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Economic Questions of Social Problem «Poverty»

A fight against poverty remains the major task of social policy of the most world countries. Deepening of poverty during last decades, especially in countries with the low level of population profit, made international organizations to combine effort directed on the decision of this problem. In 2000 on the Summit of millennium development a fight against poverty was proclaimed a primary global purpose, for realization of which authorities of countries-members of UNO obliged to reduce on 50% stake of population, living in poverty to 2015.

For any social life system it is important to know real information of poverty and attitude toward that part of members of society is forced to exist at level below living standards. They mean the threshold in of profits, because of which poor and well-to-do part of population form two different on the level consumption and way of life. Confirmation of social inequality mean giving poverty of legal character. Exactly it happened in the west during formation of market economy. Thus it entered in consciousness at the level of ordinary vital options and at the level of social philosophy. The leading thinkers-economists of liberal conception (A.Smith, T.Maltus, D.Rikardo) considered that poverty is inevitable investigation of transformation of traditional society in industrial one. Indeed, protestant Reformation generated new, unknown in traditional society attitude toward poverty as sign of outcast. This presentation passed and in ideology.

In the middle of XIX century important basis of liberal ideology became social-darwinism. It declared the poverty to be appropriate phenomenon, and it poverty must raise as a public production grows. In addition, a problem was proclaimed not only social, but as personal one, like an individual fate, of concrete person inability to win at the fight for existence. Ideologist of social-darwinism G.Spenser considered that poverty played a positive role even, is a wing force of personality development. Ideologist of neoliberalism F. Khayek also considered its appropriate phenomenon, necessary for a public benefit. Therefore he called to limit the state participating in reduction of poverty and lay responsibility for it on an individual.

Formation of market economy first in history generated the state which consciously did hunger the mean of political domination. When in England in XVIII c. new laws prepared on poor one, philosopher and politician lord Taunsend wrote, that hunger would domesticate the fiercest beast, will teach the most vicious people good manners and obedience. It results in a conclusion, that poverty in bourgeois society is caused the not lack of material welfares, it – purposefully and the rationally created social mechanism.

After revolution 1917 basis of bourgeois ideology was become by social democracy. And poverty, especially extreme, began to be interpreted as the undesirable, unprofitable social phenomenon. Due to revolution the West was

outlived by the period of dispositions softening, so-called attack of humanism. Limitation of poverty began to be considered as an important exit condition from heavy crises. The president of the USA Franklin D. Roosevelt talked much about it. In the program of post-war renewal of Germany L. Erkhard came from such options, that poverty is a major mean, to compel a man spiritually to wither in shallow financial everyday anxieties.

Coming from mentioned above, it is possible to conclude that during reforms in Russia the planned change of society structure happened in Ukraine. Thus mechanisms, preventing impoverishment of population, were not foreseen in the program of reforms.

Presently in Russia and in Ukraine considerable part of population is after the line of poverty or close to the border of «social bottom». In opinion of V. Yakunin, presently the «breaks of developed of regions arrive at hundreds times, and it one of «mines» of slow action under stability of the state. Stratification of population on profits exceeded a supply socio-political safety, but nothing is done practically, to return this parameter in an acceptable corridor» [8, p. 36].

As V. Simchera marks, according to information of the first Russian census of population in 1897, from the 57,6 million villagers of old Russia (85% to the total population) poor there were only 7,6 million persons (13,2%). In obedience to a census 2002, from 38,7 million people after the line of poverty there was over 28 million (72,4%) [6, p. 37]. It is special considerably on a background strong stratification, when difference in profits poor and rich makes ten, hundreds and thousands times. And dynamic character has this process, the poor become poorer, and rich - richer.

In table 1 direct and indirect indexes, characterizing poverty in two countries, are resulted.

Table 1

Social end economic indexes in Russia and Ukraine

Indexes	2000	2005	2008	2009
Russia				
Living wage, \$	64,2	105,0	155,2	160,0
The stake of persons with profits which below than living wage , %	49,3	21,5	13,4	13,2
Average pension, \$	29,3	88,2	155,0	163,4
Average wage, \$	79,3	297,3	588,5	586,6
Ukraine				
Living wage, \$	49,7	82,5	118,9	90,0
The stake of persons with profits which below than living wage , %	87,9	55,3	25,6	30,4
Average pension, \$	15,4	79,4	170,6	128,2
Average wage, \$	42,3	105,7	342,9	245,0

Sources 3 and 4 <http://www.gks.ru/wps/portal>, www.ukrstat.gov.ua

Comparison of living wage in two countries shows, that during 2002-2009 in Russia a living wage was looked over quarterly toward an increase, taking into account a price advance. If in 2000 it was 64,2 \$, in 2008 attained 155,2 \$ and in a crisis 2009 are 160 \$. In Ukraine in 2000 a living wage was almost 50 \$, but unlike Russia in 2002 and 2003 it was not looked over, making 64 \$, in spite of price advance in a country. To 2008 a living wage attained 118,9 \$, in the period of crisis 2009 are 90 \$. Approximately in 2 times higher in 2000 there was a average size of pension in Russia are 29,3 \$. as compared to 15,4 \$ in Ukraine, to 2008 this difference was evened, and in the conditions of crisis 2009 a average size of pension in Russia was in 1,27 time higher, than in Ukraine.

The criteria of relative poverty are based on social signs and vary in different countries. From here in obedience to conception of relative poverty, a man (family, household) is considered poor in case that facilities which he disposes do not allow him to conduct the way of life, accepted in society. Therefore that is considered poverty in the developed countries, for the developing states considered as a luxury. So, for example, in a category of rather poor get those people which do not have difficulties with a feed in the west, but can not take the liberty to satisfy necessities more high level (education, cultural rest, sport etc).

That is connected with fact, there are different scopes of relative poverty are used in different countries: in the USA it corresponds 40% of median profit, in many countries of Europe – 50%, in the Scandinavian countries with the socially oriented economy the border of poverty is determined 60%, in Russia and Ukraine – 75% of median profit [7, p. 262].

So poor is not simply those, who has low profits, but, foremost, those, who is deprived fundamental freedom of action and choice. Indian scientist, researcher of poverty Amartya Sen, awarded the Nobel Prize on an economy for his work «Political economy of hunger», wrote, that poverty not related to the amount of goods, but determined by social possibilities of people to get access to these goods [1]. In social reality even the richest countries of the West poverty is the obligatory element of society.

In 70th of present century the group of economists and statisticians of the Leyden university (Netherlands) developed *the subjective approach* to determination of poverty, which is based on results treatment of questioning of public opinion, which based on revealing of population's self-appraisals in relation to own financial position and poverty descriptions. In this case to poor refer those, who considers that their financial position (profits, property) does not allow in full to satisfy the necessities. Such researches were conducted by sociologists of the Moscow Carnegie center [2, p. 27].

Both for Russia and for Ukraine the particular specific phenomenon are workings poor. In entire dynamically developing countries a work availability always is the guarantee of prosperity, proper profit. In our countries, even working, it is possible to be in poverty. It is enough to illustrate it the indexes of average wage level (table 1): in 2000 in Russia it made 79,3\$. While in 1998 after set the Russian government approximately 40% of population lived behind the line of

poverty (about 80 \$ a month) [2, p. 28]. In Ukraine in 2000 a average wage envelope made about 60 \$. To beginning of crisis accordingly – 588,5 and 342,9 \$.

Hierarchy of the world countries depending on the scales of poverty, shows that in developing countries, where the poor often exceed the half of all population, this problem repeatedly sharper, than in developed. Russia and Ukraine on this criterion occupy position the «best among worst»: the typical for them level of poverty in before crisis years within the limits of 30% was higher, than in the developed countries, but below, than in most developing (Moldova, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Georgia, Armenia and others).

Poverty is related to many reasons: with a social policy, conducted in a country; with an unemployment rate, including in the hidden form (unpaid wages, its delay, grant of the forced vacations on initiative of employer without saving of maintenance); with the level of education of population; [7, p. 207]; poverty is determined also by the low level of pensions and measures of social help, which are used in countries, and others.

An academician Victor Ivanter, director of Institute of prognostication by Russian Academy of Sciences, marked that in the conditions of Russia poverty is a main barrier to the economy growing. From one side, here prosperity of economy comes across narrowness of internal market, which does not allow to do of long duration capital investments. And from other side, low payment conduces to underproductive, bad quality labour, that brakes development of economy also [5, p. 92]. An analogical situation takes a place and in Ukraine.

Economy growing in any country in itself does not decide social tasks. But dependence between the economy growing and poverty is present. In this connection we will trace dependence of charges on social payments from the economy growing in Russia and in Ukraine.

Dependence of charges of the consolidated budget on a social policy in Russia and summary budget on social protection and public welfare in Ukraine from the attained level of economic development of country traced on the basis of comparison of their levels in percents to GDP (table 2). So, in the years of revival of economy 2000-04 charges to GDP reach level 5-7%. Slowing down dynamics of GDP is in Ukraine, which took a place in 2005 (102,7%), caused falling of population living standard, that entailed the increase of stake of the proper charges in GDP to 9%. There is subsequent growth of GDP in 2006 (107,3%), in 2007 (107,6%) accompanied the decline of stake of charges on social protection and public welfare to 7,6 and 6,8% accordingly. Analogical conformities to the law can be traced and for Russia.

The charges of budget on social aims in the context of socio-economic development of country can execute two opposite functions. From one side, they depend on the attained level of socio-economic development which is estimated the volumes of GDP and level of GDP per capita, from other side, the level of charges on social aims, forming and extending consumer demand, can come forward the factor of the economy growing, simultaneously determining the volumes of eventual consumption. This conformity to the law is set by us on the basis of

pair regressive analysis. Tasks were put: to set the presence of connection between the economy growing and charges of budget on social aims, to build equalization's regressions the parameters of which reflect folded dependences between the analysed factors, to develop the socio-economic mechanism of charges forming on social aims. For the decision of the put tasks information of table 2 is used. At the construction of models information of crisis 2009 was not taken into account.

Table 2

**Dynamics of socio-economic indexes of Russia and Ukraine
for 2000-2009**

Year s	Russia				Ukraine			
	GDP, bln. RUB.	Charges on social policy, bln. RUB.	Expence s, in % to GDP	Indexes of consum er prices, %	GDP, milliar d UAH	Charges of summary budget on social defence and public welfare, million UAH	Expence s, in % to GDP	Indekses of consume r prices, %
2002	10831	626,5	5,8	115,1	225,81	12643,9	5,3	99,4
2003	13243	319,4	2,4	112,0	267,34	12953,2	5,2	108,2
2004	17048	404,1	2,4	111,7	344,82	19310,5	5,6	112,3
2005	21625	1889,3	8,7	110,9	441,5	39940,2	9,0	110,3
2006	26903	2359,1	8,8	109,0	544,2	41419,9	7,6	111,6
2007	33111	2851,6	8,6	111,9	712,9	48517,3	6,8	116,6
2008	41668	3607,7	8,7	113,3	948,06	74069,7	7,8	122,3
2009	38797	108,8	914,72	78775,4	8,6	112,3

Sources 3,4 <http://www.gks.ru/wps/portal>; <http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua>

For Russia dependence of charges of the consolidated budget on a social policy (Y) from the volumes of GDP (x) is presented as equation of parabola the second order :

$$Yx = -1311 + 0,149 x - 0,0000007 x^2 ;$$

This equation means that with growth of GDP charges on a social policy increase with insignificant deceleration. Consequently, the increase of GDP comes forward the factor of charges growth of the consolidated budget on a social policy. The calculated coefficient of determination (0,929) means that the change of charges on a social policy on 92,9% is explained variation of GDP. The dignity of model is that it allows to calculate the point of extremum, at which attainment the direction of revealed dependence can change. It means that budgetary charges on social aims will increase until the size of GDP will not attain the point of extremum. Calculations show that the point of bend is a size of GDP, equal 106428 bln. RUB. It turns out that for the change of forming terms of charges on a social policy coming to increase GDP of country as compared to 2008 in 2,55 time.

For Ukraine analogical conformity to the law of change of charges of summary budget is exposed on the social protecting and public welfare (Y) from the volumes of GDP (x):

$$Y_x = -12084 + 107,9 x - 0,02 x^2 ;$$

Model parameters ($a_1 = 107,9$ и $a_2 = -0,02$) show slow growth of free budget spendings for social protection and social provision under GDP increasing. Point of bend in charges of corresponding budget spending that is function extremum is GDP amount equaled 2700 bln. UAH. (fig. 1).

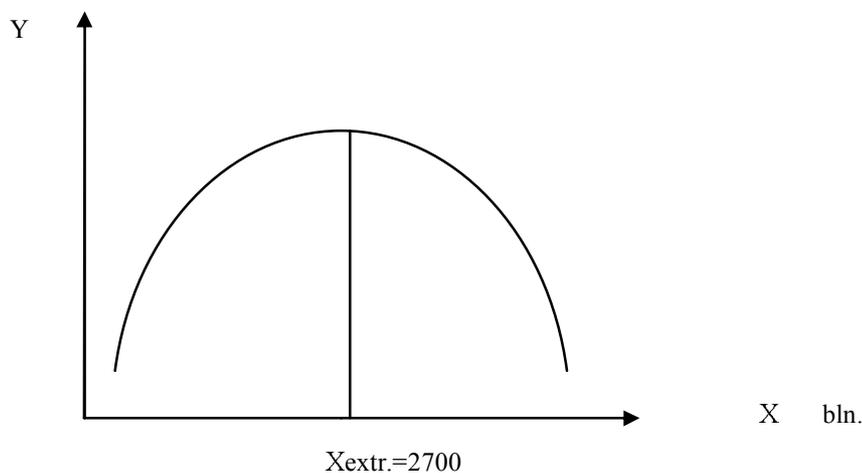


Figure1. Dependence of summary budget spending on the social protecting and public welfare from GDP

Otherwise speaking, after exceeding of GDP 2700 bln. UAH direction of the set dependence can change on opposite, that means at exceeding of the indicated volume GDP its further increase will be accompanied by deceleration of increment speed of the proper of summary budget spending. For achievement of such volume it is necessary to increase GDP in 2,85 time as compared to 2008.

Such conclusion is explained that *the speed-up economy growing is accompanied the increase population standard of living, that entails the decline of socially-unscreened contingent of population*, that means than higher in a country standard of living, that below specific gravity of poor, the less stake of population needs social protection, in less degree payments grow those from a budget on social aims.

For the estimation of size achievement possibility by gross domestic product, able to change conformity to the law of charges forming on social measures, the prognosis of GDP of Russia and Ukraine is executed (table 3). For forecast three classes of models were used: trend, adaptive and autoregressive. The most adequate are acknowledge of autoregressive models, for Russia is a model of Boks-Dzhenkins, for Ukraine is a model Olympus on the followings criteria: for the estimation of models authenticity is a criterion of Fisher – 49,7 and 31,5 accordingly; for the estimation of exactness of models is a minimum relative error of approximation – for 6,5%; absence of autocorellation in tailings is a criterion of Darbin-Watson – 2,109 and 2,014. On all of criteria the built models suit.

The executed calculations showed that in the nearest five years neither in Russia nor in Ukraine GDP will not attain a size, sufficient for a change the folded situation. GDP of Russia to 2014 as compared to 2008 can grow in 1,53 time, in Ukraine – in 1,77 time. A crisis painfully affected on economy of both countries, but

especially for Ukraine. As a result the number of poor was increased, which to the crisis was not included in this category.

Table 3

GDP forecast of Russia and Ukraine on 2010-2014

Years	Russia, bil. RUB			Ukraine, bil. UAH		
	Forecast of GDP by the model of Boks-Dzhenkins	The bottom border of confidential interval	The top border of confidential interval	Forecast of GDP by the model of OLYMP US	The bottom border of confidential interval	The top border of confidential interval
2010	44422,8	39725,5	49120,1	1098,5	969,0	1228,0
2011	50881,9	46184,2	55579,5	1227,3	1096,6	1358,0
2012	54551,0	49853,2	59248,9	1368,9	1238,2	1499,6
2013	59467,3	54769,4	64165,1	1518,2	1387,5	1648,9
2014	63826,1	59128,2	68523,9	1675,2	1544,5	1805,9

On the row of indexes, characterizing poverty, a situation in Ukraine is more difficult. Here indexes of living wage are below, the share of population with profits below than living wage is higher, in less degree a price advance is taken into account at claim of social standards, charges on public welfare in a greater degree depend on the economy growing of country. There is more stable situation in Russia, that influences on filled of budget profits, account of inflation rates at determination of living wage and forming of charges on social aims, wider than possibility of fight against poverty.

In spite of the fact that a fight against poverty remains the major problem of social policy, governments of both countries it is not enough stimulate development of economies, the future of which must be related to the high and steady rates of growth, able to provide socio-economic development.

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Origins of Social Depression of Middle Managers

As the researches carried out in a set of countries shows, line and functional executives (superintendents of workshops and departments) stopped feeling that they belong to management, lost their authority. They have quite limited rights and in their position are getting closer to highly qualified workers. Changing emerged situation needs raising the social prestige of this type of activity. This conclusion is legitimate for our industry as well. It will be necessary to provide inflow of talented young people to these positions. Top management of factories will have to allow middle managers to participate in discussions of business strategy and solutions of problems at enterprise to a greater extend then at present. Traditionally in all the countries this process is performed by senior management. Middle manager is not involved in it, not familiarized with specific responsibilities in details, as well as with the entire picture in whole.

The result is: middle managers feel unsatisfied with their low position in management hierarchy; motivation of their involvement in strategic management considerably reduces. The latter is explained by persistent stereotypes of management created in their activity: 1) manifestation of "myopia" in long-term projects realization in connection with the habit to be occupied with short-terms affairs exclusively; 2) tendency to be guided by data, which is significant and reliable just for exact moment; 3) subjective selection of data for decision making, while considerations of momentary profit are used as the main criterion.

The increase of difference between feelings of incomplete belonging to the structure of authority and inability to participate in management activity leads middle managers to sudden cooling from their work, which can be expressed as apathy, depression, lack of faith in their abilities, dissatisfaction with the career.

These attitudes of mind, disappointments of middle managers can emerge in four situations: "employee`s burnout", "professional suicide", "learned helplessness", "crisis in the middle of career".

"Employee`s burnout" usually occurs to middle managers as a result of overworking and stress overburdening and expresses in increasing nervousness while dealing with subordinates, frequent emotional breakdowns acquiring angry-aggressive tone, cynical attitude towards the others.

"Professional suicide" includes a set of typical cases of destructive behavior of capable, energetic managers. Successfully started their career, they suddenly "botch up" some important assignments, feel inexplicable indifference about their fate in organization later on, complain of lethargy, frequent indispositions.

"Learned helplessness" notion characterizes the situation when the managers whose working results for a long time received a negative influence beyond his control continues to refer to objective difficulties to justify his lack of initiative and inaction, even though the situation became favorable.

Psychological “crisis in the middle of career” occurs to many middle managers at 38-45 years old. It raises doubts about the correctness of career chosen, feeling of comparative life failure, “loss” to his more active and successful peers, who managed to move forward on the career ladder.

It is difficult to say to which type the depression of middle managers of studied organizations can be ascribed to, but research results indicate its presence. (Fig.1).



Figure 1. Answers of respondents to the question “Are you satisfied with your position?”

Satisfaction of different levels managers with their profession and position varies. Thus, among the representatives of top management 11 % of the examined are fully satisfied with their position at the same time when none of middle managers claimed the same.

Character of manager’s attitude to his activity as a profession can also be regarded as an indicator of depression (Fig. 2).



Figure 2. Answers of respondents to the question: “Are you satisfied with your profession?”

Data shows that the fourth part of examined middle managers is not satisfied with their profession, and only 6% of them are fully satisfied. Top management, in turn, has mainly a positive attitude to their profession (44 % of the examined).

Depression, no matter to which type it can apply to, is a specific expression of the same phenomenon. Basis reasons of this phenomenon, which takes on a kind of nervous stress for some people, are situated in two directions. The role is played by self-negation of personality, supposedly inevitably increasing for manager in conditions of rigid structures and detailed regulations in modern large factories, as well as "cruelty of the team" who don't want to appreciate the leader according to his merits and who are even ready to detach an unnecessary worker from their ranks, despite the fact that he sacrificed himself to the interests of organization.

"Cruelty of the team" is formed gradually and determined, in turn, by the nature of relations that middle manager constructs with the subordinates.

Thus, the position of middle managers, especially line executives, is determined by their place in the structure of authority: by the lack of support from the higher level of management and "cruelty of the team". It is possible that there is a connection between this situation and increasing displeasure of middle managers and weakening of their roles in organizations.

Creating an efficient and competitive organization at present will be implemented with the use of modern equipment and today's human resources. We cannot say that it is easy to make it, but it is possible. But besides the fact that it is possible, it is necessary and inevitable.

So, what is the way from today to tomorrow?

According to western researchers, while breaking down old ways of management of organization, the research of ways out of the emerged difficult situation can go on in several directions: through the adoption of new organizational steps, which are consisted of changing the structure of administrative staff machinery and enterprise in whole. This is a complex way, requiring significant time and financial costs. That is why it must be supplemented with usage of other ways.

There are quite affordable and financially favorable ways. They are so-called "methods of coordinating mechanisms", which allow to combine different approaches by their complementing. Two main types of these methods must be distinguished: "tough" formal methods and "soft" social ones. "Tough" are traditional mechanisms, which include, for example, internal financing and planning systems; development of new documents (regulations), which regulate tasks, powers and responsibilities of various departments.

At present "soft" methods becomes more spread. Life makes enterprises resort to these ways, learn how to use them for making their activity better.

All the types of communication of employees at enterprise can be regarded as "soft":

- Directors' cooperation along the horizontal line, e.g. concerning the links and communication between managers at the same level of organizational structure;

- Cooperation along the vertical line, e.g. between manager and his directors or between manager and his subordinates;
- Diagonal cooperation, e.g. concerning the links independent from organizational order and subordination, relations in frames of nominally working group.

The most "fundamental" of these ways are personal contacts inside the team, different private rules of behavior etc.

Enumerated "soft" and "tough" ways of coordination cannot be separated to the ways of major and minor importance - both of them are significant. Some of them are elaborated by economists who are professionals in planned-financial area. At the work at other methods (so-called "soft") sociological researches can render significant assistance.

"Soft" ways of coordination are built at the analysis of cooperation of executives` relations between each other along the management levels and executives with subordinates. Formulation of problem of communication as a form of joint activity organizing is not new; however, its usage as a way of management coordination, strangely enough, is just starting in Russian management. In the situation of entrepreneurial activity this perspective has the same value as organizational and economical ones.

Researches display that communications between executive and subordinate, while being an indicator of work satisfaction, are important factor of worker`s activity efficiency. Sense of mutual trust emerging between executive and subordinate furthers work satisfaction, which leads, in turn, to reducing of the amount of absence and decreasing of labour fluctuation, promoting a cut in expenditure for accepting and teaching new workers. It is also stated that managers are responsible for decreasing of initiative of their subordinates, emerging of apathy and indifference.

One of the reserves of work activation in realization of settled goals is cooperation of different levels managers. This cooperation supposes:

1. Deliberate distinguishing of role and functions of each level management and duplication of functions.
2. Coordination of existed differences between the levels and elimination of emerged differentiations.
3. Elimination of mutual claims.
4. Search of consolidation elements, which promote the strengthening of organization in whole.

As a rule, initiative of functions deliberating goes from the higher positioned, that`s why the result of between-levels communication depends on executive managers. Between-levels communication supposes the changing of information, ideas, and activities. This all determines the degree of trust between executives and the level of their mutual understanding.

Trust degree of the board of directors in relation to workshops and departments superintendents was shown in the answer to the question "Which part of workshops and departments superintendents knows better what to do than the higher stuff?" In the view of majority of board of directors (83 %), a very small part among the middle management "knows better what to do". So, executive managers of the factory value middle managers` potential very guardedly. This can be a definite obstacle on the way of division of functions. The executives will not be able to redistribute some or other work to the majority of workshops and departments heads, for example allow the participation of middle managers in strategic decisions. And as it can often be in reality, some or other functions realization, which could successfully be accomplished by the workshops and departments representatives, the directors would take upon themselves.

Superintendents of workshops and departments value themselves very modestly. It is difficult to say what the reason of such low self-estimation is. Perhaps developed sense of responsibility doesn't allow them to be answerable, or conversely, stressing the importance of top management, middle unit is trying to somehow "protect" itself. Anyway, its low estimate of potential can negatively affect the activities of middle level managers in general. Diagnosis of estimations of different levels managers is necessary and promising concerning the problem of interlevel interaction. And sociological researches can lend considerable assistance to its solving.

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Gender discrimination in the field of work: opinion of experts

Transformational processes in Russia have led to qualitative changes of all system of public relations and changes of gender relations in the country and have generated variety of the actual problems demanding the decision.

In connection with presence of a gender problem in the field of work, the author had been spent poll of experts in Republic Bashkortostan of (Ufa), in May, 2010. The main goal was consisted in the analysis of activity of the state organizations and institutes of the civil society, directed on preventive maintenance and struggle against gender discrimination in work and employment sphere.

Reception of opinion of specialists was the task of expert poll: about forms of infringement of the rights of women in the field of work, about role of trade unions in realization of programs and mechanisms on decrease and elimination of infringement of the rights of women in the field of work and about forms of rendering assistance to women who have tested infringement of the labor law in sphere of work and employment by the trade-union organizations.

The sample volume has made 120 persons which were represented by law enforcement officers, representatives of mass media, heads of the trade-union organizations. Among the interrogated 43,3 % there were men and 56,7 % of the woman.

Results of poll have shown that the majority of experts consider that women test infringement of the rights in the field of work at advancement to supervising posts. So consider 44,6 % of law enforcement officers, representatives of mass media (47,2 %) and 40,4 % heads of the trade-union organizations adhere to the same opinion. In their opinion, women have the limited access to management, it is more difficult to them to hold the high post connected with bigger responsibility and acceptance of important decisions, thus at the moment women have higher educational level in comparison with men.

The second for the importance, according to law enforcement officers (39,3 %) and representatives of mass media (42,5 %) acts discrimination of women at employment. Heads of the trade-union organizations have put this form of discrimination on the first place (46,2 %). In the conditions of a competition aggravation on a labor market, the woman at employment obviously meets the suspicious relation to as to the worker. It is connected with presence or prospect of presence of minor children.

On a question as trade unions this problem deal with that is undertaken by them, experts noted the following: this inclusion in collective agreements of the norms, a concerning non-admission of infringement or violation of the rights of women on workplaces; granting legal aid to the women who have tested

infringement of the labor law; carrying out of practical conferences; gathering of the information on cases of infringement of the rights of women in the field of work.

During research it was found out that trade unions assist women after an exit from a maternity leave. Consultation of women about norms of the labor legislation in the field of the motherhood rights is spent, promote work granting on "flexible hours", especially lonely mums, mothers, bringing up children-invalids, or having 3 and more minor children, help granting of additional holidays, and also improvement of professional skill of women at appearance at work after a maternity leave.

In modern conditions the success of struggle against gender discrimination in work and employment sphere in many respects depends on degree of unity, solidarity and unity of the state organizations and institutes of a civil society not only at branch, national and regional levels, but also on a global scale.

The prospect of dismissal and real loss of work negatively affect on position of women in a family, a demographic situation and education of children.

The conducted researches have given the chance to formulate following recommendations about preventive maintenance and struggle against gender discrimination in the field of work: development of the consulting help is necessary for women concerning the labor legislation, dismissal, employment and conversion training; perfection of the legislation concerning work and discrimination in the field of labor relations is necessary; it is necessary to defend formation of readiness of women the labor law; education in the field of the labor legislation of the population as a whole is necessary; strengthening of a role of mass media in intolerance formation, struggle against discrimination of women in the field of work is necessary; strengthening of a role of the trade-union organizations in preventive maintenance and struggle against discrimination of women in work and employment sphere is necessary; inclusion in educational process of courses on a problem of discrimination on the basis of a floor in work and employment sphere is necessary, encouragement of employers in carrying out of anti-discrimination measures is necessary; development of gender researches in the field of labor relations is necessary.

Realization of such recommendations, undoubtedly, will promote overcoming of gender discrimination in our country.

Ivanov Oleg I.

The Role of Human Potential in the Russian Economy

Among the effects of the recent economic crisis is a quantitative decrease and decline in the quality of human potential in many industries, individual manufacturing and enterprises, economic structures. Decrease in production output, even a temporary manufacturing suspension, staff reduction, non-investment in human capital, etc. underlie in these processes. Meanwhile, even in terms of the crisis, there is still a need in innovative development of traditional productions and creation of the new ones. An urgent task is to improve the quality of human potential given the reduction of its quantitative characteristics.

Innovation economy during an economic crisis requires a special strategy for the use of human potential, which takes into account the *unevenness of its distribution in the geographical and social space, as well as the difference in the levels of its development among different possessors*. These peculiarities of human potential necessitate purposeful formation of complex social and professional communities, human potential of which would include in the organic unity a developed form of science and technology, innovation and enterprise components. Process on forming such communities includes the following: searching for potential of the required quality; its concentration and consolidation in a real and (or) a virtual socio-economic space; creating the necessary conditions for its expression – implementation; its increased activation for achieving certain objectives; control over the process of its use (including internal self-control by subjects and consumers of potential and external, primarily state control); comprehensive assessment of potential's use effectiveness.

We define the use of human potential as a permanent process of interaction of its possessors (individuals, groups and the general population) with social institutions, organizations, individual social actors (agents of potential's consumption), during which general and specific systems of needs, as well as the ability and willingness of social communities to carry out activities and functions of social significance, are activating and beginning to operate.

Speaking on the use of potential, we must take into account not only the use of integral potentials at different levels (general population, separate communities and individuals). We should also consider the prospects and specificity of *the use of internal (essential) components of potential*: needs, abilities and willingness of communities to carry out socially significant activities, social roles and functions. In our opinion, one can speak of specific specialization in the use of each of potential's internal components, namely:

- the needs of potential's possessors determine the organizing of such processes as consumption, production's maintenance and stimulation;
- the abilities are intended for creation (creation of traditional and non-traditional products, including fundamentally new technologies);

- the willingness (behavioral dispositions, attitudes) serves as a "trigger" mechanism ensuring implementation of both needs and abilities.

In the process of its use human potential can be enriched, developed, but also can be destroyed. Current practice of using human potential in Russia is incomplete, fragmented, subjective, and implies widespread violations of legal, administrative and moral regulations.

Searching and organizing constant interaction between possessors and consumers of the abilities on applying specific technologies in solving non-traditional problems are a new and a complex task of human development. The purpose of such interaction should be the consolidation of abilities, their concentration in specialized centers. It can be achieved through relocation of the relevant human potential in social and geographical space. I mean not only and not specifically the "head hunt", the "brain drain" or the "hunt for the skillful hands", that is, the intellectual potential and the potential of "manual work" professionals. What is at issue is a broader theoretical interpretation of human potential, which allows the formation of a systematic holistic view of identifying and assessing opportunities for involving different social communities in the innovative activities. Such a view can not be limited to the assessment of intellectual abilities or possibilities for using the physical labor. All most important human features such as needs, abilities and willingness of communities to carry out socially significant activities, roles and functions, taken in conjunction and in complex, are subject to assessment. Relocation of the human potential can be based on changing its possessor's place of living (individuals and specific groups). At the same time, modern Internet technologies allow concentration and consolidation of human potential in the virtual space without changing the permanent allocation of its possessors in the geographical and social space.

Based on the relocation of human potential, targeted complexes of specialized systems of needs, abilities and willingness can be formed. By concentrating and consolidating the individual systems of needs, abilities and willingness, extra- and supra-individual group human potential (company's potential, industry potential) can be created, which will consist of a complexes of specialized systems of needs, abilities and willingness. Each complex will have its purpose, and all of them joined together into a whole, will ensure achievement of basic targets, assigned by society to potential's possessor, its subject and (or) its consumer.

In author's opinion *development of economy innovative sectors* is connected with creating the *complexes of specialized systems of needs, abilities and willingness*. Constructing models of such complexes is a prerequisite and a basis for forming employees' teams, recruitment and interaction with personnel.

Creation of such complexes is especially urgent within stagnating or remaining almost unchanged economy sectors in modern Russia. This applies, in particular, to agricultural production. In this industry human potential has not only stopped in its development, it degrades. Needs, abilities and willingness to work within this

sector of this potential's subject are atrophying at an accelerated pace. An integrated approach to forming human potential within agricultural sector is needed, which involves simultaneous and consistent creation of complexes of systems of potential's subjects needs, abilities, and willingness to work within the sector under discussion.

This task is not simple, because much of the modern Russian youth is not inclined to engage in physical labor ("manual work"). Many young people are seized by "manager-mania", wishing to become top managers. But it's clear that without creating favorable living conditions in rural areas, without raising the prestige of agricultural labor, one can't expect that the necessary complexes of systems of needs, abilities and willingness will be formed.

Kazarenkova Tatyana B.

Features for preparation of managers of higher education in conditions of globalization

In modern conditions under the influence of global processes there is a reevaluation of spiritual, civil, national values which define socio-cultural, an interethnic originality of the world in whole and its separate regions. Actual there is an investment in a cultural variety and dialogue between cultures.

This article focuses on the features for preparation of managers in the system of higher education in the conditions of multinational universities. The special accent deals with an importance of sociological preparation of the future experts-managers. There is a problem of Intercultural dialogue in the university environment. Higher education promotes effective dialogue of people with various beliefs in order to solve different conflicts peacefully. In the given context is presented the course program "Creation of the tolerant environment at multinational universities". The program is intended for realization of additional educational preparation of workers of the international services of higher educational institutions and educational institutions, and also for masters, as in the Russian Federation, and foreign countries. The course is developed on the basis of modern scientific representations about a problem of tolerance in the conditions of an information society; on the basis of the complex approach is presented the innovative model of creation of the tolerant environment at multinational universities.

Modern university education in the conditions of the multipolar world aspires to help to find to the young man for itself semantic reference points in life. The fundamental component of the university preparation of students-managers promotes not only with the development of socially significant knowledge and ways of activity, but with the development of new social and professional reference points. Wherever the graduate of the university worked, the fundamental component of their vocational training will be actively demanded.

Education is not something external under the relation to all other spheres of vital activity of the person. The problems of the sociological education of experts-managers can be considered only in a complex of problems of mankind, the most important are a problem of intercultural dialogue, a sustainable development and a survival, and also well-being maintenance. The system of university education in the conditions of the multipolar world, according to the leading domestic and foreign scientists, is real means of the decision of the above-stated vital problems.

The changes occurring in a modern information society stimulate processes of the sociocultural modernizations in higher education system.

Accordingly, the problem of formation of the tolerant person of leaders, teachers, students of multinational universities may be admitted one of the major problems of modern educational institutions, it is in interdisciplinary sphere:

sociology, psychology, philosophy/political science, conflictology, etc. Partly there is the standard-legal base of formation of a tolerant culture which is put into a number of the international and Russian documents.

It is necessary to notice that in a modern society the majority of the organizations are multinational. The future leaders repeatedly in their activity face problems of intercultural communication. The problems of social interaction in the conditions of the multicultural social environment demand certain skills of intercultural interaction. However, the majority of leaders' activity shows that they obviously don't have qualitative system knowledge in the questions connected with a resolution of conflicts in the conditions of the multinational social environment.

In the context of multinational university the role of leaders of educational institution increases in the decision of problems of formation of the tolerant environment.

The role of administrative decisions in formation of the tolerant environment at multinational universities is hardly can be overrate. After all the head defines priority directions of innovative development of high school, defines strategy of development of those or other lines of activity of university. That is chancellor who determines priority directions of innovative development of educational institution and defines strategy of development of some or other university's activities.

In educational institution practice is very important witch priorities on creation of the tolerant environment to be the main for activity of each university.

It is necessary to give special attention to interaction of cooperation between heads of university, teachers and students in creation of the tolerant environment in multinational universities. Joint venture of university's heads, teachers and students is the effective factor in creation of the tolerant environment on condition of efficient control the activity. It is expedient to direct teamwork to a channel socio-cultural to activity.

In the scientific literature allocate various kinds of tolerance (communicative, intercultural, professional, interethnic, interconfessional, intergenerational, tender, etc.)

One of main goals of sociological education in multinational high school is to generate for the future managers in higher education system knowledge of theoretical and practical bases of modern sociology and open the basic concepts of intercultural dialogue in the conditions of the multipolar world and also to generate at students interest to this science providing at qualitative development, success in social and professional ability to live.

The future manager in higher education system is usually included in various kinds of professional work, including, organizational-administrative, information-analytical, diagnostic, innovative, methodical, educational, etc. These kinds of expert's activity assume successful development by students of base questions of modern sociology in a context of a problem of intercultural dialogue.

Among the premium effort directed at improvement of university's quality of managers' preparation in system of higher education, it is expedient to allocate the following:

- the creation of author's courses in social and humanitarian profile that develop personal potential and professional skills of students by mastering their basic sociological knowledge and methods of practical activities under the problem of intercultural dialogue;
- the integration into indoor and outdoor work the content of socio-humanitarian education disciplines that ensure the development of humanistic outlook, the development of knowledge and the social system of human values;
- the creation of integrative education and elective courses under the problem of intercultural dialogue;
- the use of the teaching forms and methods that develop students' sociological culture and the culture of mental activity, stimulate their needs in a creative lifestyle, the prospects of self-actualization; objective, qualitative assessment of the university education's effectiveness in the context of social and humanitarian training of specialist;
- wider practical and sociological training of students (listeners) in the context of intercultural dialogue.

However, the problem of creating a culture of tolerance among the leaders, teachers, students in the university education system requires further development. It is advisable to pay more attention to the level of professional training of managers in the higher education system in the field of intercultural dialogue and tolerance education.

The analysis of trends in world development of mankind shows that the higher the level of socio-cultural diversity, the stronger the need for cooperation between state and society in the search of agreement in different life sphere of modern society. Nowadays the differences in the political, social, ethnic and religious fields are increasing in the international community. Quite often the absence of a tolerant culture of communication among young people reveals. Achievement of an optimal level of development for a tolerant culture among the subjects of the educational process becomes one of the functioning ways of the modern multinational university.

This course is directed to solving the socio-cultural and professional problems of training the students. The program module includes theoretical and practical blocs.

Studying this course is used the spending of the classes in an interactive way, the widespread use of the modern means of visual communication, conducting trainings, thematic round-tables, conducting role-playing games, using additional sources presented in audiovisual form; continuous current control of mastering the material. Training manuals and other publications are offered and they reflect contemporary trends in issues of tolerance, the publication of domestic and foreign

experts, analytical and informational materials of authoritative international and national organizations and institutions.

Joint activities of the high-school leaders, teachers and students are an effective factor in the creation of a tolerant environment with the effective control of the activity. It is advisable to direct this work in the mainstream of socio-cultural activities. The opportunities of the effective solving the problem of a tolerant interaction in the multinational university create in the indoor and outdoor work of students.

Khokhlova Marina G.

Unemployment in Russia and its stages: the professional aspect

During the nineties, despite an unprecedented depth of the transformational crisis, unemployment, the severity of which grew from 5.2% in 1992 to its maximum in 1998 – 13.2%, did not get totally out of control. In the conditions of high social tension that were prevailing then the changes that were taking place had a system-wide character. The advent of the new social order made redundant a variety of occupations connected with ideology of the defunct state and its management (the elected and full-time officials of the party and some voluntary organizations, as well as cultural professionals).

As a result of the de-industrialization that was underway many mass industrial occupations experienced drastic cuts. Many trades were displaced due to the large – scale imports and the so-called shuttle commerce. During the first half of the 90ies many trades were disappearing without causing unemployment, because people who lost their job preferred to obtain a new occupation and to look for work in the new trade.

There was a spontaneous "flight" from a variety of trades. This was a means of adaptation by the individual to the market requirements and to a new reality. The situation was different as far as occupations in high demand were concerned (drivers, specialists in the field of commerce and finance and public health services, mechanics, parlourmaids, etc.). The employment growth here was accompanied by the growth in the numbers of the unemployed caused by the growth of the number of competitors who come from other trades. It should be pointed out that the unemployed who lost their job under the conditions of crisis, as a rule do not differ significantly from the employed by their professional qualities for their dismissal could be connected with their closing of the enterprise, curtailment of production, bankruptcy etc. So the unemployed having the characteristics equal with the employed had every chance to apply for the same workplaces. It was at their expense that situations arose when the growth of the employment in specific professional groups was accompanied by an increase in the relative number of the unemployed in the same occupations.

Such phenomenon was observed because people refused their occupations and searched for the employment in new "market" trades therefore there were no applicants on liberated workplaces, and for new "market" occupations there were constantly interested persons and they found their employment there at the expense of unprecedented increase in the number of these "new" occupations. This "abnormal" phenomenon in the employment/unemployment trends has manifested itself to the full by 1994. The acquisition of new occupations "in demand on the market", often at the cost of even with the status loss (engineers and teachers turning to street peddlers etc. In four years (1992-1994) the number of

street vendors increased 50 times, the number of the watchmen and dispatchers more than 13 times, lawyers more than in 90 times).

After 1998 there came about a period of a certain stabilisation, by this time the structural reorganisation as a whole had already taken place: the number of employed grew and that of the unemployed went down. During the process of the stabilisation of the economy the picture began to look different. The structure of the employed and the unemployed was getting particular features of age, education and occupation. The process of the formation of the new professional structure of employment slowed down, though continued to develop in the direction laid down during the 90ies. Nevertheless the tendencies differing from 90ies were obvious: the employment growth in specific occupations was accompanied by the reduction in them of the relative number of the unemployed. And, vice versa, the fall in the employment coincides with the unemployment growth. It may be said that what is already available is a quite "market" mechanisms of "non-crisis" adaptation of the labour market to the situation of economic transformation.

During the crisis years of 2008 to 2009 the rate of growth of the unemployed surpassed the 90ies (during 8 months from the beginning of the crisis of 2008 to 2009 their number increased 3 million persons while for 6 years of the previous crisis by little more than 5 million persons). Nevertheless a situation drastically differed from the 90ies: the potential of the spontaneous change of occupations could not to operate any more since the crisis occurred within the framework of the already existing market economy; during this period the crisis was taking place not only in Russia, but globally; thereby the social contradictions, if they arose, had a latent character. The Russian state power conscious of its responsibility with regard to the electorate, had financial means and possibilities to carry out programs of a targeted anti-recessionary policy in the field of the employment focused on the assistance at the bottom part of the social pyramid. This was accomplished in practice: the strategy of social support that was carried out by the state.

Table 1

The Rate of the unemployment in 2001-2010 (%)

2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
9,0	8,0	8,6	8,2	7,6	7,2	6,1	6,3	8,4	7,5

Calculations for table 1 and table 2 have been made by the author on the basis of the data by Rosstat.

Since recently the modernization drive in the economy has lead to the searching for ways to ensure the growth of the human capital, an increase in adaptation capabilities in the varying environment, the maintenance of the social inclusiveness, in particular at the expense of the use of vocational potential of the unemployed and their re-training.

The vocational training system can serve as one of the major factors of the unemployment reduction. Statistical data convincingly demonstrate that the

absence of the necessary training makes the person most vulnerable in the struggle for the preservation and acquisition of employment by him or her.

The personnel training and retraining at the enterprises level may be regarded as a preventive measure (table 2), although it is impossible to regard this method as everywhere applicable and of a strategic importance. The coexistence of various types of the industrial economic activities, observed at level of the whole of the economy, creates multilayered social reality expressed, in particular, in the corresponding professional stratification. The demand develops for the knowledge and skills of the personnel depending on the character and the kind of the industrial activity.

Table 2

Number of the workers undergoing additional vocational training, by kinds of economic activity in 2010¹

Kinds of activity	Thousand persons	%
Mining operations	2069441	41,4
Extraction of deposits	287078	5,7
Extraction of fuel and energy deposits	230158	4,6
Processing	1397175	27,9
Manufacture and distribution of the electric power, gas and water	385188	7,7
Transport and communication(connection)	650302	13
Operations with the real estate, rent, provision of services	305337	6,1
Education	764767	15,6

As in any social phenomenon, there are political decisions concerning the strategy in the sphere of education of the future generations of the would-be employed that does not exist separately from the whole of social and economic strategy of the state. But there is also the reality which concerns that part of the active population (not only jobless, but also the employed) which can mismatch the constantly occurring professional "fluctuation".

¹ Separate kinds of economic activities are presented only, in %% their share to the general result is specified, also it is necessary to consider, that the part of the trained has passed(has taken place) some kinds of preparation, the "repeated" account therefore is possible(probable).

Klyuchnikova, Tatyana N.

Identity of youth as a factor of professional self-determination

Identity is an important mechanism of socialization of youth. Currently, there is a transformation of cultural spaces associated with globalization and informatization. Identity allows to navigate in a variety of norms and values, examples of behaviors and life style. Some Russian researchers suggest common and distinct features of this process in young people [Mansurov V. A. 2009, Gofman A.B., 2008].

For professional self-determination, choice of life identity is an important factor. Currently, the Russian youth transforms the familiar experience of generations of fathers. This is reflected in the predominance of liberal values.

Conditions of realization of life plans is the structure of the labor market and educational services. For a generation of parents there has been a characteristic differentiation of labor into "feminine" and "masculine». The group of "female " professions were the specialties of the social sphere - education, medicine, economics and service. The group of "male " - the technical and engineering. Women in at least aspired to career achievements. In the management there was male-dominating.

In the study conducted by the author were made and tested a number of assumptions associated with the dynamics of professional self-determination among young people and link of it with identity. Among the general trends of globalization for the European area russian young people appear to desire the transprofessionalizm and relocation.

Transprofessionalizm, however, is a forced transition from one industry to another, if necessary. Such changes require high social mobility, because it is necessary to acquire new professional environment. Another problem is the stop for career development because of the professional activity change.

In the current study [Klyuchnikova, 2011] the task was to identify the specific through indicators of a civil identity and career orientation. The results obtained reflected the complex mechanisms of identity.

At the level of makroidentity the respondents indicated that the concept of Russia is identified as a "big country", "Russian general nature", "a place where I would live forever". However, when asked about plans for employment, many are ready to move to the mega-cities - Moscow and St. Petersburg. The reasons for the move are called "lack of conditions for career development".

Most of the respondents questioned the possibility of a job received by specialty. The obtained results let us to conclude about the transformation of life strategies and work values of Russian youth. There was a focus on building a career, and higher became the adaptability and mobility. Along with this desire to stay at the place of permanent residence, is evidencing the continued mapping of

identity that diverges from the European trends, where people are above the mapping identity.

Perhaps this can be explained by great experience of labor migration, the absence of linguistic and legal restrictions in the European space. Another explanation is the experience of parents, whose identity was held in the Soviet period. The institutes of socialization paid much attention to education of patriotism at a macro and mezo levels.

Here can be made the general conclusions about the growing of transprofessionalism among Russian students, which increases the adaptive resources, but reduces the civil potential because of the connection loss with places of residence. The latest trend comes against the mezoidentity, which is reflected in the desire to keep in touch "with the place where I would live forever.

Mansurov, Valeriy A., Yurchenko O.

The Anglo-American and Russian Sociology of Professions: Comparisons and Perspectives

Introduction

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

Within the Soviet Union, sociologists were mostly preoccupied with the study of work characteristics of the intelligentsia: the creativity of work, its difficulty, and the special socio-cultural mission of intellectuals. Research was focused on practitioners' values and their work motivation. Two important dimensions of intellectuals' social standing have been omitted from sociological attention: first, the scope of professionals' autonomy and their economic position and, second, their position within the power structure. Recently, Russian sociologists have begun to make up the lack of research on practitioners' labour and life conditions – that is, on their economic status (Manning et al. 2000). However, professionals' autonomy – defined in terms of their ability to make decisions without external pressure from those who are not members of the profession – has not yet been studied.

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

This paper will centre on the study of Russian intelligentsia in a comparative perspective with Anglo-American professionals. For the sake of brevity, we shall

not review Anglo-American theoretical material exhaustively – the nature and role of professions in the Anglo-American context have already been widely discussed. The analysis of recurring themes can be seen, for example, in Larson (1977), Burrage et al. (1990), Freidson (1994), Macdonald (1995), Saks (1999). However, the study of Russian professionals, including the intelligentsia, will be examined in more detail. As will be seen, there are a number of distinctions. For instance, with some notable exceptions (for instance, Stacey 1980), the socio-psychological characteristics of the professions have received far less attention than in the Russian tradition. Empirical studies of professionals' social attitudes, their work motivation and their opportunities for self-realisation are limited in the Anglo-American context.

In the paper, we shall follow the Anglo-American interpretation of the terms 'profession' and 'occupation', in order to prevent theoretical confusion¹. Although it needs to be noted that the concept 'profession' in Russian sociology, and in the Russian language, is associated with all crafts and skilled occupations. Both a coal-miner and a doctor would consider their activities as 'professions'. This term has never had a parallel connotation to that of Britain and the United States, in which a group possessing it can define a boundary between itself and the outside world.

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

Historical Background to the Study of Occupations

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

In the Soviet Union in the 1920s, the study of occupations began to develop

¹ An occupation will be viewed as 'the social role performed by adult members of society that directly and/or indirectly yields social and financial consequences and that constitutes a major force in the life of an adult' (Hall 1983). Professions will be seen as 'knowledge-based occupations requiring higher specialized education' (Torstendal 1990).

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

In the 1960s, researchers stressed the need for the further interpretation of the essence of an 'occupation'. They came to the conclusion that 'occupations' could not unreservedly be called social. Their social characteristics should be considered alongside the specific labour characteristics of workers and their work place.

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

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

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

- the professional orientation and professional choice;
- the formation of professional personal traits;
- the possibilities of the effective appliance of workers' moral and physical abilities in the terrain of the division of labour and the prospect of self-realisation;
- the correlation between individual inner qualities and the demands of a particular profession.

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

In the late 1980s, 'the stratification approach' started to develop as a third strand when empirical research began to undermine official theories of class. The occupational system began to be viewed as a major component of the social structure. Up until 1992 and the reforms in Russia, the methodological ideas of Marx were central to the study of occupations. These were based on the notion that the modern class structure is not based on 'crafts', but rather the other way round, and that the division of labour creates various occupations within the same class. Thus the occupational structure was relegated to the background and viewed as dependant on class structure, which in turn was defined by existing property relations. Strict ideological frames demanded different approaches from social scientists who wrote on occupational stratification in socialist and capitalist countries (Rutkevich & Philipov 1970). These different approaches are shown in tabular form in Figures 1, 2 and 3.

Table 1

Theoretical Approaches of the Russian Sociology of Occupations

Theoretical approaches	Essence	Years
Work-oriented (rooted in economics)	(1) Study of the structure and particular set of work activities and their alternation. (2) Analyses of the influence of technical and technological factors on the formation of professional and class structure.	1920-1990s
Personality-oriented (rooted in social psychology)	Study of the professionals as individuals in themselves. The main object of the research was the correspondence between the level of professional competence and work demands.	1920-up to the present

Stratification	Study of occupations as a basis for the analysis of social stratification.	Late 1980s-up to the present
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Table 2**The Sociology of Occupations: Comparative Perspectives**

The pluses and minuses indicate the scope of development of the theoretical approaches, where “+” means “well-developed approach” and “+/-” means “somewhat developed”.

Theoretical approaches	Anglo-American	Russian
Work-oriented	+	+
Personality-oriented	+/-	+
Stratification	+	+/-

Table 3**Objects of Research in the Sociology of Occupations in Comparative Perspective**

The pluses and minuses indicate the scope of research devoted to the following objects, where “+” means “extensive research”, “+/-” means “some research” and “-” means “almost no research”.

	Anglo-American	Russian
Career	+	+/-
Occupational status and mobility	+	+/-
Relations between professional and client	+	-
Workforce	+	+
Professional roles and personality	+	+
Prestige	+	+
Nationalities and occupations	+	+
Professional culture and ethics	+	+
Methodology	+	+
Work motivation	+/-	+
Individual professionalism	+/-	+

Work creativity	+/-	+
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The Study of the Russian Intelligentsia and Anglo-American Professions in Comparative Perspective

The nature of the intelligentsia: definitions

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

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

The characteristics of the special cultural mission of the intelligentsia have been built into many definitions used by scholars in the Soviet and post-Soviet period. For example the Big Soviet Encyclopaedia (1972: 311) said: 'The intelligentsia is a social layer of people, engaged in professional intellectual work, mostly difficult and creative, in the development and dissemination of culture'. In the Soviet period, this special cultural mission of the intelligentsia was reduced to the dissemination of Marxist dogmas and state resolutions. In post-Soviet times, Russian social scientists have breathed new life into the study of the cultural mission of the intelligentsia. They have touched upon the problems of the 'hidden' opposition between some representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia and the state

(Shlapentokh 1990; Radaev & Shkaratan 1992) and the role that the intelligentsia can play in Russia's cultural and economic 'renaissance' (see, amongst others, Glazov 1985).

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

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

In Russia, as in other advanced industrial societies, medicine, law, and science are expert occupations. Students undergo a long training in specialised university faculties, and have been considered as part of the intelligentsia – an educated human resource within society. However, in Russia, expert occupations have been, and remain, subordinate to the state and have only at the margins been subject to market forces (Allsop, Mansourov & Saks 1999). In a study of professions/state relations in Britain, the United States and Germany, Moran (1999) argues that, historically, the professions have been differently affected by the state and the market. In Russia, the intelligentsia was at the extreme pole with extensive state control. Thus, its social structure and stratification system was different from that in many other countries.

Before Perestroika

In the latter quarter of the nineteenth century, these differences were not so marked as self-governing professional associations were widespread in Russia. However, as Field (1957) notes, the corporate identity and the professional solidarity of the traditional professionals, such as doctors, lawyers and college professors, was seen as a dangerous source of opposition to the new Soviet State. In 1917 the new political elite therefore felt the need to deprive traditional professions of their privileged status and the professional associations were officially dissolved. The main strategy adopted to subordinate the intellectual elite was the mass production of professionals. As Perveen (1987) comments, they turned all the population into intellectuals. The increased production of professionals was aimed at 'wiping off' professional group identities and the substitution of oppositional

professionals with loyal ones. The speed of production of intellectual workers did not correlate with real economic demands, especially in the industrial sphere, and was mainly dictated by ideological considerations (Pipes 1961).

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

One of the most crucial indicators of professional autonomy is the extent to which an occupational group can control who enters the group and who is excluded. It can construct access, imposing restrictions and filters into the professional group. A number of neo-Weberian theorists in the Anglo-American tradition have used the notion of 'social closure' to analyse this key aspect of a collective professionalising strategy (MacDonald 1995). A group may create a monopoly by determining who enters the education system and who is licensed to practice. The professional association, typically licensed by the state determines who is admitted and who is not. Once established, strong professional associations have charters that regulate training and have rules that govern inclusion and exclusion. They also exercise a monopoly over certification, the creation and dissemination of expert knowledge and standards of practice. They control the 'production of producers' (Larson 1977).

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

In mid-1980s, some social scientists acknowledged that 'intellectuals did not dissolve within the working class and the working class did not turn into intellectuals' (Soviet Intelligentsia and Its Role in Building Communism 1983).

Some researchers even admitted that there was an overproduction of engineers in the USSR. For example, in the USA, the scope of production was 25 per cent more, while the number of engineers was 3 to 4 times less (Phillipov 1982). At the same time, the system of education did not change. There were still 'hidden' advantages for the students from the 'workers and peasantry' and open advantages for those who had experience in workers' occupations. The entry requirements placed on the former workers were quite low. Normally, those from this background could pass all examinations with satisfactory marks.¹

The rapid, and to some extent artificial growth of the intelligentsia, had an irretrievable impact on its social standing. Higher education and knowledge-based professions have been discredited by the fact that in their number were included some manual occupations. The political elite had managed to abolish professions as corporate entities. The elite social standing of professionals, the development of a specific professional culture and ethics were destroyed. Moreover, traditional professionals, such as doctors and lawyers lost their main differentiating advantage: the possession of a specialised symbolic knowledge. More than 37 million formally possessed higher educational qualifications and cultural capital, but many lacked the broader cultural background and aspirations associated with 'an intelligentsia' (Read 1990).

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

Another priority for the former Soviet Union was national politics. The 'nationalisation' of the intelligentsia drew non-Russians within the Union into intellectual work. The very low entry prerequisites for some nationalities among the non-Russian population had political advantages. It provided the possibility for the rapid growth of intellectual workers from other Russian Soviet Republics. In 1926, intellectual workers in Central Asia constituted about 0.3% out of workforce (22,600 people). Due to the social policies of the political elite, the numbers of intellectual workers from the Caucasus and Central Asia grew more quickly than in the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Belarus. For example, in the Soviet Union in

¹ The system of marks in Russia has been the following: 5 (excellent); 4 (good); 3 (satisfactory); 2 (fail).

1940, scientists made up 0.28% of the population. In the Russian Federation this was 0.28%, as compared to 0.71% in Armenia and Georgia, 0.42% in Latvia, 0.40% in Uzbekistan, 0.39% in Azerbaijan, 0.34% in Lithuania and 0.29% in the Ukraine (Volkov 1999).

The increased numbers of intellectuals led to a depreciation of their competence and knowledge. In the same way that different titles and honorific rewards lose their value when the number of their possessors grows, there has been an inverse relationship between the social standing of the intelligentsia in terms of prestige and income, and its size. Intellectual labour depreciated in value immediately after the October revolution. Already in the 1920s, the average income of a 'rank-and-file' intellectual worker had become either equal to, or lower than, a worker's salary. Before the Revolution, it was 4 times higher. In the 1980s, the quality of life of intellectual workers was lower than that of manual workers. The salaries of the majority of teachers, doctors and scientific workers were 3 to 4 times lower than that of manual workers. The pre-Revolutionary social hierarchy was therefore turned upside-down. It has in fact been argued that over the period, the relative socio-economic situation of the intellectual layer worsened by a factor of 10 (Volkov 1999).

Some writers like Pipes (1961), however, have drawn attention to 'status inconsistencies' among Soviet professionals. Although they had a low income and lacked autonomy, it is nevertheless argued that they were accorded prestige as intellectuals. Intellectual professions were still considered fairly prestigious. Most school graduates aspired to become scientific workers, mostly in physics, medicine or engineering. Figure 4 shows these differences in tabular form.

Post-Perestroika: The reforms of the 1990s

The political changes of the 1990s and the subsequent economic problems that occurred in Russia have restructured the economy and destabilised existing institutions. Opportunities for private practice have created the conditions for change in the standing of the intelligentsia. Some recent studies have shown that the part of the intelligentsia involved in private practice understand that their position in society is something for which they have to strive (Mansourov et al. 2001). Changes in the social attitudes of the intelligentsia employed in the state sector and the growth of their aspirations for increased autonomy could possibly lead to the development of a professional ideology, a collegiate culture and, in the long run, a transformation in their social standing. Thus knowledge-based practitioners as a group may embark on a professional project, and their corporate desire to achieve autonomy could result in their upward social mobility.

On the other hand, the state may serve to enhance the status of intellectual workers by increasing their autonomy and decision making powers – representing 'professionalisation from above' (McClelland 1991). So far, the state reconstruction

of professional occupation status has been unsuccessful. Moreover, there is no observable rise in intellectuals' satisfaction with their current social standing (Radaev & Shkaratan 1992).

Table 4

**Comparison of the Social Standing of the
Russian Intelligentsia and Anglo-American Professionals**

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

A Review of Studies of the Intelligentsia: Theoretical Issues

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

Anglo-American ethnographical studies of professional actors and profession/client interactions remained outside the mainstream of the sociology of professions.

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

- the inner-growth and self-realisation of intellectual workers;
- creativity and social attitudes;
- the impact of various types of activity, such as science and medical practice on personality.
- The connection between the technological advancement of society and the level of qualification of intellectual workers has been analysed within a 'work-oriented approach'. Intelligentsia studies have been limited to such areas as:
 - societal analyses of the influence of technical and technological factors on the formation of the Soviet intellectual;
 - the formation of the social homogeneity of Soviet society through the obliteration of the boundaries between the intelligentsia and working class.
 - problems in the recruitment of the intelligentsia from workers and the peasantry, as well as the similarities in the work activities of manual and intellectual workers ('worker-intellectuals').

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

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

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

As far as economic remuneration was concerned, the estimate of the economic situation of professional groups on the basis of official statistics has been almost impossible. The system of 'social-branch' privileges inherent in state-monopolistic socialism was not a subject for analysis. It was considered politically incorrect to draw public attention to the attendant privileges of the political elite, such as the additional apartments, the departmental sanatoriums, the preventoriums, the swimming pools, the kindergarten, and the pioneer camps.

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

On the whole, the study of professional occupations in Russia and in the Anglo-American context differs from various points of view. These include:

- the scope of the research done (various Western methodological approaches vs. a lack of variety in Russian research);
- the emphasis of the research (individual professionals vs. professional entities);
- interpretations of the functions and role of the professionals (as rather passive workers, realising the state's will vs. active corporate actors, regulating market conditions in their favour).

This is shown in tabular form in Figure 5.

Table 5

**Specificity of Approaches within the Russian Study
of the Intelligentsia and of the Anglo-American Study of the Professions**

	Intelligentsia	Professions
Definition	A broader term including mass professions, requiring special secondary education.	Includes elite knowledge-based professions.
Theoretical approaches	(1) Marxist; (2) Social psychological; (3) Functionalist theory; (4) Stratification approach.	(1) Trait approach; (2) Functionalist theory; (3) Interactionist approach; (4) Neo-Marxist; (5) Neo-Weberian; (6) Post-modernist.
The object of the research (micro-level)	Professional practitioners as individuals.	Professional practitioners as members of a collegiate community.
	The social standing of professional groups (since 1990s).	The social standing of professional groups.
The object of the research (Macro-level)	The realisation of state interests and societal needs.	Contradictions, mutual benefits and interdependence between professions and the state.
	Studies of the occupational structure itself, as the basis of prestige.	Analysis of social stratification on the basis of the occupational structure

Conclusion

It can be argued that the professions in the Western countries have created an ideal representation of themselves that brought them the benefits of occupational

monopoly. In Soviet society, the state was the creator of symbols and the only monopolist in the terrain of the division of labour. The state was not interested in professionals who could challenge its official policy. The mass production of intellectuals helped the state to shape its conventional occupational structure and to maintain its reproduction. The increased number of professionals also seems to have partly led to the depreciation of their perceived competence and knowledge. Eventually, they may lose aspects of their privileged status and corporate identity.

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

At the same time, Russian sociological experience allows us to track the socio-psychological characteristics of professionals - including their social attitudes, work motivation and prestige. An analysis of these factors helps us to gain a better understanding of how the intelligentsia evaluates itself and whether they see their specialist cognitive knowledge as a source of respectability. Close attention to the social attitudes of intellectuals may explain the change in the opportunity for professionals to exercise influence over those who use their services and the wider society.

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Mischenko, Alexander S.

Modern Specialists' Professional Activities: Research Experience of Its System Sociological Characteristics

Our long-term (1983 – 2010) case studies dedicated to professional activity of specialists employed at various businesses in the North-West region¹ indicate that its content has much changed during the given period. This change, on the one hand, was caused by the movement of industrial capital, and on the other hand, by the emergence of processes of deep integration and development of various specialists' professional activity. The transformation happening with professional activities of "blue" and "white-collar" workers is a response to the following multiple challenges: of modern knowledge economy; of increasing expansion of non-material production and services; of new requirements for the integrity of professional skills and attitudes necessary for modern professionals, particularly in the growing field of non-material production. In this regard, the further development of industrial sociology is to be linked with a deep research of systemic characteristics of professional activity of specialists. In particular, it should be based on the new scientific paradigm that integrates the results of modern work processes' studies. Such investigations, in our opinion, can improve the effectiveness of contemporary social science research in the field of labor and professional issues, and also better help the young people to become fully-fledged subjects of modern production, providing this help through the introduction of scientific results into educational practice in schools and colleges. To do this, sociological research paradigm should be based not only on the principles of customary scientific analysis, but rather on the postulates of systemic synthesis; it should operate with systemic categories of professional activities: principles of system and measure; position of the subject in the given activity; meaning and value of it; transformed forms of professional activity.

Based on the above said, in this essay we will focus on three issues: the consideration the basic principles of research dedicated to system characteristics of professional activity; the characteristics of the essence of positional and semantic paradigm of its study; and in the conclusion of this essay, the discovery of the essence of transformed forms of work and their role in cognition of its content. We consider them as the essential components inherent in the knowledge of modern turbulence of labor relations between workers, as well as new sociological research strategies of rapidly changing professional activities.

In our opinion, a complete sociological study of contemporary specialists' professional activity is only possible if based on dialectics, interaction and interpenetration of scientific principles of system and measure. Using these principles

¹ Our case studies were carried out between 1983 and 2010 in Velikiy Novgorod, Vyborg, Kirovsk, Petrozavodsk and Saint-Petersburg. During this period several thousands of representatives of both intellectual and physical work employed in industrial, social and infrastructure spheres of social labor were surveyed.

in scientific sociological practice is a necessary objective prerequisite for industrial sociology in order to achieve a better understanding of development and functioning of modern professional activities. In particular, during the years of research we have had some experience in applying the systemic principle to some social phenomena of professional activities that occurred in the last twenty - thirty years. This made it possible to improve drastically the efficiency of our applied research. Analysis of the results showed that there are new opportunities for improving the system performance of sociological studies concerning modern professional activity of various specialists. The fact is that the systemic principle implicitly let include in the capacity of theoretical and applied research some key philosophical, general and particular scientific categories. It really requires that researchers develop a complete understanding of modern sociological knowledge which provides its integration with other subject areas of science, not only on the basis of applied research, but also in terms of theoretical analysis and synthesis, and targets on their profound and logically based understanding. All this allows to include such an interdisciplinary approach in the sociological study of professional activity as a synthesis of its basic categories taking into account all their theoretical and cultural content. Concrete work and its content, as emphasized by V.I. Korniyakov, "is not a mechanical sum of simple moments. It is their integrity. This integrity is expressed in the focus of a particular work (in the unity of its constituent moments) on the creation of a special use-value and special needs "[1, pp. 71]. The systemic principle allows to coherently identify and classify the essential internal and external communications of the examined professional activity of specialists; to analyze them as system-generating, system-forming and system-causing interaction of its components; to analyze scientifically on a content-specific basis its system properties that arise integrative processes; to construct such a structure of system qualities of any professional activity, which makes it possible during the application of theoretical and sociological research to achieve, even under certain constraints, the desired controllability of production system; to provide an effective framework of system properties and principles of given specialists' professional activity according to the laws of feedback. The systemic principle here shows its pronounced methodological function. This methodological feature represents for a researcher a clearly fixed intention aimed to apply consciously the scientific principles in disclosing systemic sociological fact of modern specialists' professional activity. In addition to its methodological function, an important role in such a research belongs to the integrative function of this systemic principle, as well as to its other functions (e.g. gnostic and heuristic). It is especially necessary to emphasize the regulatory function of the systemic principle. It allows to withdraw any actual contradictions between the deepening process of learning and the narrowing, the specialization of information received by a researcher concerning specific professional activities exercised by specialists of various industries.

Our research dedicated to professional activity of specialists representing various - productive and non-productive - industries shows that using the systemic principle helps to clearly identify its cultural boundaries, to analyze its backbone connections and to ascertain the mechanism of its system dynamics. Such an

application of this principle to the construction of a modern professional activity means to clearly establish the area of its application and its epistemological possibilities. In particular, our research experience suggests that the system principle presupposes not only its further development, but even going beyond his limits. It is indisputable that systemic theoretical generalization of the results of any sociological study dedicated to contemporary professional activity makes it possible to disclose adequately its dependence on basic factors of social development which express the essential layers of cultural evolution, as well as their interaction with socio-economic relations in the sphere of modern production. Relying on the principle of systematicity, we can integrate into a single terminological space all the cultural, sociological and psychological categories revealing the potential of modern professionals; we can identify and disclose the system of integral and targeted components of their activities. However, it must be noted that the principle of systemic research of specialists' professional activities always serves as its cognitive basis from the viewpoint of the special (and more integrated) scientific principle of measure.

Scientific principle of measure is in our opinion a particular summit helping to define and develop the systemic principle in a scientific sociological study of professional activity of specialists. The principle of action necessarily implies the reliance on a complex dialectics of two major categories - quality and quantity. The concepts of quality and quantity implicitly contain a contradiction. Their interaction (when there is "a quantitative quality" and "qualitative quantity") is inherently dialectical. The result of this dialectics is thus the category of measure. From a general scientific point of view, measure is, above all, a certain balance of quality and quantity. This is an actual existence of their unity. Simultaneously, measure is the essential content, which means that changing quantitative parameters of the objects, we can grasp their particular qualitative state. Withdrawal and self-restoring of measure occurs during the movement and development of real phenomena of life and professional activities in particular. Therefore, the motion of quantity and quality (which is essentially identical to self-restoring of measure of a phenomenon or a process) is the major development line of measure of their being and self-restoring in a new qualitative unity. The essence of things, if it is viewed through the prism of the measure category, is the result of not only the dialectics of quality and quantity, but of their measure as it is: the essence of things is mainly the ratio in which they find their own implicit definition. Scientific analysis of the category of measure allows us to understand the distinction between forms of life given to us empirically and its essence. In the first case everything is given directly, everything is taken for itself as opposed to another subject. In the second case, when we consider the essence of a phenomenon or a process, on the contrary, everything is relative: for example, a positive number, taken for it is meaningless, it is directly related to a negative number. Finally, the measure is one of the underlying categories for a sociological study of the content of modern specialists' professional activity. Dialectics of the categories of system and measure allows to take a fresh look at their correlation as the principles of a sociological study of system characteristics of modern specialists' professional activity.

A comparison between scientific principles of system and measure shows that in both cases, the essential veritable moments are captured, which allow one to speak both of their proximity and of their specific characteristics. In our opinion, the sociological cognition of the characteristics relating to specialists' professional activity based on the systemic principle is not of the same rank with the study based on the principle of cognitive principle of measure. We reckon that the system of sociological knowledge of specialists' professional activity as a particular scientific principle is always preceded by a similar study, based on analysis of its measure. This is similar to the following categorical relations: if scientific synthesis is a kind of concretization of scientific analysis and the system is a specification of scientific synthesis, the use of the measure principle in a research of specialists' professional activity is a specification of the cognitive systemic principle. In other words, cognition of measure of professional activity development is a system of its scientific analysis raised to a qualitatively higher level. This is a system of, so as to speak, a higher order, since it involves not only categorically expressed content (and knowledge) of the specific truth of professional activity development, but also true practice of people by special laws of beauty. Applying the principle of measure in a sociological study of specialists' professional activity taken in the context of European development, allows to precise dialectically and to deploy specifically the results of its systemic analysis and synthesis through the proposed positional and semantic paradigm for the study of modern specialists' professional activity.

In what do we find its principal novelty? First of all, in its difference from functional studies dealing with a cutoff of specific professional activity. We have developed a sociological research paradigm that aims at a theoretical synthesis of our core understanding of modern specialists' professional activity in terms of its singular emergent units (systemic characteristics) of cognition: not the functions and forms of its activity, but the integral positions and meaning of subject's activity. They are brought in professional activity of people by all their historical experience, by actually existing social mechanism of communication, by a system of social, economic and labor productive relations. This gives a new way to consider the nature of content of modern specialists' professional activity. Integral nature of its positions and meaning serves as the quintessence of scientific synthesis of three important groups of relevant subjective relations. They are formed and transformed in any productive process, in any modern profession. These are role relations and interactions of employees, their "subject-subject" relations and interactions; personal relations and interactions of workers about the real activities and the real production process.

Naturally, this system has a complex multilevel character. Its analysis (according to the laws of feedback) can produce a new logic of sociological research of modern specialists' professional activities, different from those adopted in industrial sociology classical examples [see: 3]. Our proposed paradigmatically new logic of sociological studies of professional activity, as has been said above, relies not on narrowly represented functions and certain types of professional activity, but on its systemic characteristics: the position and meaning of its subject as special units of scientific cognitive synthesis of its contemporary sociological, cultural, value and

meaning essence. This approach opens a fundamentally different way to reveal the structural relationship of professional activity of any specialist (especially employed in service, education, etc.): proceeding not from material elements and functions of activity's meaning, but from a deep cultural - historical and social - economically conditioned value and semantic core of professional activity to its (objectively related to meaning and value) material foundations and separate functions through the chain of key concepts: cultural, value and meaning components of professional activity → system of its socially conditioned forms → structural and organizational relations of basic components of specialists' professional activity → its material, informational and technological foundations.

The new paradigmatic logic inherent in sociological research of modern professional activity of enterprise companies, institutions and organizations employees representing, both productive and non-productive industries, allows us to represent it as a system of integrally pierced by emergent qualities of position, meaning, functions and objectives of the subjects of production, by the level of complexity of professional labor and by personal qualities of modern professionals and employees implemented in practice. It gives an opportunity with the synthesis of our knowledge of contemporary professional activity in various productive spheres to start from specific synergy of its cultural, historical, social, positional, meaning and value components. They are very important for the development of modern sociological knowledge of the production sphere: its interdisciplinary (cultural, economic, sociological, pedagogical), synthesis; for modeling modern specialists' professional activity, and its aiming at cognition of mechanisms of realizing social reference vector of modern specialists' professional activity, the paradigmatic feature of which manifests itself through constantly expanding synthesis of our knowledge about non-standardization, weak division into separate operations, integrity of professional activity of many modern professionals employed in productive and non-productive industry. Objectively, this corresponds to a profound modern trend in production which creates conditions for multifaceted integration of professional work, growing importance of human capital for increasing its effectiveness. A special value of this paradigmatic logic inherent in scientific research of industrial sociology is recognized because due to its universality it can be used for a research in various fields of modern professional activity

Our long-standing sociological research dedicated to the content of professional activity of specialists in different branches of social production shows that such a study should be completed with substantiation of specific systemic category - "transformed form of the content of professional activity". Interaction between the essence of the content of professional activity and its converted forms let one fully and systematically identify that the subject in acts of his creative independence is not only discovered and revealed but he is also created and defined by them. This, in our opinion, is very important to remember during progressive development of modern industrial sociology as expressed in print [see: 2].

Introducing to a sociological study of modern specialists' professional activity the category of "social transformed form" (or simply transformed form), could help to

genuine comprehend the unity of essential and phenomenological cut-off of our ideas about developing content of the modern specialists' professional activity. In our opinion, the headway of sociological research of professional activity will be real if we include an analysis of the transformed form as a special positive rather than negative element of its modern development (it is to be noted that a specific positive peculiarity inherent in the category of "social transformed form" consists in the following: a) it reveals purely human forms of social substance's movement; b) it fixes mechanisms of interaction between objective things of social world and its processes. It is such a form where the subject acts as an active agent of real empirically given mechanism of human activity and first of all of productive labor). Such a perspective of scientific analysis allows us to establish a number of phenomena which, with other systemic social phenomena of production, give an opportunity to identify and theoretically justify "the content-richness of professional activity" as a special form of the transformed form of its content. In justifying this position we started above all with the fact that the content-richness of professional activity is a real objective element of any working process. Therefore we focused on the fact that this category allows us to express objective and independent of the human relations between essence and various forms of labor processes since it serves as an intermediate "bridge" for their real interaction. This approach to the analysis of social transformed forms of professional activity is presented in the illustration below.

The theoretical value of this approach is that it allows to use consequently social methodology not only for studying essential layers of modern professionals' activity but also for understanding the interaction of processes on surface ontological levels of social reality.

Including in the sociological analysis of specialists' professional activity the category of "social transformed form" as positive cognitive element let us take a fresh look at this phenomenon: show more adequately and correctly that the content-richness of specialists' professional activity serves as a particular instrument of interaction in the essential area of social life - the economy. Interaction itself goes through comparing in professional activities seemingly disparate elements; through forming a special field for definition of content and socio-economic forms of modern professional activity; through constructive synthesizing system components of professional activity and through the system of direct and inverse interactions of its components. From an objective point of view, these characteristics of content-richness related to specialists' professional activity as a transformed form, provide the following: development of value objectivity of its content (its commensurability with its various types); resolution of controversies arising in the course of development of productive labor; development of productive labor and substantial commensurability of its different kinds (but in a form differing from its essential characteristics). From the epistemological point of view, these features allow to express categorially: the impact of macro-social and economic characteristics of production on professional activity of specific individuals; the metamorphosis of concrete labor into abstract labor and vice versa; the movement of the cause-and-effect relations in modern professional activity; the revelation. Also these features allow to reveal a special place in the

content-richness of professional activity in the interaction between its basic (material and technical, institutional, socio-economic, professional and cultural) components, to ensure their values-cultural, and theoretical coherence, necessary for developing the scientific knowledge of the sociological processes of social production (see the illustration).

The novelty of the expressed positions is that they justified the social transformed form as an ontologically positive rather than negative phenomenon of movement and development of professional activity; they stress that the use of this category in a sociological study of professional human activity makes it possible to reveal a specific interaction between its objective and subjective components, to express the development of any human activity by analyzing the nature of the interaction of its components.

Our long-term case studies showed that: due to the fact that in 1990s there were notable changes in all systems of relations and interactions between the content, conditions and social forms of professional activity of employees, its content-richness as a transformed form of its content was crystallized from the essential (inadequate for it) forms of social production. In our opinion, for domestic industrial sociology the barrier in cognition of these facts was a definite lack of understanding that the social transformed forms were positive, not negative universals of society belonging to the area of the functioning and interaction of its components. If this understanding had been present it necessarily would have become an instrument of social research. In particular, the questions then would have been put with the idea in mind that virtually every social phenomenon has its own transformed forms. In the absence of the real dynamics of social reality, scientists would have simulated its (epistemologically possible) social and economic dynamics allowing to differentiate the nature and the transformed form of examined social processes.

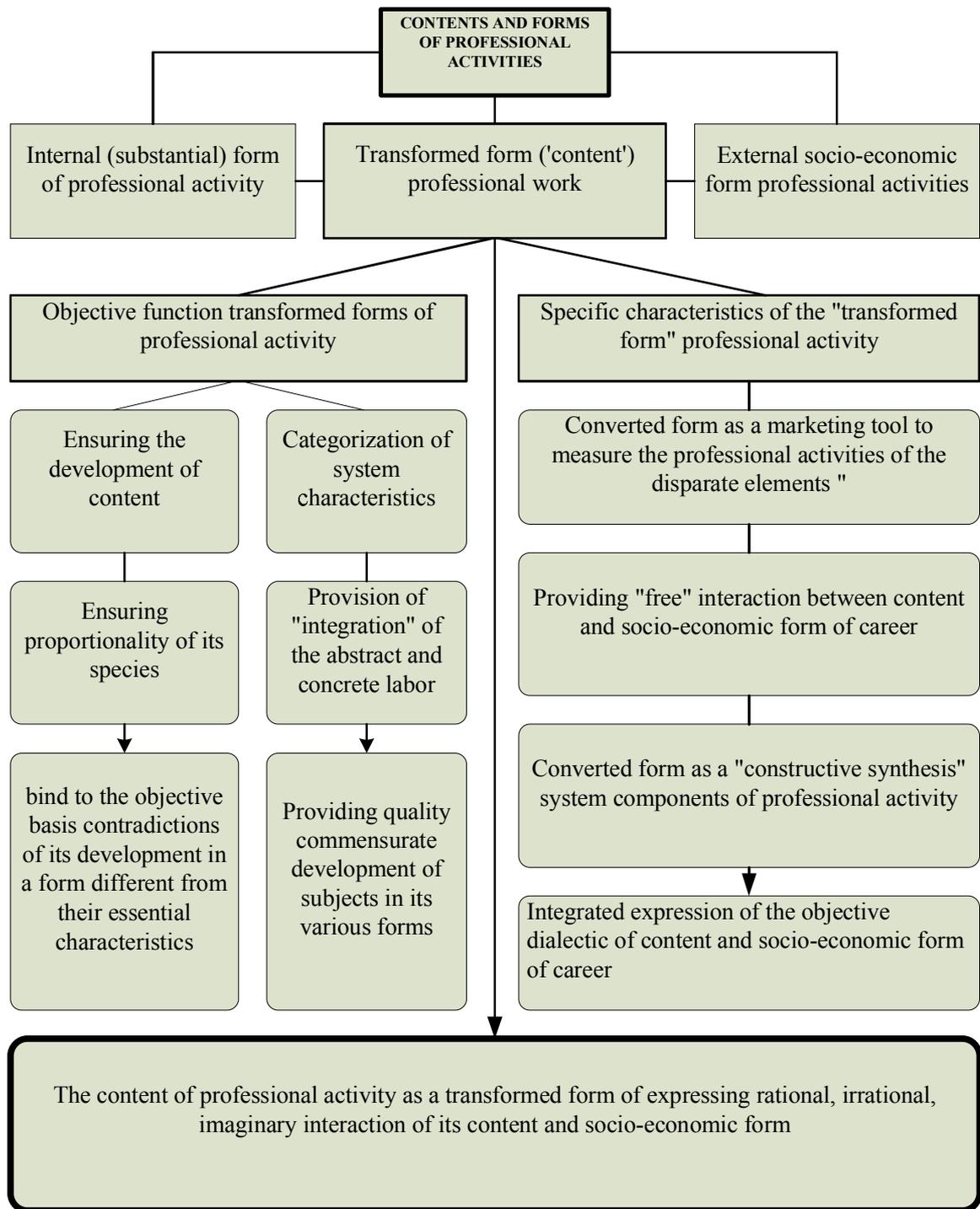


Fig. Baseline characteristics of meaningfulness of professional activity as a "transformed form" of its content

In this context we succeeded while studying the essence and content-richness of specialists' professional activity (in particular industrial production) to confirm the fruitfulness of the following logic of sociological analysis aimed to its system characteristics, which hasn't been largely involved in domestic industrial sociology: "Elements of Labor → Essence of content of labor → Socio-economic forms of content

of labor → Transformed forms (content) of work". This logic incidentally partly coincides with the logic of systemic research of capital: "Goods → Money → Capital → Surplus value → Forms of surplus value." We showed that this paradigm of a case study of professional activity (based on the knowledge of its transformed forms) allows to: find a new way to consider its essence in conditions of radical social transformation of domestic production; to prove that it is now substantially defined (unlike the old economical relations), not only by its technology, but also by the laws of movement of goods and capital; to justify the thesis that for a market economy environment, the socio-economic nature of professional activity can be transformed not only with the activity of a specific subject, but with working zeal, competition between workers and can have not only physical depreciation but also obsolescence.

We have developed a scientific transformed forms-approach to the analysis of social and work processes and specialists' professional activity help to determine the basic mechanism of their interaction, set (at least in industrial production) of its direct dependence on the movement of capital as a special industrial relations system. Thus, our studies show that sociological knowledge should not confuse the basic essence of things with its transformed forms.

Sociological analysis of the interaction between essence and content-richness of specialists' professional activity showed that in the applied social studies it is methodologically more fruitful to study not only "peaceful" characteristics of labor processes but also their transformed shapes. This follows from the general conceptual framework of scientific sociological study including the analysis of transformation and interaction of the essential elements of the work as a basic social reality. Hence, in our view, the provision states that the transformed forms are ontological universals of social world, they play a key role in the interaction of its components (through the development and interaction of elements of human activity). Our proposed logic of sociological research dedicated to specialists' professional activity can seize the new educational opportunities for the study of its content and relevance. This logic of studies is methodologically fruitful because the analysis of transformed forms of professional activity allows to distinguish their internal (structural and content) form and transformed form (in particular, the content-richness of work), to reveal the objective functions of transformed forms as socially positive phenomena and to ensure in knowledge and practice the commensurability of different kinds of work processes, to show their role in resolving the contradictions in development and improvement of professional activity of modern professionals, to achieve qualitative and quantitative commensurability of development of actors working in different fields of modern industry, to disclose the essential law of social interaction between different social phenomena including transformed forms as its basic elements.

Scientific research dedicated to the content of transformed forms of specialists' professional activity (in particular, industrial workers) as positive and not only irrational characteristics enables to identify more specifically the elements and links of movement and development of socio-economic, labor relations within the sphere of production which is objectively inherent to modern systemic transformation of civil

society. This allows us to identify the following fundamental pattern of interaction between elements of the content of professional activities of modern specialists: *the interaction of material and real, social and economic, subjective and professional and cultural moments of any work (at the level of essence) always mediates in the process of its deployment and development (at the level of happening) relations between its transformed forms.* This pattern, as it relates to labor sphere of material production - the ontological life foundation of any civil society can be regarded as the law and the essence of any other social interaction. We do believe that the importance of this law for the development of industrial sociology is conditioned by the following important facts. Discovering and explaining the nature of transformed form is only possible on the basis of identifying the ontologically given dialectics of social processes. In the steady state of social and economic relations transformed forms can be neutralized with essential components of social processes. Only the constant presence of their dynamics, real or epistemologically organized, makes it possible for sociologists to open and adequately to explicate categorically and practically the transformed forms of social processes separating the phenomenological dynamics from the essential elements of the element dynamics of professional activity. Where the social knowledge of production reality is stipulated by formal and logical methods such revelations do not usually happen. On the contrary, every discovery of social transformed forms in public practice on the basis of dialectical methodology is no accident, but regularity.

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The role of the Russian Business in Formation of a New Professional Model (an Industrial Focus)¹

1. Peculiarities of the Soviet quasi-professional model

“Professional model” in the present text is construed as a sustainable and reproducible system of relations emerging in specific spheres of labor activity concerning specialized knowledge and skills of workers and providing relative autonomy as well as a certain set of socio-economic privileges to a certain professional group under conditions of organizational hierarchy. The latter may be represented by higher income, social status, participation in decision-making process, etc. Relative autonomy of a professional group emerges as soon as professionals appear as “knowledge-holder” formed through socially acknowledged system of long-term specialized education, which lends itself as a basis of collective and individual skills. As soon as since Taylor’s times, manufacturing production has basically maintained a rigid hierarchic structure professionalization of industrial occupations occurs selectively and embraces primarily such types of complex and substantially intellectual labor which are of critical importance for successful activity of the industrial enterprise. Similarly to other spheres of labor activity, complexity of mastering knowledge and skills is a necessary precondition to professionalization. Herewith, long-term working experience in a specific field specified in literature on economics as “specific human capital” and “job specific skills” is of crucial importance for the industrial production.

Marxist approach to division of labor and class structure exerted significant influence on the Soviet professional model. In “*Das Kapital*” professions had no special meaning and were considered within the context of labor division and interaction of elements within a single industrial framework, as soon as in the times of K.Marx production factory formed a basis of capitalist economy. As for professions, Marx and his followers considered them to be inseparable from class division of society. This connection could be reinforced by peculiarities of continental understanding of professions, which was characterized by D. Sciulli as *bürgertum approach*².

In the Soviet Union, many Marx’s followers associated approach to professions with class struggle even to a greater extent than Marx himself. Status

¹ The initial text of this paper was prepared as a report for ESA conference held in Lisbon, September, 2009. Afterwards it underlay author’s article in *Mir Rossii* (Universe of Russia) №3, 2010 (available in Russian): А.Московская. Проблемы становления модели профессии: российский опыт в западном исследовательском контексте.

² Continental Sociology of Professions Today: Conceptual Contributions – Current Sociology, 2005 Vol.53, No 6, pp.915-916. Let us remind that Sciulli indicated differences in Anglo-Saxon and continental approaches to professions. If the first considered the professions as predominantly a civil institution, the second highlighted the position in social structure – free occupations of the middle class.

differences among representatives of various occupations indicated social and economic inequality, liquidation of which was set forth as an objective of socialism. In this respect, a crucial problem of labor division under socialism was considered to be overcoming differences between intellectual and physical labor, that's to say, a difference in socio-economic situation of workers of different occupations.¹ Expanding labor mechanization and automation, increasing qualification level and diversity of the workers' labor, growing share of intellectual labor in production tasks performed by the workers, as well as development of their cultural demands was considered a way of overcoming socio-economic inequality. Another peculiarity of the Soviet view on professions lay in the fact that labor of a shop floor worker was considered a professional standard. Following K. Marx and V. Lenin, the workers were considered as a leading social stratum throughout the Soviet period. This approach was however adjusted to a certain extent by scientific and technical progress. In the second half of the 20th century, in line with growing demand on higher education of personnel in various industries, emergence of engineering manpower departments and research laboratories at production enterprises industrial sociology and sociology of labor started to emerge. Motivation and differentiation of workers' labor alongside with jobs of experts, engineers and researchers became principal themes of research.² Herewith, the notion of profession started to be in wider use.

In the Russian language, the notion of "profession" doesn't allow making distinctions of professions and occupations. Such a phenomenon suits technocratic approach to professions adopted in the Soviet social sciences. Nevertheless attempts to study professions as such were undertaken in Russia in 1960-1970s by V.Podmarkov, V. Yadov, L.Blyakhman and O.Shkaratan. In Podmarkov's view, the essence of profession is formed by the combination of two factors: 1) technological structure, stipulating natural fragmentation of the production process and 2) performance of divided labor actors. The first implies Marxist understanding of productive forces, while the second – understanding of production relations. At the same time "profession implies certain amount of specific knowledge and labor skills of a worker" (Podmarkov, Sizemskaya, 1969, p.4). The author makes a differentiation between profession and occupation. The first is always personalized, while the second develops in form of labor functions apart of an individual. Regardless of this differentiation, ideological conditions doesn't allow authors

¹ Overcoming contradiction between intellectual and physical labor was considered as a criterion of transition from socialism to communism.

² See, for instance, V. Podmarkov, I. Sizemskaya. *On Professional Structure of the Soviet Society*. М., Znaniye, 1969. [В.Подмарков, И. Сиземская. *О профессиональной структуре советского общества*. М., Знание, 1969] L. Blyakhman, O. Shkaratan. *Scientific and technical revolution (NTR), Working class and Intelligentsia*. Moscow, Politizdat, 1973 [Л.Бляхман, О.Шкаратан. *НТР, рабочий класс, интеллигенция*. М., Политиздат, 1973] A. Zdravomyslov, V. Yadov *Man and His Work*. Translated and Edited by S.P.Dunn. International Arts and Sciences Press. N.Y., 1970. V. Podmarkov. *Introduction to Industrial Sociology*, Moscow, 1973. [В.Подмарков. *Введение в промышленную социологию*. М., Мысль, 1973] . *A Socio-psychological Portrait of an Engineer*. Edited by V. Yadov, Moscow, Mysl, 1977. On the History of industrial sociology in Russia see *Sociology in Russia*, Edited by V. Yadov . Moscow, 2nd ed. 1998. [Социология в России. Под ред. В.Ядова. М., 2-е изд. ИС РАН, 1998]

developing a subject of professional specificity and role of actors of professional activity. The Marxist sociologists considered socio-economic inequality and classes as underlying professional specifics: "Under the conditions of class society, professional specialization of an individual characterizes him not only from the viewpoint of professional training but also in terms of his economic situation in society. ... In other words, from the viewpoint of his being attributed to as certain social class" (Podmarkov, Sizemskaya, 1969, p.12). Consequently, a worker is an ideal professional, his labor being restored in its original professional integrity of intellectual and physical activity.¹

Not but the Western research traditions in sociology of professions were unfamiliar to the Soviet sociologists of that time. In "*Socio-psychological Portrait of an Engineer*" V. Yadov and his colleagues briefly bring forward the standpoint of American sociology of professions referring to R. Hall and T. Parsons and notes further on that "professional indicators marked by American sociologists are inaccurate and don't correspond to real matter of affairs". Structural functional analysis is reproached for its basis being formed by "cultural values, ideology of professionalism" and not by the analysis of "objective tendencies in the sphere of material and non-material production" giving rise to such ideology.² Besides, in the author's view, some professional features used in the Western literature are a remnant of the medieval craft system making professional secret and professional fragmentation essential condition of supporting foreman's status".³ In the author's opinion, Marxist view on interaction of productive forces and production relations overcomes the limitations of sociology of profession and its one-sidedness. Besides, according to the authors, the development of scientific and technical progress allows considering professional structure as a dual process of differentiation and integration and puts forward objectives which are common for a particular organization and facilitate joining efforts of experts in various fields.⁴ Whatever our attitude to Marxist ideology were, one should acknowledge that the conditions of industrial production and planned economy under which the Soviet enterprises operated gave more grounds rather for discussing integration issues of various types of labor, than for professional differentiation. In view of the Marxists' ideological concern with overcoming differences between intellectual and physical labor, previously exposed here, the Soviet professional model with its focus on a highly-qualified worker servicing machine production becomes more conceivable. This model made no principal distinctions between labor of a qualified worker and of an engineer deliberately⁵.

¹ Podmarkov and Sizemskaya 1969, c.16.

² V.Yadov. *Socio-psychological Portrait of an Engineer*. Moscow, Mysl, 1977, pp.15-16.

³ V. Yadov, Op. cit, 1977, p. 15.

⁴ V. Yadov, Op.cit, p.17.

⁵ The issue on relations and integration of the workers and intelligentsia under socialism was a matter of sharp debates. In view of their participants, it was dominated by "the extension of the social features of working class to the entire society, which expressed in the fullest way the communist tendencies of the social relations' development". (L. Blyakhman, O. Shkaratan, 1973, pp. 161-162)

It's not only Marxists' ideological preferences and development of industrial sociology, but also structural changes in the composition of workers in the 1960s as marked by the sociologists which contributed to emergence of the Soviet professional model. Such changes included an increasing share of persons occupied in high-skilled labor, extension of intellectual labor component in the workers' activity, increasing diversity of activity types within the framework of a certain occupation. As indicated in the studies in the book *"Man and his Work"*, the principal stratifying factor among the workers was the essence of labor, its importance evaluated higher compared to that of wages. Another Marxist principle of transformation of labor into the first vital demand under communism was reflected in increasing interest to labor among the workers occupied in highly-skilled jobs, involving combination of intellectual and physical forms of activities. According to research data, these workers were more satisfied with the essence of their work, better read, more active in manufacturing and public life of the enterprise (proposals for technical improvement, public activity, membership in party and Komsomol bodies, number of books regularly read and available in personal libraries were evaluated).¹

It's worth acknowledging that high dependence of labor motivation on the labor content became possible due to generally relatively high wages of workers in the USSR. In 1960-1970s differentiation by level of wages passed not as much along "workers occupations - engineers occupations" line, as by the level of qualification within each particular group. For instance, according to State statistical data, in 1970s average salary of shop floor workers amounted to 131 rubles, that of the engineering and technical specialists to 178 rubles, that of civil servants to 112 rubles. Alongside, engineering and technical specialists included representatives of management, while the group of workers - non-skilled and low-skilled workers. According to data based upon the study of the Leningrad mechanical engineering enterprises, the wages of highly-skilled workers amounted to 142 rubles, that of executive staff (the executive part of engineering and technical specialists) to 133 rubles and those of heads of the production shops and departments (managerial part of engineering and technical specialists) to 191 rubles.²

"In the Soviet times the level of theoretical and practical training of a turner (a blacksmith, press operator, millman) was so high that it provided for opportunities of career prospects up to the level of shop chiefs and even that of chief technologist (however, earlier or later such persons inevitably obtained higher education). At that time, this was considered a normal practice. It was practically impossible to make a career, initially employed by any department of the Central office (to put it in present-day terms, "at the Office"). Just the other way round, compared to shop floor workers, these persons were considered as merely unlucky fellows.

¹ L. Blyakhman, O. Shkaratan, 1973, pp. 200-203. For instance, by the study results, among highly-skilled workers, combining both intellectual and physical functions, 80% of respondents were fully satisfied with the content of their labor (against 61% engaged in qualified physical labor on machines and mechanisms, and 25% among low skilled workers). - Ibidem, p. 201.

² Quoted by: L. Blyakhman, L. Shkaratan O. Op. cit, pp. 168-169

Now it's unbelievable that at those times workers' salary was much higher than that of any category of plant staff. Moreover, more experienced the worker was, the higher his wage was. Let's put it in such a way that a highly skilled blacksmith received approximately the same (if not a higher!) wage, than a shop chief he was employed at. So being a worker was lucrative, prestigious, and in a certain sense promising".

«The shop floor workers' interest to reading in the Soviet times is indicated by such a fact that apart of a major scientific and technical library located in the office, every shop had its own small fiction library which was regularly attended by the workers up to 1990s".

The fact that it's a highly-skilled worker (blue collar worker) that became a focus of the Soviet professional model is in many respects connected to the significant part of industry as a driving force of economy in the 20th century. Besides, the labor of industrial enterprise workers gave an example of industrial cooperation and social cohesion. This was pre-conditioned both technologically and economically, if you bear planning economy in mind. On the one part, interdependence of labor process elements in the shops was genuinely conditioned by close cooperation of engineering and technical specialists with high-skilled blue collar workers in implementation of production tasks and technical innovations. On the other hand, peculiarities of the Soviet enterprises' management contributed to integration of production chain. In contrast to market economy, under conditions of planned economy target indicators were set in kind and not in monetary value which primarily referred to output and labor productivity indicators. This put forward core production plants to the foreground of management hierarchy, leaving auxiliary production and functional office departments in the background. All other conditions being equal, core production workers had a higher salary and a higher social status. Paramount importance of production units compared to services was reflected in the management system. As a rule, director was core production professional in the past. Chief engineer was the second person after the director in enterprise management structure, while shop chiefs performed the most important functions of coordinating between workers and higher management, at the same time maintaining significant degree of autonomy (Clarke, 2004; Kabalina, 1998¹) It's them but not personnel department or Labor and Wages Department which were responsible for principal personnel management functions, including hiring and firing, training, job promotion and what was rather essential, material incentives. The predominant role of production over auxiliary office was maintained also by political methods: the shop workers had better chances to enter the CPSU, to obtain a training assignment to university with all that it implied and career prospect up to the highest level of enterprise management.

In view of foregoing, the Soviet professional model was noted with hegemony of highly skilled workers who mastered the basic elements of physical

¹ S.Clarke. A Very Soviet form of Capitalism? Management of Holding Companies in Russia. *Post-Communist Economies*, Vol.16, No 4, December 2004. P.407. V. Kabalina. Change in Functions and Status of Line Managers. – *Sociological Studies*, 1998 No5. [Кабалина В. Изменение функций и статуса линейных руководителей - *Социологические исследования*, 1998 №5]

and intellectual labor, with neglecting differences between high-skilled labor of workers and engineering personnel, as well as with domination of production sphere over “unproductive” sphere¹. It was also characterized with formation of the so-called professional clusters consisting of experienced and highly skilled workers and engineers, called “core production workers” and representing a sort of elite which formed managerial manufacturing and party personnel reserve at the production plants.

Hegemony of (blue collar) workers in professional structure of the Soviet society wasn't unconditional, its erosion started as far as non-productive industries were expanding, especially in 1980s. It had a weak effect on the dynamics of workers' share in the employment structure due to movement of the rural population to the cities (in 1980-1990s the share of workers occupied in industry and economy reduced by 1.2 and 2.5% respectively), but was reflected in decline of prestige of technical vocational schools. In 1980-1990s they reduced admission of students by 16%, while there was a 14% increase in admission of university and college students within the same period.² The idea of artificial combination of intellectual and physical labor was held in derision already at the end of 1960s. The following discourse was put into the mouth of a comedian character in still popular feature film: “There's such an opinion that people's theaters will finally drive out the professional theatre. Imagine how better Yermolova would act in the evening, if she worked at the grinding machine in the daytime!”³

Gradual reduction in industrial employment popularity and growing social status of non-productive sphere followed the mainstream of global shifts in the population employment structure when industry yielded the palm to the sphere of services. It indirectly confirmed technocratic character of the Soviet professional model. It seems likely that professional characteristics are formed in many respects under the influence of natural shifts in technological structure and not only under that of socio-political consensus, let it be “dictatorship of proletariat” in Russia or civil society (and professional associations) in the West.

2. Collapse of the Soviet model in 1990s

In 1990s, rapid collapse of the Soviet (quasi-)professional model took place under the influence of two basic factors. *The first* existed as a tendency and had

¹ The latter was confirmed not only by economic differentiation of industrial enterprise workers, but by that in the economy in general. For instance, in 1970 the payment level of healthcare, education and culture professionals amounted to 75%, 87% and 70% respectively of the average level in the national economy, while in industry – to 109%. Among all the non-material production industries, it's only in science that a higher payment level of 114% was achieved, but subsequently it declined. At the end of 1980s, on the eve of market reforms, the ratio in wages of non-material production workers and production workers remained at the indicated level.

² *National Economy in RSFSR in 1990. State Statistics Committee of RSFSR, 1991. pp. 114-115, 243. [Народное хозяйство в РСФСР в 1990 г. Госкомстат РСФСР]*

³ Feature Film “Beware of traffic!” Mosfilm, 1966, Film director Eldar Ryazanov. People's theater in the USSR is a form of amateur performances, where non-professional actors played part. Maria Yermolova is a famous Russian actress of the end of the 19th – early 20th century.

become apparent earlier – it was the aforesaid gradual change in employment structure and loss by the industry of its previous active role of an integrating and motive power of the economy. Consequently, industry lost its superiority in granting promising labor and wage conditions. *The second* and most principal factor, which refers to 1990s in Russia, is liberalization of prices and destruction of planned economy. Against the background of declaration of state independence by the former Soviet republics, these changes led to a breakdown of existing economic connections and to cooperation among enterprises of the former USSR.¹

Privatization of industrial enterprises, following liberalization of prices didn't allow improving the situation, but merely provided an institutional anchor to breaking economic connections and splitting-off enterprises. Permanent financial crisis didn't contribute to formation of a healthy investment climate and didn't allow industry to use borrowed funds for technological modernization, which could ensure competitiveness of industrial enterprises. In 1990s, pinpoint innovations financed out of scanty internal funds were mostly observed at the enterprises.² Under such conditions, "capitalist" character of enterprises appeared not as much in modernization of production, but in shift of the activity focus from manufacturing to commerce.

Financial and industrial crisis lasted not merely a year or two, but throughout 1990s with dramatic consequences on industrial human resources:

1) The first year of reforms showed more than twofold reduction in real wages compared to pre-reform period. In 1996-1998, it was accompanied with chronic detentions of wages. Even according to the official data, in 1995-2001 monthly real wages didn't exceed 50% of the pre-reform period level (1990), which was recovered in 2007 only.³

2) Reduction of working hours (transition of enterprises from 6-day to 4 and 5-day working week, expansion of administrative leave practice) became normal.

3) The enterprises cut their expenditures on all types of professional education and primarily on financing educational institutions (initial vocational training, specialized secondary education and higher professional education). Under conditions of budget deficit the state was also unable to maintain financing of these institutions at earlier level, which caused depreciation of facilities of the latter and leave of their teaching staff. It undermined not only material resources of the industry, but also the staff training system.

4) Natural outflow to other economic branches was noted among the most mobile part of human resources (in form of voluntary leave, as soon as

¹ It's the disruption of economic connections resulting from declaration of state independence of the former Soviet republics and liberalization of prices that was called the main reason for industrial crisis of early 1990s by industrial enterprises' managers. – Source: RLFS.

² *Innovations in the post-Soviet Industry*, ed. by V. Kabalina, part 1 Siktivkar, 2000, part. 2 Moscow, 2001 [Инновации в постсоветской промышленности, под ред. В.Кабалиной. Ч. 1: Сыктывкар, 2000, Ч. 2: Москва, 2001]

³ Labor and Occupational Structure in Russia, 2007. M., Federal State Statistical Service, 2007. P. 369. [Труд и занятость в России 2007. М., Федеральная служба государственной статистики. 2007. С. 369].

administrative leave didn't have a large-scale character), predominantly among highly-skilled workers habitually receiving high wages, to other industries (infrequently, it was a transfer to less-skilled, but better-paid jobs accompanied with gradual loss of initial qualification). In 1992-1998 the employment structure of the industry was cut by 37%. Similar scales of employment volume reduction were typical only for construction and science (40% and 53% respectively), while in other industries, it had the opposite dynamics (for instance, in trade and public catering employment increased by 65%, in finance, credit and insurance sphere – by 67%, in the sphere of state and local government by 81%).¹

Essentially, in 1990s the Soviet professional model lost all the features associating it with the nutritive medium it had been formed in (ideological and technocratic components). Even those areas of highly-skilled labor in industry, previously considered as most privileged (computer-aided manufacturing, R&D manufacturing service, innovation projects, defense production) lost public prestige and didn't provide any career prospect as a result of declining number of orders and state support. Under such conditions, ruining of the previous professional model seems absolutely logical.

«General decline in professional and education level in the 1990s led to young turner being unable to read an engineering drawing of an element, a pressman having no idea of a hydraulic press operation and rolling-mill operator being unawares of rolling parameters. Naturally, during the work process these skilled are stepwise adopted from experienced workmates, although, in the Soviet times, the initial training allowed a person doing what he's instructed to. Currently, rather a strange situation has emerged when upon graduation of a technical college a turner should be still taught the elements of his profession, a pressman – those of his own, etc. Unfortunately, the situation with their cultural standard is no better. Most young shop floor workers the author had to communicate with didn't read a single book throughout their lifetime (in many cases, not above 10 books) and felt ill at ease about that. One is offended with total indifference of working youth not merely to politics, but to any decisions of plant administration”.[21]

3. Contradictory tendencies of the formation of a new professional model. The case of management

The role of business in the formation of a new professional model may be considered ambivalently. *Primarily*, capital and management business emerges as a driving force and as a champion of most changes, taking place at the enterprises. In this context, every occurrence at the enterprises of the non-state sector which exerts direct or indirect impact upon the professional structure is a result of business activity. *Secondly*, business may be regarded as a socio-political force and as a group of influence, contributing to certain socio-economic shifts, including those in state policy. In this case, the activity of employers' associations, public declarations of “business captains” made in their name or on behalf of business community, the

¹ Calculations are based upon the official statistics data published in: *Labor and Occupational Structure in Russia*, Moscow, Goskomstat, 1999, p. 61. [Труд и занятость в России. М., Госкомстат. 1999, с.61].

participation of business representatives in advisory and other state and public commissions on the issues of professional education, professional standards, etc. may be considered. This report gives an overview of the role of business basically from the viewpoint of the first aforesaid approach.

The principal structural shift, occurring at the industrial enterprises under the impact of new Russian business at both professional and managerial level in 1990s consisted in a change of relationship between the production and office departments. Bringing forward the enterprise commercial activity, including sale promotion, servicing the financial flows, development of their own trade network and even lease of premises, made "economic management" and functions of "office" workers a priority issue. Office transformed into a crucial decision-making structure while the production was displaced to the background. In turn, this gave rise to improvement of social status and employment conditions of the Office staff compared to those in production units.

In the outcome, in 1990s the traditional hierarchy of departments and occupations was reversed: predominant position was taken by previously "auxiliary" departments and their staff. If supplies and self-sufficiency of the enterprise now depended absolutely on office departments, auxiliary production shops (e.g., equipment repair shops and packing materials production shops, etc.) showed frequently more flexibility in adaptation to market demands and were able to secure additional contracts, unlike the core production departments. "A change of "VIPs" currently embodying the principal enterprise functions was a peculiar sign of changes. If previously, the chief engineer was the second person in hierarchy following the director, currently, these functions are performed by the principal economist with the title director for economic issues. Marketing director and director for foreign economic relations are the principal actors at the enterprise". (Kabalina, 1998, p. 37)

Machine-building plant, 8000 workers

«The [structure] became changed in such a way, that our sales department started... to carry out plant management ... the entire production process now starting from it and ending there» (out of an interview with manager).

Construction materials plant, above 1000 workers

«Sales office engineer initially [gets] much higher wages, than a shop floor engineer. They draw up a contract with him, providing higher payment from the starting day of his work. ...We consider that here (in the shop) everything is simple, and there (in the sales department) everything is complicated". (Out of an interview with a foreman)

Construction materials plant, above 500 workers

Interviewer: a completely different team of managers arrived to the enterprise with you. What is its principal difference from the previous team?

Director: All of them are superb managers and marketing specialists, capable to orienting in market conditions, with a fresh approach to life and work (out of an interview with director)

Petrochemical plant, above 600 workers

«The social structure of [the enterprise] is as follows. The top level is formed by the managerial landing force assigned by the proprietor – managing director, finance director, deputy director for economy, first deputy director (all of them being professional managers). Local managers – production workers have a lower status in administrative team. They have good knowledge of technological processes, of the production specifics, however, they have only consultative vote in strategic decision-making” (Out of the interviewer’s report¹).

Electro-technical plant, 5200 workers

A special part in managerial hierarchy among the mentioned departments belongs to marketing and export department, incorporated in the commercial director’s service. *“Marketing department is an element linking supplies, production, technological, procurement processes so as to make an enterprise efficiently oriented to market and consumer... I strongly believe there should be an independent structural division at the enterprise, developing guidelines and coordinating enterprise activity, which is oriented to making profit through a customer”*

“The basis of the value system advanced by the higher management is formed by the development of the so called “economic thinking” among the enterprise workers primarily among managers of different levels. ... A program of personnel training, integrating the entire management structure from senior management to line managers has been adopted as mechanism for implementing new ideology. Apart of theoretical courses in “economy and management”, in “foundations of market economy”, “foundations of management and management psychology”, the program provides for round tables and collective theoretical seminars with part of managers of various levels” (From the report of a interview and an interview of top-manager).

Source: Research Project “Management structures, employment relations and class formation in Russia”, ESRC, under supervision of S.Clarke, V.Kabalina, T.Elgar (2002-2006)

The first generation of the Russian business in industry was represented by the so called “red directors” – experienced managers of industrial enterprises, who had been nominated to their positions in the Soviet times. As a rule, they obtained upper technical education, their preceding career and labor experience being connected to core production departments of their plant. Due to their active influence, privatization in industry followed the lines of “insider control”, i.e. majority shareholding remained in hands of the labor collective and significantly under control of the enterprise management. By the end of 1990s, most of it didn’t control enterprises (by that time many of its representatives had retired as directors and lost their influence as owners, as soon as during several waves of the crisis the shares of enterprises changed hands and in the outcome were concentrated in those of external holders represented by major financial and industrial groups).

¹ Statements of managers and workers of the studied enterprises as well as quotations from the interviewers’ reports are provided in the text. It appears as conclusions of interviewers – professional sociologists – who carried out research following case-study method, are also documentary evidence of the situation at the enterprises.

Nevertheless, it's under the auspices of the first post-Soviet business generation that had inherited all the features of the Soviet management that mastering of new economic skills and formation of a professional model started at the enterprises.

The activity of training managerial personnel in the foundations of market economy as such didn't lead to transformation of the former engineers and production engineers – the enterprise managers by the first education – into professional economists or marketing specialists. This activity pursued completely different targets, namely: 1) liquidating economic illiteracy of managers caused by radical change of conditions of enterprise economic activity, 2) consolidating managerial personnel reserves of the enterprise for the strategic objectives of the organization, 3) learning some “techniques” drawn out from economic disciplines so as to be able of doing something on your own in a new field and to make up for shortage of appropriate specialists while they are trained by the universities¹. The same skills allow a manager evaluating professionalism of new officers of the economic profile and assigning their tasks correctly. These processes have ambivalent consequences. On the one hand, the results of wide assimilation of economic skills within the framework of short-term courses of supplementary professional education may be interpreted as de-professionalization process, because hasty training leads to fragmentation and simplification both of the discipline (which transforms into a sort of pop-economics and pop management), and of the knowledge obtained as well as to devaluation of appropriate certificates on education. On the other hand, sustainable demand on diversified knowledge in economic disciplines, necessary for efficient enterprise management ensured demand of business on both the economists being members of the enterprise staff and on outsourced specialists (consultants), who are invested with broad powers for participation in decision-making. This allows an assumption that a new professional core is formed in such a way around the economic departments of the Office.

The following elements may be attributed to its formation at the industrial enterprises:

- emergence of a set of new departments and specialists in economic and commercial issues, particularly, of commerce, finance, marketing departments and of reorganized supplies and procurement departments, etc.
- increasing status of functional economic departments, assuming a crucial role in ensuring viability and profitability under market conditions.
- large-scale training in economic disciplines of the enterprise technical managers and infrequently of “personnel reserve” represented by engineering and technical specialists. Popularity of training in

¹ Although it seems rather odd nowadays, in 1990s in the course of the study we came across such a situation when a director of rather significant machine construction plant carried out marketing research in person so as to set guidelines for further product innovation.

economic disciplines, such as “finance and credit”, “accounting”, “management”, “marketing” is confirmed by mass introduction of specialization in these disciplines by many universities and technical schools within the framework of under-graduate and supplementary education system. Frequent claims to quality of knowledge raised by employers and students are a reverse side of such large-scale involvement in the training process.

- gradual change in composition of the enterprise top management: previously predominated by representatives of the production departments and services, now it's more frequently represented by professional managers and specialists in economics.
- gradual formation of a new branch of knowledge, which may be conventionally designated with a generalized notion of “economic management” and which is related to studies and application of different ways of the Russian enterprises' adaptation to the activity under market conditions.

The fact the boundaries of the manager's profession didn't pass along the line “economy – production” was realized by the enterprise managers some time later. Paradoxically, top management (and the owners) drew their attention to production and technological renewal simultaneously with arrival of a new generation of managers to the enterprises: predominantly, of hired (having no enterprise stocks in their possession), younger (average age of 35 years) and as a rule, of graduates in economics in the first years of market reforms. Previous job experience of a new generation of managers was rarely linked to specifics of any particular production.

Having experienced repudiation of the former professional model, based on the priority of core production in the industrial enterprise operational system, a new “economic” management is more concerned about the production and the importance of technical and technological knowledge for successful operations of the enterprises. This development takes place due to marking the limits of economic power and establishing optimum balance between commercial and production functions in present-day production enterprise management. In the outcome, in some cases high status of production departments and their staff was reestablished in the department structure. Partially, this is contributed by the structure of vertically integrated holdings: the concentration of economic functions in the Central Office allows the enterprise management focusing on production management issues.

It's quite improbable that the Soviet model was restored, a worker is unlikely to secure a place of his own in the centre of contemporary professional structure, although in their interviews many veteran workers considered restitution of the Soviet management methods in the shops (like production competitions among shops, restoration of shop foreman's authority, emergence of hall of fame and wall newspaper) to be a return to “the old times”. For new management, the elements of

the Soviet industrial traditions are nothing but building blocks in the formation of a favorable corporate culture.

Unlike the Soviet pattern, a new professional model devotes a special part not to workers but to engineering and technical personnel, primarily, as a personnel reserve of the middle line of management. Like in case of “managers-economists”, a new model of a manager responsible for technological issues is currently under formation. This is linked to changes in professional structure during the years of market reforms, leaving no deserved position to shop floor specialists, and to appropriate collapse of the present-day training system of engineering and technical personnel, as well as to natural global changes in industrial production technologies.

Petrochemical plant, 2500 workers

“Due to new changes there was a shift in focus: if in the Soviet times, workers were considered a privileged group of staff at the enterprise their wages exceeding those of their immediate heads, currently, such a policy is carried out that engineering and technical manpower, line and medium level management take the leading positions” (Out of interviewer’s report).

«You see, initially, because of the fact our collective consists of veteran workers at 50%, trained along the old model, every now and then, there arose conflicts concerning payment of industrial and technical personnel and workers. Now, such conflicts seem smoothed over. Why so? It’s because we’ve proved that engineering and technical specialists form the framework of enterprise. If they stop working, the enterprise stops operating as well”. (from the interview with a top manager)

“Time has come to improve the system at our production site. If previously, our task was forming, organizing a department and recruiting personnel for it – and we had to form it in a rush - now our task is to work with it. We should know people, study and control them. As far as possible, we should replenish the staff with qualified specialists, not just with the first comers ... The task is to improve qualification level of the production and managerial personnel. Currently, this is our primary concern” (out of interview with top manager).

Machine-building enterprise, small enterprise

«One has to work 10 or 15 years to become a good specialist. Where to take personnel from? So we decided to bring up designers ourselves. (from an interview with commercial director).

Machine construction plant, 8000 workers

“We revive many those traditions which were on a high quality level, we introduce P.T. breaks, meetings, we maintain personnel awareness, we have resumed publishing a newspaper, we introduce incentives for personnel, we make entries on them in the hall of fame, give awards... The people should realize they are not cogs in the machine, that they are respected, their labor is evaluated, they are esteemed as specialists and as masters of their trade” .

“These new values, actually derived from the old ones, include rebirth of foremen’s institute at the enterprise. This is expressed in the policy of

reinforcement line managers' role, actively promoted by the upper line of managers ...” (Out of report of an interviewer and an interview with manager)

“A foreman has authority which is earned by long years of hard labor. A foreman is able to determine at a single glance, whether this person is a good worker or not, there's no more majestic position at the enterprise, than that of a senior foreman” (from a plant newspaper materials).

Source: Management structures, employment relations and class formation in Russia, ESRC, 2002-2006

4. Business as a resource of professionalism?

Formation of a new branch of knowledge for manager's profession doesn't coincide with business education in its existing form, including MBA. Business education, comparable to MBA system in the West, developed in Russia in 2000s. Business education programs were created primarily for major universities and were focused in several megapolises. Alongside, private training services market emerged rather oriented to obtaining specific technical skills. At the same time, efficiency of business education has been recently subject to criticism, both in Russia and in the West; although in Russia it was expressed in rather a cautious way. If in the West the criticism is rather connected to non-conformance of the emerging MBA system to public requirements and moral demands, in Russia claims are principally expressed concerning non-conformity of courses of lectures to real demands of business and the lecturers' insufficient practical experience. As a result, MBA degree is not particularly highly evaluated in Russia by the employers.¹

The demand in re-establishment and development in Russia of a new system of knowledge on the enterprise economy and management is connected to two groups of circumstances. On the one hand, institutional (in broad sense) operational conditions of the Russian enterprises and their preceding experience have their own specific character. That's why themes and methods of their development offered in the Western textbook on management look irrelevant in the Russian context. On the other hand, due to development of globalization and new information technologies views on the present-day organizations and efficient management methods are subject to significant transformation worldwide.² Alongside with change of the enterprises' professional structure the indicated circumstances precondition unstable character of manager's profession and the system of skills and knowledge a manager should possess.

Recently, Russian studies have been published, analyzing role and the situation of new Russian managers (Metalina, 2004; Kapelyushnikov and Demina,

¹ Yukish, T. 2008. 'MBA through an X-ray.' *Finans*, see <http://www.finansmag.ru/93107>. [Т.Юкиш. MBA на просвет. – Еженедельный журнал Финанс, 2008.]

² Revision of the foundations of present-day management due to the appearance of new challenges was advocated by Peter Drucker - P. Drucker. *Management Challenges for the 21st Century*. In Russian: M., Williams Publ. House, 2007.

2005; Shkaratan and Inyasevsky, 2006).¹ However, they didn't consider management as a specific profession.

Meanwhile, the question whether management should be considered a profession, remains open-ended. A recent book by Rakesh Khurana *From Higher Aims to Hired Hands*² attracted much attention of the US press and expert community as soon as it touched upon currently a sensitive aspect of the society's confidence to business. Alongside, it seems that some patterns of sociology of profession need to be reconsidered with regard to the subject "management as profession" set forth in this study.

- how relevant is it to converge general characteristics of profession to peculiarities of lawyers' and doctors' private practice?
- should one consider a professional model to be everlasting, and its reshaping to imply unmaking of professions?
- does formation of professions testify to division and construction of boundaries or to social integration as well?
- does business always personify the logic of the market and counteracts professions in this quality?

R. Khurana aspires to answer many of the above-listed questions but sometimes one can notice certain contradictions in his logic. On the one hand, he tests management on the level of its professionalism, taking the model of lawyers' and doctors' private practice as a reference. On the other hand, he points to important specific features of management as a profession, which go beyond the scope of the model represented by medical and legal professions (this doesn't prevent him from relying on transformation of management into a profession in the future). Firstly, a manager is unable to be a subject of individual private practice, his goals consist in development of organization; secondly, dissimilar to above-mentioned archetypical professions, the existence of which is maintained by diverse institutions – universities, state, professional associations, management has at its disposal the only very imperfect institution – university business schools, actually burdened with the formation of manager's profession.

In terms of the Russian experience, presumption on variability of the professional model seems rather natural. Within the period of one generation at

¹ Metalina T. *Formation of a Stratum of Professional Managers in Post-Soviet Enterprises*. All-Russia Research Conference "the 21st century: New Horizons of the Humanities. Samara, December 2004" [Металина Т. "«Формирование слоя профессиональных менеджеров на постсоветских предприятиях». Всероссийская научная конференция «XXI век: новые горизонты гуманитарных наук», Самара, декабрь 2004]; Kapelyushnikov R., Demina N. *The Renewal in Top Management of the Russian Enterprises: Testimonies of the "Russian Economic Barometer"* in: The Russian Journal of Management, 2005, Vol. 3, No 3 [Капелюшников Р., Демина Н. Обновление высшего менеджмента российских предприятий: свидетельства «Российского экономического барометра» - Российский журнал менеджмента, 2005, Т.3, №3]; Shkaratan, O., Inyasevsky S. 2006. 'Social and Economic Characteristics of Professionals and Managers.' *Sociological researches*. Vol. 10. [Шкаратан О., Иняевский С. Социально-экономическое положение профессионалов и менеджеров. - Социологические исследования, 2006, №10].

² From Higher Aims to Hired Hands: The Social Transformation of American Business Schools and the Unfulfilled Promise of Management as a Profession. – Princeton University Press, 2007.

least two professional models could be observed in the Russian industry only.¹ This is above-mentioned Soviet and a new “market” model exemplified by the profession of manager, which undergoes formation (or re-shaping) both in Russia and in the West. According to Fournier, malleability of this profession is probably connected primarily to constitution of its subject area and knowledge, demonstrated by the practice of the Russian enterprises exemplified in hesitancy about the choice of priorities between production and economic management². Definition of the subject area is closely linked to definition of supporting institutions and a client (addressee) of professional activity.

In the Russian context, malleable character of management as profession may be obviously interpreted in terms of struggle for professional monopoly between market oriented managers on the one hand and manufacturing managers on the other hand, or within the context of economics claiming unique position in explanation of the social processes, including enterprise management. Without criticizing such a viewpoint on the formation of professions, here I’d like to call attention to an option of different approach to analyzing formation of professions. It consists in the attention to objective grounds of advancing and professionalization of certain occupations at a specific moment. These objective grounds are obviously consisting in combination of natural shifts in occupational structure, depending on technological changes, with certain social demands and expectations. In the Soviet times, combination of these circumstances led to formation of a quasi-professional model with a qualified worker in its centre. Present-day demand is addressed to business, more precisely to manager as its personalization. That looks paradoxical, taking into account Freidson’s “third logic”. And this is crucial point for future examination.

The fact present-day professional approach addresses business has its own grounds in the Russian circumstances. Firstly, like in case of the aforesaid public institutions’ inadequacy for supporting manager’s profession, Russia provides no appropriate institutional support for most professions personalized in state, professional associations and universities. Out of three abovementioned institutions it’s only universities that are concerned with the problem of professional standards and quality of education, but this basically refers to the largest and most influential among them. At the same time, the Russian universities experience the same problems of credentialism and commodification, long discussed in the West in connection to crisis of professional education.³ So, the role

¹ As a matter of fact, there are three professional models. The third model, not discussed here, corresponds more or less to the Western standards of private professional practice. The example of lawyers, particularly, of advocates is its immediate example in Russia.

² The importance of determining subject area as a factor of professional constitution has been noted by V. Fournier. Alongside, her further discourse has shown that she’s far from objectification of this process. - V. Fournier. *Boundary work and the (un)making of the professions*. In: Malin, Nigel. *Professionalism, Boundaries and Workplace*. Florence, KY, USA: Routledge, 2000.

³ R. Abramov. *Paradoxes of Credentialism*. In: *Professions. Doc. Social Transformations of Professionalism*. М., ООО. Variant, TsPGI, 2007 [Р.Абрамов. Парадоксы крeдeнциализма. В: *Профeссии.доc. Социальные трансформации профессионализма*. М., ООО «Вариант», ЦПГИ, 2007.]

of business as an institution supporting professionalism has been reduced to a minimum facing inadequacy of various specialists' knowledge and skills quality to demands of business development. Resulting from that, the interests of practitioners in development of their trade and business interests frequently match each other, and in their points of convergence business is capable of supporting professionalism (not as much in remuneration of labor of a specialist, but in terms of interest in the results of his/ her activities).

Secondly, as a capital and as a source of public goods production, business is one of the most active and influential forces in the society. This fact has been acknowledged worldwide, but in Russia business has no serious competitors represented by non-commercial sector. In the outcome, all negative and positive changes in the society - both destruction of the previous achievements ("new owners have come and sold out everything") and expected improvements ("now everything should be restored after devastation") are connected with business.¹

Professionalization of management corresponds to the objectives of resolution of conflicts between business and society in the best way. Due to unavailability of rigid stereotypes in Russia concerning the essence of the notion "professional", the notion of "professional manager" is even now attributed to stable views of the public consciousness. Herewith, dissimilar to the notion of business or CEO used in the English-speaking countries, in Russian this notion is deprived of its negative connotations. It goes without saying that in the public consciousness there's an obvious differentiation between an image of professional manager and real professionalization of management. That's why today it's possible to speak only about the formation of a professional model and its driving forces.

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Mukhanova, Maria N.

The Dynamics of Socio-professional Structure of the Russian Village*

One of the key areas of contemporary life in Russia are problems the village, of it experiences a deep crisis. There are disappearance and the bankruptcy of collective farms of the old type, the low level of living of the rural population. The consequence of these causes are the destruction of old social relations and the disintegration of social community. These problems are not only economic, but also socio-cultural. To promote modernization of rural area is necessary to have comprehensible agenda about change of social environment, norms, values, etc. of villagers.

Agro-industrial business of modern Russia is composed of the sectors of agriculture and industries related to agricultural production (of 70 branches). Economic reforms in Russia over the past decade have led to significant changes in the lives of the rural population. The structure of employment is changed in agriculture. According to data from a panel study of the Russian Longitudinal Monitoring the economic position and health of the population (RLMS - HSE) 1994-2009 years, held State University - Higher School of Economics and "Demoscope" with the participation of the Population Center at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and Institute of Sociology, we consider the socio-structural processes in the Russian countryside. The survey embraces year after year about 970 rural households and more than 2300 adult villagers with 14 years or more.

The analysis shows that the number of employed in agriculture decreased as much as twice with 29,3% in 2004 to 16,8 in 2009 number of employees increased in other sectors (construction, education, housing and communal services, the Interior Ministry). Number of employees in health care, government, light industry, food industry, communications, transport is the same. Number of employees in trade and consumer services fluctuates due to the fall in purchasing power.

Let look at the professional structure in the agro sphere, starting from the RLMS data for 2009, which was drafted by the international codification ISCO and adapted to Russian realities. As the results of this study, the number of agricultural jobs and professions, compared with 1994 as a whole declined. Professionals with higher education account for 5,4% and with secondary special education - 4,8%. Among such professions as an agronomist, livestock specialist, a veterinarian, a mechanical engineer, agricultural economist with single, managers and officials account - 4,2%.

* Materials are prepared with financial support from RFH Project "Russian village: a socio-structural processes", project number 10-03-00188.

Majority among the workers are skilled agricultural and industrial workers (44,5%). Among them there are truck drivers, excavators, tractor drivers, lumbermen, operators, mechanics, welders. Unskilled agricultural workers or laborers were 34.3%, office employees and the service sector - 7,8%. RLMS data show that in the modern Russian agrarian production ceases to be a major source of rural employment. The share of non-agricultural activities of the rural population have been largely on growth due to the beginning after 1995 drastic drop in employment in agricultural organizations. In 1999 there employed in, agriculture 10 million rural residents in 2002 - only 4 million for 2005-2007 number of people employed in agriculture decreased from 11,3% to 10,4% or 450 thousand people. The mobility of the rural workforce in 2007 - 2008, is influenced by taking on the job 36.3% and 39,7% and dropping out (fired), respectively 46.9% and 46.8 %. Rate of unemployment has not decreased and is since 2003 has been at 5,2-5,4%. In general, the average number of employees in rural industry continues to gradually decline from 13.9% in 2000 to 9,8% in 2008.

Let consider the general employment of the rural population in agricultural sector for a panel RLMS data for 1994-2009 years. For the analysis used codification professions and occupations ISCO - 88 also there has been. Currently, professionals with higher education opportunities in rural areas account for 12.4% of the total share of employment in the rural area. In 1994 there were 11,9%. Within this group there hadn't occurred, significant changes among professionals with higher education in rural area (7,2% and 7,4% for this period). Except for the health sector, where the number of doctors in this period declined, then again increased. Therefore, the employment rate among them has remained constant - 1,6%. Low wages have caused them to move into the city. The number of agricultural specialists (agronomists and veterinarians, livestock specialists, working outside the agricultural sector), remained unchanged. Almost there were not drastic in the number of other specialists with higher education - economists, accountants, engineers and mechanics. remained at 3.5% in 1994 and 3,2% in 2009.

Sufficiently drastic changes occurred in the corresponding period in the group of managers, high-ranking officials and lawmakers. For example, the size of the group consisting of corporate managers and directors of smaller companies rose in number from 3.8 in 1998 to 7,0% in 2001. This period was a turning point in the agrarian sector because of financial crisis (default), which caused to rise of agricultural production in the country. These processes were the result of an influx of new managers in agribusiness. Their number increased due to the appearance of directors of the enterprises that have multiple departments, heads of department of agriculture, heads of other departments. In 2003 their number decreased due to by reducing the company directors, chiefs of agriculture, heads of other departments (Leisure and Health). These changes become consequence of substantially horizontal and partly vertical mobility of managers.

The number of directors of small companies changed from 2.9% in 1998 to 4,0% in 2001, Mostly of the increase was due to directors of business enterprises. However, in subsequent years it declined as much as almost twice. Over the entire

period under consideration change the number of company directors of education, health and leisure did not change. As a result, a group of corporate managers and directors of small enterprises in 2009 amounted to 4,5% of the total number of all employed in agribusiness.

The number of specialists with secondary vocational education in the field of education, health, technology, operators, mechanics increased from 12,8% in 1994 to 13,7% in 2009. Share of employees trade and services sectors gradually rose from 6,1% to 13,7% in 2009. Within this category of employees there was an increase of the share of sellers from 2,7% to 8,0% during the same period. Conversely, the number of office staff has declined from 6,6% to 5,1%.

Thus, the proportion of employees of all categories shows a steady downward trend. A direct consequence of this process is self-employment growth. The data which are by presented RLMS indicate institutional and structural changes in labor and employment in agriculture and rural areas in general. RLMS data show that the "working life is saturated with uncertainty" (according to Z. Bauman).

The population seems to be accustomed to different innovations in agriculture. But Bauman's uncertainty entails a new difficulties. Under short-run employment many employees are deprived of perspectives. Rules and norms for career promotion or up word mobility become vulnerable because of temporary rural employment.

Mulyar, Alla-Liana Yu.

Ethnic Minorities in Sociocultural Space of the Adygheya Republic¹

The Russian Federation is the unique state in which there are historically developed regions with a multiethnic and multicultural landscape. One of such regions is the North Caucasus. The ethnic structure of the North Caucasian republics is extremely complicated, comprising the Russian population, title ethnoses and ethnic minorities. The regionalization of research interest to ethnic minorities is substantiated by need to comprehend their place and role in interethnic relations in the North Caucasus. Their discrepancy slows down the North Caucasus transition to a sustainable development. Thereupon of special urgency is a sociological study of specificity of ethnic minority adaptation in the Adygheya Republic.

The ethnosphere of Adygheya consists of a great number of ethnic groups. The Russian population and Adyghes (title ethnos) are the dominant ethnic groups, forming together the ethnic majority. The minorities are characterized by the variety of sociocultural features, namely: number, a site of the historical native land, duration of residing, settling type, degree of affinity with the ethnic majority and presence or absence of institute of public organization. The Greeks, Byelorussians, Georgians, Jews, Germans, Tatars, Ukrainians and others are traditional minorities in the republic. They live in the region for a long time. Their adaptation to sociocultural environment proceeded slowly, at an extent of many generations.

At the present time these ethnic groups have already occupied certain niches in the ethnosphere of the republic and, in the majority, entered laconically in political, economic and sociocultural contexts. Besides, minorities of this type have a core or the ethnic skeleton, allowing adaptable processes of newcomers to be almost painless. We consider conditionally that new are those minorities the majority of representatives of which live on the territory of the republic for less than 15 years. They are an immigrant population (Kurds, Chechens, Turks, Ezids etc.). Minorities can select both disperse and a compact way of settling. Thus, the Ukrainians are settled dispersedly throughout Adygheya. The Tatars, Armenians, Greeks and Kurds live compactly in the republic.

The data for this study come from a sociological investigation "Sociocultural processes of ethnic minorities in the conditions of a multiethnic society (based on the Adygheya Republic materials)" implemented by the author within the limits of dissertational research involving eight ethnic groups: Azerbaijanians, Armenians,

¹ The work was conducted with support of Russian Foundation of Basic Research, grant No. 11-06-00098-a.

Greeks, Jews, Kurds, Tatars, Ukrainians and Chechens. The characteristic feature of the methodology used was attraction of the ethnosociological analysis technique. Methodical works "Ethnic affiliation" and "Types of ethnic identity" by G.U. Soldatova have helped the author estimate an urgency of belonging to an ethnic group for representatives of minority. Value components of their ethnic autostereotypes have been studied by means of "Cultural-axiological differential" technique.

The data analysis has shown that the value-orientation unity of minority in the multiethnic society is formed on the basis of its ethnic identity. The regional feature is the identity formation similarly to the norm type (its indicators fluctuate in a range from 32 to 77.33). However the vector of identity transformation can be directed to various poles of an ethnic scale. Thus, hypoidentical installations prevail at the Ukrainians and Jews; The Kurds and Chechens display hyperidentical installations, accompanied by focusing attention on belonging to their ethnic group and by ethno isolationism. This can be a consequence of incompleteness of their adaptable processes. The Azerbaijanians, Tatars and Armenians display hypo- and hyperidentical tendencies to an equal extent. This testifies simultaneously to the importance of their own ethnocultural environment and openness in interethnic contacts.

The conducted research has shown that adaptation to multiethnic environment is accompanied by change of axiological-cultural installations at their representatives. The structure of value orientations of minorities has certain expected distinctions. Its transformation is directly related to prevalence of affiliation or anti-affiliation tendencies. An interesting law is traced: ethnoaffiliation tendencies are less expressed at representatives of those minorities which possess ethnocultural affinity with the majority. Thus, the indicator of affiliation tendencies at the Ukrainians only slightly exceeds an indicator of anti-affiliation tendencies (in the ratio of 59.3% to 55.6%). On the contrary, the highest requirement for a group ethnic affiliation (80.4%) is fixed at the Kurds. It has been revealed that the minorities characterized by high level of ethnic affiliation, consider mutual assistance, fidelity to traditions and orientation to the past as priority values. For ethnoses with the medium level of affiliation, of value are both mutual assistance and independence. Orientation to the future accompanies fidelity to traditions. Low level of affiliation tendencies is accompanied by orientation to openness, direction to the future, respect of the power and keeping within the law.

In multiethnic society, adaptation processes of minorities, living for a long time in the different ethnic environment, being settled dispersedly and close to the majority in the cultural plan and consequently not feeling expressed need for belonging to the ethnic group, accept assimilative character (Jews, Ukrainians). Cultural integration is peculiar to ethnoses with the medium level of the affiliation tendencies, who live compactly or dispersedly and keep links with the historical native land (Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Greeks, Tatars). The separation type adaptation proceeds at the new minorities selecting a compact way of settling.

Their representatives display hyperidentical installations and high level of ethnic affiliation (Kurds, Chechens).

Ethnic minorities are not static. They are dynamical and interact with each other and other communities. The tolerant relation to representatives of other ethnoses to some extent is peculiar to all minorities of the republic. According to the results of public opinion poll, all Chechens, Tatars, Jews, Ukrainians, 95.83% of Armenians, 93.33% of Greeks and 86.67% of Kurds have friends in other ethnic groups. A little different are affairs with blood-related relations. In this sphere ethnic groups have proved to be more traditional and "closed". 40% of Greeks, 50% of Chechens and 86.67% of Kurds do not have relatives, "married to the person of other nationality". Tolerance arises when people start to perceive a certain cultural affinity. Thus, the Armenians consider Russian and Greeks to be the most congenial in traditions, customs and a way of life to their ethnos; Chechens - Adyghes and Ingushs; Greeks - Russian, Armenians and Adyghes; Azerbaijanians - Greeks and Russian. Tatar respondents named more often Adyghes and Russian congenial to their ethnos and Kurds - Armenians. Thus, ethnic minorities in the republic perceive cultural affinity not only with the ethnic majority, but also among themselves.

Summarizing, it is necessary to note that positive character of the interethnic contacts is characteristic of the region. This is accounted for by the developed traditions of cultural dialogue between ethnoses. In spite of some problems existed in the ethnosphere of the republic, the level of tolerance of the ethnic minorities, displayed in the course of intergroup and interpersonal dialogue, is high. In some situations their representatives are more opened for contacts at household level compared to those of the dominant majority. It is inferred that a sociocultural unity of North Caucasian ethnoses and perceiving themselves as the Russian citizens can become positive factors in the course of formation of dialogue relations.

Orekhova, Anastasiya V.

The Post Professional Adaptation of Sport' Champions: Gender Aspects

Sport - a social phenomenon, providing a wide impact on all spheres of human activity, a powerful factor in the socialization of individuals and their social integration, which forms its physical and spiritual qualities. For female athletes sources of the crisis of gender identity are laid in childhood. So, girls, female athletes engaged in traditional men's sports, 7 times more likely to have male view of children's games than non-athletes, 15 times more likely to be leaders in the company of boys.

Social transformation in contemporary Russia is rather ambiguous impact on the sports industry as a whole, and the possibility of successful adaptation of women sport' champions post-athletic career in particular. The loss of an important mechanism - the continuity on which was build sports industry of the Soviet Union led to the weakening of social protection of women and men professionally engaged in sports in the Russian Federation.

Today, a woman successfully implemented at a sports arena, may be unprepared for life outside the sport, without understandable and familiar realities, which were important in sports system. Modern society places high demands on the level of education and professional skills, human skills, which may be a problem for athletes` post professional adaptation because they are the only professionals in the field of sports. Psychological characteristics of professional athletes (the focus on victory, strength of character, strong will and ability to meet in a critical situation, rapid adaptation to adverse environmental parameters, etc.) is expected to contribute quickly and painlessly gaining new stature.

In the Soviet period institute of sport different from the present first-established mechanism of succession: after the completion of a career life athletes were, in general, is predetermined (coaching, bureaucratic chair in the sports federation or of the State Committee of sport, etc.). Percentage of women post-athletic career to continue in the sports industry, was clearly beyond the current levels. Confidence in the future, that after end of career (for different reasons: age, injury, childbirth, etc.) have the opportunity to train and work in sports federations, etc. All these distinguished athletes the recent past.

Modern women - professional athletes do not have support from the government and sports federations. Advocate for the sports club or region, an athlete often does not have employment records that it is attached to a particular sports associations, in this connection, the question of future employment is especially acute. Not all women are working in the sports industry after post-athletic career: they have to start from scratch, having assets only athletic performance, and seasoned character. After end of sport career, some women engaged in family and begin to realize themselves in this particular area. Between

building a career often have children and a family difficult, because success on the sports field – many hours constant training, and time for personal life remains. Throughout the world, modern women sport' champions have the opportunity to also become successful media person by entering into sponsorship contracts during the athletic career (often, such contracts, as well as commercial tournaments - the main source of income for female athletes). After completion of the sports careers, a lot of athletes realized as TV and radio presenters, commentators of the competition in their sport, they attract as experts. American scholar J. Hargreaves [1, p.167] believes that sponsorship contracts women sport' champions (during sports career and after) are due to their physical attractiveness and sexuality. They are successful, the consumer trusts them.

In Russia, the sponsorship contracts - this is primarily to make money. The opaque system of paying bonus and salaries of permanent forces athletes to take care of their present and future well-being. For example, payment for the victory at the Olympic Games do not cover payment for four-year cycle of training (often athletes, leaders are preparing not to the rest of the team, and an individual plan with a coach and a foreigner, not always in Russia - no bases for the preparation of impact). In modern Russia there are no opportunities for free exercises, it becomes important discovery sports center named after famous athletes with the assistance of sponsorship investments. Thus, the system is restored, "social mobility" - the children are engaged in a similar center for free and see that the persistence and work lead to success. Many women sport' champions open their sports centers, engaged in patronage, charity hold master classes.

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1. Smart B., 2005. The sport star: modern sport and the culture economy of sporting celebrity, p. 167.

Osadchaya, Galina I.

Fertility as a Factor of the Capital's Social-Economic Structure Change

Over the past 20 years social shifts in Moscow community are characterized by rapid increase of community's ethnic and religious diversity and multiculturalism. Thus comparison of last censuses' results allows noting that, according to the 2002 census data¹ compared to data of the 1989 census, share of Russians and Jews has decreased while share of Azerbaijanis, Armenians and other Caucasian nations had increased considerably. Major changes that occurred after 2002 in ethno-social structure of the capital city population are recorded by *Russian Business Consulting* magazine². However the precise interpretation of changes in ethno-social structure in past 8 years should be discussed seriously only upon publication of the 2010 census results. Yet we may speak of visible increase of Tajiks, Uzbeks, Armenians and Georgians and other nations' numbers in Moscow population.

Changes of Moscow megalopolis' social-ethnic structure constitute its fundamental characteristic since along with other determinants this characteristic predefines nature and results of the megalopolis functioning. The actual change of ethnic groups' numbers modifies configuration of relations among social positions of various ethnic groups, transforms standards and models of Moscow residents' behavior, affects opinions, beliefs and life plans, typical forms communications among ethnic groups that occupy different positions in the social structure and has impact on degree of their perceptions and actions' concurrence and consistency.

Fertility is one of the most important factors of the capital city social-ethnic structure transformation. Analysis demonstrates that despite a visible decrease of fertility contribution to dynamics of the megalopolis' social-ethnic structure since the early 1990s, this contribution has increased in more recent years due to stabilization of migration processes.

Appraisal of the ethnic component's contribution in change of Moscow community social structure is hindered by scarcity of available information. Data of official regular statistics and of censuses do not allow the full scale analysis of fertility in related to ethnic origins, order of marriage-partnership priorities. Judging by the 2002 census data one can draw conclusions only about average number of children born by females who represented the most numerous ethnic groups in Moscow at the moment of the census (Russians, Ukrainians, Tartars). So the lowest number of born babies was recorded among Russian women (1200 children per 1000 women) while birth rates among Ukrainian women are somewhat higher (1351 children per 1000 women). The Tartar women's fertility

¹ Results of All-Russian census of 2002].

² Demographic statistics of Moscow city. According to data published by Russian Business Consulting magazine, No. 11/2007, p. 42]

surpassed that of Ukrainian women (1395 children per 1000 of Tartar women). The median ages of Ukrainian and Tartar women at the every subsequent birth were lower also.¹

Some possibilities of birth rates increase/decrease prospects in Moscow megalopolis are opened by analysis of reproductive behavior and population's intentions in respect of future births². The analysis was made on the basis of results of our research performed in 2010. The research included polling of 18-35 years old Muscovites and of Moscow school graduates.

Analysis of reproductive behavior along ethnic group profiles shows that the most numerous and the earliest births are found in the respondent group which represents the nations of Caucasus region (this group demonstrates high reproductive orientations as well).

Thus 33.0% of respondents from "the nations of Caucasus region" group have one child by age of 35 and 15.5% of respondents of the same age from the same group have 2 children. The same indicators for respondents referred to "other Slavic nations" group are 22.6% and 19.4% respectively. These figures for respondents from "the Central Asian nations" are 20.8% and 19.8% respectively.

Respondents we referred to as "the nations of Caucasus region" and "the Central Asian nations" groups also demonstrate higher reproductive targets. They consider the reproductive ideal is that birth of 3 and more children (41.5% and 28.3% respectively) more often than Russians and representatives of "other Slavic nations". Four of every ten Russians polled and every second representative of "other Slavic nations" think that a two children family is the ideal model family. One fifth of Russians and a quarter of "other Slavic nations" representatives think that the ideal family model means a family with three children.

Yet the majority of polled Muscovites of all groups plans birth of two children. That level of fertility does not provide for extended reproduction of megalopolis population. In "the Russians" and "other Slavic nations" groups the second best option is birth of a single child while the second best option in "the nations of Caucasus region" and "the Central Asian nations" groups is birth of 3 children. It should be noted that a rather great part of respondents, particularly from "Central Asian nations" group (33.0%) found it difficult to give answers. That can be explained by uncertainty of their status in Moscow.

Gender has impact on reproductive targets. Females in their ideal notions as well as in their plans are a bit more orientated to birth of 2 and 3 children than males are. This difference is particularly visible in "Russians" group. This stable

¹See [http://www.gks.ru/wps/PA_1_0_S5/Documents/jsp/Detail_default.jsp?category=1112178611292&elementId=1137674209312.] Date of last access: 14.07.2010.

² Ethno-social future of Moscow. Comprehensive assessment and forecast. 1200 18-35 years old Muscovites were polled in April-May of 2010. This group represented the following ethnic groups: Russians, other Slavic nations, nations of the Caucasus region and of Central Asia, other nations and 1100 graduates of the 11th form of Moscow schools. Features of representation are gender, age, and spatial localization.

trend we have recorded over recent years is not taken into account in Russia's demographic and family policies.

Approximate conversion of the average ideal and planned number of children enhances transparency of grounds for understanding, anticipation and changes in megalopolis' structure. The results of this conversion are presented in Table 1. It is obvious that in the context of migration-induced increase of shares of Armenians, Georgians, Azerbaijanis, Tajiks, Uzbeks in population of the capital city these reproductive targets may have a rather appreciable impact on change of the city's ethno-social structure.

Table 1

**The mean value of the ideal and planned number of born children
(according to results of poll of 18-35 years
old Muscovites, % of those who answered the question)**

Ethnic group	The mean value for the ideal number of born children	The mean value for the planned number of born children
Russians	2.0	1.8
Other Slavic nations	2,0	1.78
Nations of Caucasus region	2.3	2.14
Central Asian nations	2.25	1.98

Analysis of the reproductive targets' ethnic dominant among respondents is possible if respondents provide an answer to the question: "Are there any visible similarity or difference in conditions of different ethnic groups' everyday life in megalopolis and what holds sway on a degree of reproductive plans implementation and on reproductive behavior?"

According to results of young Muscovites' polling carried out in 2010, the well-being of "the Central Asian nations" ethnic group representatives is the lowest. Every fifth respondent from this group referred him/herself to the "poor and very poor" group. At the same time representatives of "the Russians" ethnic group assess their income status as "good" or "rather good". Analysis of difference between positive and negative assessments of living standards also bears witness in favor of ethnic group "the Russians" representatives and against "the Central Asian nations" representatives.

Comparison of Muscovites' self-concepts of their well-being real level and birth targets proves that the income status' impact on reproductive targets of young Moscow residents is mediated by many factors including family and ethnic practices and customs. It seems that personal consumption claims and subjective notions about possibility to satisfy these claims on the basis of the available income without deterioration of the spouses' customary lifestyle have a considerable impact on decisions about birth of next child. The subjectivity of a family well-being perception should be emphasized also. What is good for one respondent might be very bad for another respondent.

Though the scale of real income status measurement we used in investigation allows arguing that low values of income status nevertheless limit plans of children birth among some respondents who describe themselves as the poor (the share of the poor among ethnic groups is as follows: 10.4% of “the Russians”, 17.1% of “other Slavic nations”, 11.4% of “the nations of Caucasus region”, 21.9% of “the Central Asian nations”).

As our research demonstrates housing conditions also do not determine respondents' targets directly. About 80% of the “Russians” group representatives live in their own apartments or rooms. Compare this figure with 54.8% “the nations of Caucasus region” respondents who have their own apartments or rooms. 40.4% of “other Slavic nations”, 39.3% of “the nations of Caucasus region” and 22.6% of “the Central Asian nations” respondents hire their housing. The same indicator for Russians is lesser and amounts to 18.4% though reproductive plans of these groups representatives are more modest. The Russians seem to have a higher level of housing requirements. For instance, 39.8% of “the Russians” group representatives, 42.9% of “the nations of Caucasus region” representatives and 41.8% of “other Slavic nations” representatives estimated their housing conditions as “good”. Respondents from “the Central Asian nations” group gave the lowest estimate of their housing conditions' quality. Only 30.1% of respondents from this group estimated their housing conditions as “good”. Lower estimates of respondents from this group may be interpreted from position of quality and place of acquired or rented housing location. According to data of our investigation and investigations performed by the Institute of social and political studies, the Russian Academy of sciences, migrants choose the most inexpensive housing for living¹. Such housing is located either at the outskirts of Moscow or in the near Moscow territories in poorly developed lots. Among all investigated ethnic groups precisely “the Central Asian nations” group contains the greatest share of incomers who have lower income status and therefore enjoy more modest opportunities to choose housing.

As analysis demonstrates, assessments of high quality pre-school, secondary, higher education, medical care, sport installations services made at subjective level are not very high but no principal difference among ethnic groups is observed except respondents from “the Central Asia nations” group who indicate a lesser availability of high quality service. Thus the ambience conditions are, most likely, not the determinants of Muscovites' reproductive behavior.

In the long view the picture of Muscovites' reproductive behavior supplements analysis of answers given by graduates of Moscow schools who disclosed their plans to create families, marry and their reproductive targets. Results of polls allow suggesting that the overwhelming majority of school graduates (8 or 9 of 10) will create their families and register their marriages.

That said representatives of “the Russians” ethnic group are oriented to delayed marriages (over 60% of polled Russians plan to create families after their

¹ See: L. L. Rybakovski (ed.) Demographic situation in Moscow and trends of its development, pp 146-147; G. I. Osadchaya. Migrants from Armenia and Georgia in Moscow, p.40].

25th birthday and every seventh of them plan to do that after their 30th birthday). That should be explained not only by traditions and standards of the Russian ethnos but also by the fact that other groups have more children who came from abroad and are not embedded in Moscow community. According to respondents' self-concept living standards of "the Russians" ethnic group are somewhat higher. As our research demonstrates the higher are living standards and the better are living conditions the later are marriages planned by the young and, we should note, the easier the young accept divorces.

According to school senior students' opinion, the main obstacles to creation of families are lack of money and lack of personal motivation. About one third of respondents polled indicated this answer. The important condition for respondents from "Russians" and "nations of Caucasus region" ethnic groups is lack of housing. Every fifth polled person from these groups indicated this reason while for representatives of the "Central Asian nations" group the most important obstacle to creation of families is lack of social guaranties (18% of them indicated this reason).

Obviously, an individual's need of children is the result of reproductive norms and previous generations reproductive experience assimilation, reflects an individual's own life experience and is determined by the current life events. At the same time the need of children is the most inertial part of human reproductive behavior and, as a rule, is constant over an individual's life.

Among the ethnic groups we defined in our investigation traditions of large families are to a greater extent preserved in "the nations of Caucasus region" and "the Central Asian nations" groups. Families consisting of more than 5 persons are found in these groups twice as often as in "the Russians" group.

Therefore it is natural that respondents from "the nations of Caucasus region" group demonstrate the highest reproductive targets while "the Russians" demonstrate the lowest reproductive targets. That confirms trends we discovered in polling of young Muscovites of 18-35 years old.

Growth of children born in inter-ethnic marriages may have impact on change of ethnic-social structure of capital megalopolis. Nowadays marriage market of Moscow creates favorable conditions for that.

Choice of a spouse (male or female) is usually explained by a degree of complementarity to a future husband or wife. The basis of this complementarity is the distinction between fellow nationals and aliens and mutual sympathy feelings. It is assumed that these feelings are determined by energy exchange, ethnic self-conscience, unity of cultural models and targets, peculiarity of psyche type. All these characteristics are formed by history and recorded in self-conscience. The basic cultural values of every individual are reflected in outward unity of cultural forms, constitute common fields of communications and interaction and ensure identification for members of one's own group and recognition of the group by other groups.

As our analysis shows, a rather considerable share of respondents from "the Central Asian nations" group (14.3%), "the nations of Caucasus region" group

(20.0%) and “other Slavic nations” group (10.2%) is married to members of different ethnic groups and is more complementary to other ethnic groups. For instance, over a half of young Muscovites of 18-35 years age from these groups do not see any obstacle to inter-ethnic marriages and do not exclude possibility of such marriages for themselves. A younger generation, graduates of the secondary schools’ 11th form, demonstrates even greater toleration. 7-8 of 10 graduates polled conceded possibility of inter-ethnic marriage. Degree of complementarity among “the Russians” ethnic group is lower and comprises 35.1% of Muscovites of 18-35 years age group and 51.9% of secondary school graduates.

62.9% of respondents from “the Russians” ethnic group of 18-35 years age group, 43.9% of respondents from “other Slavic nations”, 33.3% of respondents from “the nations of Caucasus region” and 31.6% of respondents from “the Central Asian nations” group hold position of ethnic isolation. These people consider inter-ethnic marriages as undesirable or even unacceptable to themselves. Among Moscow schools graduates’ the position of ethnic isolation is less explicit but it repeats the trend observed among Muscovites of elder age cohort. Thus 46.1% of respondents from “the Russians” ethnic group, 22.1% of respondents from “other Slavic nations”, 30.1% of respondents from “the nations of Caucasus region” and 14.0% of respondents from “the Central Asian nations” group think that for them such marriage is impossible.

Opinions of immediate relatives, appraisals of reference group members have a rather strong influence on decision to marry to a male or female from different ethnic group. So let us analyze these positions too. As results of our investigation attest, several stereotypes have set in attitude to a possible marriage of close relatives to a representative of different ethnic group. Attitude of ethnic toleration means “approval” of such possibility, attitude of ethnic indifference means “anyway, it does not matter”. Attitude of moderate ethnic isolation means “most probably, disapprove” answers (such attitude is a variant of ethnic intolerance). Finally, we have identified attitude of flat and absolute ethnic isolation which means “I am totally opposed to inter-ethnic marriages” (see Table 6).

Ethnic tolerance is more common among young residents of the capital. Among respondents representing “the Central Asia nations” group ethnic toleration is shared by 36.7% of young people of 18-35 years age and 40.5% of the 11th form graduates. The similar indicators for respondents from “the nations of Caucasus region” group are 34.3% and 27.4% respectively and 23.5% and 41.4% respectively for respondents from “other Slavic nations” group. Respondents from “the Russians” ethnic group are less tolerant (10.8% and 22.5% respectively). Ethnic indifference has about equal values in all groups. Ethnic intolerance and stubborn ethnic isolation represent the reverse vector. These positions are more common in “the Russians” ethnic group (ethnic intolerance attitude is expressed by 23.1% of young people of 18-35 years age and by 13.7% of secondary school graduates, total ethnic isolation stance is expressed by 19.0% and 13.5% respectively. Meanwhile ethnic intolerance is shared by 10.2% of young people of 18-35 years age and 8.9% of the 11th form graduates from “the Central Asian nations” group. Total ethnic

isolation attitude is shared by 7.1% and 0.0% of two segments of respondents from “the Central Asian nations” group. These findings bear witness to a rather ponderous potential of inter-ethnic marriages in Moscow.

Against background of our analysis it will be quite reasonable to assume that, on one hand, a situation of a person who is outside of ethnic sphere of the forefathers that formed an ethnos’ collective psychology reveals unity of behavior, cultural models and targets recorded in self-conscience of every ethnos and oriented to a higher fertility level and mosaic Moscow community which acts as a designing and shaping group in the real social and economic context modify and generates its requirements to everyday practices and irrespective of ethnic origin de-construct traditional reproductive behavior. In result groups assimilate new symbols and significant practices.

On the other hand, in spite of all problems including real ethno-social inequality which finds expressions in inequality of incomes, housing conditions, developed stereotypes of inter-ethnic interaction representatives of “the nations of Caucasus region” “the Central Asian nations” groups demonstrate higher reproductive targets. Obviously, these targets are determined by socio-cultural reserve put in mental stereotypes, national and cultural traditions, subconscious psychological impulses and are results of a whole set of constituents that in mass conscience gravitate toward standards and targets that are traditional for a particular ethnos.

Taking that into consideration it should be kept in mind that over a life span reproductive behavior may differ from individual targets in respect of number of children under impact of various factors, e. g. change of life conditions, health status, influence of reference group’s members etc. For instance, it is known that reproductive targets are changed in inter-ethnic marriages to a considerable extent. That is quite possible in conditions of the capital megalopolis.

However provided the identified reproductive targets are retained one should expect preservation of trends of the megalopolis ethnic structure transformation related to increase of the absolute number children born to representatives of “nations of Caucasus region” and “the Central Asian nations” groups, growth of these children’s share in the total number of newborns and, consequently, enhancement of Moscow’s ethnic diversity. Though it should be kept in mind that official and actual ethno-social structure of Moscow megalopolis depends on how much every representative of various ethnic groups identifies him/herself with a particular group and what this group is.

Yet it should be kept in mind that official and real ethno-social structure of Moscow megalopolis depends also on an extent every representative of various ethnic groups identifies him/herself and with what ethnic group a person identifies him/herself. In the process of the 2010 census and subsequent censuses negative attitudes to an individual’s own group, preferences given to other groups as reference groups may be discovered. That may bear witness to crisis of ethnic identities, dissociation from a person’s own ethnic group and transition to another group which a person may attribute a higher status. In result of census we may get

hyper-reality. This term, according to Jean Baudrillard, describes a simulation of something, visibility of reality which for outsiders is more real than the reality itself and more honest and authentic than the truth.

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Podoyntsina Irina I.

Wealth and Poverty in the Remote Zone of Globalization (on the Example of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutiya))

The Republic of Sakha (Yakutiya) has the biggest territory in the Russian Federation. There are beautiful riches, useful fossils in the RS(YA) –diamonds, gold, oil, tin, coal, wood and others (the most of them are not mastered). The Republic of Sakha (Yakutiya) lags behind the other regions of Russia and European countries by important index – the quality of life.

Yakutiya is the remote zone or region of world globalization in geographical, geo-political plan (near 6 thousands km from Moscow) and in cultural and economical too. Signs of globalization of course penetrate to the Republic of Sakha (Yakutiya).

The survey «Globalization in Yakutiya” (800 adult respondents, a random sample) was conducted in December 2010 y. in capital of the RS (Ya),Yakutsk. Type of this survey is a pilot marketing research. We ask respondents to call signs, aspects of globalization which are fixed now, at up-date time in public mentality of northern people, inhabitants of Yakutsk. We also ask our respondents to estimate attitude to globalization as tolerance or intolerance.

Public opinions poll demonstrated that there are many signs, elements of globalization which have been fixed in mentality and style of life in Yakutsk (especially we mean youth and her reaction to the process of globalization): clothes from modern brand stores; second hand Japanese cars (Yakutsk is the center of Japanese cars); international marriages (if to be correct –inter – racial marriages. This type of marriage is impossible in traditional Yakutiya); American cinema (these cinema compose 78 per cents of cinema rolling in the RS(YA)); fast food; clubs with English music; credit cards and others.

We see «the double» mentality of yakutian people. Yakutians, as Russians in the whole, attitude to globalization with some irony because it levels fashion, culture and ideas (conceptions).On the other hand, yakutians follow liberal globalization and maintain that it is objective process. We can read about the same approach to globalization (positive and negative simultaneously) in the book of G. Ritzer, the author of the theory of Mcdonaldization (1).

We appeared a greater degree of intolerance to liberal globalization (and anti-americanism) five years ago in Yakutsk. But the past years, it would appear, has seen an increase in public opinion about the positive aspects of globalization. This change connects with development of popular idea of multiculturalism in northern territories (Canada, for example).

The future of multiculturalism in practice and in policy is one of hot debate. Now in many Western liberal democracies : Great Britain, the Netherlands, France, Germany, Australia to name a few. Yakutian scientists are also engaged in this debate both amongst academics and in the popular press. We prefer Canadian

model of multiculturalism (the integration of all nations from Yakutiya into Russian mainstream but not damaging Sakha national sense of self). Now there are many scientific articles in Sakha press devoted the interpretations of the multicultural area, cross-cultural specificity, polyethnosity, global identity, constructive pluralism.

Some words about tolerance. Tolerance is the basis of optimal relations in society, it is present in any social group, any culture that is not homorganic. Today tolerance is actively promoted and actively criticized by a number of political parties and philosophic movements –both conservative and left wing. The theme of tolerance is connected with the theme of globalization.

Tolerance targets common ideas, consensus, and that is why it is seen as problematic in the existing pluralism of values. It is obvious that we need to work out a new theory of tolerance (and discuss aspect of interaction of processes tolerance –intolerance and globalization). New theory would be characterized by a disciplined concept of tolerance, by historic outlook , i.e. understanding the impact of cultural and historic processes on tolerance and pluralization of paradigms of tolerance.

It is interesting that managers of culture in the RS (Ya) are sure that we must go towards globalization (or – meet globalization half way). We can call at means two tendencies of going towards world globalization – creation of joint economic enterprises (for example, ALROSA-DE BIRS, extraction and treatment of diamonds) and creation national cinematograph (historical film of sakha producer «Legends of Chingis Haan» was invited to the festival in Canada).

Wealth of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutiya) consist in useful fossils, high level of education of Sakha people, in presence of intellectual stock (multiculturalism, for example). Representatives of Roma club say that the knowledge, the level of education is the main index of quality of life (2).

But Republic of Sakha (Yakutiya) is not rich republic. We have many poor men (wild spread salary in Yakutiya is near 15 thousands rubles. Many workers have wages lower the life level). Some sociologists confirm that there are near 80 per cents of poor persons in the RS (Ya). There are many marginal people in villages of republic. The consume of working people is not rational (the most of salary is spent to food).

On the other hand, poverty of northern people is not a social sentence. It is objective condition of turbulent time. To revolution businessmen composed only 1 per cent in Lena region. In «postperestroika», rebuilding time class of businessmen become to create from zero. And now in the sphere of business there is one third of economic active population. During 10 years quantity of private businessmen increased in two times. During future four or five years government of Yakutiya plans to increase business class to 51 per cents. The republic of Sakha needs the middle stratums. We prefer the conception of the middle way of development because we have eastern mentality (the middle way is «dao», the essence of life).

We think that there are two original approaches to the middle classes: American (as a variant of the functionalism) and Eastern (as a variant of religious mentality of population). Human societies are characterized by close cooperation and conflicts, which is illustrated by the relations between socio-professional groups, ethnic groups, states and regions. Functionalism and conflict theoretical perspectives in modern sociological theories have been developed to describe and explain these phenomena. Functionalism said that the middle classes are stable force from conflicts between two extremities of human societies – the high class and the lower class. Representatives of the theory of conflict (Marxism) do not think the same manner (because the middle class does not like politics). The eastern tradition (including Buddhism) likes the middle position in life (and the middle status too), the middle opinions, the middle level of life. Eastern people do not like riches and pity poor.

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The Anticorruption Mission of Institutions of Civil Society

Corruption in various forms of expression wins in today's world of increasingly strong position not only in countries with low and medium level of development, but also in those which are positioned in the popular consciousness with a bulwark of democracy, world political and economic leaders. A striking illustration of this is a scandal in the British Parliament in March 2010, four deputies who were forced to resign as a result of investigative journalism, in which they declared their readiness to lobby on a fee to address various issues, including the appointment of a British government.

No scandal about corruption of the German automaker Daimler actively being discussed in the media with accusations of his leadership of the American Commission on Securities and Exchange Commission, together with the U.S. Department of Justice for the purchase of officials in 22 states 1998 to 2008. In particular, they asserted that only Russian officials responsible for procurement of vehicles for government agencies had received more than three million euro's. Numerous manifestations of corruption in various spheres of public life have formed quite a different view that is to be understood by her. The analysis we have identified:

a) The legal interpretation of corruption in which the criminal law of its characteristics prevail over administrative law, as evidenced taken our country in the past two years, and numerous state programs aimed at combating corruption in the government;

b) its definition as a consequence of deformation of the worldview of personality under the influence of various factors related to social or subjective (endogenous and exogenous) nature;

c) the historical implications of corruption, which many researchers attribute the norms of unwritten rules, which manifest themselves in social practice, following the tradition even in spite of existing law: in protectionism descent, kindred principles, etc.

Among these definitions is dominated by the legal interpretation of corruption. It is not surprising, because those offenses that fall under the articles of the Criminal or Administrative Codes, the most conspicuous and easiest to appropriate assessment. But, in our opinion, they do not fully reflect the essence of this phenomenon, if we do not take into account the other two above mentioned approaches to the definition of corruption, because its legal interpretation to a greater extent, we reflect a consequence rather than the essence of this social malady. We share the view of those researchers who believe in corruption offenses or crimes of a man leads confluence of certain circumstances: the relevant socio-economic and political conditions, criminal infestation, a professional of the deformation of personality, its low legal culture, poor intelligence, vision,

psychological and physical state rights, as well as factors such as tradition, tribal, family and corporate obligations or interests, pushing it to the corrupt actions. Nor should we forget about such human vices as lust for power, greed, addiction, perverse dependence (alcoholism, drug addiction, gambling, etc.). Thus, corruption in our interpretation is asocial phenomenon in society, and warp in its socio-economic and political development, which have resulted in individual and mass consciousness is transformed from human norms and values towards primitivization spiritual and material needs, living standards that leads to the corresponding world-view, life strategies, social relationships, behavior. If we treat the corruption in this context, we get the opportunity to explain its nature, not just from the legal but also other factors that are in a dialectical interdependence, which is given above its definition adequately reflects. In particular, expressing the laws of nature of many anti-social phenomena in society, in the context of the thesis of man as not only as an object of social processes, but also his subject, we are referring to and the corresponding human influence on the processes of corruption in a society where corruption is gradually into the organs of state power, which, in combination with other external and internal threats is fraught with the collapse of Russia followed by the appearance on the world map of new subjects of international law, for example, within the boundaries of today's federal districts.

There is no doubt that the leadership of our country in a fairly fully aware of the threats posed by corruption to the security and integrity of the state, and taken from his side trying to stop the progress of this phenomenon through the use of punitive-legal means can be explained. Sure, they are impediments to the criminalization of our society, and with them the corruption in the government: in the organs of supreme power in the Federation, which, until recently, had almost all opportunities to use their potential in their own interests. Nevertheless, it is necessary to fully realize that in order to reduce the degree of negative impact of corruption on society not only legal mechanisms, although at present and their potential is far from exhausted.

Quite a lot of domestic corruption investigators believe that a universal means of reducing its negative impact in Russia can become the basis of foreign experience, civil society and individual citizens' initiative, through partnerships among and with the state which created optimum conditions for a successful, progressive development of society on a democratic ways to prevent acute social conflicts, as well as totalitarianism.

In our opinion, for today's globalizing world equilibrium development of the state and civil society is important factor that determines:

- Progressive development of all mankind, and, primarily, in bringing together the international community to successfully address global challenges of our time;
- Formation of a world order that would minimize the negative consequences of imbalances in the economic development of leaders and "outsiders", etc. Despite the fact that such a scenario, the

organization of such a world order is a matter for the distant future, at the same time, now at the UN, other international organizations, during the Summit of Eight, twenty leading world powers, these topics are the subject of active discussion.

Reflections on the relationship between state and civil society need to determine the most effective mechanism for this relationship, which, according to several researchers of the topic, should provide a system of providing vital social, sociocultural, and spiritual spheres, their reproduction and transmission of values from generation to generation.

At the same time, the progressive development of the state depends on the ability of civil society institutions; promote democratic processes in it in the direction of balancing the interests of government and the people. In the case of his achievements are the optimal conditions for the progressive development of society towards the welfare state, the numerous examples of which are available on the European continent, although most of these factors do not guarantee effective management of public and social life, because recent history of a lot of examples where the ruling elite under the guise of democratic slogans, realizes his clan interests to the detriment of the general population, whose participation in government is minimized to the extent that it ceases to have any relation to real democracy. In such a state of civil society institutions are delegated authority, on the one hand, the declarative function, and the other - care of its interests in the political and economic spheres, or at best, advisory and expert or advisory functions, for example, under the names of non-governmental organizations without any official authority, and hence the ability to influence public life through the examination, the legislative initiative, etc.

In thinking about the specifics of the relationship of civil society and government in contemporary Russia involuntarily come to realize that their level of development is insufficient for effective influence on the fight against corruption, primarily in the power structure, since in our country, they are able to act as real actors corrupting Russian society, and not only because they themselves civil society institutions are few and poorly organized, or the power to aggressively do not accept them, reining in some way their citizens' initiatives. Conversely, not every country at the head of state are various public councils, including, and to combat corruption, in which Russia takes the personal involvement of its president, and the course of their meetings, media coverage and the QMS. Moreover, the globalization of information and communication fields to transform Russia into a closed social system, or somehow block the activity of civil society institutions, their contacts with NGOs or other civil society institutions abroad is extremely difficult, if not all. Therefore, the question arises, how the institutions of civil society or those who identify themselves to them are active and sincere in their desire to improve our society, rather than pursue their activities in a more prosaic purpose?

In seeking an answer to this question should not be forgotten that for the formation of effective institutions of civil society from the depths of the totalitarian

state, as well as for establishing a democratic government takes time, it is necessary not only for personal development, for which the idea of democracy, humanism, civil society are an integral part of its philosophy and life strategy, an incentive for her self. These circumstances, not just sabotage by the representatives of power structures, in our opinion, explain the low efficiency and relatively small institutions of civil society in our country. At the same time, one can hardly expect that the new institutions of civil society in Russia will operate as effectively as in the societies of Western democracy. As it is also hard to believe as in the fact that in our country with its specific traditions and way of life in general might get a similar model of western democracy.

Based on the foregoing, we believe that the Russian society, in the first place, should form such a spiritual atmosphere for which the corruption at the level of the power structures would also be unacceptable, as any other act. And it's not a utopian idea as it seems at first glance. This process should be developed on the initiative of three parties: government, civil society and citizens of our country, which though in varying degrees, but the experience and are aware of the threat of corruption for their own safety and their future.

For the leaders of our state have declared the fight against corruption in the government and tried using their means to fight against it, it is clear that further corrupting Russian society will inevitably its transformation into a criminal state with its subsequent decay to a criminal regime. This prospect must be aware of current leaders as a real threat not only to their political, but also the physical existence.

Persons representing civil society are also in accordance with this scenario, new mode of physical destruction as an enemy of his own people, working on their foreign masters, or they expect the prospect of transformation in the structure, whose activities will focus on servicing the interests of power, with their help to the world public its true essence.

For the ordinary citizens of our country these developments obviously powerless, miserable existence, and the outlook for them is not too vague, if already social stratification, the income gap between the wealthy citizens and the bulk of the population had long since crossed the threshold, which can not alarming not only for specialists and executives of the state, but also the international community.

Thus, for all of the above elements of Russian society, the prospect of further corrupting it poses a real threat not only to socio-economic, political, and physical existence of each of its members, because such changes in our country are unlikely scenario of "orange" revolutions, but will be accompanied by coups, civil or political wars, the armed confrontation between criminal gangs and other social, technological or other catastrophes. Therefore, all the structure of Russian society, uninterested in what his corruption, should be involved in the process of counteracting this phenomenon with disastrous consequences for him at the following scenario.

Power. Its leaders and their supporters must not only using the means available to them to inspire all of its holders the reality of political processes in our country above described scenario in the foreseeable future and the prospects of entering into a new "clip" in the changed historical conditions in which they place will be determined by another, but even now to take measures aimed at easing the impact of corruption on the activities of public authorities. In this case, we will not be original, if you offer international experience, the essence of which is to create a public official of such conditions that make them extremely disadvantageous committing corrupt acts, when the consequences of which will strike not only on their interests, but also unwittingly raised members' interests their families. In particular, in addition to certain material benefits and privileges that accompany their professional activities, public servants, regardless of their status, should not have any additional income sources and is also obliged to declare them publicly. In the case of violations of these rules, they should first of all, to bear the economic responsibility for their acts of corruption, of course, through court decisions. In addition, in the present context, where corruption is recognized the real threat to our society, lifelong public servant should be denied the right posts in any of the state structures, rather than three years, as is customary in the current legislation. Separately, we would like to touch on themes of law enforcement agencies on the effectiveness of which depends directly on the status of the fight against the criminalization of Russian society, including with his corrupt side. Of course, all our proposals, which relate to civil servants, should be extended to them.

Rakhleev, Alexander V.

Social Security against the Background of Civil Unrest: Russia and Countries of Caspian Region

Political turbulence in the Near East countries has become one of the dramatic phenomena of the year. All the world community's attention is absorbed to latest developments in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Bahrain, Syria and others. Russia is not an exception, since intensity of escalation in the region may infringe on our interests, affect social security and destabilize situation in border areas.

Social security speaking of any region, or territory, means society development which is stable, progressive, guaranteed from dangers and risks of social conflicts of any kind (ethnic, national, confessional, religious, etc.).

Historically Caspian region is a territory rich in natural resources where concerns of different countries are crossed, as it constitutes a part of so called "arc of vulnerability" – a conflict zone extending across the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, the North Caucasus, and Central Asia. Therefore it is very important for Russia to keep presence and to take control under the situation in order not to be involved in international clashes.

At once, recent events in Islamic countries made the rest of the world community improve mechanisms of response to present challenges, find new methods of national conflicts' settlement. Doubtless, it is very important to reconsider actual reasons and results of North Africa crisis, to learn a lesson from it.

We can discover two main types of the causes: internal and external. On the one hand, people demand more democracy and an end to corruption, higher living standards, better education and health care. On the other hand, uprising against authorities means a protest against the US aggressive policy. The essence of the crisis is not only a clash of democracy to tyranny, but opposing of idealism and cynicism, pragmatic national interests and anxiety for just social world order.

Attacks on civilians may amount to crimes against humanity. But interference of international organizations (such as UN) into local conflicts is one of the factors that destabilize situation. Even Muslim countries realize it. For example, Iran. President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad supports antigovernment unrest of some Near East countries as it can reduce the US dominance in this region. Problem solution, from his point of view, consists in providing calm overall negotiations between the heads and opposition of concerned countries.

For Russia the key question is whether the upheaval swept the Arab world could recur in our country – in the North Caucasus particularly. Experts believe that it is not possible. At the same time we should – speaking with President Medvedev's words – "be aware of the fact, that events in North Africa exert straight influence on situation in Russia, even within ten years".

We consider 3 ranges of improving Russian policy effectiveness in Caspian region. The 1st and immediate group of problems is connected with

intergovernmental cooperation between Caspian Sea countries, which have not been sharing the single opinion on the Caspian Sea legal status for more than 15 years. Difficulties arise on whether it is a sea or a lake. The 2nd group of related problems is guaranteeing of available and efficient economic development, welfare increase and democracy construction in all Caspian Sea countries. The 3rd group of questions is a need for creating an integrated coordination centre joining countries of Caspian region. This centre should possess large powers and recognized by all the members as valid.

Summary

Cooperation between Russia and the countries of Caspian region is a problem of considerable importance, since the growing of civil unrest in the Near East affects social security and infringes on our interests in historically significant region.

Romashov O.V.

Diagnostics of the Human Capital with a View of Economy Modernization

World tendencies in business sphere are guided by intelligence as one of the major economic resources. From 70 to 80 % of everything that becomes people today, becomes by means of their intelligence. The goods which were made earlier, demanded a few knowledge and a large quantity of material resources. The modern goods demand on the contrary the huge intellectual contribution and not enough "iron". Not only the separate organizations, but also branches, the countries and the whole regions struggle for creation of attractive conditions for inflow of high quality experts, the human capital. The human capital represents an original intellectual stock which collects in a society, the organizations and can become a source of their progressive development.

In this case it is possible to tell about complexity of a category «the human capital», about insufficiency for an estimation of the phenomenon of especially tool, qualitative characteristics cut behind it, to for example reduced to those or other indicators of educational level of the population of the country or level of literacy of the population. Russia, being on this component of the Index of development of human potential on 10th place, and on quite decent 31st place on level of coverage formation, nevertheless, feels an acute shortage in the shots of new qualification capable adequately to answer calls of new economy. The indicators included in the given index, at all don't reflect this acute problem. Therefore it is obviously important to give the characteristic that we understands as the human capital.

The human capital which is a component of the person, it is possible to consider as the social and economic category representing human relations concerning investments in formation of abilities to work and their actual application and also as an economic estimation of abilities to bring in the income, including acquired knowledge, abilities, skills, the motivation, raising production potentialities of the individual.

With a view of the analysis and development of the human capital it is necessary to carry out its diagnostics periodically. The term "diagnostics" occurs from Greek *diagnostikos* – ability to distinguish. The given term began to be used for the first time in medicine as definition of character of disease, and concept "diagnostics" - as a designation of a set of methods and principles of statement of the diagnosis about an organism condition. The object of diagnostics usually physical bodies, cars and mechanisms, organisms, the person, the organizations, the societies proceeding in them processes etc. by the Purpose of diagnostics is statement of the diagnosis of disease, revealing of defects, failures in social and economic life of a society, the organization, work of cars and mechanisms, definition of specific features of diagnosed object, definition of prospects and

possibilities of its development, revealing of the reasons of deterioration of activity of the labor organization, a society.

Diagnostics of the human capital this studying of social and economic motives and the reasons of behavior of the person, group or others communities; search social and economic a determinant of processes and the phenomena of public life. Diagnostics of an economic situation pursues the aim to distinguish and define those social and economic consequences or changes in which will naturally result the given economic order, or managing system, to reveal real and possible changes in structure of public relations, moods in public consciousness and public opinion of the social groups which are in the given economic situation, separate persons. The essence of diagnostics of the human capital consists just in use economic, sociological, socially-psychological, and other methods for finding-out and elimination of the reasons of deterioration of activity of people, social groups, the labor organizations, separate branches and a society as a whole.

Sociological diagnostics in the latent or obvious form includes three concerning an independent element:

- The block providing the description of a condition of social and economic object. This block makes an information basis of sociological diagnostics. Its primary goal to provide with the objective, consistent information and on the basis of it to give the object description as to integrity. As object the collective, the labor organization, a society as a whole can act the worker. The specified block represents rather independent information technology directed on revealing of properties of concrete object that allows to predict its changes and behavior.
- The block providing procedure of correlation of a real and due condition of object. The object description in this case should correspond with a standard condition of object. The norm can conceptually be set or be defined in another way.
- The block providing procedure of correlation of a reference and real condition of object. The specified block in many respects is derivative of the two first blocks. It provides certain measures of coincidence of a real condition with the set standard.

These blocks are components of any diagnostic research. Sociological diagnostics of the human capital is spent with use of the same methods which are widely used at any analytical research of functioning of these systems. These methods concern: gathering and the analysis of the statistical data, supervision, studying of documents, such specific to economy, sociology and psychology methods, as poll, sociometry, psychodiagnostics methods. Such means and methods, as are widely used in the diversified diagnostic researches:

- Social passports of public system, the human capital, the labor organization, a social background card;

- The combined methods of gathering of the information, allowing to receive both objective, and the subjective data;
- The standardized techniques, allowing to develop algorithm of optimum carrying out of analytical work from its beginning up to the end;
- The techniques developed by various private sciences.

The analysis of a condition of development of public system can pursue the various aims. For example, by means of use of sociological methods of the human capital it can be investigated for the purpose of revealing of laws and tendencies of its development. Or – if to take other kind of studied objects – the analysis of an economic condition of the enterprise is passed for the purpose of the decision of a question on its further destiny – expediency of its preservation, or closing, bankruptcy or sale. As we see, sociological diagnostics is one of the basic means of the analysis of a condition of making social systems.

Starting with above told, sociological diagnostics can be defined as the complex social and economic technology used for revealing and the analysis of a condition of social object with use of new theoretical workings out and research techniques. The main objective of sociological diagnostics is a definition of properties, conditions of object for the subsequent rendering on it of operating influence.

In sphere of the analysis and planning of the human capital, it is necessary to receive answers to the questions characterizing a strategic estimation of the existing situation. They can be received at the answer to following questions:

- What new skills and abilities are necessary for increase of efficiency of separate employees?
- What concrete reserves of increase of labor productivity aren't used now?
- What institutional transformations (for example, introduction of new technologies, productions or formation of new organizational, corporate culture) demand adequate development of human potential?
- What possibilities are available for a society (the company, firm) for development at workers of new skills?
- What changes in behavior of managers (managers and workers) will promote increase of their overall performance and surrounding?
- How to convince managers, workers what their continuous development not an exception, and norm?
- What goes not so? In which areas of business go badly: what are committed errors?
- What conclusions can be made of the previous experience of development of human potential?

Certainly, there is a difference between formal statement of shared problems, the purposes of a society, firm, the company, the enterprise (for example, efficiency increase, economy modernization, labor productivity growth, risk reduction, etc.)

and knowledge of how these problems to solve, and the purposes to reach. The questions resulted above allow to understand, how it becomes. Answers to them can help both with acceptance of current decisions, and in comprehension of necessity of their coordination with strategic development of a society (the organization, the company).

An example of such a diagnostic study can serve as interviews with experts who were leaders of large and medium-corporatized and privatized enterprises, workers in managerial work, conducted by the method of the International Management Institute in Lausanne (Switzerland) in 1966-2000 years. in eleven regions of Russia. Results of reforming of a society asked to estimate experts. Research was spent with participation of the author of given article.

The diagnostic estimation spent during the period specified above in Russia of reforms looks as follows:

- By results of economic reforms in the country there were not so good prospects of growth of domestic economy;
- Experts notice that the country for years of reforming has lost the influence in the international affairs;
- There are problems and complexities with an infrastructure;
- There are complexities and difficulties connected with the economic environment;
- There are the certain complexities connected with the technological environment;
- There are the certain difficulties connected with the welfare environment;
- There are certain claims to government activity etc.¹

In these conditions the large social and economic problems, concerning the human capital and conditions of ability to live of people, as were especially sharply designated: the general decrease in a standard of life of the population: growth of quantity of the unemployed; change of prestige of work and especially socially the significant; decrease in quality and safety of life etc.

As we see, sociological diagnostics considers in interrelation both economic, and social processes and the phenomena. Therefore it is necessary to learn to define, diagnose both economic, and social changes. And for this purpose it is necessary to possess system of the indicators allowing with sufficient degree of reliability to judge economic and social efficiency of occurring changes.

Analyzing the given problem, it is possible to offer, with certain degree of the convention, following directions of development of the human capital, it:

- Management of talents and development of leaders (as process);

¹ See about it in more details: Romashov O.V. Sotsiologija of work and economic sociology: the textbook. – M: Gardarika, 2007. With. 375-391.

- Communication of development of the human capital with strategy of the company, firm, the enterprise, a society;
- Formation of a personnel reserve;
- Preceptorship development, coaching with a view of preparation of worthy change of workers;
- Development and formation of labor taking into account a sex, age, labor orientation etc.;
- Expansion of remote training and integration of information technology with human resources;
- Management of knowledge, efficiency of the intellectual capital, an exchange of the best practices;
- Introduction of effective and flexible leadership;
- Development for all continuous vocational training etc.

As we see, from it would seem to an impasse there is an exit as there are specific features inherited from the past which can provide economic growth and economy modernization. It:

- traditional diligence of the population, ability to be mobilized in the fullness of time, skills of forecasting and forward planning at the executives, allowing quickly to seize the methods of strategic management necessary that long-term interests haven't been sacrificed to momentary requirements;
- a high educational level of the population that distinguishes Russia from developing countries;
- high enough relative density of the persons ready under favorable conditions to be engaged by business;
- the demographic situation in the country, is closer under the characteristics to the developed countries;
- presence of experience of the industrialization testifying to abilities of the population to unite round idea, opening prospect of the further development.

At the analysis of social development by means of sociological diagnostics for its more qualified carrying out it is possible to allocate following stages:

- at an estimation of functioning of diagnosed object it is necessary to allocate standard criteria;
- to reveal and analyze the reasons causing unsuccessful development of object;
- to develop and realize actions for localization of undesirable tendencies of development on the basis of anticipatory actions;
- to predict tendencies of the future development;
- to develop recommendations and offers on overcoming of the reasons causing development deviating the desirable sample of object etc.

It is possible to consider the purpose of social and economic diagnostics reached when the key problems are revealed, disturbing to development of the

human capital, economy modernization if they are structured and eliminated by administrative influence. Diagnostics always should precede formation of the social and economic mechanism of regulation of social and economic development.

Shapovalova, Anna D.

Evaluation of Local Parliaments' Effectiveness in Turbulent Times: European and Russian Experience

The term "effectiveness" is frequently used in all spheres of modern public management and at all levels of governance – from federal to municipal: "fiscal policy effectiveness", "effectiveness of national security measures", "crisis-proof system effectiveness", etc. The complexity of today's problems as inflation, unemployment, budget deficit demands that local governments achieve increased effectiveness and become more productive.

We generally speak about political effectiveness of local parliaments in application to the quality of decisions taken by them. Bills' approval means solution of pressing issues at the earliest possible date with successful expected results.

In the Western Europe where traditions of parliamentarianism are strong and direct democracy institutions are completed, the function of control is conceived as a logical and integral part of administrative process, closely connected with authority's liability and efficiency.

However, the Russian system of local self-government is in the process of formation and is permanently reformed. Unfortunately, we have to state that in Russia no real, a general-purpose program has been elaborated to evaluate local parliaments' and their elected members' (deputies') service.

At once, the recent financial crisis, which results are being reconsidered now, made all the European community improve mechanisms of response to present challenges, find new methods of performance measurement, qualified management assurance. The question of a new adequate and integrated evaluation system, embodied in the law, has become ripe.

We believe the essence of effectiveness is very complex and suggest a structured set of criteria (quantitative and qualitative) to evaluate local parliaments' work. The 1st group deals with the activity of each deputy at his/her constituency. The 2nd group includes indicators of a deputy's service as a member of representative body. The 3rd group is connected with effectiveness degree of local parliament as a collegiate body. Inside each group the mentioned criteria are classified into economic, social, political and moral sectors. It is also very important to reveal negative factors that have an impact on the local authority's perfection (e. g., lobbyism).

Summary

The complexity of post-crisis problems demands local parliaments to achieve an increased effectiveness. Elaboration of a new evaluation system has become a pressing methodological issue for political science today.

Shirokalova Galina S.

Population's Attitude towards the Clergy as the Indicator of the Russian Orthodox Church's Authority

During recent decades, the role of religion, especially of the Russian Orthodox Church (the ROC), as the ideological tool for regulation of social and political relations is regularly stressed at the state level. For example, at the 17th of January 2011 at the meeting with leaders of the Federal Assembly of Russia President D. Medvedev, noting the necessity of interethnic concord, declared again that the ROC *"made a valuable contribution to the history of Russia"*. In his speech there were enumerated *"the best features of Russian character"* that *"made our country strong"*: tolerance, responsiveness, ability to get on with neighbors and build the joint state, assertiveness. *"And, of course, as a consequence, well-known generosity, broad mind in relation to own history and the history of other nations. For a certainty, it is exactly what reveals Russian tradition and Russian character"* [Medvedev D.: Condition for all the problems` solution - is the unity of state and civic peace preservation // First TV-channel web-site. 17th of January 2011].

Thus, the strategy of ideological work for all the subjects of not only governmental authorities, but also religious organizations again was set up: to actualize the tolerance, responsiveness, generosity, ability to get on with other peoples. These values really correspond to the traditions of Russia. But any ethnos survives in case of these characteristics supplementing with those which actualize social activity. But exactly these characteristics were excluded from the president`s speech. At the same time named characteristics answer the socio-political conception of the ROC, which are always propagandized by it with reservation that the only true faith, which needs special attitude, is the Orthodoxy.

With this coincidence of purposes the ROC, which stand is supported by the authority of God, becomes the state instrument of new ethnos formation, which could be patient and tolerant, responsive and sociable. And besides that, more ideologically faithful helper than the Orthodoxy the Government can hardly find, so far as their main aims - to preserve socio-political and economical differentiation of the society - generally match each other. Though, faithfulness doesn't mean the ability to accomplish the tasks, which the Government set to the ROC. Of course, due to the paradigm of *"two heavenly bodies"* each of these social institutes would like to be the first, but it is a second time in comparison with the global aim of keeping status quo.

The feeling of self-preservation made, makes and will make people to adapt to established economic, social and political situation through the position of *"wise, moderately-liberal gudgeon"*, which, we would remind that, was praised by the pikes: *"If everybody lived like that - how quiet it would be in the river!"* In real, the

closure of the social lifts demand the obedience and tolerance in relation to the authority of employer or government from those, who stand at the foot of the "Eiffel Tower". But internal migration from them entails internal migration from those, who support the politics of government; in other words, not every parishioner shares the political position of the Church. Everything is always more difficult with the social base of ideology. It is formed, first of all, by the way of life, or how it could be called in the frame of materialistic philosophy, conditions of social being. One of the indicators of the fact that Russian population, who is generally ascribes itself to Orthodox, separates positive attitude to religion from the attitude to the Church is the reaction to some initiatives of the ROC. Let`s make two examples.

The appeal of deputy of the Volgograd Regional Council from the United Russia Party Ronald Kherianov (who worked as the assistant chief of the mayor of Volgograd) to D.A. Medvedev and V.V. Putin with submitting a proposal to give the same status to ministers of religion of "traditional" confessions as to governmental employees, actualized the problem of state, society and church relationships in public opinion. It is indicated that it was a social order not only by the fact that this idea was at once approved in the federal issue of the state-established Russian Newspaper. The end of article is significant: *"Expressed in Volgograd initiative aroused the heated public discussion. It is possible that this is the beginning of national discussion about revision and strengthening of the Church role in today`s history"*. [Tarakanova T. Fathers serving // 5321 (242). The 26th of October 2010]. This news was duplicated by web-sites Obshaya Gazeta, Nezavisimaya Gazeta, Fontanka, Lenta.ru, Inie Misly, DELFI.us and others. But during the discussion it turned out that there are considerably more opponents than supporters of this idea among the internet users.

On October 27, 2010 a TV-company Volga (Nizhny Novgorod) carried out its interactive public opinion pool. As this form of work with television audience became traditional, the number of people called to the free line was more than 3 thousand people. With that amount of calls even with the wish of some organization to significantly interfere with the results of pool to one`s profit it is impossible to do. That is why it can be supposed that the results reflect the views of more or less socially active part of population. It is important to stress that Nizhny Novgorod region traditionally stands at the 3rd place after Moscow and St. Petersburg as regards the amount of churches and believers. Nizhny Novgorod`s special status among beleivers is assisted by the Russian Saint Serafim Sarofsky`s cult.

Table 1

Do you think it is necessary to give the same status to ministers of religion as to governmental employees? (N_e = 3259)

	ALTERNATIVES OF ANSWERS:	%
11	Yes, the guaranteed salary is needed	17,1
22	Yes, the church service will be cheaper	5,0
33	No, the Church is separated from the State	34,7
44	No, they anyway live in good conditions	43,2

As it can be seen, the majority of respondents did not support the proposal of deputy. In our opinion, the part of the opponents would be higher if all the people called had known that the governmental employee is not just an employee of a government-financed organization. His status implies considerably higher percent from his salary in pension and bonus granting, gives benefits in sanitary services. We would remind that on the threshold of different levels` elections in September 2010 the rate of governmental employees` pension, which even before that was from 45 up to 75 % higher than average depending on the length of service and position, was increased due to the Edict of the Russian Federation President. Such benefits guarantee the rigidity of the line of command, as the fear of beggarly pension can turn a person into the obedient executor of all the command`s demands.

It is extremely significant that not numerous people chose the second alternative of the answer. There can be several reasons. First of all, the church service is not that much expensive and, secondly, people resort to it too seldom to consider it as an important reason to raise ministers of religion to the level of governmental employees. We should remind that the part of people visiting church regularly is pretty low; therefore the service price does not affect the budget of the majority.

The value of secular state was more important to respondents (34.7%). Watchful attitude to the "absolute power" of the ROC is also shown by the fact that in 16 Russian regions, which were the participants of educational experiment in 2010, 40 % of families chose "The principles of secular ethics" as the studying unit, approximately the third part chose "The principles of Orthodox culture", about the forth part - "The history of World Religions", and quite small groups chose the principles of Judaism, Buddhism and Islam cultures. In experts` opinion this information and also the data from other regions shows not the number of diasporas or believers in the subjects of the Russian Federation, but the public request [Agranovich M. Faith - a la carte. Russian Newspaper. Federal issue № 5138 (59), 23rd of March 2010].

The fact that the half of respondents chose the alternative "No, they anyway live in good conditions" indicates the decline of church authoritativeness as a social

institute. Indirect illustration that confirms this conclusion is the results of WCIOM research, carried out before the Police Day in 2010. Among 10 professions that should be estimated in income, the ministers of religion turned out to stay higher than in the middle of the list, together with policemen, collected 3.07 points from 5. Doctors, teachers and the military are secured worse. But despite the fact that income level has a great importance in professional choice, parents regard the profession of the minister of religion as the most undesirable for their children [News line. 11th of November 2010, 17:47].

The results of the second pool carried out by the Volga-TV on February 10, 2011, after acceptance the Definition "Concerning the issues of internal life and external activity of the ROC" at the Council of Bishops, which took place on February 4, 2011, are illustrative. According to it "churches, chapels, meetinghouses, praying rooms should be opened "here, there and everywhere" - in the maximum number of population aggregates". At the same time the "Temporal statute concerning moneyed and social assistance of priests, clergymen and employees of religious organizations of the Russian Orthodox Church, as well as the members of their families" was accepted. As follows from its content, there are parishes in the ROC where the income per the member of priests`, clergymen`s and religious organizations employees` family is lower than living wage fixed in the region. As the realization of these statutes needs significant money resources, the question about the church tax aroused. Reaction to this proposal is presented at the Table 2.

Table 2

Do you think the "spirituality" tax is needed (for churches building)?
(N₀ =4000)*

	ALTERNATIVES OF ANSWERS:	%
11	Yes, for all the employed	3,6
22	Yes, for the rich	11,1
33	No, people should help on a voluntary basis	65,9
44	No, I don't go to churches	19,4

*<http://www.volga-tv.ru/teleopros/100211.htm>

As it can be seen, the majority of respondents are against the legislative anchored obligations in relation to the Church. And the matter is not only in the low income of the majority, but in the fact that the ROC ministers of religion, especially senior managers, don't show the example of austerity, to which they call parishioners on.

Knowing full well that the power of any ideology is closely linked to such factors as the size of property, the availability of professionals and the amount of supporters, the ROC actively work at these directions. But lots of factors indicate that importance of its regulating function evidently overstated both by the ROC and the Government. During the last 20 years a new generation has grown up, which more often calls itself Orthodox but whose frame of mind and behavior is based at pragmatic values.

Sorokina, Nina D.

Conflict Functions in a Turbulent Society

As it is known, two basic functions of the conflict are stabilizing and destabilizing. Stabilizing function of the conflict can be successfully implemented in a turbulent society under condition of the established mechanism of social communications. Such mechanism is possible in institutionally fixed practices of social dialogue. The constructive conflict as a manifestation of its' stabilizing function is the special form of social interaction which means initially opposite views, ideas, interests, all that is a basis of origins of the conflict. Therefore the formation of social communications in a mode of such exchange of opinions which would allow to coordinate interests of the conflicting parties is important.

Such dialogue is especially important for the solution and settlement of ethnocultural conflicts. Meanwhile one of the signs of a turbulent society is the presence of numerous contradictions, whereas the conflicts sometimes take especially acute form. Such acuteness in the modern world is acquired by conflicts which are based on numerous phobias, for example, xenophobia, islamophobia, migrantophobia.

Russia today faces such problems as the multinational state. Many unresolved social problems, such as the great social stratification, a high unemployment rate especially among youth, corruption, an administrative arbitrary rule lead to a rather destructive nature of the conflicts leading to ethnic confrontation. This demonstrates the destabilizing function of the conflict. Destabilizing function is in particular revealed in violent forms of the conflict course and the preceding threats of the extremist nature. Though at institutional level there is a Law on counteraction to extremism, nevertheless both in everyday and official level reality it is possible to observe the use of the conflict rhetoric within definition of articles of the given law. Therefore there is a need to involve the civil society institutions to prevent such threats.

Currently the traditional institutions of socialization such as family and education begin to give way to social networks in this era of Internet technologies. The participants wage virtual wars which turn into real ones at times. The example of this are the events at Manezhnaya Square, Moscow in December, 2010. This is what happens in underdeveloped institutions of a modern Russian civil society. The lack of platform for social dialogue leads to the increase of high level of conflict threats. The main types of conflictgenes are aggression and strive for superiority. Specifically, this can be expressed in categorical and rigid statements attributing to opponent (enemy) negative traits, as well as the use of offensive labels.

The analysis of Internet resources in particular has shown that during the December events in Moscow and other Russian cities such derogatory nicknames as the "fascist", "morons", "Russian pigs", "impudent Caucasians", "a gang of thugs", "a flock of animals", "nonhumans" etc. were often used. And some of these expressions came from the lips of the officials with the highest government

authority. This indicates a high level of the social tension in the Russian society as well as a high level of intolerance and lack of respect for others.

Therefore it is possible to make the forecast that in the absence of feedback between the government and various sectors of Russian society of the developed institutions of civil society, the social tension may increase and ethno-cultural conflicts will take violent forms. But at the same time although the events at Manezhnaya Square and other places in Moscow were destructive, they have led to large-scale discussions at various levels with the identification of the causes of the incident. The question was raised about the regulatory value grounds for discursive construction of social order and the discussion of this issue was opened up. The stabilizing function of the conflict plays an important role in such construction. The problem is to establish conditions under which the solidarity of members of the Russian society despite social, ethnic and cultural, and denominational differences is possible. This will require to lower a level of social exclusion, to eliminate the use of violence during the conflict, i.e. it is about civilizing the conflict. The full measure of stabilizing function of the conflict may be reached if the participants achieve a level of mutual understanding in which the common interest prevails, which in turn may be possible at fairly high level of trust.

Constructive confrontation can be useful for solving these problems. But as an example, the slogans "Moscow for Russians" and "Moscow for all" are contradictory; they do not contain any hint of agreement. Therefore social dialogue has not been obtained yet. Under these circumstances, patriotic cultivation and tightened measures against extremist citizens do not entail the desired effect. Therefore the solution of social problems aimed at reducing social gap and the increase of employment may be more efficient.

Suleimanov, Azamat Z.

National Self-Consciousness as a Phenomenon in the System of Social Consciousness

Ethnocultural issues and development of national self-consciousness are acquiring now peculiar significance and depth of socio-philosophical comprehension. This is due to the socio-economic, social and political, as well as historical and cultural processes taking place in our country presently.

Under the conditions of renewal of public life the moving forces of national self-consciousness are expanding, interest in studying the classical cultural heritage is deepening, and the new phenomenon in the sphere of spiritual culture is developing. Now all the nations start to comprehend their spiritual heritage, and powerful strata of national culture returns. All this has a great impact on the formation of national self-consciousness, contributing to the development of moral and spiritual values.

For many scientists and mostly for common people, the structure of national self-consciousness is interpreted as a unity of realization of one's national identity, the adherence to the national values, and the urge towards sovereignty.

The national self-consciousness includes belonging to the given community, love for the mother tongue, national culture, adherence to national values, sense of national pride, and realization of community of interests. These structural components of the national self-consciousness are in constant dialectical development. This is what Ch. Aitmatov wrote, arguing about the role of the native language in the nation's fate: *«Immortality of the nation is in its language. Each language is grand for its people. Each of us is indebted to the nation which gave birth to us and gave us the biggest treasure – its language: we should preserve its pureness and increase its richness»*

An important aspect of the national self-consciousness is people's awareness of their identity, belonging to this very, and not any other, national ethnic and socio-political community – that is, nation and nationality.

Due to authoritarianism in the USSR the established system became the reason of degradation of the national consciousness, and discontinuity in the historical thinking and national self-consciousness. It also had a negative impact on the development of ethnic culture, infringement of national identity, and its atrophy took place against a background of the alleged prosperity and welfare of all people in the country.

The level of the national self-consciousness should be examined in its changeability. Thus, according to the sociological research, there is a qualitative and quantitative growth of the national self-consciousness in the Republic of Bashkortostan. And the factors of this growth are not only the productive activity of creators of national ideas and views, but also their wide prevalence in the mass consciousness.

Special place in the formation of national self-consciousness belongs to historical figures whose activity determined fate of the people and statehood. In our country, there were many fates covered with falsification, and lots of lives and figures of prominent politicians, military men, revolutionaries, scientists and even heroes of the Great Patriotic War were subjected to deliberate misrepresentation. Now, our people get to learn the truth about most of them, and they start to occupy the fitting places in the nation's historical memory.

Development of the national self-consciousness as a structural element in the system of social awareness is a complex, lengthy and controversial process. The facts and provisions given here and the sociological researches conducted by us testify to the fact that the national self-consciousness is focused on the formation of a civil position, responsibility for one's small homeland's fate, patriotism, feeling of love for one's ethnos and national values in the name of and for the benefit of one's people. Some destruction in moral and political issues and national relationships will have their own consequences. Self-consciousness of the nations should develop in favorable socio-political conditions, in the civil state, where principles of civility and democratic approaches to resolving national issues are observed.

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Zakarina, Elvira R.

Personnel Policy of the Civil Service: Main Problems and Prospects

Researchers note that there is a set of issues in Russian system of selection of personnel replacing the state service positions, which is the subject of scientific study, estimation and detailed elaboration of appropriate normative legal documents¹. Experts assess the work of personnel policy of the government service – what are the current practices of personnel techniques using at work with the cadre of the state civil service, mechanisms of selection of the cadre. One of the most burning issues of the state service is corruption. There is such a speculative opinion in the social consciousness that state positions can be “bought”, and sometimes they are considered as a “long-term investment”. Especially it concerns high-status positions, positions in law enforcement agencies, executive authority system.

The state civil service of the Russian Federation (SCS RF) is a type of state service corresponding professional service activity of the Russian Federation citizens at the positions of the SCS RF [1, article 3, paragraphs 1 – 2].

Let us introduce the assessment of emerged practice of SCS positions replacement made by specialists of National Research University - Higher School of Economics (NRU-HSE). They write about personnel technology defining it as a “whole range of techniques, ways and methods of influence on the cadre and potential candidates for positions of government service during the process of attracting, hiring, employing, developing and releasing with the aim of getting the best ultimate results in the performance of their duties”². In the emerged practice of state service positions replacement large place is occupied by certain procedures and assessing methods that partially meet the case of practicalness and effectiveness, but scientific character and adequacy of most of which is a matter of serious doubts. Particularly, recently wide-applied psychological and professional questionnaires (“tests”) in the assessing of candidates for positions do not always have evidence of their validity, reliability and trustworthiness that narrows down all their scientific character. Also used methods and techniques of work with the cadre are not always adequate to manpower policy of ministries and departments, while regulatory basis of their usage often is not developed at all. For usage of full-functioning personnel technologies such as, for example, technology of the “Center of assessment”, state service does not have enough financial source.

¹ Federal Statute of the Civil Service of the Russian Federation. Adopted by the State Duma on 7th of July, 2004. Approved by the Council of the Federation on 15th of July, 2004. [Федеральный Закон о государственной гражданской службе Российской Федерации. Принят Государственной Думой 7 июля 2004 года. Одобрен Советом Федерации 15 июля 2004 года].

² Yupiterov A.V. Selection of the cadre of the Civil Service: current mechanisms, principles and procedures. Moscow, 2004, pages 6 – 25. [Юпитеров А.В. Отбор кадрового состава государственной гражданской службы: современные механизмы, принципы и процедуры. М., 2004. С. 6 – 25].

Having analyzed the problems of quality of civil servants' structure, researchers identify the number of issues:

- The problem of united management system of the state service cadre, united manpower policy of the government, the problem of formation of common standards of activity, assessment and development of state civil servants' career, unification of procedure of state service positions replacement, formation of united data banks with the information about civil servants and vacancies.
- The problem of development of modern requirements to public servant (qualifying, activity-psychological, ethical ones).
- The problem of organizationally-legal and regulatory-legal support of personnel services activities.
- The problem of personnel service institutionalization in the government body. There must be a redefining of organizational status, role, powers and responsibilities of state personnel services both within their organizations and in society, where the manpower services should stand at more active position.
- The problem of development of instruments of responsibility and control in relation to personnel decisions. This problem regards not only the personnel services but also the whole system of public authority management.
- The problem of competence of HR services workers and managers who make a decision about the recruitment and promotion of personnel.

Personnel technologies are the means of quality management of personnel structure of state service in concordance with the priorities assigned by the manpower policy. One of the main directions of state service personnel work improvement is the creation and usage of attracting technologies, which are essentially the information technologies. As goes from practice, applying to organizations professionally working at the field of hiring and job placement (placement services, recruitment agencies) with the issues of attracting to government services doesn't give any positive results. First of all, state service needs new technologies of attracting.

Thus the conclusion can be that the system of personnel recruitment in our company for CSC RF positions replacement needs modernization in two directions.

So as government and personnel services could always have "in its fingertips" working balances for fulfilling the positions of quite low categories and qualified personnel in general, there is such a tendency emerged recently: universities specially working at the personnel training for the state services are being organized. And the importance of such projects is high enough - for example, "Russian Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Russian Federation (RAPA) was established by the Edict of the President of RF on 6th of June, 1994, № 1140. Academy provides training and retraining for citizens for civil service; professional retraining and personal development of federal state servants, state servants of RF subjects, individuals replacing local positions, consulting, informational and analytical services to governmental authorities and authorities of RF subjects, local bodies and organizations. At the present time the Government of

Russia is realizing a program "Reformation and development of the Civil Service system of the Russian Federation (2009-2013)". Besides the internal organizational processes of restructuration, a communication with the public and experts is being implemented. An example of it is the organization of a set of discussion tables on a subject "Personnel policy in the government system" hold by the "RIA NOVOSTI" Information Agency¹. "This is the first roundtable in the set of expert discussions being hold by the Ministry of Telecommunications and Mass Communications of RF within the framework of realization of the Research project aimed to create a positive image of public servant and enhance the prestige of the civil service". The aim of these discussions is the preparation of recommendations and proposals for effective realizations of the Program events, as well as the general public awareness about the activity of public servants for enhancing the prestige of the civil service. Among the participants there are representatives of the Ministry of Telecommunications and Mass Communications and the Civil Service and Personnel Department of the Government, representatives of recruiting portals, scientific workers. The point of issue was the elaboration of the main principles of selection and requirements to applicants, analysis and search of appropriate model among the western examples, etc. Conduct of such events indicates the interest of different government structure representatives that applicants to the federal and local state services positions could have the opportunity to learn and participate in the competitions to positions, as well as to create new, adequate to current reality methods and technologies of qualified personnel selection. To get the clear assessment of today's level of applicants' proposals the collaboration with the first-rate recruiting portals representatives such as HH.ru, SuperJob.ru and others is very important.

Important basic elements of manpower policy is Psychology of Professional activity, Economics of Labor, Economic Sociology, Management Theory, Theory of State and Law, Theory of the Civil Service², etc. Scientific experts suggest a similar point of view. In the development of the state personnel policy it is important to answer the following question – what is the social function of the state manpower policy in the system of public administration – instrument of retention of power or one of the most important resources of public development? Here we come close to the issue of corruption in the sphere of providing the opportunity to hold a post in the state machinery. One of the artifacts of social consciousness is the opinion that public administration system is closed and its main aim is keeping status quo. And the basic principle of this system replenishment with new personnel (despite the existing legal regulations) is a corporate principle, principle of "payment" for high status bureaucratic places.

Assessing the factors caused the corrupt practices within the government bodies most of the experts note such a corruption factor as a **low salary of the officials, weak points of social guarantees after resignation, lack of legal**

¹ Electronic resource. Access mode <http://www.rian.ru/announce/20100929/280343514.html>

² Tyrchinov A. Social assessment of the state personnel policy // Human and Labor, 2001, № 7. [А.Турчинов. Социальное измерение государственной кадровой политики// Человек и труд. 2011, №7]

protection. One of the experts expressed it in a generalized image: “The Minister understands that he might come into position for 50 or 70 days. Official understands that the day after tomorrow he will be “thrown away” from the system, etc.” Much depends on the power structure, state machinery itself. Some experts mention overload of state machinery with excessive functions, lack of criterions of optimal number of public authorities and of creation territorial forms and units of government. Answering the question about **buying positions in public authorities** some informed experts agree that this practice exists. Moreover buying the high rank positions takes place (“at the level of deputy minister, department head and members of secretariat”). In different interviews the sum of “positions price” varies from 40 000 to 500 000 dollars (for deputy minister position)¹.

Nevertheless, some experts mention the factor of **state and service morality**, talking about the ways of improvement of government service. Especially the assessment of morality level of officials is important. Also the importance of such factor as **income transparency and especially the dynamics of income transparency of officials** (public income statements) is mentioned by experts. In any case it makes officials to be more careful, in a good meaning of this word: “Today, as a matter of fact, if you want to enter into the elite you should pay attention to your reputation. It becomes something like a positive factor”. Talking about the officials` income statements as one of the anticorruption factors, there can be an interesting dynamics seen. In 2009, when the law about the public income statements of officials and members of their families was adopted, every third respondent was well-informed about it and even read statements by themselves (33 %), while today the amount of such respondents is twice less (15 %). 44 % of the interviewed know about it according to mass-media reports and acquaintances telling, but they did not read the statements personally. The amount of people who does not know anything about officials` income statements increased considerably (from 23 to 41 %)². Answering to the question “If you have not seen the high-ranking officials` income statements, then why?” in 2009 just 29 % of respondents said that they did not think the information in these statements is reliable, and at present the number of people having this opinion increased to 34%. It means that the level of trust both to the income statements as an anticorruption initiative and to officials in general is decreasing.

¹ Report “Diagnosis of Russian corruption: Sociological analysis”. Electronic resource. Access mode: <http://www.anti-corr.ru> [Доклад «ДИАГНОСТИКА. Российской коррупции: СОЦИОЛОГИЧЕСКИЙ АНАЛИЗ». <http://www.anti-corr.ru>

² WCIOM, Press-release №1756, 05/25/2011. “Officials` income statement: interested? watch? trust? // Electronic resource, access mode [http://wciom.ru/index.php?id=268&uid=111624]. [ВЦИОМ, Пресс-выпуск №1756 от 25.05.2011 «Декларации о доходах чиновников: интересуемся? смотрим? доверяем?» <http://wciom.ru/index.php?id=268&uid=111624>

Podgorny, Boris B.

Low Popular Participation in Investing in the Stock Market Instruments - Causes and Solutions

Since 2000, the Russian stock market began to develop actively, that allowed people to invest in shares of the leading Russian companies and other stock market instruments. About 1% of the population of Russia take an active part in investing in the stock market instruments by buying shares in mutual funds, as well as by person - through the purchase of shares and bonds of Russian companies. Today the participation of the Russian population in active investing in shares, bonds and other stock market instruments are as follows:

- Investments in Mutual 470 595 - are not more than 0,3% of total Russian population. [4]
- Active individual participation in investing in instruments of the organized stock market - shares, bonds and derivatives 873 165 - are not more than 0,7% of the total Russian population. [5]

The number of private stock market investors in Russia is significantly different from the number of private investors in other countries. For comparison, about 90 million Americans (every 4-th American adult) invest their funds in the U.S. stock market [1; 2, 137-145], in China there are more than 125 million stock market private investors, India's proportion of the population investing in equities, is up to 6 times higher than in Russia.

Several existing studies demonstrate that the low investment activity of the population in shares depends on the low yield of households. However, in the beginning of 2010 cash deposits which are opened by individuals in Russian banks were amounted nearly 7.5 trillion rubles in general, that is more than 50% of Russian annual budget. Most of the deposits are placed in Russian rubles [6; 8] for a period of time of more than half of them from one year to three years, 7% - for a period of time over three years, and the others - for less than one year.

This amount of capital is comparable with the total capitalization of 3 major Russian companies - Gazprom, Rosneft and Sberbank.

In 2009 the number of private investors of the stock market in the Kursk region¹ is less than 2500 people². The region is a home for 1,236,000 people [7] (0,87 % of the Russian population), and the number of private investors residing in the region is only 0,3% of the total number of registered private investors on the Russian stock market and it is 0,2% of the total population of the region. Of course, it is impossible to compare the Kursk region to Moscow or St. Petersburg, but the activity of the population in investing in the stock market instruments could be significantly higher. Because the population of the region has enough funds for

¹ Kursk region - model region of Central Black Soil of Russia

² Calculated by the author

investment. Since 2007, the household deposits in banks of the Kursk region have increased twice and amounted to more than 35 billion rubles, more than a half are placed in the Savings Bank of Russia [8]. This amount is comparable to the regional budget of 2010 [9].

Table 1

The dynamics of household deposits of the Kursk region

Year	2007	2008	2009	2010
Deposits amount, RR million	15341,4	20110,7	23049,9	35330,0

The author has conducted a sociological survey of the various population segments and analysed the data to determine the attitudes of the regional population to investing in shares and other stock market instruments. The survey was conducted in the following directions: investment preferences, the social unit, the financial position of the respondents, the participation in the privatization and attitude towards it, and the block of awareness about the stock market. 670 respondents in Kursk and Kursk region of various ages and social categories of the population took part in the survey. This article provides some sample data that characterizing the investment preferences of the population of the Kursk region, as well as the main causes of the low investment activity of the population in the stock market.

1. The availability and form of savings.

An analysis of the questionnaire survey shows that 25% of the total number of the respondents have no savings, 35% of the respondents keep their money in banks, up to 10% of the respondents invest or have invested in real estate - buying of apartments (participation in joint construction) with a view for further profitable resale. Also, some of the respondents have invested in land or lots in suburban cooperatives. 21% of respondents keep their savings at home, at least half of them - in U.S. dollars or euros.

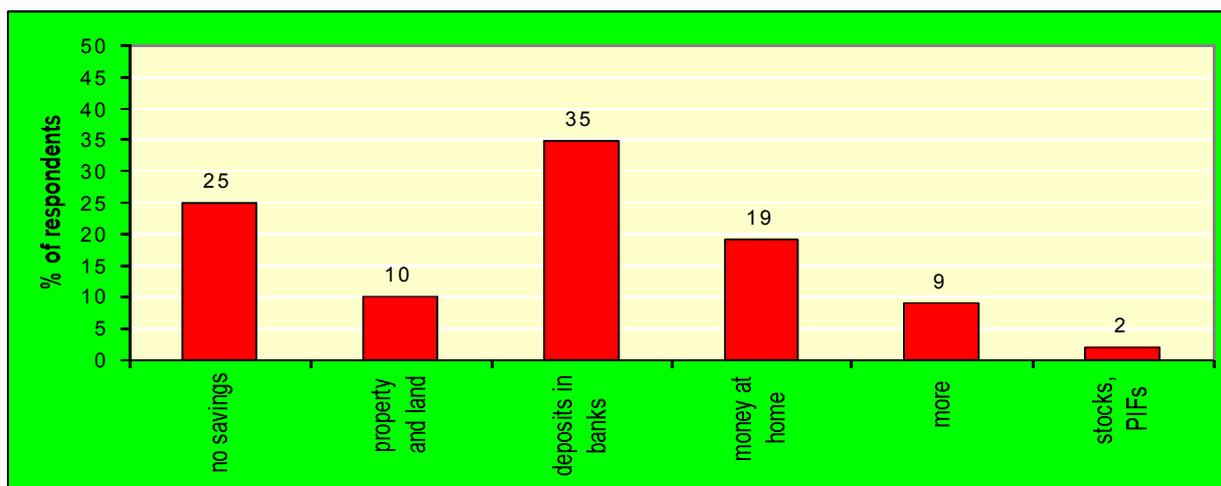


Figure 1. Distribution of the respondents according to the type of savings.

2. The amount of savings.

25% of the respondents have no savings, 17% have savings of less than 50,000 rubles, 25% of the respondents owns savings from 50 to 100 thousand, 21%

of the respondents owns savings from 100 to 500 thousand and only 12% have savings of more than 500 thousand rubles.

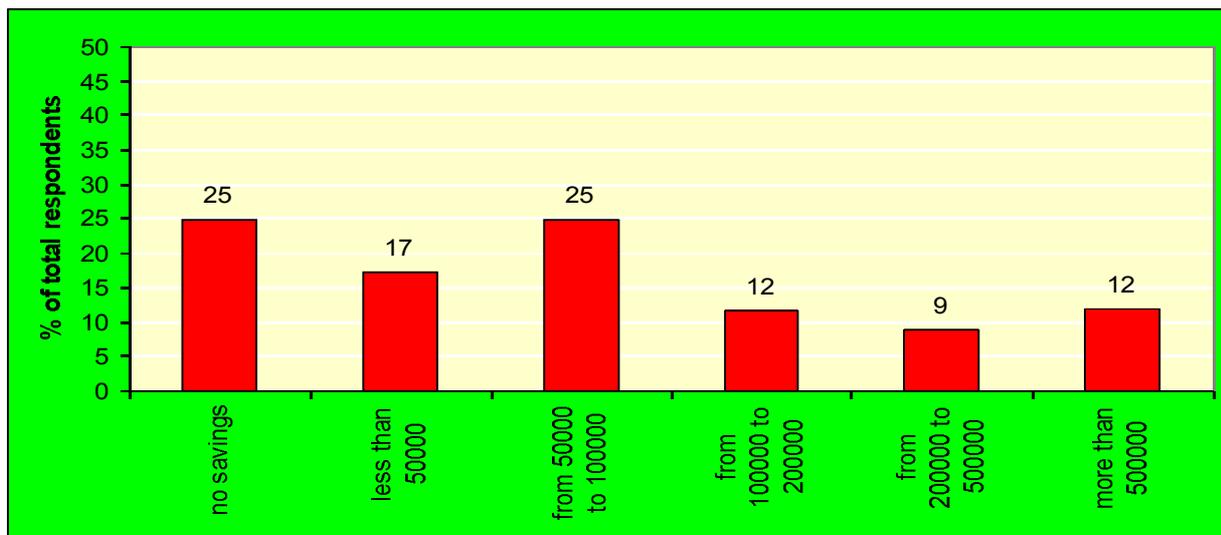


Figure 2. Distribution of the respondents according to the size of savings.

3. An opinion about the profitability of investing.

29% of the respondents believe that it's necessary to invest on bank deposits, 23% of the respondents believe that it is right to invest in currency or real estate. 48% of the respondents believe that it's profitable to invest in stocks or other securities of the Russian companies, but they do not realise it, because they do not possess the real information about the stock market. The author finds it necessary to note that almost half of those who have no savings are often interested in investing in securities. The results are presented in the diagram 3.

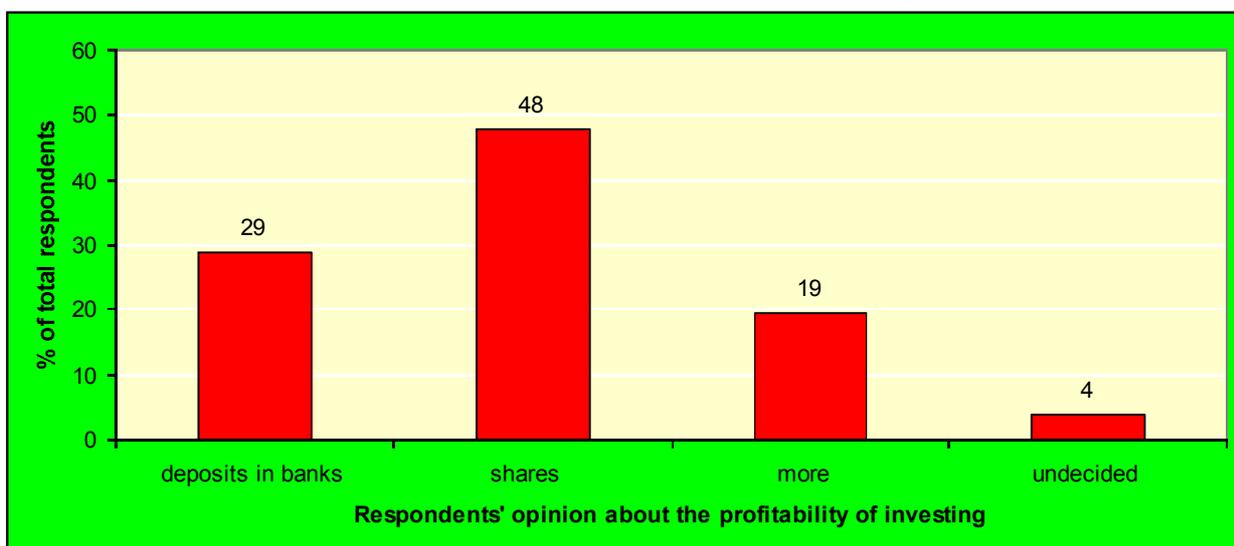


Figure 3. An opinion about the profitability of investing.

4. Awareness about the basic concepts and elements of the stock market.

3 questions were asked in the questionnaires, the answers provide a picture of the awareness of the respondents about the basics of the stock market. So, the following questions were asked: "How do you think, who set the prices of shares on the stock market?", "How do you think who are the brokers?", "Is it possible to

purchase shares of the leading Russian enterprises in the Kursk (Kursk region)?" The results were the follows:

❖ **"How do you think, who set the prices of shares on the stock market?"**

25% of the total respondents answered this question correctly. 75% of the respondents believe that stock prices are set by the Central Bank of Russia, by the Office of the President, the issuers, the owners of the large blocks and the organizations that buying up shares.

Some of the surveyed had previously turned to the Kursk entrepreneurs and legal entities whose ads in local newspapers offering "buy-sell" shares. But they offered to buy shares at 5-10% above the stock and sell for 5-10% below the stock exchange price.

❖ **"How do you think, who are the brokers?"**

The answer to the question of understanding who are the brokers virtually repeats the results of the previous question - not more than 25% of the respondents gave the correct answer. The others think that brokers are the organizations that buying up shares, the individuals offering to sell shares, and the entrepreneurs, working on the exchange.

❖ **"Is it possible to purchase shares of the leading Russian enterprises in the Kursk (Kursk region)?"**

50% of the respondents know that it is possible to purchase shares of the "blue chips" in Kursk, but more than half of them think that it can be done through the companies that buy and sell shares, and it is necessary to pay from 3 to 10% above the market price. The second half of the respondents believe that they should apply to banks, insurance companies, to the stock exchange, to the enterprises to purchase shares, and only 2% know that it is necessary to apply to brokers working on the exchange.

Analysis of the results shows that the population has a healthy interest in investing in stock market instruments, but there are some reasons why the number of private investors in Russia is growing slowly. To the author the main causes of the low investment activity, are the following:

- **Low awareness of the Russian population about investing in shears, bonds and other stock market instruments.** Lack of clear and available information - the main reason for the low participation in investing in the stock market instruments. Knowledge about the stock market and investments has risen slightly since the beginning of the privatization in Russia.

- **Low incentive of the Russian population to invest in shares.** In 2001, the State Duma has introduced the tax break, which exempt transactions of shares from the income tax for those who owned shares of more than 3 years, and as a consequence, all those who had received shares during the "voucher privatization". This incentive has helped to attract citizens to the local stock market and has encouraged long-term investments that gave stability to the Russian stock market. Besides, the incentive raises the investment attractiveness of the Russian companies. Since January 2007 the State Duma has abolished the article of the Tax

Code, that exempted from the income tax those who sell shares which they owned for more than 3 years. From January 2011 the Tax code has changed anew, according to these changes those who own shares for more than 5 years are exempt from the income tax on the sale but the count of this 5 years starting from the 1-st of January 2011.

- **Failure participation most of the population in the privatization.** The negative experience of 90 years in the investment (“MMM”, “Hoper-Invest”, “Derzhava”, the regional voucher funds and others).

- **A small number of public corporations (open joint stock companies) in most regions as well as the Kursk region.** The most companies in the Kursk region have an organizational form as a limited liability companies or a closed joint stock companies, so their shares have the limited turnover only among the workers or participants of these companies. The shares of the regional public corporations also have no free turnover, and their blocking stakes are owned by several shareholders - individuals or entities. Shareholders usually realize the executive body of these enterprises. As a rule there are no dividend payments in these joint-stock companies. This is unprofitable because dividends are paid from the net profit, that involves to pay the income tax first. In this model, there is no principle which is inherent in public companies so-called “Anglo-Saxon tradition” - the priority of the interests of shareholders before the interests of management. And this is what arouses people's interest in investing in shares and allows to involve a significant capital in the organization of new companies.

- **The economic and culture-historical tradition of the Russian population.** Under socialism, there was no place for the stock market in Russia. Cash and material resources were allocated directly, by the order of the authorities. The stock market instruments, which would let to allow the inflows for the economic development, were absent. Experience of other countries, notably in Germany, shows that people who grew up and educated in environments unsuitable for an enterprising business, can not fundamentally change their mentality, and that most directly affects the share capital and stock market development. Today 142 million people living in Russia, more than 76 million are people aged over 35 years¹, who got education and training in the Soviet Union, where a market economy, stock exchanges and joint-stock companies were out of the question.

To enhance the investment activity of the population and create a mass class of investors, it is necessary to realize the following among other measures:

- **To organize an accessible and clear public training of the behavior technologies on the stocks and other securities market.** This might become an important incentive for attraction funds from the public to the country's economy and create conditions for the accumulation the investment potential in society. The training program of the behavior

¹ Calculated by the author according to the Federal State Statistics Service of the Russian Federation

technologies on stocks and other securities market should be financed from the state budget, while at the the same time responsibility for it and of its organization appropriate to assign to the regional authorities. Regional authorities should organize a special issue of the weekly broadcast on local TV channels, as well as regular coverage in local media the prices of the shares including local companies, conducting analytical reviews and other activities.

- **To amend the Tax Code to encourage people to buy shares.** That is:
- Changes that would exempt from the income tax those persons who holding shares for more than 3-5 years. It is possible to establish a progressive tax scale, for example the ownership of shares less than 1 year imposes by a tax 20% of an earned profit, ownership of shares from 1 to 2 years taxed at 10%, from 2 to 3 years taxed at 5%, more than 4 years – 0%. This will attract the long-term investors.
- Changes wich the part of the funds aimed by individual for the purchase shares is exempt from income tax. This practice is used in many developed countries, it allows people to accumulate sufficient capacity for the future pensions.
- **Promotion of small and medium-sized regional businesses** to organize joint stock companies with mandatory free subscription of 40-50% of shares to public. As an incentive, the regional laws can be adopted on exemption from some taxes for those businesses that are organized in the form of JSC with a number of shareholders not less than 100.
- **The organization of work with strategic region investors.** To the regions, including the Kursk region, comes a sufficient number of strategic investors who raise agriculture, develop industry, construction and services sectors. Most of them are opening their branches or registered limited liability company with they 100% participation. Today, the regional authorities require them to sign agreements of saving labor collectives, perform requirements of employees welfare, paid decent wages. Support of the regional authorities of new strategic investors should be accompanied by an obligatory condition of creation new enterprises in the form of open joint-stock companies with a free and public offering of up to 50% of shares of start-ups, that will allow people to participate financially in development of regional enterprises to profit from their activities, to influence (through the law, which allows participation in authorized capital) on status of these enterprises. Perhaps some benefits will be provision (federal or regional) for these enterprises. Later in regions can be created centers for organized treatment of these securities, and exit on the Russian stock market.

Historical note: the founders of joint stock companies in prerevolutionary Russia had significant limitations in registration of new organizations. The Code of Laws of the Russian Empire (Vol. X Article 2165) reads

2165. Учредители компании имѣютъ право отдѣлять въ свою пользу известное количество акцій, но съ тѣмъ: 1) чтобы оно не превышало пятой части общаго предназначеннаго къ выпуску числа акцій

Figure 1. The Code of Laws of the Russian Empire

The remaining shares were distributed by the public subscribe, which operated for at least 6 months. At the same the Articles of Associations restricted the number of shares that one person might subscribe. [3]

- **The process of further privatization** of the state or regional (municipal) property should be realize through a mass (popular) IPO, so any citizen could take part in this process. The following scheme is possible: at first re-registration of FSUEs (MUEs) into joint stock companies, then a real market evaluation of these companies by the independent audit, after that selling up to 50% of shares by tender to major investors and announcing the public offer of other 50% of the shares with providing of audit report and results of a tender. The size of subscribed amounts is determine after the end of the subscription and than there is a proportional division and a payment is going. At the same an individual can not subscribe for more than 3-5% of the shares. If some part of the shares will not be bought during the subscription, an authorized organization can put it up for sale on organized stock market (for example MICEX) for the further realization. It is very important to inform the public about the subscription in a timely manner during such activities.
- **To amend the Law on Bankruptcy**, which should provide the conversion of enterprises into joint stock company, or issue new of this company with a public subscription for these shares in receivership, after determining the debt of bankrupt enterprises and evaluation of its assets. Also it is possible a scheme with the involvement of major investors, like during the privatization of the federal or municipal enterprises.

During the crisis of 2008-2009 in central and regional media there was quite different information about the stock market. You could make different conclusions of it. For example: the participants of the stock market are the main culprits of the global crisis, the stock exchange is the "harmful" Institute, stockbrokers have organized a "black hole" and so on. But nowhere was voiced about the fact that every citizen aged 18 years have a right to become co-owner of the largest Russian companies as Gazprom, the Savings Bank and many others, take part in shareholder meetings, receive dividends, profits from the growth of stocks exchange rate.

The author believes that the proposed activities will provide a significant increase of the number of Russian investors on organized stock market, will ensure the inflow of capital for local companies, lead to a truly market model of the economic development with the massive participation of the population, will strengthen the public control over the processes, and contribute to clear statements of enterprises and the strict implementation by the Russian tax and civil legislation.

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