Feyerabend).

4. Projective model of cognition of G. Follmer (evolutionary epistemology of such authors as K. Lorenz, D. Campbell, G. Follmer, etc.). Objects and their relations perceived according to this model are *hypotheses* which are verified from the level of touch-sensitive data and are selected on essentially statistical material, set of signals, passing various physiological, psychological, and also linguistic (including logic), and other social filters. I.e., «the matrix of management thinking»

appears as permanent process of selection (choice) of the hypotheses which have only situational, temporary and partial corroboration.

In this context it is pertinently to mention also a revolutionary idea of Ch. Darwin who put forward a development hypothesis on precedents (cases) in a counterbalance to the idea of linear predefiniteness of events and to certain «eternal laws». Thereby he has laid the basis for the new approach to determinism as to stochastic selection of trajectories of evolution of species through the random mutations. Such «case» methodology is also productive for understanding of a social reality, certainly, taking into account a central role of a subjective choice (constructing) a development determinants.

5. *The ideas of synergy* concerning, first of all, a difficult hierarchy of determinants in life of systems and a role of the micro-reasons, starting self-organizing mechanisms. And quite different approach to management of determinants of system development comes from here. For example, similar ideas direct onto the thought that the most effective methods of management of organizations and social behavior as a whole, are ought to be searched for not in the forced designing of traditional functions of planning, control and organization. These functions are more adequate to the forms of social and economic enforcement in an industrial society. We should look for those most effective methods of management in the sphere of point influences on the factors, which are starting up *self-organizing* processes. And the higher above management floors are, the more important such accents become.

In postindustrial «knowledge society» it is lawful to present social management as the act of communication, in which it is necessary to reach mutual agreement of *personal constructs*, if to use terminology of Dzh.A. Kelli¹. In particular, such mutual agreement allows at once to take away inconceivable volume of tasks of total control over «operated» constructs and enters mechanisms of the most effective motivation of all interested subjects.

6. The modern concepts of management showing radical *change of accents* in the approach to determinants of social managing. These concepts: a) have an interdisciplinary character; b) are directly focused on practice; c) are connected with ordinary layers of knowledge; d) are tightly interlaced with that phenomenon that is called «art of managing», i.e. these concepts obviously assume the mechanisms which are not giving in full to rational regulation, universal algorithms, etc.

If we are agree with already mentioned point of view concerning displacement of accents of managerial activity towards value factors, it is obvious that all main goals and tasks are focused on problems of selection (choice) of peculiar innovative decisions and coordination procedures. For short time these decisions should be transformed into a stereotype to be ready to specify or refuse them in every new situation. At the level of separate organizations and separate communities it can give a competitive advantage, but the same short-term. At the

¹ Kelly G.A. A theory of personality. The psychology of personal constructs. N.Y.: Norton, 1963.

global level, in «global society», it will promote implementation of mutually agreed mechanisms of the decision of common problems. Such mechanisms can concentrate in themselves synergistic effects which are not accessible to management within the bounds of separate organizations and communities.

Conclusions. General tendency of change of management paradigms can be defined as transition to *case management* which moves on the foreground in turbulent times, making classical paradigms of management (distinctive for rather stable situations) under-parted. The stereotypes of the accumulated experience of decision-making and the elaboration of detailed instructions are more appropriate for those stable situations. Such stereotypes and instructions don't lose their value in the turbulent social environment at all. But as the pilot at emergencies during plane piloting, the subject of management should find a *unique* way out of a unique combination of repeating situational parameters. And it is exactly a unique exit, even if in simple cases it is required just to find relevant paragraphs of the instructions and to remember last experience. The point is a *creative choice* of «ready-made elements» which in fact are combined in the unique way in each new situation.

Basically, development of systems while approaching to the «points of bifurcation» can't go through detailed forecast though the general parameters of an order can quite be set by management structures. The aim is to select unique, optimal decisions within the borders of the general corridors of movements of events, and to correct them in process of situation development, thereby avoiding the negative scenarios.

Case management is based on the *case determinism* that is reflecting «dynamics of instability» of development. If the classical determinism gave the total sense to belief in definiteness of world communications, then seemingly, counter-deterministic arguments are based on belief in total character of an «absolute case». Most likely, both variants are too strong abstractions. The reality forces to search for more flexible schemes of scientific reasonings. Development of the argumentation within the borders of the concept of *case determinism* and *case management* can be an alternative to diffused opinion in sociology and a science about the resource exhaustion of a category of determinism and to promote progress of the system analysis of administrative problems in their dynamics. The special role in such argumentation belongs to research of «constructivist aspects» of concepts about management of development determinants.

Moreover, case management and case determinism demand moving of abstract reasonings about modernization of a society and freedom expansion on soil of real communicative social relations. It blocks unproductive representations about existence of certain «very smart» universal schemes of social management to which subjects of social actions «haven't grown yet». Problem is transferred (even in necessity of change) to an instrumental plane of permanent specification of existing regulations-contracts between subjects of management, and in particular,

between the state and a civil society, also taking into account specificity of local and global conditions of development.

Pechurina, Olga A.

New Thoughts on Multiculturalism

The most acute problems of multiculturalism comprise problems of intercultural relations in a multinational country and attitude of Western Europeans, and Russian population in particular, to migrants. Increasing inflow of migrants to Europe and the USA from Africa, South-East and Central Asia, and Middle East sharpens problems of finding common language and interaction principles with people who arrive in search of work, higher living standards, and happiness to European or Western world which is alien and incomprehensible to them.

Undoubtedly, a democratic society should esteem cultures other nations. What should be done to create the situation of inter-culture understanding in modern industrial society while preserving their right to identity? From our point of view, the phenomenon of culture of universal cities and megalopolises should reveal, at some degree, the secret of future progress of cross-cultural relation trends. Culture of industrial towns and cities is a complex system of interrelated sub-cultures, which comprise ethnic cultures of migrants. Those foreign individuals who are employed by industrial enterprises integrate in the cultural relations more successfully. As employees, they have to observe the rules of domestic lifestyle and the regulations of enterprises they work for through their social roles, job responsibilities and position-relying behavior. Here we can talk about possibility of integration. Basic identity is created that corresponds to basic social role and status of individual according to professional membership.

Studies of the modern identification configuration basing upon data of the Russian monitoring of population economic status and health conducted in 2006 have revealed that one of the highest places in the hierarchy of identities belongs to professional identification. 86.5% of the respondents who reside mostly in regional centers and other large cities identify themselves with the people of a same profession. National identity among employees of enterprises in large cities is not in the first place [1, p. 34]. Migrants join the unified culture of cities by mastering social roles and professions at enterprises.

Off-workplace, the individual returns to his/her habitual lifestyle using personal cultural space ("cultural backpack"). These national traditions, food, language, religion, and other components of ethnic culture were developed and became accustomed to during primary socialization. It turns out that the individual is living within two cultures which seem to co-exist with almost no overlapping. Thus, in our view, the culture of industrial city is a more complex reality than a melting pot or multi-ethnic cultural formation. At first sight we see two of its levels: official, formal (business, organizational, associated with formal activities and communication) and personal (when the individual is free from official concerns of industrial city).

In a democratic society, any personal space is valuable. That is why unique national cultural traditions should be transferred to the personal cultural space due to respect for feelings and ethical customs of city-resided ethnic groups.

“Personal cultural space” is a feasible new sociological term which can be used in solving the problems of intercultural communications in an industrial city. “Personal cultural space” will be characterized by nominal (horizontal) social factors: ethnic culture, confessed religion, belonging to native association in this city, etc. These factors are nominal because different ethnic groups living in a multinational industrial city in a democratic society can not have any advantage over other ethnic groups. At the same time, in a democratic society the national differences should be unconditionally excluded from all rank differences that characterize the hierarchical structure of social institutions of the city.

Streets and avenues, transport, urban official organizations, operating companies, health resorts, health centers, hospitals, schools (church is separated from state and school from church) cannot be the sphere of implementation of the “personal cultural space”. Obviously, the areas of “personal cultural space” include family, personal property, personal artwork, and native association clubhouse i.e. the premises of the association (where “personal space” of each may coincide), territory of church to which the individual belongs, etc.

Today, most cities’ cultures represent multinational cultures and their basis is made of culture of titular nation that founded that city. Their language historically developed as intercultural communication language. The Bavarians and Angela Merkel are obviously competent in demanding from migrants to learn the German language (the interethnic communication language in this case). It is necessary to rise above separate cultures, their outlooks and customs so that such rituals and customs of one culture do not offend or impede rituals and customs of other people. For this purpose a society needs to accept precise rules that should be followed by all involved parties. The idea of multiculturalism will live provided cultures can find common language. But the multiculturalism principle will be observed only on condition that all intercommunicating ethnic cultures follow this principle. Otherwise, we will get ethnocentrism. Religion, lifestyle, and customs separate migrants and residents, and they are consolidated with social institutions of industrial city. Transport, shops, streets, parks, museums, theatres are the city’s cultural space where there are clearly defined common rules of conduct. Observing these rules we may require from migrants to observe traditions which have been accepted in this city. We may not insult their national feelings. Of course, these rules initially have borne the stamp of titular nation culture (French in Paris, Russian in Moscow, etc.), but universalistic features and principles appear in these rules today.

Migrants leading a secluded life and communicating only with representatives of their diaspora within a family business or in the market cannot adapt to the industrial city culture. That is why the system of ethnic boroughs that is widespread in large industrial cities may not serve the task of integration of

migrants in an industrial city community. These ethnic boroughs will disappear only when their inhabitants are fully included in economic, social and, partially, cultural interrelations within cities (e.g. foreign settlements in Moscow and St. Petersburg that had existed from XVI century and had dissolved in broad Russian culture by mid-XIX century). From our point of view, the complexity of adaptation to industrial city culture does not release migrants from adhering to the city's rules of conduct.

I do not talk about assimilation of migrants into the culture of mega polis. Recognizing multiculturalism as the part of personal cultural space, I reckon that the industrial city culture should completely dominate within the common industrial city cultural space.

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Podvoyskiy, Denis G.

Languages of Sociology: Polyphony or Cacophony?

Let mutual understanding attend us at conferring...
(Bulat Okudzhava)

There have been debates over various themes among contemporary Russian sociologists. As such, they discuss the role of sociology, its public mission, subject and method, as well as the relation of sociology to related fields of knowledge. Specifically, Russian sociologists argue about scientific terms. This is where we can trace their philosophical skills inherited from the Soviet period. The fact that the language status of sociology leaves a feeling of discontent among Russian scholars encourages, rather than discourages, us. The situation could be even more dramatic if scholars do not ponder at all... Meanwhile, what does this discontent stem from, what is it exactly that sociologists are displeased with?

Between physics and metaphysics

As for its terms of reference, sociology essentially elects to chart a middle course, which has come to be known as the in-between way. On the one hand, it resists well-established, successful natural science, which drags unvoiced reproach behind and is not overly concerned with mulling over terminological and methodological issues. On the other hand, it withstands ever unfledged philosophy, which keeps contemplating theoretical categories and constructs. Sociology seeks to catch up with natural sciences and to move away from philosophy, but so far it has succeeded in neither of these aspirations, being incapable of stepping aside from the battle. This is its destiny. It is here, from which the above-mentioned in-between way originates.

One can only imagine the ideal model of scientific language. Even natural sciences have failed to reach it, let alone social sciences and the humanities. Any science is bound not to be monoparadigmatic with scholars disputing over its theoretical and methodological tenets. Yet, this is not likely to impede the application of a unified conceptual framework which will enable an academic community to articulate ideas and communicate in an effective way. Such a framework may be multilevel, structurally subdivided, include general scientific and sector fields. It may even contain polysemic terms, i.e. more than one meaning but not an unlimited number of meanings. Apparently, a scientifically accepted framework is supposed to be highly specific. Importantly, an expert should have a perfect knowledge of the language of his/her field. The meanings of words and their contexts must be strictly defined and enshrined in authoritative study and reference materials. Terms, which have different meanings, intersect or overlap, should be fully consistent with this principle. The items of a conceptual framework should not imply any free-wheeling interpretation by either the sender of a (spoken

or written) message or by the intended recipient. In other words, within the academic turf it is supposed to be a strictly negotiated, explicit consensus on language usage, as well as willingness “to call a spade a spade” according to the rules of the game.

The conceptual framework is becoming complicated and differentiating as the science itself makes progress. The flow of terminological innovations enriches the language of any professional field, although it leads neither to its fragmentation, nor relativism. The rules of mutual acknowledgment of research results operate in “normal” science. While these rules are latent, they are shared by the majority of scholars. The internal cultural and institutional conditions of the science vest certain roles and positions (the role of a trailblazer; a pioneer in some research area, who was the first to release valuable results; etc.) with the right to introduce terminological innovations. This environment warrants that a professional association will maintain solidarity and include the proposed notions into the thesaurus of a discipline following a series of procedures which evaluate the contributions of certain people in devising notions. It stands to reason that when the experts make negative decisions, new notions are rejected and are not included into the vocabulary. As such, we can see a situation, which is similar to the typically ideal one. All the participants of scientific communication within a particular field “speak the same language and understand each other” – insofar as it is necessary for them to reach their actual goals, interact with each other, etc. (if stated in the vein of Alfred Schutz).

At the other end of the scale there is philosophy, as well as its “derivatives” in respect to concrete sciences (with most of them represented by social sciences and humanities). A conceptual order of thoughts may swing considerably in terms of precision, varying from extremely exact and scientese to almost “free-style” systems. Yet, philosophy has been primarily individual knowledge with its language sounding quite convincing within a single class or lecture room. Nonetheless, philosophers have hardly been able to agree on the overall language field (unless, of course, we consider the case of more or less “perfect” competition of ideas, when a doctrine is defined under the influence of exogenous factors which are accepted as indisputably true, while the generally accepted and correct notion is disregarded). Knowledge about a human being and society, which traces the path of philosophy, is destined to be an extreme multi-paradigm, conceptual and categorical relativism, and methodological anarchism in the manner of Paul Feyerabend. If sociology had developed only in this direction, its position (as a science) would be described in a disappointing way: there are as many sociologists and/or sociological schools (of a large or a small size, multifold or scarce) as there are languages of sociology. If this were a case, one should have abandoned all practical attempts spurred by the desire to build a general conceptual platform of the discipline, and scholars should have even stopped thinking about these issues.

Having learnt to explain social life by the unemotional and colorless (unified, standardized, arranged) language of natural science, sociology might have lost its attractiveness for those who are really fascinated with it. Sociology can be

characterized in parallel, although from different standpoints, as *unfortunately* not being physics and *fortunately* not being physics. Many still wish to make it become such a science, but undoubtedly this will never happen. However, scientific discussion turns out to be unproductive if it develops into a pandemonium or a rookery mode, meaning a lack of the basis for structuring the conversation and determining its standard semantic intentions, as well as a lack of means for transmitting sounds made by *homo consciens*. Nevertheless, sociologists recognize such a case as “problematic” and “troublesome”. Therefore, one may go on to say about sociology that again partly *unfortunately* and partly *fortunately* it is neither philosophy, nor journalism, nor art, nor literature.

Languages of social science and social practice

The complaints of experts and science editors about the terminologically weak proficiency of sociologists in Russia¹ sound quite justified [2]. However, calls for compliance with the standards of professional etiquette, including the imperative of “specially designed language competence” are unlikely to be sufficient. Local sociologists have much to learn from their foreign counterparts, but here it comes to different things. Such a situation stems from the unbiased reasons relating to the nature of research activities of sociologists (any, not only in Russia). Generally speaking, the language of sociology is not strict and regularly revised. Its terminological structure is not similar to a tool box, where all items are kept in excellent shape and used for the intended purpose, etc. Rather, it looks like a bag, the contents of which are hard to arrange. This bag contains a bunch of valuable (and no so valuable) things, which are mixed, tangled, used *ad hoc*, in an approximate way, in fits and starts depending on the skills and experience of a particular researcher, either a speaker, or a writer. And this is not due to an excessive multi-paradigm of social knowledge.

The language of any science exists and functions in a natural semantic field [3]. Highly specialized languages of expert communities match second-tier systems of knowledge. They ensure not only regular communication among sophisticated people, but also guard the knowledge itself, which is being transmitted by these sophisticated people, against outsiders and speculations triggered by laypeople. For instance, a patient, who does not care much about his/her health, is likely to understand little about personal medical records, which are tracked, primarily for doctors. Natural sciences and engineering disciplines have succeeded in defending their frontiers against potential incursions from daily life, an area which is inhabited by first-tier systems of knowledge (“common sense”, world of “natural attitude”). In this respect, social scientists also lose. It is unsurprisingly, as their language overlaps with the areas of trivial, mundane, literary artistic, public and political languages.

¹ Not excluding even interpreters and translators, including translators of reference materials. E.g., see details in a witty and informative comment: [1].

Such words as “society”, “group”, “personality”, “character”, “values”, “behavior”, “action”, “revolution”, “conflict”, “solidarity”, “domination”, “authority”, “power”, “family”, “labor”, “trust”, “exchange” and many others are operational notions for sociology, while they are widely used in everyday and public languages, independently from sociology and its “rights” to call things by their proper names. This means that a sociologist actually has no exclusive rights over the legitimate definition of word meanings. The contexts in which these lexical items are used in non-scientific discourse, multifold connotations, and associations cast a semantic shadow on the half-closed language of social scholars. In fact, sociologists are also speakers of natural languages and participate in everyday verbal interactions. Let us take a few examples.

Based on our own teaching experience, we may conclude that it is very difficult to convince some students to follow the preferred specifically scientific interpretation of the notions “church” and “sect”. It does not matter what Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch said on this occasion, even if they are considered to be reputable scholars. The matter is that such words as “church” and “sect” have been found to be axiologically overloaded...

What does a sociologist mean by using the adjective “modern” or the noun “modernity”? Is it just an indication of the present time, the current situation? Or is it a notion meaning a certain type of society, a certain era (an era of modern)? The distinction between the former (time) and often the latter (type of society) is quite crucial...

When reading texts on sociological theory and related fields, one encounters such word phrases as “company”, “society”, “social reality”, “social existence”, “social universe”, “social being”, “social life”, “social organism”, “social aggregate”, etc. In some cases, they are used as synonyms, sometimes – almost as synonyms, and occasionally – in completely different meanings. However, the exact rules of handling such words and phrases are not fixed. It is even impossible to address this question to an author, whereas if it is indeed possible to do so, the author may be at a loss to provide detailed explanations. In addition, all is not well with the interpretation of the meaning of “metaphors” [4] and borrowed words which are found in abundance in the language of sociology (e.g., “organism”, “mechanism”, “evolution”, “net”, “frame”, etc.)...

On rare but memorable occasions quite the opposite situation takes place, i.e. when sociology becomes a donor for everyday and public discourse. What miracles and metamorphoses occur with the notions which have been put into use and adopted in everyday and political languages! To a lesser extent, this applies to simple calques which attach terms to meanings widely used in social practice (e.g., “electorate”, “xenophobia”, “tolerance”, “respondent”, “interactive”), and to a greater degree to words with a complex conceptual history. In this respect, the recent fate of notions such as “marginal”, “charisma”, and “modernization” is noteworthy. Unfortunately, the language of modern Russian daily life has also had no mercy on such words as “sociology”, “sociologist”, and “sociological” [5, 6, and 7].

Thus, we can summarize that word usage practice (related to general, as well to specialized vocabularies) in the language of sociology remains very flexible. It seems to be left to its own devices. Like a birth trauma, such an enduring issue intimates habit on the one hand, and burden on the other hand. There certainly should be some progress towards greater quality, correctness, organization, and proficiency of word usage. However, a complete construction of the conceptual framework in a perfectly naturalistic mode will always remain only a myth, which is a seductive utopia for some (positivists, scientists, and quantitative researchers) and a nightmarish anti-utopia for others (anti-positivists, anti-scientists, qualitative researchers, adherents of hermeneutics and interpretative traditions).

How do notions appear in vocabularies?

Nonetheless, the core of a broad-based conceptual framework of sociology does exist¹. How is it formed? The issue of under which necessary conditions terminological innovations produced by authors are becoming generally accepted in scientific language is still unclear. What are the vocabulary items of history of sociology, which will transform themselves into items of general sociology? Let us consider, for example, the esteemed classics. They all created their own conceptual vocabularies, but the fate of certain lexical items was different. Some of them were digested by science and are now widely used, while others are merely reminders of the distinctive thought process of their authors. The notions "anomia", "ideal type", and "elite" exist in the language of sociology independently of E. Durkheim, M. Weber, and V. Pareto, unlike "collective representations", "value relevance", "residues and derivations". The term "primary group" performs without any reference to C.H. Cooley, while notions "I", "Me", and "generalized other" are directly associated with G.H. Mead's work. G. Simmel's "stranger" has been almost forgotten, whereas Park's "marginal man" is well-known.

The future of any of the notions, which may be included into the terminological vocabulary of social science, is hardly predictable. Nevertheless, one can discuss chances and factors which are capable of increasing or reducing the probability. Selected notions, or their related series, as well as concepts, which unfold into conceptions later on, expand a categorical basis of the science and become the elements of everyday professional rhetoric, if their usage is considered to be reasonable by the majority of academic turf and not just by a single author or a small group of his/her close associates. Purely linguistic features of a word itself are relevant to a certain extent in this case, in particular its resemblance to a notion, neutrality, transparency, a lack of excessive semantic background, translatability, etc.¹

¹ Regardless of the position of watchdogs monitoring Russian language purity, the usage of foreign words as terms looks justified, as it highlights to a recipient that it is a term and not just an element of everyday rhetoric. Although this does not apply to non-specific lexis and a common cultural component in the vocabulary of social sciences, as well as all to those cases, when a foreign language term can be adequately translated into Russian.

However, institutional settings seem to play an important role in determining the future of notions. A well-developed theory of a single scholar, who has neither connections nor ambitious goals, and its conceptual framework have fewer chances of being widely circulated. The scholar might be recalled (as has been the case with many others). Inter vivo acknowledgement (of certain ideas and publications, foothold in the professional community) might also be insufficient, although these factors of success are pivotal. It is preferable that an institutional, as well as a symbolic resource of an individual feeds a similar type of resources of research schools, and vice versa. By the same token, such processes, strengthening of positions, as well as reciprocal exchange should be implemented on a regular basis, at least during a period of active scientific activities, equaling two or three generations of scholars. The successors should demonstrate their abilities to follow the way indicated by their predecessors and express the willingness to surpass their teachers without leaving aside their experience and practice. Finally, the adherence of students to the established and inherited items of vocabulary as a means of communication is crucial. In parallel, the achievements of scientific fields with a high degree of solidarity should be introduced into the educational process.

In this regard, a vivid example is the American sociology of the twentieth century. The progress, which it has made since the First World War, is impressive. In the USA, internalistic and externalistic conditions for the development of science as an "institutionalized enterprise" have remained quite favorable. However, more should have been done to take advantage of the situation. In other words, the combinations of factors included, among other things, a set of certain (rational) strategies for those who have the chance to become leaders. While American scholars did not manage to create sociology and borrowed many theoretical ideas from the Old World, they ultimately transformed sociology into a large-scale intellectual project of global importance – a project, which was not associated with any particular personality. The Chicago tradition of sociology is longer and broader than the school of thought espoused by R. Park and L. Wirth, the same is true for structural functionalism vs. T. Parsons and R. Merton, interactionism vs. H. Blumer, the methodology of quantitative social research vs. P. Lazarsfeld, etc. Scholars have been working within these sound conceptual programs for a long period of time. In their research practices, they have learned to navigate different "boats" following a *wide, but shared* professional route.

European social scientists have inserted many colorful pages into the history of sociology, although its backbone evolved in the USA. Sociologists of the New World differed from their Old World counterparts in the ability to work in tandem, accumulate potential, increase power and improve intellectual performance in the process of teamwork. Therefore, a standard vocabulary of common sociology comprises mainly the terms of American sociology (role, status, pattern, norm, expectations, social control, actor, social structure, stratification, mobility, marginality, deviation, conformism, distance, reference group, etc.), although not everybody is pleased with these developments.

Appetite for innovations or passion for the art of creating notions

The vocabulary of sociology is not limited to the core of its conceptual framework, which incorporates widely used words. This core, which is already quite unstable, experiences pressure from manifold terminological innovations, not only sporadic or atomized, but also of structured and consolidated nature. Undoubtedly, the art of creating notions is one of the favorite occupations of theorists of sociology. It refers to the founders of the science, as well as to many highbrow modern sociologists. Obviously, such intentions are attributable to the overt or latent functional importance. An ambitious author, preferably with no lack of resources or proselytes, may pursue the following strategy of positioning in academic space: figuratively speaking, to outline the possessions, to build walls around them and afterwards to set up a flag pole in a prominent place. In other words, here it comes to the indications of markers and boundaries. As such, intellectual dukedoms or even kingdoms have emerged: Luhmannians, Bourdieu's adherents and Goffmanists, constructivists and deconstructivists, Foucaultists and postmodernists, male and female devotees of gender approach, system analysts, etc. These "invisible thoughts" operate globally with some of them falling apart and new ones appearing. Some of their advocates often form outside alliances, which may be rather rewarding in terms of the results. Yet, there emerge signs of fragmentation stemming from the self-contained language, which is so obscure and esoteric that it is spoken only by sophisticated people, and certainly not by all members of the scientific community. Endeavors aimed at partial mutual conversion of the elements of self-contained languages, a shared basis for discussions are usually discarded due to the risks associated with simplification, trivialization, and desecration of highly-valued cognitive systems. However, there is the fear of desacralization of a favorite image and reluctance to contemplate the emperor with no clothes on. Novelty in terms of notions, novelty in terms of appearance is not necessarily genuine novelty.

Verbal constructs of terminological newspeak are able to produce a strong illusion of the novelty of concepts and ideas, while in reality there is no such novelty. Ultimately, it is the history of science, which can separate the husk from the grain. Do such popular and widely circulated words in today's world of sociology as "self-reference", "autopoiesis", "habitus", "simulacrum", "frame", "episteme", "narrative", etc. have a future? What part of Luhmann- and Bourdieu-like-lexicons published to date will enrich the encyclopedias of general sociology? Only time will tell.

Is polyphony really dissonance?

Amid an inevitable and irremovable multi-paradigm, but not in chaos one can work quite efficiently. There may be a plethora of conceptual vocabularies of sociology, however they should not be insular and impervious. And as the masters of our science teach, "*the understanding the other*" is never complete, just the opposite, it is always imprecise and essentially predicated on the view of the observer who is willing to understand. Therefore, *inter*-understanding between any

two parties is always relative with partial (inter)understanding being better than absolute disregard. This proves to be true with regard to sociologies speaking different languages.

The professional community, which represents one, albeit highly diverse, science, in its own interests ought to maintain a certain degree of consensus in deriving distinctive means of expression and translation of ideas, which are addressed to internal, as well as external audiences. Therefore, it is vital to overcome the impermeability and relativism of selected conceptual dictionaries, to seek to convert them in order to find common themes, continuation and variability, tradition and novelty in the cognitive field of sociology. This problem arises primarily before the history of sociology as an academic discipline and in a broader context – in the face of sociological “propaedeutics” of any genre and style¹. Occasionally, there appears to be no point in using Occam’s razor, as well as clinging to the conviction that new ideas are actually well forgotten old ones. The process of concurrent word-by-word translation of refined sociological constructions into a comprehensible language enables sociology to gain respect and recognition in society, currently or implicitly interested in its findings. These are the very same respect and recognition, which sociology has long sought and it seems at least partially deserved.

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Law, Statute and Unlawful Social Practices

The term “unlawful practices” can be defined as an aggregate of stable and mass social acts (interactions) connected with the infringement of principles of law by the actors of different levels. The principles of law underwent the changes during modernization of Russia. The principles of law are treated ambiguously in different sources.

From the juridical point of view, the law and the statute are identified equally. All rules coming from the government, which are mandatory for everyone, are understood as the principles of law. It turns out that all statutes and subordinate legislative acts are of the legal nature a priori and the citizens are obliged to follow them with no doubt.

According to another, liberal point of view, the concepts of law and statute are differentiated and they say that the statute doesn't always serve to the law. So, in practice the people face both legal and illegal statutes. The illegal statutes are recognized illegitimate and aren't followed by the people.

The supporters of the liberal point of view – Zaslavskaya T.I., Livshits R.Z., Malein N.S., Nersesyants V.S. – affirm that in the conditions when the society's inhomogeneity becomes wider one and the same statutes are understood by one social groups and subjects as legal and by another as illegal.

The liberal concept of the law which began to develop back in the 18th century in the Western Europe and was revived at the end of the 20th century and in the beginning of the 21 century in Russia, considers the law as a social phenomenon. The law has its own nature and can't be brought to an act of will (arbitrary will) of the legislators. The formal principle of equality can be a sole basis of the law. According to this principle all subjects of the law are free to an equal extent. The representatives of this point of view determine the law “as a general scale and an equal measure of freedom of the individuals”. The statute – “according to the content and sense of the principle of the legal equality and freedom” – is a legal act; otherwise we deal with the law-breaking statute, anti-legal “normativity” of the policy-and-order acts”. So, the law and the statute aren't identical.

In the developed society, where people know their rights and freedoms, “the legislation can't damage the law, and the fact of implementation of an illegal statute under the enforcing power of the government is considered as legalized arbitrariness”.

The liberal concept of the law can be considered in the modernized Russia as a distant but feasible ideal. Approaching of the ideal depends on the knowledge and compliance with the principles on which the law-making activity should be built. This is important because the mass unlawful social practices come from the acts of those people who adopt the statutes and subordinate legislative acts in the state and who punish for non-execution of these statutes.

The statute if it isn't an arbitrary act of an individual or a group of individuals should correspond to the following norms: generality (one statute for all); openness (the statute is open for all and everybody); predictability (it means prohibition on the retroactive effect of the statute); clearness and understandability (the statute avoids any vague and unclear statements); non-contradictiveness (the legislative system as a whole doesn't allow that the statutes contradict each other – this is the main condition of its viability and efficiency); realizability (the statute shouldn't allow any unrealizable claims; any statute has the sense only when it can be realized); stability (the statutes shouldn't change frequently, they should have certain stability); unity of policy and law (the declared legal principles and real acts on the part of the authorities shouldn't contradict).

The unlawful social practices directly connected with the illegal statutes can be excluded from the society's life only when the whole legislative system will undergo an analysis in terms of its compliance with the citizens' ideas about the law and justice.

If the statutes and moreover subordinate legislative acts will be far from the ideas of the public consciousness about the principles of law, then it is possible to forecast the phenomenon of unlawful social mass practices with the high degree of probability. Although the cases of violation of the illegal statutes should be treated formally as unlawful, they will be perceived in the public consciousness as justified and fair – i.e. lawful.

The presence of unlawful and illegal practices in the society reflects the really developed contradiction between the law-introducing norm and the people's idea about the natural norm of the law. Such contradiction requires an immediate resolution in order to avoid the contraction of people's rights and the increase of social tension.

Sitnova Irina

Evolution of political system in CIS states

Post-Soviet countries that went through colour revolutions are in serious demand of a comparative analysis, the main questions being What are the main preconditions for the colour revolutions on the post-Soviet area?, What caused success of the oppositions in Georgia, Kirghizia, and Ukraine, and failure of those in Armenia, Belorussia, Moldova and Uzbekistan?, What are the main factors that caused fall of autocracies in Georgia, Kirghizia, Ukraine etc.

State of Problem Research. It should be mentioned that the subject of colour revolutions in the post-Soviet area is mainly researched by politologists who regard them, first of all, as political regime transformations. Therefore, publications on post-Soviet transit and political regimes on the post-Soviet area should be taken into account for better understanding of the transformation processes in Georgia, Kirghizia and Ukraine.

Publications on the subject matter first appeared soon after the colour revolutions in these countries took place, most of the works being journalistic. Deeper analyses were introduced in later works, whose authors, however, focused basically either on external factors of colour revolutions, or on investigation of geopolitical sequences.

Deeper research is found in works devoted to separate countries. Mass protests followed by political transformations in Georgia attracted attention of many researchers of the post-Soviet area. The majority of the works focus on the transformation of the Ukrainian political system and analyse influence of external factors and elite breakup on the course of events. After the fall of A.Akayev's regime, Kirghizia attracted attention of a wide range of specialists on Central Asia.

Social and economical development of Georgia, Kirghizia and Ukraine in the post-Soviet period was investigated by A.Libman, L.Degtyar, and L.Grigoryev.

Transformation of political systems in Georgia, Kirghizia and Ukraine in the beginning of 2000s is touched upon in theses by N.Borisov, A.Koryakina, E.Tereshina, L.Oleynik, and A.Prokofyev.

Russian researchers tend to fall into two trends. The first group claims that the colour revolutions were inspired from abroad and accuse the US and the EU of toppling the old regimes. Their researches are obviously subject to reductionism, i.e. they reduce all the reasons for regime transformation to a single external source. The second group characterizes the ongoing processes as democratic breakthrough. Institutional and extra-institutional reasons for the ongoing events have not been thoroughly investigated yet.

Foreign literature is also rich in researches dealing with transformation of political regimes in the three countries. While analysing transition problems of former communist countries many authors pay attention to the influence that colour revolutions had on democratic processes in post-communist countries.

L. Way's mainly analyses the reasons that weakened authoritarian leaders in Georgia, Kirghizia and Ukraine. He singles out stability factors of authoritarian power and comes to a conclusion that it was the absence of these factors that caused regime transformations.

H. Hale concentrates on the peculiarities of political regimes of the countries, their differences and similarities with the rest of the CIS countries. His original concept is based on the idea that explains regime transformations by internal relationship cycles between presidents and elites.

J. Tacker analyses various approaches to understanding of reasons for colour revolutions. His work is an attempt to sort out definitions and operationalize the basic notions. He rather observes than makes his own statements. C. Fairbanks suggested using revolution theory to research the events in Georgia, Kirghizia and Ukraine. S. Levitsky has a range of works devoted to particularities of post-Soviet regimes where he refers to political systems of Georgia and Ukraine as "competitive authoritarianism". D. Lane researches social reasons for people's discontent that lead to colour revolutions.

Among other things we should single out a range of works that touch upon problems of democratization programmes on the post-Soviet area (particularly, in Georgia, Kirghizia and Ukraine) and their influence on the real democratic progress.

A range of authors analyse regime transformations in the CIS in geopolitical context.

The aim of this research is to elicit basic factors and consequences of political regime transformations in Georgia, Kirghizia and Ukraine in the beginning of the XXI century. The following tasks must be completed:

- Elicit the main characteristics of the original political systems of the post-Soviet countries and evaluate significance of colour revolutions within context of post-Soviet transformation of the three countries;
- Elicit the main factors and reasons that caused success of mass protests and fall of authoritarian leaders in Georgia, Kirghizia and Ukraine;
- Elicit the main consequences of regime transformations in Georgia, Kirghizia and Ukraine and ways of their development.

Therefore, **the object of research** is transformation of political regimes in Georgia, Kirghizia, Ukraine and other countries in the beginning of the XXI century that are often referred to as colour revolutions. The subject is content, common and particular factors, course and consequences of transformation of political regimes in Georgia, Kirghizia and Ukraine.

Summary. Experts single out three factors of political system formation common for the grey-zone post-Soviet countries.

The first factor is elitism of politics. Politics is not dealt with by the population but by elite groups, these being managers, economists, military officers, regional elites, who constitute a separate political class of individuals distributing resources among themselves.

The second factor is absence of political institutions (political parties). Such structures, as a rule, are closely related to a particular political figure.

The third factor is that politics is shifted to the media. Some media editorials start serving as political parties.

Segmentation of elites, clans, contradictions between them created extra opportunities for opposition to develop in Georgia, Kirghizia, and Ukraine and, finally, win in the end. The political and geographical split in these countries served as an additional factor.

- Union of oppositions in Georgia, Kirghizia, and Ukraine turned out to be a key factor of victory. Opposition was headed by representatives of political elites, formerly high-rank functionaries with broad economical ties. This provided opposition with a structure and created opportunities for support from the elite, previously loyal to regime.
- Split of elites favoured split of security agencies and undermined their loyalty to regime. As a result, cohesive capabilities of Georgian, Kirghiz, and Ukrainian leaders decreased and events developed in a non-violent way.
- Destruction of original political regimes of A.Akayev, E.Shevarnadze, and L.Kuchma based on electoral manipulations thanks to three factors: mass control over voting, presence of oppositional media, opposition's opportunities to cause mass protests.

Relevance. Nowadays, the Post-Soviet area is experiencing a new type of social changes, a new sort of revolutions (conventionally called velvet revolutions) that started in Eastern Europe, then moved to Georgia and finally occurred on the Ukraine and Kirghizia. Post-Soviet countries that went through colour revolutions are in serious demand of a comparative analysis, the main questions being What are the main preconditions for the colour revolutions on the post-Soviet area?, What caused success of the oppositions in Georgia, Kirghizia, and Ukraine, and failure of those in Armenia, Belorussia, Moldova and Uzbekistan? What are the main factors that caused fall of autocracies in Georgia, Kirghizia, Ukraine etc.

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¹ Fish M.S. Democratization Requisites: The Postcommunist Experience // Post-Soviet Affairs. 1998. №14. P.212-247; Roeder P. Varieties of Post-Soviet Authoritarian Regimes // Post Soviet Affairs. 1994. Vol.10, №1. P.61-101; Гельман В. Россия регионов: трансформация политехнических режимов. / В. Гельман, С. Рыженков, М. Бри. 2000; Зазнаев О.И. Индексный анализ полупрезидентских государств Европы и постсоветского пространства // Полис. 2007. № 2. С.146-164; Зазнаев О.И. Сверхпрезидентские системы на постсоветском пространстве // Ученые записки Казанского государственного университета. Т. 150. Серия «Гуманитарные науки», кн. 7. Казань, 2008. С.16-30;

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¹ Котляревский Ю.Л. Оранжевая революция: глазами консультанта. Ростов н/Д, 2005; Жильцов С.С. Неоконченная пьеса для «оранжевой» Украины. По следам событий. М., 2005; Афанасьева Е. Государство или революция? М., 2005; Акаева Б. Цветы зла. О так называемой «тюльпановой революции» в Кыргызстане. М., 2006; Колесников А.И. Первый украинский. Записки с передовой. М., 2005; Грач Л.И. Украина после Кучмы. К., 2005.

² Кара-Мурза С.Г. Экспорт революции. Ющенко, Саакашвили... М., 2005; Почепцов Г. Революция.ком. Основы протестной инженерии. М., 2005; Почепцов Г. Гражданское самбо: как противостоять «цветным» революциям. М., 2005; Батюк В. Россия, США и «цветные революции» // Вестник Российского университета дружбы народов. Серия: Политология. 2006. №8. С.15-26; Тренин Д.В. Россия и конец Евразии // Pro et contra. 2005. №1. С.6-17 и др.

³ Колоницкий Б. Постсоветская Грузия // СССР после распада / Под общей редакцией О.Л. Маргания. СПб., 2007. С.231-280; Крылов А. Режим Саакашвили: диктатура вместо демократии // Оранжевые сети: от Белграда до Бишкека / отв. Ред. Н.А. Нарочницкая. СПб., 2008. С.123-138 и др.

⁴ Гельман В. Украина: фрагментированное пространство // СССР после распада. Под общей редакцией О.Л. Маргания. СПб., 2007. С.9-76; Гельман В. Уроки украинского // Полис. 2005. №1. С.37-49; Зимон Г. Революция в оранжевых тонах: украинский путь к демократии // Мировая экономика и международные отношения. 2005. №10. С.20-32; Малинкович В. О причинах «оранжевой революции» на Украине // «Оранжевая революция»: лозунги и реальность: Сборник / сост. М.Б. Погребинский. М., 2005. С.17-28; Мирзоев С. Гибель права: легитимность в «оранжевых революциях». М., 2006. Мирзоев С. Украина сегодня: возможно ли второе издание «оранжевой революции»? // Оранжевые сети: от Белграда до Бишкека / отв. Ред. Н.А. Нарочницкая. СПб., 2008. С.104-122; Фесенко В. Выборы пополам с революцией // «Оранжевая революция»: лозунги и реальность: Сборник / сост. М.Б. Погребинский. М., 2005. С.195-206; Мухин А.А. Оранжевый закат, или История о том как поссорились Юлия Владимировна и Виктор Андреевич. / А.А. Мухин, Я.И. Здоровец, А.В. Лунева. М., 2005; Пастухов В.Б. Украина не с Россией // Полис. 2005. №1. С.25-35 и др.

⁵ Михеев С. Жертва дурно понятой демократии // Киргизский переворот. Март – апрель 2005: Сборник / Сост.: Г.О. Павловский. М., 2005. С.35-50; Добронравин Н. Кыргызстан: от ошской трагедии до «народной революции» // СССР после распада. Под общей редакцией О.Л. Маргания. СПб., 2007. С.409-432; Средняя Азия: андижанский сценарий?: Сборник / сост.: М.Мейер. М., 2005; Ниязи А. Бишкекский переворот: тюльпановое блюдо на азиатской кухне // Оранжевые сети: от Белграда до Бишкека / отв. Ред. Н.А. Нарочницкая. СПб., 2008. С.172-189; Здоровец Я. Кадровые резервы «цветных» революций в Центральной Азии. Персоны и структуры. М., 2006; Брилл Олкотт М. Центральная Азия: перспективы смены власти // Pro et contra. 2005. №1. С.52-72 и др.

⁶ Либман А. «Вторая трансформация» в постсоветских странах // Общественные науки и современность. 2007. №3. С.5-17; Дегтярь Л. Социальная составляющая трансформационных

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процессов в постсоветских государствах // Россия и современный мир. 2005. №3. С.128-144; Григорьев Л. Виражи переходного периода / Л. Григорьев, М. Салихов // Россия в глобальной политике. 2006. №6. С.102-117.

¹ См.: Борисов Н. Постсоветская трансформация политических систем Республики Узбекистана и Кыргызской Республики: сравнительный анализ: дис. ... канд. полит. наук: 23.00.02. М., 2006; Корякина А. Политические кризисы в странах постсоветского пространства: факторы возникновения и развития: на примере современной Украины: дис. ... канд. полит. наук: 23.00.02. Уфа, 2007; Терешина Е. Консолидация демократии в условиях трансформации политической системы общества (теоретико-методологический анализ): дис. ... канд. полит. наук: 23.00.02. Казань, 2006; Олейник Л. Политические трансформации на постсоветском пространстве (на примере Российской Федерации, Украины, Республики Молдовы): дис. ... канд. полит. наук: 23.00.02. М., 2006.; Покопьев А. Трансформации политических режимов Грузии, Киргизии и Украины (сравнительное исследование): дис. Канд. Полит. Наук: 23.00.02 Казань 2009.

² McFaul M. Transitions from Postcommunism // Journal of Democracy/ 2005. Vol.16. №7. С.5-19; McFaul M. Importing Revolution: Internal and External Factors in Ukraine's 2004 Democratic Breakthrough / CDDRL Working Papers, 2006. №59. 56p.; Kuzio T. Democratic Breakthroughs and Revolutions in Five Post-Communist Countries: Comparative Perspectives on the Fourth Wave // Demokratizatsiya. The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization. 2008. Vol.16. №1. P.97-109; Kuzio T. Oligarchs, Tapes and Oranges: Kuchmagate to the Orange Revolution // Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics. 2007. Vol.23. №1. P.5-31; Kuzio T. Civil Society, Youth and Societal Mobilization in Democratic Revolutions // Communist and Post-Communist Studies. 2006. Vol.39, №3. P.365-386; Silitski V. A Year After the Colour Revolution. Preemptive Authoritarianism and Challenges for Democratization in the Former Soviet Union / PONARS Policy Memo №376. P.57-64 и др.

³ Way L. The Real Causes of the Colour Revolutions // Journal of Democracy. 2008. Vol.19. №3. P.55-69; Way L. Authoritarian State Building and the Sources of Regime Competitiveness in the Fourth Wave. The Cases of Belarus, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine // World Politics. 2005. Vol.57. №1. P.231-261; Steven R. International Linkage and Democratization / R. Steven, Lev. Way, Luc. Way // Journal of Democracy. 2005. Vol.16. №7. P.20-34.

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¹ Hale H. Regime Cycles. Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution in Post-Soviet Eurasia // World Politics. 2005. Vol.58. №10. P.133-165; Хейл Г. Президентский режим, революция и демократия // Pro et Contra. 2008. №1. С.6-21; Hale H. Interpreting the Colour Revolutions and Prospects for Post-Soviet Democratization. Breaking the Cycles / PONARS Policy Memo №373. P.35-42.

² Tacker J. Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Coloured Revolutions // Perspectives on Politics. 2007. Vol.5. №3. P.535-551.

³ Fairbanks C. Revolution Reconsidered // Journal of Democracy. 2007. Vol.18. №1. P.42-57.

⁴ Levitsky S. The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism / S. Levitsky, L. Way // Journal of Democracy. 2002. Vol.13. №2. P.51-65.

⁵ Лэйн Д. Оранжевая революция: «Народная революция» или Революционный переворот? // Политические исследования №2, 2010 с.31.

⁶ Mendelson S. Evaluating Democracy Assistance to Eastern Europe and Eurasia / PONARS Policy Memo №87; Barker M. Regulating Revolutions in Eastern Europe // <http://www.zmag.org/znet/viewArticle/2846>; Carothers T. Democracy Assistance: Political vs. Developmental? // Journal of Democracy. 2009. Vol.20. №1. P.5-19; Karatnycky A. How Freedom is Won. From Civic Resistance to Durable Democracy / A. Karatnycky, P. Ackerman. 54p. // http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/special_report/29; Barber B. Democracy Rising // www.usaid.gov/our_work/democracy_and_governance/publications/pdfs/democracy_rising.pdf; Smyth R. The Role for US Democracy Assistance: Helping Build Parties from the Bottom Up / PONARS Policy Memo №140.

⁷ Baev P. Russia's Counterrevolutionary Offensive in Central Asia / PONARS Policy Memo. 2005. №399. P.199-204; Лафлэнд Д. Техника государственного переворота / Оранжевые сети: от Белграда до Бишкека / отв. Ред. Н.А. Нарочницкая. СПб., 2008. С.23-38; Mowat J. Coup d'etat in Disguise: Washington's New World Order "Democratization" Template // <http://globalresearch.ca/articles/MOW502A.html>.

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The empirical base for the research is secondary sources (regulatory enactments, scientific publications, printed media, the Internet etc.) as well as expert interviews, taken between 1 April 2010 and 31 September 2010 on the post-Soviet area. Selection of experts is based on their availability, critical attitude to reliability of various kinds of sources, and necessity of providing of different points of views.

Skulmovskaya, Lyubov G., Pavlova, Olga D.

Making of Cultural Authenticity in the Dialogue between Local and Global

Disputes over Globalization are a persistent feature of the modern science and political theory due to intensive development of cultural contacts. W.Bek [1] considers globalization as a dialectical process, he is sure that it makes “transnational social connects and localities, eliminates local cultures and contributes to appearance of the third cultures”.

In the USA globalization is referred to the process of intensification of economic, social, political and cultural relations which take place over state borders [5]. In this way the main cultural result is disappearance of cross-cultural barriers and identity. However, F.Buell [6] thinks that modern globalization doesn't mean disappearance of nations and national cultures. J.Tomlison states that globalization means interaction and interdependence of all areas in the world. E.Giddens also defines globalization as intensification of world social relations and to his mind this process provides the connection of isolated regions. Thus, globalization can be looked upon as a process which helps people all over the world to become members of the international community.

According to another point of view globalization can't be understood as the power, which lets homogenization of the world take place and threatens local and national identities, cultures, traditions. Besides, there is another statement: globalization is a power which contributes to preservation and progress of local differences and variety, i.e. increases of local heterogeneity. Local answer to global challenge may have different forms: resistance and denial.

Global and international changes contribute to the development of ideas and theories about locality and protect them. Thus creation of cultural authenticity can be looked upon as a result of the dialogue between globalism and locality. So, local cultural reactions mean complete ending of the process of globalization. Besides, globalization can be referred to as a method of local cultures transformation in the course of time [3].

The society used to be extremely mixed diverse mosaic, constructed from isolated social units, which have their own cultures. Nowadays, as V.Dobrenykov [2] denotes, there are national units of various scale, coalition of ruling groups, continental associations, world international organizations. Berger, Held, Tomlison, Waters consider culture as one of the most important aspects of the process of complex cross-cultural interactions, composing the essence of globalization. P.Berger pays attention that cooperation between local and global cultural powers is the key element of globalization. He also defines four phenomena of cultural globalization: international business-culture, global mass culture, world intellectual culture, religious culture.

Culture globalization has positive and negative sides. Development of cultural contacts in the modern world, communications and cognition make people of different nations closer to each other. However, V.Dobrenykov [2] underlines, that real threat of extreme active borrowing is the disappearance of the unique cultural identity. The possibility of cultural identity loss is closely connected with the growing process of assimilation – absorption of weak cultures by strong one, dissolution of cultural peculiarities of national minorities in the culture of national majorities. It's necessary to admit that disappearance of culture and identity may be complete and partial. Open borders for cultural influence and intensive cultural communications may lead to the exchange of positive experience, enrichment of cultures and their raising on the one hand and cultural exhaustion by means of unification and standardization, diffusion of identical cultural patterns all over the world on the other hand.

Different states take part in cultural contacts. It may leave no marks in both cultures or may end by equal or unequal (strong or weak) influence on each other. P.Berger says that almost everywhere localization takes place: global culture is accepted but local peculiarities are taken into account. J.Poirier [7] studied dynamics of cultural paradigm as the unity of fundamental processes: acculturation, deculturation, transculturation, inculturation, contracculturation. Transculturation is the mix of cultural layers, values and traditions. Some theorists think that the epoch of transculturation has come. In modern sociology acculturation is studied intensively. Redfield, Linton and Herskovits [4] define three main types of group reactions in the situation of cultural contact: acceptance, adaptation, reaction.

Cross-cultural communication as one of forms of interethnic cooperation provides stable functioning of regional society. The term “Cross-cultural communication” denotes the process of interactions between different subjects of socio-cultural activity for translation or exchange of elements of the particular culture (values, norms, standards of living, knowledge).

It's known that a person, accepting a culture, comes through the process of semiotization. Various languages of the cultural locality may collect, preserve and translate historic experience and thus form the system of values of people in the region. It means regulation norms of living, maintenance of historic mission and cultural peculiarities of every nation, personal identity, reproduction of cultures in the process of people activity.

Realization of cultural ethnic aspect is observed in the process of communication and its success in interethnic communication provides studying of peculiarities of other culture. Thus, knowledge of social culture of various ethnos is of great importance for successful socio-cultural contacts.

Empirical investigation of cross-cultural communication let define regional peculiarities of organization of interethnic interactions. So, the Sverdlovsk region is polyethnic, that's why much attention is paid to the development of national cultures. State power, municipal power, ethnic social organizations take active part

in this process. Since 1997, they have been organizing the Festival of National Cultures of Nations in the Middle Ural. The members of national ethnic groups also take active part in the region holiday "The Day of People in the Middle Ural".

In the South of the Tyumen region cultural and public-service institutions play a very important role in the process of cultural reproduction and interethnic interactions. Function of national organizations and cultural centers is the main form of integration of national culture into creative activity in the Omsk region. National and interethnic cooperation is the key trend of the regional cultural policy, realized by the centers of national cultures in the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Region – Ugra. Their goal is to preserve national property of every ethnos, development of people's art, revival of national traditions and rites, involvement of young generation in studying of indigenous nations. Festive occasions and Days of National Cultures are the brightest events in the cultural life of the region.

We can point out main results of ethno-national dialogue in the region: cultural enrichment of regional society, support of national diversity, satisfaction with national cultural interests, formation of ethno-cultural tolerance, prevention of interethnic conflicts.

Thus we can define four main effects of cultural interactions in the era of globalization: substitution of the local culture by global one, combination of both cultures without considerable merging, synthesis of the local and global cultures, denial of global culture as a result of strong local reaction.

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The Role of TNCs in the Development of Capitalism in Russia

Since 1970s the world economy led by the United States has been moving in the direction of global integration of capital, production and labor markets. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia has also adopted this route – a process that was speeded up at the beginning of the 21st century when President Putin's economic policy was put into practice. Putin's decision was caused mainly by two factors – external factor, in particular, foreign TNCs (transnational corporations) in the Russian marketplace, and an internal factor, – to have Russian TNCs play a bigger role in the world economy. As a result the Russian economy has been experiencing wide-ranging institutional changes, most importantly, in its rules and shared senses which determine competition and cooperative relations, including forms of business organization.

In the 21st century transnational economic actors compete not for land or assets, but for control over financial and information flows. Therefore, institutions of control over supply and demand as well as competition relations are at stake. The issue of presence TNC in a foreign market is not only strategic, but also a matter of social prestige. The goal of TNC is to construct advantageous economic rules for themselves to take advantage of the opportunities in the world market. So today's process of penetration into national economies is the main agenda of the TNCs. It embodies the stage of formation transnational structures of world economy governance [Smelova 2010].

TNCs as main actors of new era of capitalism represent a new organizational form of the accumulation of capital and the distribution of production. This form is characterized by a set of independent enterprises which interact with each other as well as with a head office in the process of taking financial and industrial decisions. TNCs can be both private and public. They may come from a market or socialist economies, guided by private or social objectives in their economic activities. In fact, many transnational companies are nationally controlled, but internationally managed, although the degree and form of foreign participation varies depending on the industries and the firm itself, the various phases of its activities [Dunning 1992]. In more than two decades transnational network structure managed to bind worldly dispersed resources into a system of large-scale operations [Stonehouse ... [et al] 2004]. TNCs are disembedded actors; their economic activity is both free from state's pressure and pressure made by NGO, and INGO; and capital acts in interests of transnational business elite. The nexus between TNC and national government is much stronger, though.

Although TNCs operate worldwide, they are, nevertheless, tied to their country of origin [Kearney 2008]. In other words, TNCs can relocate, for instance, their production and R&D departments, guided by efficiency principle, but keep their head office in the mother country. Thus, even tough TNCs *per se* are

independent enterprises acting on their own economic interest, they are also subject to the rules of national governments. Indeed, the most successful TNCs have been formed with the support of national governments and originated from strategic branches of economy (for instance, gas-and-oil industry, motor industry, computer and telecommunication industry etc.).

TNC is included in the system of interaction with both internal and external market actors. Its organizational structure can be compared with the model "*l'économie-monde*" - "*world-economy*" [Braudel 1992]. Thus, the center (parent company) is the concentration of factors of production, ensuring the economic activity of the whole system: the capital and its financial structure (transnational bank or fond), production capacity and information, as well as bundle of rights to use their resources. Its periphery - the partner-companies on technology development, production and marketing, universities and media, ecological organizations, insurance and audit companies, the transnational trade union and workers in general, as well as consumers. The functioning of the "*world-economy*" is carried out by a permanent adoption of center over the periphery, by the rules and shared meanings constructed by center, and, indeed, it is unequal exchange of potentials. TNC has its own system of goals and economic activities, its institutional structure, which reflects the norms and values.

The creation of the Russian market, the central institution of capitalism, in the 1990s occurred predominantly on the basis of formal institutions imported from countries with developed economies, or formed as a result of Russia's economic practices, and embodied in the legislation of the Russian Federation. Gaps in regulations over time have been filled by informal institutions, widely used by members of the Russian market. But with the coming of TNCs into the market, they have begun to form new informal market institutions that are fundamentally different from the existing ones. The use of private informal institutions is becoming an important element of the strategy of TNCs, allowing them to create a market niche and take a dominant position, contrary to the existing rules.

So, along with others, TNCs have become agents of economic modernization. Their economic activity was the source of formation of institutional structure of markets. By the institutional structure of the market is understood economic relations, which are limited by market institutions that are constructed by the actors with an aim to regulate the economic behavior of participants and their integration within a single market.

According to tradition of the new economic sociology, in the analysis of the institutional structure of markets, there are four types of markets: capital market, labor market, consumer market, production market [Parsons, Smelser 1956; Swedberg 1994]. Market actors are integrated into one economic system by shared rules of interaction. The capital market includes the interaction between three actors: the firm, the owner of the means of production and the investor. The labor market is seen through the interaction of firms, families and employees. Consumer market shows the social relations of exchange between firms and households

(consumers). And finally, the production market characterizes the relationship between firms and public organizations, and manufacturers.

There are at least two ways to spread institutional rules of transnational corporations in the market. First, through interaction with its partners in business network. Second, as imitation or duplication of institutional rules by market participants who are in structurally equivalent positions.

In the first case, transnational coming into a foreign market, seeks to join with local companies in economic relations on its own terms. This becomes possible due to the symbolic power [Bourdieu 1997]. At the heart of the symbolic power of TNCs is the investment attractiveness of their economic activities, as well as world business experience, which local entrepreneurs often consider as a standard. So, TNCs are able to encourage others to cooperate by manipulating their interests, thus reproducing new to locals rational senses and rules.

A striking example of this phenomenon is IKEA. First of all, it creates long-term relationships with its suppliers. The special requirement of contract is to produce a product only for IKEA. The example of close cooperation between IKEA and production company is home appliances brand "for IKEA from Whirlpool". In Russia, last 12 years IKEA demonstrates an interest in a maximum load of production and retooling it for a specific product. However, if the product does not meet the criteria of fixed size (standard size of IKEA furniture) or the costs of its production, IKEA can renounce from it. In this case, the manufacturer incurs losses of changing the composition of expenditures (for example, growth rates for the resources, or inflation), which increase the price of the product for sale on the market (in the IKEA stores).

IKEA also has specific requirement for the suppliers (manufacturers) - a requirement to follow its Code of Business Conduct. According to the Code of Conduct, established in 2000 (IWAY), manufactures should abandon the use of child labor and to create acceptable working conditions for employees. The rules IWAY stipulate the basic requirements for the suppliers and, accordingly, to their subcontractors. Thus, manufacturers must ensure normal working conditions, guaranteed minimum wages, paid overtime hours and organization of trade unions for their employees. Production waste should be properly sorted and recycled. In addition, manufacturers are required to monitor the use of chemicals in the manufacture and to prevent pollution of air and water.

The second case of rules diffusion is imitation or duplication. This is the result of manifestation of institutional isomorphism in the organizational field (in the market). Organizations tend to isomorphic change by the image and likeness of other organizations that are considered to be legitimate and successful in the marketplace. The reason for this - the desire to establish a procedure that has become legitimate, so to minimize all the possible external testing and evaluation procedures.

The analysis of the institutional structure of three TNCs (IKEA, Toyota Motors Company, Coca-Cola Hellenic) can identify common for them shared rules

and senses in the markets. The production market is characterized by such rules as the production of branded products, the product certification by international standards (ISO), the guarantee of product quality by its brand, the use of standards for environmental and social reporting. The common rules for the consumer market are direct sales of products or through the network of official distributors in order to control the final price of products, the system of goods return in case of defect detection, club system of customer service, and consumer credit provided by the company. Relations in the labor market are determined by the rules of the corporate education system, as well as rules of the trade union and the court within corporation. The capital market is characterized by rules of international financial reporting standards and placing the company shares on the stock market.

According to P.DiMaggio and W.Powell, there are three mechanisms of imitation or duplication of the institutions: coercion, standardization and professionalization. So, it is distinguished coercive isomorphism, mimetic isomorphism and normative isomorphism.

When in the institutional environment prevails the situation of uncertainty, companies are likely to resort to the mechanism of mimetic isomorphism. They will seek to model within their organization successful practices (technologies, programs, organizational innovations) in order to improve their business [DiMaggio, Powell 1983].

For example, the essential part of Toyota's production system is "lean production", developed by Japanese engineer T.Ohno in 1950s. This organizational innovation has become the leading production practice in the world. It provides output of variety range of goods with low costs per unit. It helps to decrease negative profits (e.g., in the process of transportation, storing, waiting, outputting defective goods) that don't create good value but increase its price. It is achieved by using its subcontractors quality standards in goods production, mainly international standards (i.e. ISO standards). The system of lean production was copied by other companies in motor industry. These changes had consequences in Japan economic expansion after the Second World War [Ozawa 1997]. Toyota moved to the North American auto market and due to its cost-effective production system won the competition. Afterwards, it was adopted by companies in North America and Western Europe, and not only by motor companies (e.g., General Motors) and airline companies (e.g., Boeing), but also by trading companies, public health service, banking, service industries etc.

As a single practice lean production is used in the Russian factories. According to a social study carried by Institute of Comprehensive Strategic Investigations in 2006-2008, nearly 26% of Russian enterprises [Kononova 2008] adopt Japanese production system, mostly, in processing industry (e.g., Rusal) or motor industry (e.g., VAZ). The reason of their choice is the increase in efficiency and goods quality improvement as well as possibility to apply this conception in frames of budgetary financing. In 2008, the majority of enterprises that used lean production system in Russia were Ural and Far Eastern federal district enterprises.

Normative isomorphism has its roots in the professionalization of personnel. The spread of such institutional practice as corporate training and development programs aims to achieve homogenization of professionalism among the staff in all TNC subsidiaries. Companies provide an opportunity its personnel to grow professionally and make a career within the company worldwide. The idea is following: employees step by step can pass all the stages of career, depending only on her/his personal abilities and motivation. Thus, TNCs open corporate universities – for instance, University of Coca-Cola HBC Eurasia, primarily for training sales representatives; Institute for Toyota and mobile unit for training staff of new factories; IKEA provides its managers the opportunity to participate in the program "Aspirant" for teaching the fundamentals of leadership and guidance, for those who already has management experience - the program "Advanced", and for employees with great experience in IKEA - MBA program.

It's important to note that TNCs publish corporate literature and place company cases in university textbooks on management, marketing, advertising, international economic relations etc. in order to promote their corporate ideology. For instance, it is written a number of papers on IKEA by B.Torekul, C.Bartlett and S.Ghoshal; on Toyota by T. Ono, T. Jones, S. Shingo, J. Monden, and E.Osono, N.Shimizu, H.Takeuchi, J.K.Dorton; on Coca-Cola by K.L.Bove and W.F.Arens, P.Kotler, D.Grazing, M.Pendergrast etc. So the diffusion of the rules occurs by training future professionals in a standardized model of production organization and management of business processes.

Finally, the coercive isomorphism appears as a social pressure from international ecological and financial organizations, and local community. This encourages TNCs to implement in their intra-bureaucratic procedures, standards for environmental, social and international financial reporting. Each year, TNCs publish online reports at their websites to present them to the public. Such an attitude of "openness" of business at the implementation stage can be very costly, but later it increases the attractiveness of the company in the eyes of investors and consumers.

Summarizing the above, it should be noted that TNCs play an active role in the formation of market, the central institution of capitalism, its institutional structure. The formation of the institutional structure of markets is a two-stage process. It begins at the micro level as a process of institutional change, in which TNC develops its own rules and senses of market interaction in order to minimize transaction costs and offer ("force") them to market participants of their social network, showing, thus, its symbolic power. Then, there comes the diffusion of rules and senses in nearby markets (at the macro level), when other companies consider them as successful and legitimate, and begin to isomorphic change, imitating or duplicating the rules and senses. Thus, the spread of informal market institutions goes through weak ties [Granovetter 1983], which means that it covers a large segment of the market space. Accordingly, TNC informal institutions do not only form its institutional structure, but having widely spread, they change the

institutional structure of the markets in foreign countries, in which TNC has come to do business.

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The Competency of Ecologists – Possibilities of New Professional Group in Russia During the Modernization

The present study examined the possibilities of new social-professional group in modern Russia. The authors have aimed to gain a fresh perspective and to explore the issues of ecologists' role and competency. In 2010 the in-depth formal interviews were used, more than 240 experts participated. The findings show that competency of ecologists is higher comparing with others professional groups of this field and they have a sufficient influence to other professionals.

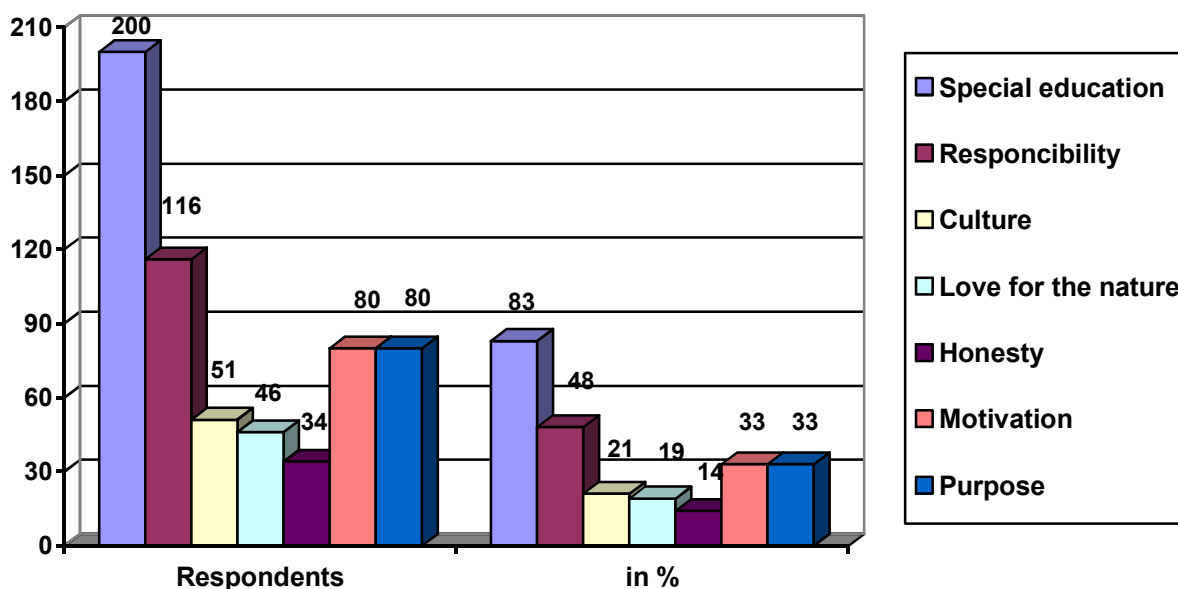


Figure 1. Personal characteristics, which have to be appropriate of the ecologist for the effective ecological activity, N=242

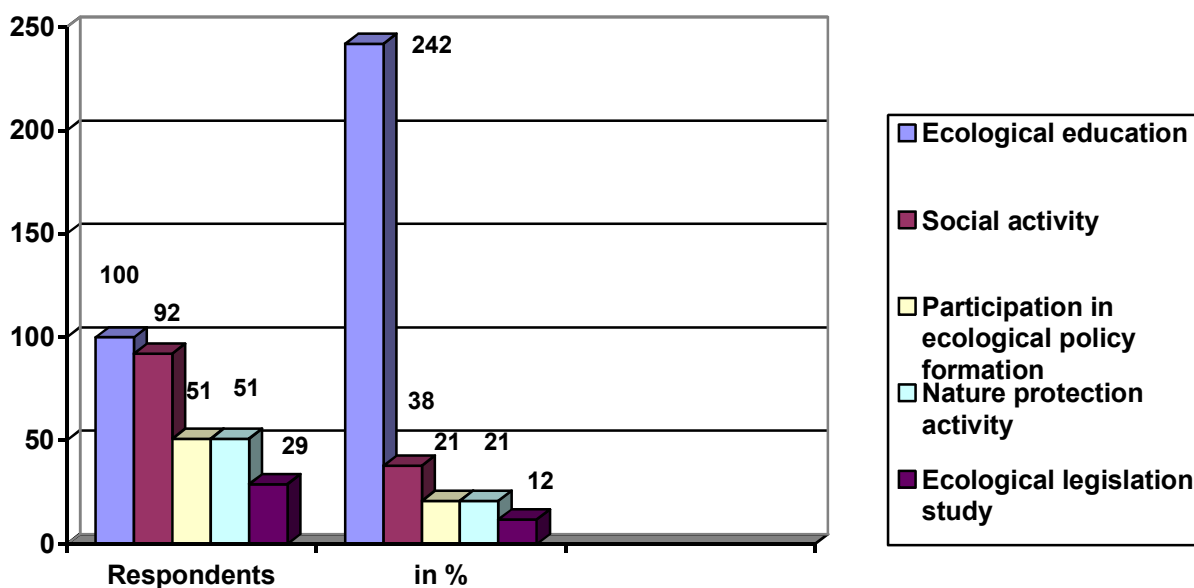


Figure 2. Types of activities, which contribute to formation of personal characteristics of the individual and can define the level of his ecological culture, N=242

Analyzing the issues of new social-professional group in Russia it is important to pay attention that the institutionalization of the ecologists is influenced by its special characteristics. Firstly, the special role of ecological ethics and morality in activity of the professional. Secondly, the importance of professional activity of ecologists in conditions of local ecological crisis which leads to the development of professional self-identity and the appearance of professional pathos.

Changes in the social attitudes of the ecologists 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. In this respect, we consider that the professional group of ecologists can be called a new profession although the power of professional associations is rather weak and the sense of professional identity is still on the move.

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The Elite as the Subject of Social Evolution and Politics

Social Evolution

Science has always followed culture. According to the Judeo-Christian tradition the relationship between culture and nature is a duality where culture dominates. Nature here is just an object and man is in a privileged position. This knowledge is based on the ideal of certitude and views nature as a machine. Reason as Nature derives their meaning from the natural sciences. It led to an attempt to discover social physics. The language of social sciences expressed the language of Newtonian system of physics through the rational order of the world and society. Nowadays economists and sociologists encounter complicated problems.

Social sciences describe the unforeseeable, the qualitative, the possible, the irreversible and the uncertain. We can say about the philosophy of instability (by Prof. Ilya Prigogin¹) and understanding of the importance of the “event”. Recent evolution in physics and mathematics allows us to look into perspective in which we have created own history. There are social sciences that describe behavior at the level of populations and not the individual one. Human history cannot be reduced to the individual. Even if we analyze the behavior of one particular person, we should take into account analysis of the patterns of socio-cultural environment in which he has lived.

Speaking about historical trend as well as chronicles of events we should not forget about specific orientation of time. Then the importance of the event remains a controversial issue. The essence of the event is that it introduces differences between what is predictable and what is not. Event is associated with the uncertain but it has a microstructure. History expresses itself through determinism interrupted by events that follow reorganization of society. It is the event, in a certain way, that makes it possible to distinguish the past from the future. We can “explain” the events of the past. We can almost consider them as the issue of latent determinism, but we cannot predict the events of the future.

Prof. Ilya Prigogin found it interesting to be able to compare the idea of event with the idea of bifurcation currently used in physical and mathematician sciences. Bifurcations are placed in the perspective of evolution described by non-linear laws. In such systems social variable or any other variable can be described by a trajectory, but this trajectory generally leads to singular points, the bifurcations, from which several new branches emerge. In his book “The End of Certainty”² I. Prigogin argued that evolution has historical character. For example, condition **d2** supposes that the system has gone across conditions **b1** and **c1**.

¹ Prigogine I. The philosophy of instability – “Futures”, August, 1989, p.396-400.

² Пригожин И. Краят на детерминаността. София, ХЕРОН ПРЕСС, 2000 г. С.48. (Prigogin I. The End of Certainty).

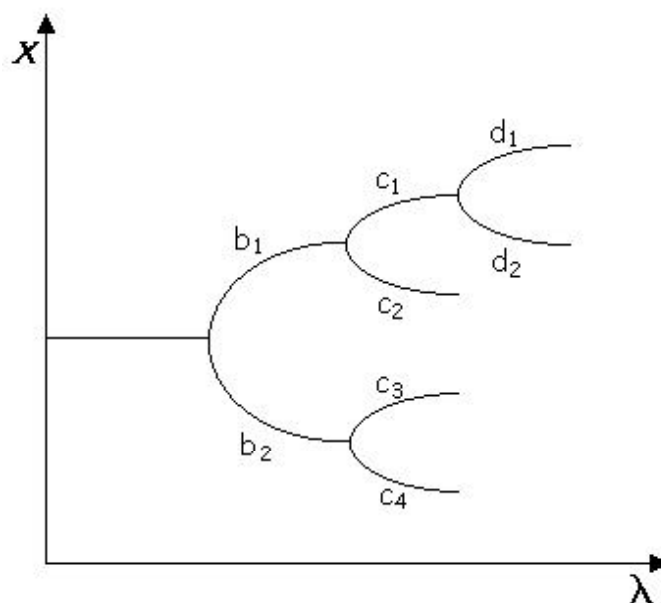


Figure 1. The succession of bifurcations of system for the unstable (nonequilibrium) state

Here we touch on a difficult philosophical point. What directs the evolution that we observe in the universe if it is not the universe itself? Now in sociology we speak of “self-organization”. That is, for the same external conditions there are several solutions of the system of non-linear evolution, one of which will be achieved – the one that corresponds to the branch realized after a point of bifurcation. There are several ways of the system of non-linear evolution; one of them comes into effect. It is the one that concerns the path occurring after a point of bifurcation.

In the life of societies, memory of the past, anticipation of the future, and the present intermingle like determinism and events that may have uncertain outcome. We observe the idea of a linear and deterministic world, which is contrary to everything. Society should be non-linear because everything each person does influences what others do and vice-versa. In his book “The End of Certainty” Ilya Prigogin said that, lack of equilibrium lies at the basis of evolutionary phenomena. Probably the most important and most evident characteristic of life is concern about the future.

Evaluating the future plays an essential role when a person makes a decision. There are *two main criteria* connecting the person, the group experience and social environment. These are *volume of information* and *values* that are shaped by cultural patterns and individual choice. All qualities of person are based on these criteria. The *instability* as a quality of self-organization systems demands such quality as *diverse range of behavior*. The *unforeseeable* implies undergoing effective *social adaptation* as adjustment. The *volume of information* that person is able to receive, appears to be effective when he has *sophisticated cognitive intellect*. The *character of values* determines individual activity aims, satisfies basic needs, and facilitates self-actualization and creativity in social interactions. The *non-equilibrium* derived from deficiency motivation, which can be compared with *bifurcation mechanism* of

individual behavior. These phenomena are connected with expressive components of behavior and social movements, social conflicts and revolutions of rising expectations.

Summing up everything mentioned above we come to a conclusion that “deterministic” laws are not sufficient when we want to analyze the future. They ought to be replaced by laws that draw upon probabilities, where probabilities include a clear dissymmetry between past and future and describe populations rather than individual behavior. These probabilities are irreducible in such a way that they cannot undergo decomposition up to individual behaviors because of interactions that may play an essential role.

Nonlinearity is particularly clear at times of crisis. It is a clear effect of non-linearity. The larger society is, the more important are the non-linear effects, and the greater is the number of points of bifurcation. The notions of the *structural stability* and *order through fluctuations* ¹ are the most important notions of our discussion. Such mental qualities as *sophisticated cognitive intellect*, *diverse range of behavior* and *social causes* can perform the function of *preadaptive*² elements and play a clear evolutionary role.

It is possible to discuss if we introduce the category of “Information”. The theory of elites is also regarded within synergy approach in the binary system in particular. “Elite” and “Ersatz-elite” are described as structural elements of society which assign certain qualities to social actions. These elements are the subjects of historical-evolutionary development of the mankind. Elite and ersatz-elite aren't separate society strata. Their representatives are presented on all levels of social hierarchical pyramid.

The representatives of *elite* have such mental qualities as *sophisticated cognitive intellect*, *diverse range of behavior* and *social attitudes and aims* allowing them to bring maximum benefit to the society. The *ersatz-elite* have some common qualities with elite. But its representatives haven't diverse range of behavior and their ideas of values are mainly targeted at satisfaction of personal interests not regarding public interests³. Possessing such qualities along with better social adaptation, ersatz-elite become an incomprehensive replica of elite its *social antipode*.

The bifurcation mechanism of system “Person-Society”

We live in a world “far from equilibrium”, surrounded by structures that were formed during the course of the Earth history, whether it should concern Chemistry, Geology or Biology. We should seek their origins in the subsequent bifurcations. As a matter of fact, it has been found out that the bifurcations

¹ These notions are considering in detail into: I.Prigogine , I.Stengers. *Order Out of Chaos*.Bantam Books, New York, 1983.

² *Preadaptation* – beginning into evolving system the useful signs before they should stay really useful to its.

³ In detail about basic-needs graduation and self-actualization by: Маслоу А. Мотивация и личность СПб, Питер, 2003 С.80-96. (Maslow A.H. Motivation and personality. N.-Y., Longman.).

introduce an element of uncertainty which, once again, appears to be the "end of the certitude" (according to I. Prigogin) and causes plurality of futures. We will stick to the position of the constructive role of irreversible phenomenon. This gives us quite a different view of the matter.

Prof. Iliya Prigogin has often said: "Equilibrium point is blind; far from equilibrium it starts to see". We generally deal with sequences of bifurcations, which gives a "historic" view of nature and a new view on historical-evolutionary development of the mankind. In his book "The End of Certainty" he said that this is only possible by introducing a probabilistic view. So we come again to, far from equilibrium, characteristics we have enumerated for social sciences: time arrow, points of bifurcation and events. Time arrow seems to be the most "universal" property of all ever existing. And everything is aging in the same direction, including rocks and stars. But time arrow refers not only to the process of aging. There are events, and new situations that manifest nature's creativity.

Non-equilibrium physics has given us a better understanding of the mechanism displaying how events emerge. One way or another, we are becoming closer to the reality surrounding us. In this way we are approaching a point of bifurcation involving fundamental aspects of our societies. Events are related to bifurcations. The future is not given. Behavior at the individual level is the key factor in shaping the evolution of the entire human species, especially in the time of globalization and network revolution. And the role of individuals seems to be more important than ever. This fact makes us believe that some of our conclusions remain valid in human societies. But what we should not forget is that it is the fluctuations that will determine the path on which this point of bifurcation will occur. It is a call to individual action, which, today more than ever, is not necessarily condemned, to insignificance.

Values are closely connected to significance points. An individual system of significance points is presented by whole set of behavior and reasoning patterns acquired by person. Points of significance are expressive components of behavior. They are measured by inherent personal emotional states. *Values* are measured through rational comparison. None of rational equivalents can be juxtaposed to points of significance. Controlling significance points through values, this makes person a social being.

Generally speaking psychophysical state of any person is a non-equilibrium state that can be disrupted by any information signal from external environment at any moment. Psychic state of person living in society is seen as a pendulum governed by two mechanisms of social interrelations, these are *socialization* and *interiorization*. When we use the notions "value" and "points of significance" we conditionally present the state of person as the function in the shape of bifurcation fork (Fig.2).

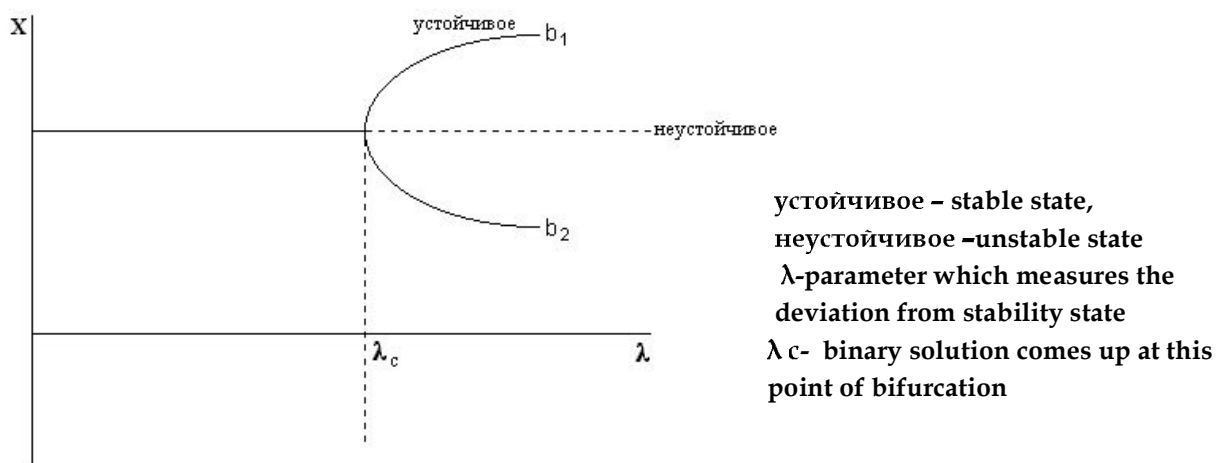


Figure 2. The bifurcation fork

$X=F(\lambda)$, where X – person's activity, λ – actions which determined by ratio:

$\lambda_i = b_i / m_i$, where b_i –external factors (values), m_i – inherent factors (points of significance), $i = 1, 2, 3, \dots$, (unit of time). Provided that $b_i = m_i$ the ratio $b_i / m_i = 1$ – psychic equilibrium determined by optimum correlation of values and points of significance.

Given that $b \rightarrow 0$ and $m \rightarrow \infty$ $X \rightarrow 0$; given that $b \rightarrow \infty$ $m \rightarrow 0$ $X \rightarrow \infty$.

Given that $\lambda > \lambda_c$ –new binary stable solutions appear at the point of instability.

Mathematic model in this case is used not for quantitative characteristic but to serve as analogy that would help to broaden our outlook. The priority of values over points of significance or vice-versa separates the paths of the system's evolution. Hence, the typical bifurcation diagram can have socio-psychological interpretation.

As every society does, each person passes certain stages and impersonally replicates the stages of social evolution. Such process implies the continuity of person's efforts, since it is equally plausible that a person may either develop or degrade from any point of bifurcation. These irreducible plausibilities are fractal type functions. So we can state that at critical moment of the social system most social people choose "values" (strategic, long-term aims of development) or the "points of significance" (tactic, short-term ones) and this choice determines the development trend for the entire society. When we consider the bifurcation mechanism of social development it is important to have certain idea about quality of opinion leaders. *The elite always choose the values while the ersatz-elite choose short-term aims of development.*

Tumanov, Mihail A., Vasilieva, Lessya N.

Modern Society and Information Stress as a Phenomenon of Turbulent Times. The Nature of Information Stress

In modern dynamically changing world the success of an individual person is almost an equivalent to his abilities on the rapid absorption and processing of large volumes of information during study and professional activity.

For man, in contrast to the technical devices, the assimilation and processing of information is an active process, associated with intellectual efforts and psychophysical costs. In some cases, information processing is accompanied by extremely strong emotional experiences. Special attention should be paid to the situation of deficit of information. In these situations to fill the missing information can be only in one way - to build an adequate image of the situation and make the right decision on the basis of transformation of already available information and implementation of research activity to collect the missing information from the external environment. This requirement just meets the fundamental understanding of information as a measure to reduce uncertainty.

The degree of an overload amplifies due to two factors:

- 1) the solution of several problems at the same time.
- 2) The limit of time, which implies a high intensity of processing of the information.

Thus, the information overload, especially in situations of uncertainty, which is so full around, is one of the most common factors that start the development of the information stress.

The approach to the information stress from the position of its intellectual nature allows to justify a logically coherent system of measures for protection of the person against superfluous stress. A full system of antistress protection, at least should include five elements:

1. Special psychophysiological selection of people, the stress of who have high requirements.
2. Mastery of rational life philosophy. In the language of cognitive stress this theory means that the threat of an adverse impact after its robust assessment may cease to be a threat.
3. Carrying out the intellectual training, aimed at the development of intellectual capacities on processing information.
4. Relaxation activities.
5. Monitoring of the functional condition, for the prevention of stress related disorders.
6. Improvement of psycho- physiological resources to ensure the intellectual processes and curing of high emotional stress.

According to the British encyclopedia in the USA the share of persons professionally connected with the information sector made in 1880. - 2%, 1920. - 9%, 1955. - 29%, 1975. - 50% and in 2000. - 66%.

According to the American data, from 50% to 80% of people at work periodically or constantly have expressed stresses. According to the experts of the USA stresses cost the American economy \$ 150 billion¹. But there is a certain number of people with a high level of development of biological intelligence. At hit in a stressful situation, requiring special solutions, they have strong positive emotions, which for them are great joy in life. According to the research data such people, are less than 20% of the total population².

Information - stress load test "Expedition", a fundamentally new method of psycho- physiological testing

The method has been developed in the form of a hardware - software complex under the scientific leadership of the academician of Russian academy of medical sciences, the laureate of the State prize of G.P. Stupakova in the program "Russian business culture"³. The main innovation essence of the method is immersed in the subject in an integrated informational flow, in the framework of which changes the speed and success of some of the basic information processes:

- 1) The perception of logical relations "If, then";
- 2) Abstraction of essential features;
- 3) Numerical coding;
- 4) The verbal coding;
- 5) Shaped coding.

The received results allow to make a conclusion, that the rational philosophy of life can be considered as the foundation of the stress.

Without the "a" philosophy of life any system of improvement of stress resistance devoid of meaning. If to speak about the "small" philosophy of life, it can be formulated in the form of the following items:

- 1) Permanent and self- learning, especially in the selected professional field. Fundamental and applied knowledge, decision- making skills, professional experience, independence of thought - the best "consultancy" in situations of stress.
- 2) The ability to say "NO". There are people, who are under the influence of their own ambitions or under the influence of circumstances take on too much. However, do not deal with information overload, obviously exceeding their own intellectual capabilities. In aviation there is such proverb: "A smart pilot avoids flight situations in which you might need to his mind."

¹ Alyoshin S.V. Information stress. M., ГИИФО, 1999. p.11

² Alyoshin S.V. Information stress. M., ГИИФО, 1999. p.11

³ Stupakov G.P., Alyoshin S.V. On the evaluation of stress resistance with the position of the information approach// Bulletin of the international academy of human rights in the aerospace systems. 1998. p. 2-4.

3) The ability to enjoy the process, not its result. The famous hard work of the Chinese is based on the respect for the process of labour, as the greatest life values. In the western tradition, alas, is to receive pleasure from eating only fruits of labour.

4) To be an optimist. It has long been known that there is a happiness that man says on this issue. In this case, the many stressful situations will simply disappear.

The system “Person-Society”

From biology we know that heredity is something of stability. That's why evolutionary development is connected mainly with the reconstruction in genes. So it is a series of unexpected qualitative leaps which are separated one from another by mutation processes. They give birth to the stable heredity of forming groups. If we compare (with some degree of approximation) “social mutations” with biological ones we can see at first that social evolution is a leap in the personality behavior. Then it is consolidated into society standards and political institutions. After that we can speak about the changes of forms in society development, their fixation and realization of new values and social aims.

The social level of evolutionary organization has not achieved the complexity and variety of the biological level. The structure of a human body is extremely more complicated than the structure of all mankind. Any society usually demonstrates the pyramidal hierarchical constructions. At the same time the most effective biological structure is a net with chief environment-making organisms.

Brain is the perfect organ created by nature, and if we want to imagine an ideal society we have to analyze the basic principles of its work. Latest scientific researches show that the main peculiarity of brain's functioning is that the colossal energy of evolutionary development went to create the horizontal net connections. This energy is several times greater than the energy used to create other structure levels of a human body. If we draw a parallel with the social life we'll see that the more people are involved into horizontal nets the better. Because in this case they are located in the area of quick receiving of information and can make decisions, based on this information, which can influence life of the society.

Human society is a self-organizing system. These systems are fractal-type. Fractal is a nonlinear structure that preserves self-similarity with unlimited increasing or reducing of scale. Consequently, we can assume that principles of brain activity are analogous to principles of social functioning.

Social world is a symbolic system, a complex of conclusions that can cause material changes. When two dynamic and inseparably linked systems “Space-Time” and “Personality-Society” converge, a phenomenon of *social parallelism* appears. It is a quality of social substance which can result only from mental processing.

***Social parallelism** is a basic nonlinearity of social environment which stimulates the process of self-organization by selecting important or non-important information.*

Ordinarily speaking, every person has a definite way of response to social pressure which tends to absolutize the worldview. This way of response becomes *attitude* in social sphere, *ideology* in politics, and *religion (even secular)* in spiritual sphere. Every person joins network social structure with definite environmental qualities.

Any network structure of this kind requires:

- common system of values and aims
- freedom of choice
- common authorities (which by analogy with biology can be called “major environment-making elements”)
- succession (i.e. ties between people of different age and generations).

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

Now we come to a conclusion that “deterministic” laws are not sufficient when we want to analyze the future. They ought to be replaced by laws that draw upon probabilities, where probabilities include a clear dissymmetry between past and future and describe populations rather than individual behavior. These probabilities are irreducible in such a way that they cannot undergo decomposition up to individual behaviors because of interactions that may play an essential role. Nonlinearity is particularly clear at times of crisis. It is a clear effect of non-linearity.

As every society does, each person passes certain stages and impersonally replicates the stages of social evolution. Such process implies the continuity of person’s efforts, since it is equally plausible that a person may either develop or degrade from any point of bifurcation. These irreducible plausibilities are fractal type functions. So we can state that at critical moment of the social system most social people choose “values” (strategic, long-term aims of development) or the “points of significance” (tactic, short-term ones) and this choice determines the development trend for the entire society.

Vilkovskiy, Mikhail B.

Using Semantic Differential Method for Solving Architectural Sociology Problems

One of the main tasks of architectural sociology is studying the human perception of architectural structures. In this connection the response is of interest to the question of whether people of different ages, professions and trades, nationalities, religious beliefs and well-being standards assess the same architectural masterpieces in various ways.

The architectural sociology is now at its early development stage yet. There are only two trends in its development in the world.

The first trend is being developed at the German Sociological Association in the context of philosophical anthropology by Joachim Fischer and Heike Delitz (Dresden University of Technology). According to their views, architectural sociology studies architectonic phenomena with account for the society specifics. This is the main difference between the architectural sociology and the urban sociology that views the city not as an “artifact” but as an “emotional state” of the society [1, P.12].

The second school is represented by American researchers Ronald Smith and Valerie Bugni (University of Nevada, Las Vegas). They believe the symbolic interactionism to be one of the main theoretical approaches to the architectural sociology studies [2].

Both existing schools work within the humanitarian, descriptive paradigm. But in practice there is the necessity to use more precise analytical methodologies in architectural sociology.

Toward this end the author has conducted a number of experiments using the semantic differential method. The study results are given in the report.

In the study process a methodological experiment was arranged consisting of polling two groups of respondents who were shown the photo of the Church of the Intercession on the Nerl, a well-known monument of the ancient Russian architecture, and asked to describe their impressions using the classic range of nine Charles Osgood's semantic differential scales: *good – bad, clean – dirty, valuable – worthless, large – small, strong – weak, heavy – light, active – passive, fast – slow and hot – cold* [3, P. 146].

The first group included 26 persons who responded to the questions in the order of their appearance in the check-list. To the second group (20 persons) the questions were put in a random order. In this way the second experiment differed from the first one by following the original method more exactly.

The data thus obtained were initially processed separately for each experiment and then were combined.

The first group, after the factor analysis with the maximum likelihood and varimax rotation with Kaiser normalization (SPSS 19.0 package was used) gave three factors with the factor loading in the following general explained variance sequence: Activity (18.05%), Evaluation (17.58%), Potency (16.69%). The total value of the cumulative explained variance amounted to 52.32%. Those results conform to the results described by Charles Osgood in studying the esthetic evaluation of realistic pictures by people not directly involved in visual arts [3, P. 66-70].

The factor analysis by the principal component method with the varimax rotation for the second group provided the following distribution of the factors by the explained variance values: Evaluation (28.34%), Potency (20.50%), Activity (17.18%). The cumulative explained variance was 66.02%.

The factor analysis of the overall data array for 46 respondents with the maximum likelihood and varimax rotation with Kaiser normalization (SPSS 19.0 package) gave similar results. Three factors were obtained as the factor analysis result with the following distribution of the explained variance: Evaluation (18.85%), Potency (15.00%), Activity (12.29%). The cumulative variance value in this came to 46.14%.

So, the Church of the Intercession on the Nerl semantic profile, as that of the ancient Russian architecture masterpiece, consists of three factors and appears as follows in the decreasing order of the explained variance value: Evaluation (18.85%), Potency (15.00%), Activity (12.29%) that corresponds to the classic results obtained by Charles Osgood in his research using the semantic differential method. The more exactly the study methodology is followed, the closer the results obtained are to the classic ones.

At the same time, we should see the results obtained as just a first approximation that needs refinement. Refining the results obtained is the prospective research task for subsequent studies.

References

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Zhirjakova, Svetlana N.

Mental Potential of Local Territorial Community as the Strategic Resource of Regional Development

Last transformations of economic way of the country's life have led to the delegation of a considerable part of responsibilities on socio-economic development onto the local level.

Today each municipality independently responsible for its complex socio-economic status, image and prospects. Changing the content of local government in connection with the adoption on Oct. 6, 2003 Federal Law № 131-FZ «On General Principles of Local Government in the Russian Federation», the possibility of securing a decision on his own responsibility population of local issues territories, became the basis for self-development and implementation of municipal strategy.

Hence, today local governments have the right to formulate long-and medium-term objectives of local development and identify ways to achieve them. The adoption of this law made it possible to include the most active segments of the population to solve local problems, which leads to people interested in the fate of his small homeland, the development of local economy, use of natural, intellectual, managerial and other resources.

The main objective facing municipalities today, - to keep the saved up mental potential of territory, to achieve its development through continuity of generations, thereby promoting formation of absolutely new degree of quality of people's life.

In the scientific literature a mental potential is linked with two components: condition of a science and a condition of education¹ which can be measured by means of social statistics. But it is obviously not enough for the analysis of a condition of a mental potential of certain territorial community².

The intellectual beginning both in life of a separate person, and in activity of this or that territorial community becomes more significant. Possession scientifically – technical knowledge and abilities depend not only on formal education, but also from the cultural level of a person and his(her) moral choice. Therefore in our study of a mental potential of territory it is necessary to pay attention not only to science and education, but also on culture both in broad, and in slight logic of this word.

Let's consider the development strategy of a mental potential formed and realized in three basic spheres of population activity– in education, science and culture on the example of Gubkin's city district in Belgorod region. The rare combination of the favorable geostrategic position, rich natural resources, developed, having positive image and old traditions industry, scientifically-innovative complex, traditionally socially active educated population, allocates city

¹ See also: Руткевич М.Н. Левашов В.К. О понятии интеллектуального потенциала и способах его измерения// Человеческий потенциал России: интеллектуальное, социальное, культурное измерение. Сб. научных работ. Под ред Б.Г.Юдина. – М.: Институт человека РАН, 2002. – С.12-24.

² Юдин Б.Г.Интеллектуальный потенциал личности.// ibid. – Стр.8.

district with one of the highest potentials of development among municipal unions of the Belgorod region. Realization of this potential – the basic source of economic growth, competitiveness of city district and level of its social development. In Gubkin's city district there is considerable intellectual and cultural potential, the resources are accumulated, allowing to generate own strategy of management by development of a mental potential which is formed in the various social organizations of education, science and culture.

From 120 thousand inhabitants of the district half is occupied in goods production, makes the added product. The second part of economically active population works in an education sphere, science, public health services, culture¹.

The first cultural knowledge and skills, the cultural programs generated by society, the person receives in a family where following cultural phenomena are formed: desire to live among other people, readiness to perform different role functions, necessity for interpersonal dialogues, and formation of cultural behavioral stereotypes with creative exploration in the world around knowledge.

The family institution is a unique invariant of the world of modern culture. In Gubkin's city district there are 44 853 families, 5100 young families are elderly till 35 years (11,4 %). 13010 families have minor children that is 29 % from total of families. 260 families concern a category of unsuccessful where 368 minor children are brought up. The average size of a family cell – 2,8 persons. In 6,8 % of families extraordinary children are brought up. Higher education have about 40 % of parents, 60,2 % - average special and primary vocational training.

Obvious negative dynamics family-marriage relations in Gubkin's city district (70 % of the divorces, every third child is brought up in an partial family, the quantity of unsuccessful children and a social orphanhood, birth rate reduction increases), speaks about serious problems of family institution. That's why the first strategy – development of family relations' culture in which the moral component of intelligence is formed.

Now we will consider culture establishments as the organizations which in a society arise for continuation of a family socialization of a person. We have included libraries to them, museums, club establishments, musical and art schools. Science and education establishments are both social institutes and the culture phenomena, therefore they can be considered as the phenomenon of spiritual life of the local territorial community, promoting cultural development of a person.

Besides, the local territorial community is characterized by national culture, literature, music, painting, architecture, sculpture. Physical training and sports, medicine, provide health of people as special cultural value. Traditions, customs as the culture phenomena define feature of life of this or that freely developing territorial community. They characterize this or that ethnos, and his life will organize a network of social statuses and roles, various social institutions (educational, family, religion and science institutions). And further, culture unit the

¹ Статистический бюллетень, Губкин, 2009

facts and the artifacts arising in an everyday life of people. They are unique, but are united by interactions of people which have general orientation. This assumes the system analysis of culture¹. But it is logical to presume that close to system objects of culture there are nonsystem objects, or diffusive forms of a sociality which are connected with nonstructural elements. But both in that, and in other case by culture consideration as one of the parties of formation and mental potential development, the uniform basis, allowing to correlate its (culture) with science and education, which can be carried to culture.

We will especially pay attention to the role of libraries in the development of a mental potential of territory because in mental potential development one of the main role belongs to the book. Mental potential development or powers of a personal thinking – one of paramount characteristics of individual and social intelligence that is the primary goal of library activity. The role of books in the development of a person underlined both great writers, and great scientists (N.G.Chernyshevsky, K.E.Tsiolkovsky, F.M.Dostoevsky, etc.). It gives us the possibility to allocate the basic measured indicator in activity of the libraries serving local territorial community – family reading. As have shown our researches in 2008 only 28 % of parents and grandparents read aloud with children, and in 2010 the figures became much less. The target program «Reading – family deal» continues to be actual because it provides interaction of generations in the course of reading, and, hence, in transferring of socio-cultural experience. It is the second strategy in mental potential development. But the formulation of the strategy in the field of culture as bases of formation and development intellectual potentials will be not complete if it is not connected with preservation and health strengthening, and, hence, improvement of living standards.

Orientation to treatment of illnesses, instead of to health preservation promotes low motivation to a healthy way of life. For example, efficiency of use of sports objects in Gubkin's city district is 57 %, and the quantity of the population regularly going in for sports – 25 %. In this connection we consider that each person should possess certain knowledge and abilities in the field of sociology of health, sports, physical training and sociology of medicine. There is an opinion that the cultural person doesn't presume to be ill, hence, high level of disease both chronic diseases, and social illnesses, are indicators of low level of his(her) culture.

It is required to consider that fact that health represents process not only biological and psychological, but also social. From the ability of all generations to live economic growth and quality of life depends. Now the condition of public health, its quality serves as an indicator of intellectual development of municipal union. It is the third strategy in mental potential development.

In the district there was the multilevel educational system including 46 preschool educational institutions, 40 comprehensive schools, 7 establishments of primary, secondary and higher vocational training, 17 establishments of

¹ See also: Ионин Л.Г. Диффузные формы социальности (к антропологии культуры) // Социологические чтения. Вып.2. – М.: 1997. – С.50-89.

supplementary education. In the conditions of demographic recession serious problems in the district education were nominated. So, over the last 5 years the number of the trained has decreased on 2563 people that has led to closing 7 and reorganization of 12 comprehensive schools.

The number of pupils decrease at schools has affected decrease in a student's contingent in higher educational institutions of the district. It is promoted also by the considerable outflow of graduates arriving in high schools as the Belgorod region, and for its borders which for the last three years has considerably increased.

The personnel resource – as an intellectual development motive power is presented by 1867 teachers in educational institutions, 191 – in the system of preliminary vocational training, 253 – in the system of secondary vocational training, 238 in the system of high schools.

The number of scientific and pedagogical personnel having a scientific degree is 64,3 %. The number of young generation: at schools it is 7,6 %, in professional educational institutions – 15 %. In high schools 60 % of professors and 50 % teachers in schools are older 60 years old.

Certainly, educational institutions have the richest mental potential, however, today education has undergone impressing evolution, has considerably altered a society and the separate person. It is impossible to learn “in an old fashion” since the student is even more often fenced off from the teacher and parents by own personal computer where it instantly can find almost any information on the monitor display. Therefore there is a problem: the young generation owns the newest information and telecommunication technologies, and the senior generation profound knowledge, teaching technique, but interaction between them is the lowest.

For the further development of a mental potential in educational institutions inter-generational interaction, i.e. association in uneven-age groups is necessary, changing modes of study that was whom to learn to whom to learn and to be with whom as equals. It is the fourth educational strategy which can be solved at local level.

It is necessary to create system on accumulation and, the most important thing, to distribution of innovative experience of teachers of educational institutions of different types and kinds, methodical services of different levels to new conditions to improve system psycho-pedagogical endowments of children, revealing and further support of outstanding children's development with the use of scientific and pedagogical potential of high school professors. But the main thing thus is not to forget other children, because the number of outstanding children is only one percent, that's why the fifth educational strategy: to work with all groups of children, and not just with outstanding children, who presented themselves outstanding at school not always prove presented on the following levels of education and they cannot show the endowments in practical activities.

But, to realize these strategies we should look at education from the other side. The school – traditional institution of socialization of all generations and

today it turns to the sphere of services. Transformation of school as the big hairdressing salon working by a principle "Whom to brush?" and "what to make?" conducts to that the education system loses the educational functions. The major function of school consists in transformation of values and development of a person¹. Therefore the sixth strategy we see in the accent on educational function of comprehensive school. Professional (preliminary, secondary and higher) schools should strengthen the educational function too.

Some words about science in a small country town, which occurrence have been caused not only by economic necessity of the country, but also by the intelligence of scientists. Today science in the territory realizes itself basically in higher educational institutions. The Scientific research institute of Shevjakov for the last 20 years has lost the former importance for the region. If in the past it was solid scientific division of the country as a whole and gave an increase not only in science, but also in practice and now it doesn't.

Science in Gubkin is concentrated in high schools. Scientific activity in high schools is estimated on formal indicators: the publication of articles, manuals, etc.. And economic benefit of scientific activity consists in considerable scientific researches, creation of scientific schools and in carrying out different scientific tasks of enterprises, etc. We can estimate economic activities of our high schools only by the number of contracts for carrying out different scientific tasks, and it is insignificant. So, in 2009 our high schools signed up the contracts for carrying out different scientific tasks on 2 650 thousand rubles. And scientific schools do not exist in Gubkin. In modern conditions it is difficult to formulate weighed enough strategy concerning science in the region. But the problem we should allocate and try to formulate it competently. It is the seventh strategy which is opened.

Thus, mental potential development is carried out in the process of realization of seven strategic directions.

The nominated strategies promote formation qualitatively-new level of local territorial community and will allow using actively mental potential, as a resource of the future development.

¹ Асмолов А.Г. Семья как институт неформального образования. Сборник научно - методических материалов. Министерство образования и науки РФ. Москва, 2009 г. стр.10

Yanitsky, Oleg N.

“Turbulent Times”: What does it Mean?¹

A “turbulent times” is an euphemism which covers the life of the society of all-encompassing risk. It is my principled position. I convinced that the humanity lives in the risky environment: Nuclear war is capable to annihilate all forms of life on the planet; one catastrophe overlapping or engendering another; terrorism burdened by poverty and Islamic fundamentalism is one more form of all-encompassing and unpredictable risk, etc. The very sense of power is changed: a “weak” force can do significant harm to a “mighty” force.

The “turbulent times” means geopolitical shifts. The relationships between key global stakeholders: China, the US, the EU, the BRIC group generate the very unstable balance. This instability is aggravated by wrong political decisions which creates “frozen conflicts” with no way out. This fluid balance is now burdened with unexpected mass protest movements which now embraced many countries and regions in the world.

“Turbulence” means the shift of the ultimate goals, then. Growing world population and nutrition deficit, terrorism, ethnical and national conflicts, natural and man-made disasters are forcing the shift of the ultimate goals of the world development: A safety as an ultimate goal have replaced the dream of eternal prosperity. As to Europe, it encountered with the mighty anti-systemic force which has nothing in common with European culture and way of life.

European liberalism degenerates into its opposites: The bureaucratic fundamentalism. It has two consequences. First, despite of the development of productive forces the accumulation of common good shrunk not only of the society as a whole, but of a particular individual as well. Second, in parallel with reduced accumulation of human and social capital, the world is enveloped by barbarism and unmotivated mass protest.

Finally, the “Turbulent times” is a risky because of the everyday life have become the life in permanent borrowing. More and more people become those who “have not” or even “wasted people”. Though the EU is expanding its territory, within it the number of “wasted people for ever” is growing.

Some key features

Now I turn to the changes of the very nature of policy as such: (1) It is become less offensive, and more defensive; (2) more attention is given to domestic policy which became more vertical and instructive; (3) all political efforts are aimed at the preservation of the unity of the EU and Russia because they both have mutual “instable and risk-producing periphery”; (4) the reverse side of the coin is

* The paper is the first result of the project ‘Eco-catastrophes: Theory and Practice of Social Rehabilitation of Affected Regional Sociobiotechnical Systems’ (grant of the Russian Found for Humanities, No 11-03-0267a).

the maintenance of cultural diversity within the unity burdened with social and ethnical conflicts between particular communities; (5) the media which plays the growing role in policy-making is mobilized to extinguish these conflicts and lowering the social tension; (6) the networks of civil organizations and social

movements play the growing role in policy-making as well. All in all, "Politics becomes a horse race." (M. Castells).

State-civil society relationships. Looking globally, one could observe two contradictory trends. On the one hand, the EU has penetrated into every sphere of social life –as educator, provider of health, police, justice and other social services, producer and consumer of armaments, entrepreneur, investor and so on. On the other hand, we see an attempts to raise self-government, participatory democracy, civic networks as well as the emergence of the corps of citizens turned experts.

The European model of democracy is in danger. On the one hand, due to the influx of immigrants as bearers of another culture European democracy transformed into the game without rules. On the other hand, some member-states of the EU restricted access of immigrants to democratic institutions which seen as a measure aimed at the saving of European democratic institutions.

Summing up, the "turbulent times" means utter degree of instability of the world economic and social system, all-embracing risk, and new stage of re-division of the world burdened with "frozen" conflicts and long-term local wars.

The abovementioned shifts seems to me critical and rather new. I stated that we are in the next phase of world all-embracing re-division. More than that, we should speak of the total re-division of already socially developed space and time simultaneously. It is going on the two interdependent processes: the mastering and development of territories and communities which had been never mastered before, and on the converting a giant already socially mastered spaces, including nature landscapes, into a dead land in which the time has come to a stop.

The origin of the "turbulent times" always depends on a certain critical point. It, in turn, depends on the state of economy and public mood. Until the first develops, profit and income grow and public mood is more or less positive, the world bureaucracy is capable to cope with those who are unsatisfied with his/her living standards. But when economic crisis began and these standards declined sharply, the masses of people went to the streets. As we saw during the last years in the EU, the situation reached a deadlock. People demanded to maintain the existing living standards but wanted to do nothing in order to cut their own expenses. The public mood aggravated and the "turbulence" begins.

The "turbulence" is the result of changing flows of international capital which shifted over the world practically instantly (the well known phenomenon of inversion of time) and accompanied by the flows of labor force, developers, educational and research institutions, etc. Financial capital became all-penetrating, "liquid" and irresponsible. In Russia, like in the EU, the difference between the "center" and the "periphery" is growing. Like some republic of the Russian Federation, some of the EU member-states lives on donations or on borrowed

money. Despite of internet, some inner or/and remote provinces lag behind on an full epoch. The society as a whole more and more divided in two parts: open and mobile and closed and territorially fixed. Under these conditions a sustainable development represents multiplicity attempts to survival be means of permanent transformations.

The one of the key features of “turbulent times” is the changing relationships between society and the Biosphere, that is, the global nature ecosystem. Up to now, a man had been a master of the Nature. But now the Biosphere more and more define the structure and behavior of individuals and social systems. U. Beck called this phenomenon the “boomerang effect”. But I think that situation is much more serious. The epoch of man’s struggle not for mastering, but for preserving all he had achieved and accumulated began. The coming climatic changes are capable to destroy the key treasures of European civilization and seriously shake the existing social order.

The other important particular expressions of the phenomenon under consideration are as following:

- (1) the emergence of a greater number of fences and barriers within the EU and between it and non-member states of the EU;
- (2) the differences between a center and a periphery, the center and remote provinces as well as within megapolises themselves are growing;
- (3) this process is accompanied by enhancing ‘friction’ and tension between those group, communities or states which go ahead, and those which are lag behind;
- (4) the time as such is going different in particular cultures, say European and Islamic;
- (5) the “turbulent times” are generated by the very fact of growing social diversity of both the EU and Russia. Diversity is positive phenomenon when it brings peaceful interaction, trust and mutual enrichment, but not conflicts and wars; and the last but not least;
- (6) the “turbulence” is produced by the process of the overall process of de-Europeanization. Any culture is able to maintain its identity within a qualitatively another cultural milieu until a certain time, only.

The tasks of sociology in a “turbulent times”

To begin with, the sociologists are also creators of the “turbulence”. Sociologists, as M. Archer stated, do it in three ways: By promoting individualism in its models of the human and of agency; by depicting an individual as amoral agent who “takes” a role rather than “making” it by personifying it through his own values; and by market absorbing of civil society by means of financialization of all its activities. On its part, the state enhance this absorbing by bureaucratization of civil society activities by means of introduction the system of “performance indicators”.

Who is a global sociologist? He is that whose subject matter is a socio-bio-technical system as a whole or, in other words, an inseparable unity of natural and man-made systems. It means, in turn, that the subject matter of his or her interest and research is multisided and multidisciplinary in character.

Global man's intervention into the Nature results in a "boomerang effect" when the environment began to dictate the rules of the game not for the remote future but today, at every place and time. Hence, the main task of a sociologist is to offer the means for the maintenance the sustainability-via-transformation of this world system with less risk-production. It is my principled methodological point.

The increasing frequency of environmental and man-made catastrophes "signaled" that the mainstream sociologists may awaken too late to make this critical "turn" toward quite another than the currently dominant social paradigm. It is indicative that since 1980, one can observe a sharp decline of academic discussions on future scenarios of world development. It is risky when short-term reactive responses to disasters replaced long-term reflection and planning.

The world system cannot be tamed top-down only. Thus, the focus of sociological interest should be the processes of governance. This mode of ruling represents a network of actors which simultaneously are compete, collaborate, bargaining and as a result culturally influence each other. It does not at variance with increasing political role of social movements. In the end, we are at the turning point of changing principles of the maintenance the global social order.

In recent times world economy and politics dominate. Accordingly, the sociology step by step loses its authority and public weight. How a sociologist can to comprehend critically this every moment accelerating and complicated world – that is the problem. Anyhow, the relationships between servile, interpretative, constructionist and reflective (or critical) function should be reconsidered.

The ongoing third-wave of marketization is one more form of all-encompassing risk, because the inner logic of market development destroys any form of social organization. Therefore, as M. Burawoy put it, "we <sociologists> need to step beyond our internal dialogues and debates, and turn outwards, not as servants of power but as public sociologists, interlocutors with diverse public". That is, sociologist should carry out participative research. It means that sociologist as well as a scientist become an advocate of a particular group or social movement and, above all, to be a mediator between conflicting ideologies and powers.

A sociologist should keep in mind at least three shadow effects of informatization. The first is the resistance to transparency of a structure and function of an actor produced by this process. Neither a state nor a man wants to be naked. The second is the coming the post-Gutenberg culture which challenged the existing institutions of government, science and education. The third is the struggle between global stakeholders for the role of "programmers and switchers" of media by means of which they shape the world politics.

The next task of a sociologist is to develop a new socio-ecological paradigm not as a set of imperatives but as a scenario of transition from one type of the global

community to quite another. I keep in mind the transition from the resource towards information-oriented type of a society. The major problem of this shift will be: How do these contradictory tendencies – pro et contra ecologization of world economy and politics – accommodate each other? Will they promote conflict or cooperation?

In the implementation of the above shift the method of the study of socio-ecological metabolism will be helpful. The metabolism analysis does work very efficiently, but it is rather difficult and dangerous task because nobody wants to show its actual flows of information and resources. “Money like silence” as modern proverb tells us.

The politics of tolerance failed in Europe like everywhere, but it does not make the sociologists free of careful study of the processes of cultural interactions and interchange. How various cultures and modes of behavior could peacefully co-exist is an open question.

A majority of modern sociologists prefer to hide or soften this reality replacing the names of these clashes by euphemisms like tension, friction, dissatisfaction and so on. But the truth is indeed the conflicts and struggle, otherwise the social movements and mass protest campaigns have never come to existence.

Finally, a publicity is an indispensable precondition of all shifts and practices I have discussed above. A sociologist have to leave his ivory tower – academic freedom and university autonomy – and to establish a direct, that is, without mediators, contact with publics to which he or she is addressed for.

Mirskaya, Elena Z.

Radical Transformations in Russia in the Late XX – Early XXI Centuries and Social Processes in Its Academic Science. The Results of Sociological Research *

Last two decades the reality in Russia clearly fits the notion of "unstable times". The collapse of the Soviet Union (1991) has provoked serious political and socio-economic changes in all spheres of Russian life. The subject of our study was and is the **domestic academic science – the professional activity of scientists** working in the research institutes of the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS). From 1994 to the present time our sector of Sociology of Science, which belong to Institute of the History of Science and Technology RAS, realized a monitoring of this phenomenon. Monitoring was based on regular sociological interrogations in representative groups of academic scientists and systematic analysis of data collected in these surveys.

In 1990-ies the transformations in the political and socio-economic spheres were continuous. A long time academics are also expected to upgrade their sphere – science. However, during this period the State has ceased to be interested in science: funding (which has always been the only state one) declined sharply, many scientific organizations were liquidated. Academy of Sciences, as the focus of national basic research is preserved (converted from the USSR in the RAS). The scientists of academic institutions eked out a miserable existence and waited for state reform of science. Finally, this long-awaited reform, from which all scientists were waiting a modernization, it was held only in 2006–2008. The reform was realized, but its results have shown for scientists that not every reform have to lead to modernization.

Most scientists are unhappy with the results of reform, combined data of these years survey showed that the vast majority – 96% of scientists (both managers and performers) – at the final stage of the reform treated it negatively. Taking rising wages as a necessary but long overdue action, almost all of them said that it will not add to their interest in the work (90%) and did not give additional motivation to the more hard work (92%). A large proportion of respondents (72%) expressed irritation connected with unprofessional approach which was revealed in many concrete proposals for reform coming from the government.

Scientists were disappointed that the main, in their view, the task of reform – the *modernization* of science system – has not been implemented, and in fact, as became clear, a program for reform had not implied it. Well understanding that the impact of science depends on an adequate combination of formal institutional actions with the structures of self-organization of scientific activity, most of the scientists is left to his own opinion: for a successful science requires its true modernization, which is not reducible to an increase in salary.

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Outcome of the reform did not give the significant reasons for optimism, but scientists have always reserve hope for a positive outlook. An important result of the reform was the common comprehension of the fact that the modernization will not be conducted "from above" – it must be made by those people who really need to update the organization of innovative science and research activities, i.e. by academic community itself. Initially, the activity of scientists in an attempt to achieve modernization of the national science by them own was quite high. But gradually, recognizing the complexity and dimension of this task, they moved to their ordinary daily activity, projecting "to study this issue". This situation make very important and actual *a study of the principal innovations typical for the world science, as well as the deep analysis of their relevant implementation in our Academy.*

Usually the science is perceived as a *subject* of innovation. Scientific research are creating the new knowledge; in the process of development (R&D) it transforms into the latest technology and then – in production. Integrally all this is innovation. From academic science which is the focus of national basic research, of course, society expects the same. But that in the innovation chain, it could be productive, it itself should be at the forefront of scientific and technological progress, updating the character of its own operations, introducing its "internal innovation". In recent years, innovative activities are carried out in all the larger scale and in different forms, respectively there are new concepts – "innovation climate" (IC), "innovative potential" (IP), etc. Our analysis has revealed the innovations, which are most important for the Russian academic science (these ones were confirmed by opinions of the majority of respondents – the leading scientists of the RAS).

They are:

1. new types of organization and evaluation of research;
2. modern forms of research funding;
3. rejuvenation of staff;
4. update the instrument base;
5. modern information and communication support (ICTs).

Apparently, the focus should be on them. The above list is built "top-down", i.e. lower in the list is an innovation, the less innovative potential. Both of these indicators (and IC, and IP) – are the integrated indicators calculated by the combination of parameters. Without going into details, we restrict our intuitive understanding of these expressions (it is enough).

Suppose that we agree with such a distribution of the importance of these innovations (there are also other ones). It is interesting to find out how scientists assess the degree of assimilation of various innovations in their institutions. To unify the interviewing we used a single "Questionnaire" on which were held for more than 20 in-depth interviews with leading scientists of natural science institutes. In particular, the researchers evaluated the IR – the level of assimilation of innovators in the academic science of the Russian "school system" – from 1 (min) to 5 (max) points.

The scientists estimated them as follows:

- *development of information and communication technology (ICTs)* – 4.3 points;

- *election financing* – 3.2 points;
- *rejuvenation rate* – 2.2 points;
- *permanent updating of the instrument base* – 2.1 points;
- *new kinds of organization and assessment of scientific activity* – 1,2 points.

Of course, that are the *average* results, but it should be noted that the difference between estimates in different institutions was very low. If we average once more, this next average score of the innovation climate (on our scale) is 2.6 points, i.e. on school terminology – "2+". So, the most important innovation – *new forms of organization and assessment of scientific activity* advances in the weakest way. And the fact that experts at first thought the simplest (purely technological innovation) – *the development and improvement of information and communication technologies*, not only had the maximum assimilation, but also strongly supported our science in difficult times. Sociologists implementing the project leaved traces and recorded the emergence, development and deployment of ICTs with special care. It was a real INNOVATION, which came into the national academic science before our eyes, gradually assimilated, the object of desire for ones and relentless hostility for others, a symbol of elitism, a toy and a beautiful assistant in the work! But for sociologists – a unique case-study of the dynamics of tradition and innovation, seen with their own eyes, and fixed in their own questionnaires.

The latest information and communication technologies are one of the main factors of modernization of science. And their use in the scientific community of RAS was continuously growing since the 90's. This innovation has radically expanded the professional capabilities of scientists, but unfortunately, its productivity in the science itself during long time was not confirmed in an explicit form, although usually not questioned. Studying this innovation, we carefully recorded the dynamics of indicators characterizing not only the degree of ICTs usage, but also their impact on the productivity of professional scientists.

Enough mass appeal of Russian research community to ICTs was first noticed in the test-survey of academic institutions in 1994. A year later, in survey 1995, we have already fixed the significance of this new factor, so that length of time can be considered as an initial phase of development of computer mediated telecommunications. Year after year, assimilation of innovations enlarged: a growing interest of users and intensity of use, expanded geography of contacts, and an assortment of commonly used services. By 1998, all of the leading academic institutions connected to the Internet, and the survey of this time showed qualitative changes which the latest ICTs introduced into research activity. From a means of interpersonal communication, which were often decided by the scientific and organizational problems, there were also the most responsive source of scientific information. Exactly, *information* and *communication* compose the basis of productivity of scientist. Many new features, such as the use of international data-bases, participate in global trade networks, setting out its tasks to other people's computers, etc., etc. And these opportunities were actually used, which was clearly documented by empirical evidence.

Only one impatiently waiting result did not manifest itself. Not only in 1995 but also in 1998, data processing was not identified positive effects of ICTs on the professional productivity of scientists. Both surveys showed the same correlation: the scientists who were most actively and successfully engaged in scientific work, were also active users of ICTs, but an inverse relationship was absent – "super active" in the ICTs group was weaker for scientific achievements of other users. AND minimally active group of users of ICTs showed excellent academic results, especially for the publication indicator. All this lead to the conclusion that the active use of ICTs is rather the *consequence* of a common professional activity but not the *cause* of professional success. scientists. After 1998, no radical events in the academic system of RAS was not happening. Over time, innovation has become a familiar comfort. Everyone understood that it speeds up certain kinds of work, but sociologists trusted their data and knew, to their regret, that this innovation does *not increase* the productivity of scientific activity. It was unclear and provoked disturbance, so, in 2001/02, a third survey was made with special attention to this phenomenon. Apparently, the past years were the time of ripening stage for results of innovation. Data obtained in this survey were non-trivial and have revealed exactly a long-awaited law.

This survey, fixing up the three years since the previous one, has clearly demonstrated a radical change in the role of ICTs in research teams. Completely in all groups of respondents appeared stable positive correlation between the use of ICTs and professional productivity. Major users of ICTs significantly improved their productivity as the increase of number of publications and reports and participation in international grants. Extra-active ICTs team took first place and on indicators of professional performance. And previously successful team which little use ICTs significantly lost its effectiveness. So, on the basis of empirical evidence 10-year monitoring of concrete innovation, there was first shown unequivocally positive final correlation between the degree of involvement of the scientists in the ICTs and their professional success [1; 2].

But innovations also have their own development and it is impossible to satisfy the needs of scientists in communication and information technologies once and for all. Constant updating of information and communication infrastructure of national science is necessary even in order to keep abreast of international scientific information and to maintain international contacts. Therefore, our prospects for success in the global science seriously linked to the emphasis in the near future will be on further implementation and, most importantly – the development of advanced information and communication technologies. Our complex history of this innovation has one simple conclusion: do not rush to assess the impact of innovations. Their prospects have to be carefully weighed beforehand, but then do not rush the evaluation: that is impossible to receive "all at once".

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Nemirovskiy, Valentin G.

Hierarchy of Basic Value Orientations of the Regional Population as an Indicator of the Level of Social Capital

Value orientations of the respondents state an important element of social capital. Definitions of the concept and structure of this phenomenon have been extensively studied by both foreign and domestic scientists, ranging from classical works of P. Bourdieu, J. Coleman, etc. In the modern science there are mixed interpretations of this phenomenon, which makes it difficult to study and measure. We consider social capital in general as a collection of resources of people allowing them to realize their social interests. Such resources should certainly include value orientations of social capital, considering not only their meanings, but also their hierarchy.

Meanwhile, in recent years there have been carried out and published many studies on the analysis of value orientations of the Russian population in the context of its socio-economic and political modernization. In most publications values are analyzed in the terms of content. For example, in the terms of applying the criterion of civilization: modern, conservative and modernized (N.I. Lapin, etc.); in the context of the dichotomy: patriarchal and collectivist versus post-industrial and individualistic (M.K. Gorshkov, etc.). Moreover, scientists often study the transition from traditional to modernist values, etc. In the current use there is now a comparative analysis of values of Russians and similar values of the population of other countries in the world, based on the techniques of G. Hofstede, R. Inglehart, Ch. Schwartz. These studies are irrefutably fruitful and promising; nonetheless we should note the usefulness of supplementing them with the approach, being developed by us for over twenty years in the course of the postnonclassical sociology. It concerns studying the changes of the hierarchical level of basic values of the population of a certain region and the country as a whole. It is recognized that the basic values of personality form a complex hierarchical system. In particular, we may point out a well-known hierarchy of human needs and associated values of the renowned humanistic psychologist A. Maslow, a seven-level hierarchy of value orientations in different directions of Transpersonal Psychology, a four-level system of dispositions of the individual by V.A. Yadov, etc.

We may slightly modernize Maslow taking into account the achievements of modern science, so we can get the following hierarchy of needs:

0. Need for destruction (including self-destruction).
1. Physiological (organic) needs.
2. Security needs.
3. Need for love and belonging to the community.
4. Need for respect (worship).
5. Cognitive and moral needs.

6. Creative, aesthetic needs, need for self-expression and self-actualization.
7. Social-altruistic and higher spiritual needs.

Each class (level) of needs corresponds to a specific type of basic values expressed in them. The situation in the community most directly depends on the values of its members. For example, expansion of 0 level needs makes society tend to self-destruct. Needs and related values of the 1st level indicate that the society is at a stage of survival. At the 2nd level the problems of survival are replaced by the problems of guaranteed development. In other words, there is a transition from survival to development. At the 3rd level society is stable and strives for strengthening and independence. There appears a need for a strong government, military, administrative and penal institutions. At the 4th level society becomes harmonious and prosperous and truly implements human needs. Strictly speaking, it is at the 4th level when society begins to meet with moral norms and values. To analyze the hierarchical level of basic values in contemporary Russia we used the test, designed more than twenty years ago specially for detecting the attitude of the respondents to the axiological experiences (their affective, cognitive or behavioral components), each of which performs a specific manifestation of needs. The test is based on the fact that the basic values, along with rationally formulated values, may also include axiological experience. This technique served as a base for a number of candidate's and doctoral theses.

In terms of content, the latest version of this technique allows to identify 34 basic orientations of the respondents, which are based on these or other needs. Data on orientations are distributed on 7 hierarchical levels and **express the level of social capital of an individual, social groups and society as a whole**. In addition to this, on this basis it is possible to compare the levels of social capital of different social groups, as well as the degree of their conformity to the axiological level of social development.

Empirical basis of the paper is a survey of the population of the Krasnoyarsk Territory carried out by the department of sociology and public relations of Siberian Federal University in 2011. It used a method of formalized interview at the place of residence (48 questions were asked in a confidential setting at home). Respondents live in 28 villages of the Krasnoyarsk Territory (with an area of 2339,7 km² or 13,6% of the total territory of Russia and a population, according to the data on January 1, 2010 – of 2894,7 thousand people). The survey was implemented with a stratified, multistage, zoned, quota sampling, represented by sex, age and education differences, with a random selection of respondents. Representativeness of the sample was ensured by the observance of the proportions between the population living in settlements of different types (areas of large cities, medium and small cities and rural towns), with the variety in age, gender and educational structure of the adult population of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Sample size was 1350 people. The data obtained were processed with the usage of software package SPSS applying cluster, factor and correlation analysis.

Besides, our long-term studies show that by using factor analysis we may identify a number of latent enlarged orientations on the basic values of a quantity

ranging from 5 to 8 in different social groups. So, the study of the regional population in 2011 which applied the rotation method "Varimax" has already allocated 10 factors with overall descriptive ability of 58.06%. These data on orientations will eventually form two major groups that correspond to the well-known typology of Erich Fromm. In particular, those located at levels from 0 to 3 reflect the orientation of the people on the possession, at 4th level and above - on existence.

One of the advantages of this technique is the ability to use it to identify two important indicators: a) the average level of basic values of a particular group of respondents, taking into account the impact of the widespread in the social environment social norms - a social level formed due to the orientations; b) the average level of orientations in the absence of the impact of social norms - a mass level of orientations. The survey of the students in the cities of the Krasnoyarsk Territory (1190 people in 1987, 900 - in 2005) showed that in 17 years a mass level of basic orientations in this group dropped from 3.08 points to 1.92 points, i.e. the Russian society dropped from the level of sustainable development and independence to the level of problem development.

A study conducted by us in 2005 (a representative sample of 1000 residents of the Krasnoyarsk Territory) recorded a mass level of basic orientations of 2,06 points. Socio-induced level was 1,12 points. This means that a modern Russian society grounds the value orientations of the population, putting them a little above the level of survival of society, while the mass level of orientations, which much more fully reflects the individual self of the respondents, corresponded in 2005 to the society development level. In 2009 we conducted a survey of the regional population by a formalized interview (a number of respondents was 1000) using this technique on a similar sample; it revealed a decrease in the level of basic orientations of the population - 1,89 points, socio-induced level was 1,05 points. A study conducted under this grant in 2011 also shows a marked fall of both the socio-induced level of basic orientations of the respondents in the region and their mass level. This suggests a decrease in the level of social capital of respondents on the content and value terms and a shortage of opportunities for its development and realization within the existing regional society. Of course, one can not ignore the socio-economic and socio-cultural characteristics of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Thus, over the past decade, it has acquired the character of raw materials resources region, while the cultural level and confidence to the social institutions of power of the population fall, strengthening the capacity of social protest.

As you can see, the data obtained allow us to consider a hierarchical level of basic values as an important (though not sole) sociological indicator of the development of social capital and its feasibility in the existing social conditions.

A marked decline of recent years in the level of basic values of the population of one of the largest regions in Russia (there is every reason to believe that this dynamic to some extent reflects the nation-wide trend) in the direction of the survival level of society demonstrates the moral and psychological degradation of Russian society, as well as its decreased level of social capital. The leading factors of

this process include the actual content of the modernization changes in Russia, which largely led to the formation of the country's consumer-hedonistic society for principally devoid of the regulatory functions of the high moral values. Moreover, many of the modernization projects in recent years in Russia, according to our research, are focused on society with the dominated values of 3rd or 4th level, as in some developed Western countries. In Russia, naturally, they are little effective. Therefore, modernization in Russia will be effective only if we take into account the hierarchical level of basic values that prevail today in our society, as well as we implement radical measures aimed at improving the hierarchical level of social capital of different groups and opportunities for its implementation in society.

Petrov, Vladimir N.

Social Reality – Objective and Subjective Space of Sociology

Introduction

Sociological science has undertaken many attempts to indicate the problem areas of its research ambitions, to explain the objective and subjective content and [frontiers of its knowledge](#). During the initial stage of formation and development of sociological knowledge such attempts were undoubtedly aimed at the selection of a new scientific mode of thought from the existing ones. A remarkable feature of this period is defined by a famous Russian sociologist MM Kovalevsky. At the beginning of the 20th century, he stated that 'during the previous century there was no end to disputes about object, frontiers, methods, theoretical and practical value of a new science, which had not been able to distance oneself properly from biology, on the one hand, and psychology, on the other hand, and was still going on to be exposed to permanent acquisition by philosophy'.

The question of what sociology studies and what role it plays in the system of social knowledge is raised not only in the 19th century. At the beginning of the 21st century, it is also one of the central and actively discussed questions in the sociological community.

Among many existing theories of volume and content of sociology, we consider that the most comprehensive one is that, in which the key to interpretation becomes the semantic construction 'social reality'. In this article we will try to show, what this key looks like and what its opportunities as a methodological and methodical tool are.

Structure and peculiarities of social reality

With due consideration of paradigms of social nominalism and social realism explaining the social reality, let us take note that it is represented by the whole system of objective and subjective phenomena and processes as well as their peculiarities.

Our arguments about objective and subjective determination of sociology and identification of its scientific and cognitive landmarks associated with the space of social reality are based on the logic of an activist approach. In this case, attention is paid to such reference markers of the social world as actors, processes of their social actions and interactions, processes of production and reproduction of social structures taking place in a certain situation, space and time. In sociological science it is proved that the results of social interactions as peculiar products of human activity are objectified, estranged from an individual, transformed into overindividual peculiarities of social reality existing outside an individual, [independently](#) of him and taking effect on him. These are constructions, which E. Durkheim spoke about as social (collective) facts.

A number of conceptual constructs organized in a definite logical sequence and representing the present, real and concrete are used for the description of the objective social reality: culture – actions – interactions – relations – institutions – organizations – communities and groups – society – social space – structure – differentiation – stratification – mobility – changes – movements – time. In turn, each of these constructions eliminates into structures with less general and specific content. Let us say that functional positions in institutional complexes determining the content of statuses and roles are predetermined as objectively existing for individuals holding these positions.

In all objective circumstances of social reality, social interaction takes place under certain conditions with their inimitable specificity. They are geographic and natural-climatic environment exploited by human being, geostrategic position, character of population displacement, demographic situation, human potential, political system, production and economic potential, formal and informal institutions, character of social organizations and specificity of their activity, social differentiation and stratification, socio-cultural peculiarities (material culture, normative and value foundations, language, mentality, ideology, social and psychic mood, cultural potential).

One of the objective factors is the factor of territory understood as socio-territorial determination of a social actor's activity. Territory is the place of concentration of resources, potential and any given opportunity, due to which the satisfaction of vital individual-personal and socio-group needs happens. Territory rights and identity with territory become the necessary condition of using resources and opportunities.

Sociological analysis of social reality leads to the statement about the defining role of needs in its structure and activity (social actions) of social actors focused on need satisfaction. The key consideration concerning the order of needs in the system of social reality is that they do not represent an entirely subjective formation. Needs have the objective and subjective content. Their reality as opposed to fantasy and illusion should be reinforced by the presence of objective subjects and opportunities for satisfaction.

Subjective social reality is a complicated formation in the personality system represented by the complex of individual-personal and socio-group motives, interests, orientations, goals, identity and stereotypes.

Let us note that motivation develops not from the needs themselves but from the feeling of satisfaction or dissatisfaction concerning the needs (more properly, satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the activity on need satisfaction), realization and dominance of which in motivation depend on the hierarchy of needs and personality. Motives fill a social action with meaning. They are sufficiently independent component in the system of subjective reality, though they are determined by needs. In turn, mutual causality is inherent of their connection with interests, orientations and goals.

Interests concretize and objectify needs. They create preconditions for sociality in acts. [Inextricable and interdependent connection](#) of individual-personal, socio-group and public externalizes itself in them.

Highly essential role in understanding of social reality belongs to orientations. Orientations are forming as a result of interaction between objective and subjective factors and represent their [cumulative effect](#). Alongside with this, axiological attitude to reality is the determinant of the orientation.

Goals in the system of subjective reality are forming under the influence of ideas about performance and efficiency.

Origin and realization of intentions, potential and immediate actions of separate individuals and social groups is driven by the necessity of need satisfaction. Combination of objective and subjective features is a characteristic of this necessity in a particular situation and it develops stimuli which exert direct influence on the intention formation, decision making and action initiation.

[Taking all the aforesaid into consideration](#), let us define the social reality as a well-ordered system, which includes: a) social actors of the social action acting in the field of the social relation formed by their interactions; b) mechanisms, ways and forms of construction, production and reproduction of objective and subjective social phenomena and processes in society; social products, results and effects of social interactions influencing the constitution, functioning and change of social reality as objective (social facts), objective-subjective (needs, stimuli) and subjective determinants (motives, interests, orientations, goals, identity and stereotypes).

New peculiarities of social reality

Content of social interactions has changed, their speed and scope have grown measurelessly under the conditions of globalization and use of modern information technologies. Global interconnection that demands integrated efforts to solve the current global problems and new challenges arising and to coordinate actions with the aim of interest balancing is increasing.

Needs, having a renewed form but preserving their specific and motivational stability, got the unprecedented different opportunities in the ways and means of satisfaction. Network type of social contacts and interactions, that is characterized by such features as free choice in selecting partners, voluntariness of ties, not growing into relations, autonomy and independence of social and spatial [positioning](#), peculiar without status position, is being formed and spread globally.

At the same time, absolutely new quality of social relations has become apparent, i.e. [virtuality](#). Social relations developed in this way and existing in this specific form preserving their certainty as a reproducible exchange of rights and duties, nevertheless began to lose the clearness of duties peculiar to them and immutability of implementation of rights.

Fast passing of social time, exteriority of interactions and situation relations fragment the social reality and thereby decrease the value of permanent, increase sharply the relativity of the stability and clearness importance and the order based

on them and traditionally understood as system organization and stability. Order in such condition appears as external restriction of social actors' liberty, achievement of consensus concerning general rules of interconnection and their embodiment into definite structures become a more difficult task. At the same time, uncertainty in perspectives of following rules, normative establishments and expectations in relationships is growing together with aggravation of feeling of losing safety.

The result of these phenomena is appearance of the feeling of frustration due to the uncertain present and unpredictable future, the feeling of warning about the lack of resources for coping with different hindrances and difficulties. Social and individual conscience is exposed to an increasing degree of the attacks and dangers of acquiring numerous phobia causing anxiety states and loss of feeling of safety, whereby the striving for a greater degree of safety acquires the form of obsession and ailing practice. In their turn, these bases become a favourable ground for the development of inequality and discrimination relations, generate sharp and irreconcilable differences producing social tension and conflicts often in the open aggressive form with the use of force.

Construction of feature space in the empirical study of social reality

At the origin, the construction of feature space in the empirical study of social reality occurs through the formation of theoretical model of objective and subjective peculiarities of social phenomena and processes studied. Further, the task of a researcher consists in the revelation of characteristics and features of these peculiarities. The next step consists in finding of the complex of empirical counterparts of features, i.e. indicators, with the use of which the measurement of empirical characteristics of any given peculiarity is done.

All features can be divided into two groups:

1. Situational features (features of situational conditions) – individual and group characteristics demonstrating similarities and differences between members of a group investigated.
2. Features of personal peculiarities – personal characteristics more clearly appearing in a situation. They fix the state of personality structure in any given situation.

The measurement of features is implemented using the factor operationalization of concepts revealing any peculiarity of social reality, state of this peculiarity and its characteristics. However, there are features accessible for direct measurement and latent ones. The supposed result of measurement is obtainment of feature definitions, which are, in terms of informative language, point location in the feature space.

Conclusion

Thus, social reality has objective and subjective sides. The objective side is 'social facts' independent from separate individuals, but determining and

controlling the content and character of their interaction and constituting a definite constant of the typical situation. These are conditions, which, in their turn, represent a series of situations appearing as the whole of certain circumstances having subjective importance for every participant of interpersonal contacts. Finally, this is nontypicalness, which an acting individual can face with.

The subjective side of social reality is personal features and characteristics manifested in social actions. They are conscious (rational), traditional and affective individual attitude toward each other based on mutual behavioural expectations (M. Weber). They are interpersonal (or socio-psychological) contacts and relations which represent direct relationships between individuals forming under certain conditions of place and time. This is typical, or adapted to nontypicalness, reaction of interaction partner.

Modern peculiarities of social reality conditions represent the combination, balance and imbalance of the following conditions: stability and change, orderliness and randomness, certainty and uncertainty, continuity and discontinuity, linearity and nonlinearity, omnitude and syncretism, reality and virtuality.

The understanding of the structure of feature space is based on the idea about its general system including: features of peculiarities of objective and subjective reality inherent in the concrete situation; peculiarities and characteristics of social actors acting in the framework of definite physical and social space and social time.