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**Culture. Religious.
Ethnos. Mass
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Identity**

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Ethnic Awareness of Belgorod Young People in Unstable Social Environment

The distinguishing characteristic of contemporary Russia is the increase of the significance of ethnic factor in conciseness and behavior of different social groups. It is particularly obvious among young people where new ethnicity serves as the most accessible form of social identification in the society of the increased risk.

It is quite natural that increase of ethnic awareness causes numerous discussions concerning this problem during which mythologize of this issue happens frequently and it is expressed in the speculations about mass spread of Russian fascism as young people's reaction to their being social outsiders and ineffectiveness of social lifts. Rather often these speculations do not have any empirical foundation and reflect only authors' ideological attitudes. In this respect specific researches are laid special emphasis on as they allow detecting the real condition of youth's ethnic awareness.

Such study – "Causes of ethnic extremism and xenophobia expansion among young people (Central Federal District)" was conducted by Centre of social technologies of Belgorod State University in five regions of Russia (Belgorod, Voronezh, Kursk, Lipetsk and Orel) on request of the Ministry of Regional Development of RF in 2008.

The purpose of the study was the scientific foundation of the measures aimed at prevention of demonstration of ethnic extremism and xenophobia expansion among young people in the constituents of the Russian Federation comprising Central Federal District. The research was conducted with the help of questionnaire survey. Questionnaire survey included interviewing young people with the help of the procedure of multi-stage quote sample (N = 3000 respondents). As quote features served the following: place of living (town-village), sex, age. This sampling is representative in reference to statistical universe. Besides expert poll was conducted to specify and interpret the obtained data (62 experts from different constituents of Central Federal District were selected under the criteria of education level, professional competence, availability of scientific publications on the issues of national policy and national relations).

In accordance with the findings of the study held in Belgorod State University (BSU) on 14 – 15 November there was a research and practice conference where scientists and practitioners from different regions of Russia, Ukraine and Belorussia considered current problems of resistance to extremism and xenophobia expansion among young people, interpreted the results of the study and suggested some recommendations how to improve practical work in this direction.

In April 2011 Centre of social technologies of BSU had a shot to verify the received results using the materials which were obtained when questioning the

students of BSU (N = 407). It goes without saying that the two studies are not comparable in terms of volume of sampling and on the basis of them it is difficult to speak about some overall trends relating to all young people. But during the second study the following issue was of primary concern: how the feathers of ethnic awareness which had been distinguished three years before were exhibited by the young people who belonged to the youth elite at the level of the region.

The conducted researches gave an opportunity to detect some peculiarities of ethnic awareness of young people in the conditions of unstable social environment.

At present with high degree of certainty it is possible to claim that ethnic factor is playing more and more important role in Russian young people's self-evaluation. Thus, in 2008 ethnic background was quite important for 24.81% of the respondents in Belgorod region; rather important than unimportant for 40.54%. In 2011 these figures were 33.66% and 40.29% respectively. In other words the increase of the number of young people who regard ethnicity to be quite significant is obvious. On the basis of the available data it is difficult to say definitely if this change reflects the self-awareness of all young people or we should speak about the peculiarity of students' public opinion. But in any case ethnic background is becoming a significant value for this social group. The process of ethnic self-awareness and self-determination is extremely complex, controversial and inevitably characterized by deformed ideas. In particular many young people are not inclined just to identify themselves with the exact ethnos emphasizing this natural circumstance but also to assign exaggerated worth stressing to this fact. So in 2008 31.60% of Belgorod residents correlated the significance of their ethnicity with the fact that it united them with the great people. While 42.81% of the respondents considered their ethnicity to be somehow better than the other ones and the historical heritage was mentioned as the main distinguishing factor (20.42%). In 2011 39.31% of the respondents estimated their ethnicity as differing to the better from the other ones and 35.87% named the historical heritage as the main reason for their ethnic pride.

The obtained results give grounds to claim that the fact that in recent years young people are more and more often placing an emphasis on their ethnic background frequently doing it in an exaggerated form is explained by its comparative easiness and availability which does not assume (in its retrospective variant) any personal efforts or activity and allows to represent themselves only by means of convenient rendering of historical memory.

It is acceptable to state that in recent years the process of switching from ethnic negativism to ethnic awareness is going on among young people. And as any other new processes it is perceived painfully not only by surroundings but also by its holders. Moreover, novelty of ethnic mentality inevitably results in forms of thinking inadequate to realities. The most typical in this relation is artificial ethnic distancing. It is manifested, for instance, in the fact that young people do not want to deal with the representatives of separate nationalities. In 2011 there were 59.21% of the supporters of such life philosophy among the respondents.

At first sight the obtained figure is the basis for young people's identification as holders of the worst as for their contents and consequences nationalistic moods and sights which is supposed to prove the repeatedly recited idea about the birth of Russian fascism. However, the reality is not as simple as it seems to be to the followers of simplified interpretations.

First of all it should be taken into consideration that young people's nationalism does not have any common, ordinary character. Ethnic distancing (and it is rather unexpectedly) is not felt at the level of interpersonal communication but at the level of macro social processes which attaches socio-political character to it. It is sufficient to point out: 77% of Belgorod students have friends of other ethnic backgrounds and it does not generate any discomfort in their social communications. Moreover, in 2011 only 19.16% of the respondents took the idea of cross (interethnic) marriages negatively, while 41.77% - the idea of creation of "national districts" in cities.

Nationalism and smoothly connected with it ethnic distancing appear to be a painful, not always adequate reaction to the public processes, in the first place, to the negative targeting of social activities of the organized ethnic groups (national diasporas). It is particularly obvious in young people's attitude to ethnic migration. In 2008 the overall majority of Belgorod young people were for its heavy regulation. 37.67% supposed that influx of migrants should be limited, 13.77% - fought for allowance of migration in exceptional cases and 8.77% - were for total ban of migration. A part of young people insisted on limitation of access to the region of the representatives of some ethnic groups (Gypsies, the Chechen, the Armenians, the Chinese, the Georgians, the Dagestani, the Azerbaijani and the Vietnamese).

In 2011 antagonism to migrants did not change much. Limitation of their afflux was considered to be necessary by 43.24% of the respondents, ban - by almost 8.95%. But the most curious are the motives in accordance with which young people suppose to introduce some limitations. The main one is hostile attitude to the respondent's ethnicity (39.80%); ethnic crime - about 29.98%; different traditions - (13.51%). And only 4.91% connect the ban with the social and economic activities of the non-residents.

The latter circumstance, in our opinion, is one of the arguments which contradict the idea of social and economic roots of the modern nationalism of young people. It goes without saying that there is a social and economic aspect. But the stereotypes in accordance with which nationalistic ideas are expressed and defended (often in illegal forms) by young people, who are related to "lumpen" and are not satisfied with their living conditions, do not work in this case.

We shall indicate, in particular, the following circumstances. Firstly, among the students who participated in the study conducted in 2011 there are 6.39% of the unsatisfied with their lives; 17.69% - with the financial situation in their families, but 40.54% are unsatisfied with interethnic relations. Secondly, the students' reaction to so called "events on Manezh Square" in 2010 is illustrative. Thus, 73.46% of the respondents are aware of these events. But only a little more than 22%

take them positively; while 15.97% would take part in them on the side of the football fans; 2.95% - on the side of the migrants. The students define the main reason of the events as the migrants' aggressive behavior (32.19%); the migrants' dominant influence in the capital (22.60%); aggressiveness of fans' subcultures (21.87%); acting of Caucasian Diasporas (20.39%). And only 10.07% referred to the youth's dissatisfaction with their social and economical status.

Needless to say that it is possible to claim that young people do not estimate their social and economical status quite adequately. But it is impossible to ignore the clearly signified ethno political orientation of young people's collective consciousness which is not expressed by the lumpen part of young people but by the relatively successful group.

In our opinion problems of interethnic relations are perceived by Belgorod young people not so much as individual related to their being outsiders personally as socially significant determined by numerous and sometimes cynical violations of social fairness in the sphere of ethnic intercommunication. And in this connection it is illustrative that 66.83% of the respondents in 2011 expressed their dissatisfaction with social fairness in Russian society. In 2008 this figure was 58.83%.

Against the obtained results it becomes quite obvious: any attempts, which interpret the condition of interethnic relations in Russia in the corporative and so called "political" interests perversely narrowing down its causes only to social and economical ones, will only aggravate the situation and be taken as additional evidence of social unfairness by young people.

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Culture of Law and Law Consciousness's Formation as a Basis for Overcoming the Corruptness of the Russian Society

Understanding of the criminally-law nature of corruption displays in Russia any more one hundred years, according to researchers, but its essence, it seems, has not become more comprehensible. Each new research only adds confidence of that, corruption became a social reality, and socially necessary. As noted in V. I. Shulga's work «... became a culture part, as outside the biological program of human ability to live, which was created by a man by his behavior as a result of appropriate human activity and not natural environment» [10]. Corruption knowledge not in accuracy of its estimation, but in the depth of penetration in its essence. The last will depend on a science which object of research it becomes. Corruption can become a subject of studying of many socially-humanities, including socially-legal.

Considering the social importance of the given phenomenon for modern social development, the negative social consequences especially in carrying out of reforms, the state and a society does an emphasis on toughening, as a rule, criminal punishment. Thereby solving special but missed common questions: what are the social roots of corruption, its role in society and state life of a particular person, the depth and extent of infestation and social organizations of society. In this connection other is necessary for corruption knowledge as social phenomenon, namely general methodology of its research at level of general socially-humanitarian knowledge. The basis of such methodology makes the philosophy of knowledge of general laws of development of human being and his thinking, society and state.

At the present stage of social development of its organizing force was not the religion, morality and other spiritual values and attitudes, how much industry in the broadest sense of the word. In an industrial society based its development is economic, that is, purposeful activity, during which a person has dominion over nature, and not vice versa. Such activity becomes the target of an industrial society in the pursuit of which undermined the natural conditions of existence and development of man and society.

During the transformative nature of the activity generated by a social culture, corresponding to it is formed, on the first place in which leaves economic feasibility, social system rationalization, instead of spiritual essence of such activity. In an industrial society the nature as inhabitancy becomes means for satisfaction of more and more increasing irrepressible requirements of industrial elite of a society which establishes a fashion, criteria and the purposes of these requirements inaccessible to the majority of the population. In such society for their achievement

all means are good, including corruption [6, P.197].

If the pre-industrial development of the society of corruption show as a social factor, in the modern industrial period, it is a reality as a social phenomenon. Naturally, her identification, compilation, analysis, definition of engaged and involved in many sciences, including criminology, that of all the social sciences most closely is the knowledge of a dangerous form of its manifestation – a criminal.

In this plan corruption should be considered already not only from positions of various private sciences, but also, first of all, from positions of philosophical level of its scientific knowledge as the independent negative socially-legal phenomenon regulated by norms of the right. A universal criterion should always be used when assessing, interpreting, applying and improving the rule of law. This applies to the rules governing the fight against corruption.

In social terms, on the basis of universal and comprehensive real-world manifestations of corruption, it becomes apparent that she had become part of our not only common, but also spiritual, professional, media, financial, regulatory, and some other cultures. In the spiritual culture of corruption creates in the minds of a certain world view, relevant views, attitudes, values, to greed, hoarding, greed, leading to the spiritual degradation of not only the individual but also the whole nation. In popular culture corruption reflects the most widespread, typical way of life and the thinking, not demanding high self-return, sacrifice for the blessing of a society, the state. In material culture, social culture and occupational culture - corruption shapes the way of production that determines its level, which does not require a high level of professionalism, and consequently its development. In the regulatory culture, it becomes a model, a norm of behavior for almost the majority of the population. In the political culture of corruption is necessary to form a narrow circle of persons political ideology that does not coincide with the interests of society, creating conflicts of interests and values of entire social groups.

At the sociological approach it is visible that corruption roots, as well as criminality as a whole, lie not so much in an economic plane as it quite soundly represent a number of scientists, especially in relation to the organized crime, and in the culture as reflection of essence of social being, public ability to live of this or that nation, a society, the state in concrete historical conditions. At such approach the culture is a civilization basis, and the corruption culture, that is the culture amazed with corruption and other destructive social this sort of phenomena, in many cases becomes it "gravedigger" as the history of many civilizations testifies to it. Corruption is eternal, as criminality, but only, according to Yu.V.Golik, in the past and the present "Corruption - it is always a weakness of the state. In modern Russia, it happened so that proves "you can take, but gently and gradually" [Citation:10]. At such of situation, corruption on certain stage of its development begins to corrode, as metal corrosion, the very foundations of society and state. It becomes norm, and it already a pathology. If the pathology applies for norm corruption simply kills all social organism as the cancer tumor kills a biological organism.

At such statement of a question corruption – it isn't simple a problem of national or public safety. In the state of law, the construction of which is fixed by the Russian Constitution, corruption is part of the culture of law, which itself is apart, and very substantial human culture[9]. In philosophy, in accordance with the general law of reciprocity of relations between the phenomena and processes – on the level of culture of law depends on the level of development across cultures, as well as, on the contrary, the level of public culture depends on the level of culture of law [7].

The category «culture of law» is used for the characteristic of all legal superstructure, all legal system of the country, but under a certain point of view. Unlike the analysis of other extremely wide law categories at the analysis culture of law the basic accent is displaced on studying of a level of development of law phenomena as a whole, on the description and an explanation of law values, ideals and achievements in the law sphere, the rights reflecting volume and freedom of the person and degree of its security in the given society. “The concept culture of law always involves the assessment of «quality» of the law life of a society and its comparison with the most developed legal patterns, ideals and values” [3, P.167]. If we try to give a detailed definition of this concept, it becomes clear that the culture of law – is a specific social institution, serving the function of shaping people's political and law consciousness, value normative systems, and indirectly, and law behavior [2]. Meaningful culture of law's analysis involves an understanding of it as a system of ideal elements relating to the law and its reflection in consciousness and behavior. The structure culture of law in concrete-sociological aspect accordingly includes following elements: the right as system of the norms expressing state will erected in the law; law relationship as system of the public relations which participants possess the mutual rights and duties; law consciousness as a system of spiritual reflection of the whole law reality, the law establishment as a system of state bodies and public organizations that provide law control, the implementation of law, law behavior, activity. The culture of law not only plays a society a role of a standard reference point. It actively interferes in the social environment, providing necessary level of individual sense of justice and involving individuals in uniform system of the social organization. The culture of law based on existing in the society of knowledge and understanding forms the legitimate and recognized patterns of behavior, norms, values, attitudes and rules in relation to the positive law governing the activities of social actors. The culture of law determines the law person's behavior on the everyday level, indirectly. It finds its practical implementation as a sense of justice and misconduct in a group of citizens or public entities. And deviating from the law norms of behavior is not always the result of conscious rebellion, escapism or innovation with respect to the accepted rules of society, as is often the consequence of the weak law awareness, social naivete and business incompetence [4].

Concept, reflecting the special dimension of law reality, serves category of law consciousness. The law consciousness has active influence on regulation of all variety of vital processes in a society and the state, promotes consolidation of the

citizens, all social groups, maintenance and strengthening of integrity of a society, an order in it. The healthy law consciousness of a society, respect of citizens for the law are a basis of a fortress of the state, effective functioning of political and legal systems. Developed law consciousness and the law activity of citizens are the foundation of the rule of law in a civilized society, the foundation of the rule of law. Educating the law consciousness of people - a necessary part of crime prevention, combating corruption, etc.

Low level of Russian society law consciousness and culture of law, negation throughout long time of universal values from ruling elite, influenced a qualitative choice the person of corresponding model of behavior in a society, interactions with machinery of government. In this case we are talking about law nihilism, of a system of value orientations of the person, on such a structure, worldview, which may contribute to deviant (corruptive) behavior of the individual, does not fit into the law field. All this forms the common destructive background for the development of corruption and corrupt practices of the expansion: first, forming a kind of social order of the population strain on the law consciousness of public servants, on the other hand, distorted the legal setting, the law nihilism of civil servants exacerbate strains of law consciousness and legal behavior population. Modernization processes in contemporary Russian society, unable to solve the problem of the culture of law in the automatic mode. The success of non-law practices and the failure of the law techniques leads to strains of law consciousness and the first law nihilism, law relativism and law infantilism. Dangerous deformation of professional law consciousness consists in cultivation of law closeness and law voluntarism of social group of civil servants. Formation of culture of law should be begun with definition of the reference points, capable to act as imperatives, organizing personal and social-group action. As those should act: the spiritual dignity of the individual, the ability to coercion itself and self-government, mutual respect and trust people to each other. The concept of autonomy as a condition of law defines a direction of development and improvement of culture of law was becoming a law personality.

In structure of law consciousness allocate concept «Law enforcement» [2]. How does the phenomenon of enforcement may be of interest in relation to the problem of corruption? The matter is that the given phenomenon in our opinion is capable to act in an unusual role for it, namely as means allowing to carry out demarcation of a phenomenon of corruption. Moreover, this demarcation can be realized by using the phenomenon of law enforcement not only at the level of external manifestations, but also at the level of detection of ontological «roots» of corruption. How then is it possible?

Because, in fact, law enforcement is forced to compel a person to meet the requirements of the law, the analysis of the relationship of the person to this legal action and its evaluation reveals a predisposition to corruption, even if the latter carry a latent form. As, the corruption phenomenon is capable to exist precisely in the environment of double standards, hence, revealing of predisposition to forming

of relations by means of double standards tells about predisposition someone to corruption. How this predisposition can be revealed? The easiest way – is the analysis of personal relationships and assessment of law enforcement. If one is inclined to “judge” is not itself under the same rules as all others, therefore we can not guarantee its resistance in relation to corruption. Hence, one way to fight corruption can be overcome tolerance to double standards. This is one of law enforcement positions in the structure of law consciousness.

Trends in the law life of Russian society have a significant influence on changes of state law institutions, norms and attitudes associated with the personality and its status. Mechanism to guarantee the progressive and evolutionary basis of personality development and civil society – one of the important aspects of the stabilization of legal activities in the fight against corruption in Russia [11]. Modern Russian Humanities science has recognized the need for urgent and priority of studying the foundations of civil society, the factors for its further development with regard to the peculiarities of national legal systems. This is to some extent the importance of studying the content and properties of the relationship of personality corruption as primarily a social institution. Legal interests and aspirations of citizens, their refraction through the organizational and legal actions must speak today under intense scrutiny of scientific theories and research.

In a cut of an investigated problem the subjects of the theory of the person have complex, multilateral character. Law development and destiny of the state and the citizens living in it, their mutual, developed by long mutual practice, the relation to the organization of the socially-legal life inseparably linked among themselves. Thus, apparently, today the Russian management underlines necessity of continuation of realization of the democratic mechanism of interaction of a civil society and the state. In the annual message of the Russian President to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation in 2008 it is underlined that Russian the society has during the last years proved adherence to democratic values, and now the question costs only how democracy should develop in Russia further. In this plan it is necessary to focus the attention to priority innovative directions of formation of the internal relation of citizens to progressing «corruption corrosion» social life of the Russian society and state.

These programs should concern first of all the mechanism and an education system, effectiveness of process of realization of the democratic rights, merge of the right and cultural-historical values and interests of the Russian society, increase of level of national sense of justice, lawful realization of lawful property interests of the person [5]. With the formation of intolerant attitude towards corruption an important role could be given to the legal propaganda among broad layers of the population, carrying out of legal training on a state scale, the process of exclusion from the human psychology of law nihilism [1]. Along with this, as you can see, it is necessary to legislate a sufficiently large volume of programs concerning oriented educational influence. Have value and such anti-corruption instruments, which would be directed not only to the implementation of rights of citizens and

organizations to access information about the facts of corruption through mass media, but public discussion of the findings of fact, participation in law enforcement and the adoption of the appropriate law decisions.

We share the view of I.V.Teplyashin in question, that special attention to the issue of participation of the citizens of Russia in the anti-corruption activities should be given to the institution inclusion of personality in these mechanisms [11]. "Embeddedness" of civil society, the personality of the mechanism of anti-corruption activities will enhance the real effectiveness of interventions and actions. Some authors suggest in order to anti-corruption activities in Russia to carry out propaganda of the anti-corruption behaviour, upbringing of the population of negative attitude to corruption in all its manifestations. This is, for example, rendering of the state support of the formation and activity of public associations established for the purpose of counteraction of corruption, carrying out activities aimed at anti-corruption education and propaganda [8, P.178]. Thus, the development of legislation is a necessary, but not sufficient condition for improving the legal culture. Another condition is the willingness and ability to use the granted rights. This involves training of personality, social groups, nations, civil society use their rights. Legal nihilism and other deformation sense of legal consciousness are not exclusively due to the legal illiteracy, legal ignorance. But overcoming these states legal culture requires wide educational activity of the state, public organizations, individual personalities. Also note that civil society in Russia are certain impulses, which would, for example, stepped personality on the solution of any state reforms, including in the issue of combating corruption, the formation of intolerant attitude in the society to this socially harmful phenomenon.

That is why today it is necessary, first of all, on the theoretical-methodological level to search for adequate measures of counteraction of corruption, to develop methods of anti-corruption education, anti-corruption stability of personality, in the basis of which, in our opinion, should be based on the concept of formation of legal culture of the person.

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Media Space and the Social Space

Contemporary sociology attaches great importance to the measurement of information. So, G. Schiller believes this is the most important substructure of social space. Social stratification alters its specificity in the information age of society. Solvency comes to the fore as a factor, determining access and creation of information. The lower a man stands on the social ladder, the lower the quality of information it can get. Differentiation in the society is enhanced on the basis of the information "have" and "not have", turning those who do not have, and they constitute the vast majority in the information age, in being more dependent on a few generators, processors and transmitters of information [1, 88]. The measurement of information of social space, is not only differently structured, real relationships are increasingly supplanted by virtual. Virtualization, in this case is understood as any substitution of the reality of its simulation/image.

As the social space can be represented by countless subspaces differ in their scope and structure, it would be logical to select one of the many, but rather important from our point of view type of social space - media space. In this case, the criterion for recognizing such a space is related to the production and consumption of media in the media.

The very notion of media space is rather new. the notion of media space was introduced in sociological discourse in 1990 by A. Appadurai in his work *Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy* [2]. Later he developed his ideas in his book *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, published in 1996 in the discussion of theories of globalization [3]. A. Appadurai radicalized contrasting theories of globalization and world-systems theory emphasizing the primacy of culture - the symbolic and phenomenological. He considers globalization as deterritorialization - the loss of binding social processes to physical space. A global cultural flow is formed in the course of globalization, which splits into five cultural and historical landscapes: ethnoscape formed by the flow of tourists, immigrants, refugees, migrant workers, technoscape by the flow technology, finanscape - by the flow of capital, mediaspace - by the stream of images, ideospace by the flow of ideologies. These fluid, unstable space are the building blocks of the imaginary worlds in which people interact, and this interaction has the character of symbolic exchanges. Still, the original formulation of this concept can be seen in Pierre Bourdieu, who coined the term "field of journalism", a place of forces within which agents occupy positions statistically determining their views on the field itself and their practice directed either to preserve or to change the structure of power relations, producing this field [4].

Analyzing the challenges of globalization in culture M. Waters, redirected it to the concept of simulacra Jean Baudrillard [5], based on the concept of A. Appadurai, but somewhat modifying the classification of spaces, streams. In the

theory of M. Waters "dimensions" of culture are: sacriscape, formed by the flow of religious simulacra, ethnoscape, formed by the flow of simulacra of ethnic identity, econoscape, formed by the flow of simulacra and the cost of capital, mediascape, formed by the flow of information simulacra, leisurescape), formed by the flow of simulacra of fun and excitement, such as touristic excitement [6].

It should be noted that the base for the majority of works that operate distinction between real and virtual, is the concept of "decline of reality" by J. Baudrillard, created in the mid 1970's - early 1980's. the concept. Jean Baudrillard was the first to use the metaphor of virtuality in the description of contemporary social processes in the end of 1980 [7]. The term "virtualization" is actively introduced in the mid 1990's by A. Crocker, A. Byulem, M. Paetau and Petersburg sociologist D. Ivanov to describe social processes [8]. Virtualisation of these theories is generally understood as any substitution of the reality by its simulation / way - not necessarily with the help of computer technology, but always using the logic of virtual reality. This logic can be seen, where computers are not directly used. For example, a virtual economy can be called the one in which business transactions are conducted primarily through the Internet, and one in which speculation on the stock market take precedence over material production. A struggle for power by campaigning with the help of web pages or news conferences on the Internet and through promotions in the broadcast studio or concert hall can be called virtual politics. Definition of social phenomena using the concept of virtuality is appropriate when competition of images replaces the competition institutionally specified actions - economical, political or other. Social content of virtualization - a simulation of institutional structure of society is primary in relation to the contents of the technical. Overview of the phenomenon of substitution of reality by images allows us to develop sociological approach: not the computerization of life virtualizes society, but virtualization of society computerizes modern life. Distribution of virtual reality technology is called by the desire to compensate the lack of social reality by means of computer simulations.

The notion of media space as a scientific term in Russian sociology was introduced by E.N. Yudina, who devoted rather interesting and detailed study to this subject. She rightly notes that mass information is the kernel, organizing media space [9]. Therefore, all objects: social institutions, social organizations, groups and individuals related to production and consumption data should seamlessly be included into this space. In this sense, the media space is a system of relations on the production and consumption of media. One of the reasons for this turn to recognition of the importance of media space in modern science is seen as global, or at least a globalizing world, due to the fact that the state with its territorial sovereignty ceases to play a leading role, there is a lot of new space segmentations, local identities and local solidarity, that is, actually, "locus, " place of residence, place of reference, a basis of solidarity for a variety of new and emerging groups. In a virtualization of social processes. And mass media play a significant role in this process.

Actually, the designation of the role of mass media, albeit with some exaggeration, can be seen in R. Park and E. Burgess in their "Introduction to the science of sociology". As they write in the chapter "Social Contacts": "A fundamental social process is the interaction. Interaction is (a) with persons and (b) groups with groups. The easiest aspect of interaction, or its first phase, is contact. Contact can be considered as the initial stage of interaction, the preparations for the subsequent stages" [10, 280]. In connection with the notion of contact, they introduce the concept of social space: "for certain purposes it may be convenient to understand the contact in terms of space. Then contact of individuals and groups can be depicted in terms of social distance [10, 282]. This argument, like the argument of social ecology is directly related to the spatial phenomena. Actually they build the social space around the concept of social interaction. It can be also recalled that G. Zimmel cites the space of values as the example of the private space - a certain analogue of public opinion. And public opinion in the present is largely the product of the mass media.

Media space can be interpreted as a specific reality that can not be fully visualized and which organizes practices and representations of agents that produce and consume media through the mass media, which, in turn, constitute an objective / physical basis of media space. By the definition of N. Luhmann 'notion of the media should cover all public institutions, using technical means for disseminating messages. First of all, he refers to books, magazines, newspapers, produced on a printing press, as well as the results of any kind of photographic or electronic copy if the mass products manufactured by them are not for certain recipients. Broadcasting also falls under this concept if the messages are public, not used solely for the telephone connection of individual recipients' [11, 9]. But in our work, we adopt a more narrow and conventional understanding of mass communication. Actually the difference between them is rather relative: "how much grains does it need to be a handful" that is, audience size and the speed of updating information in the physical or virtual medium, which we attribute to the media.

Analyzing the structure of media space E.N. Yudina used a three-term scheme A. Lefebvre [12], which covers the media and two forms of representation of physical space in the form of social relationships on the production of media and complex symbolic systems that arise as a result of production. According to this scheme in the media space she allocates the following structure: mass media, which is the material, physical basis of production and transmission media, social relations of agents of media space associated with the production and consumption of media, Information symbolic product, which is distributed in the form of mass information. Attracting scheme A. Lefebvre is rather popular in the analysis of media space. Thus, the modern Japanese researcher J. Avatani uses it to analyze the "users" of media space [13].

E.N. Yudina substantiates the notion of architectonics in relation to the media space, and considers its structure in Russia and from this point of view. In studying the dynamics of the Russian media space the author concludes that

commercialization has become a major part of its development. This led to a whole range of negative consequences, providing a destructive influence on all social space. The paper concludes that the main vector of the development of media space has come into conflict with the planned vector of development of society, which adopted the course on strengthening human capital and innovative strategies. E.N. Yudina highlights TV as the backbone component of the modern media space. TV-space has such characteristics as discreteness, non-uniformity, the ability to program the media space and influence the rest of social space. Commercialization has a negative impact on all actors of the Russian media space, but the greatest damage from the view point of the author, has done to a content of TV space. Media space in general has to follow the logic of development, which imposes television, as it promotes the flow of social and financial capital to those actors who managed to position itself in this space. Lack of such non-commercial structural component as public television has a negative effect on all media space and inhibits the formation of civil society in Russia.

The paper also concludes that the contemporary Russian media space is a system which actors interact with networked. Organization of media space in a single network is made possible thanks to the Internet. If the media space in general is a representation of social space, the Internet in the information aspect, according to E.N. Yudina, is a representation of the media space. The importance of this component, it also explains the fact that the most educated and critically thinking audience members television- opinion leaders have the opportunity to leave TV space, unwilling to abandon their cultural and informational claims, compensating for the shortage nonprofit media production with intensive development space of the Internet. This approach, in our opinion, is the result of some idealized view on the Internet, which has long been commercialized. Currently, the Internet is, as well as television, rather strongly politicized and commercialized. Creation and maintenance of the sites is costly, the range is sufficiently large: from a few thousand to several of millions of rubles a year. Though it must be admitted that it is considerably cheaper than the content of a TV channel.

The author draws an integrated approach of J. Ritzer to the analysis of media space. This allows us to show that the mass media, translating texts, create and recreate the social space in the micro-macro-and objective-subjective continua. On a subjective level media space is transformed into a hypertext, which recreates the social space at the micro level. In this sense, hypertext is a semantic structure, which the social elite, with the resources of production media places between the individual and the reality that prompts him to think in certain categories, actualizing only those aspects of reality that the manufacturer of information recognizes as relevant. Hence, media space in a symbolic expression on the subjective level is the ideological vision of social space, formed by producers of mass media. Consequently, the replacement of the contemporary Russian media space are socially and culturally meaningful content

Consequently, the replacement of socially and culturally meaningful content from Russian contemporary media space, "banalization" of information flow leads

to a decrease in cultural and information resources of each individual and reduce the quality of human capital of Russia as a whole.

E.N. Yudina concludes that the media space is an open social system, which creates a mutually conditioned relations integrity of producers and consumers of media, transmitted via the mass media. This specificity of media space allows her to apply a "synergistic" approach to the analysis of the dynamics of media space Russia. Media space in a symbolic expression of a subjective level, is an ideological vision of social space, controlled by producers of mass-media. Media space for the individual is neither real nor imaginary, but the result of their connection. That is, subjective micro level of media space - a synthesis of real and virtual. It is the result of culture of real virtuality, which organizes contemporary social practices [12, 72].

Media space is open to some interactions and is closed to other. Since the media are not directly connected with his audience, the question of how, through what mechanisms they relate to society remains debatable, according E.N. Yudina. To methodologically justify this connection, the author introduces the concept of "meta communication in sociological discourse and interprets the nature of its manifestation in social systems. According to G. Bateson, there are transmitting and team aspects in any transfer of information. The transmitting aspect of the communication is synonymous with content. Team aspect carries information about the information that is specific instruction, which is embodied in the form of a message. This instruction applies to the relationship between communicators and imposes reciprocal obligations on their behavior. In our view the separation of content of a message to the commanding and transmitting is applicable in sociology in the context of a strictly limited cases. G. Bateson developed the theory of "double bind in the context of schizophrenia. By his own admission, his work is often misunderstood, which contributes to the unusual nature of his style, because it did not differ with love for the modern academic standards and his works were often decorated in the form of essays rather than papers. In his works, he uses many metaphors, and the choice of sources, as a rule, can be considered unusual - from the perspective of a conservative science (for example, he could quote the poets of the past and ignore the latest research). In spite of that, some researchers consider his work as a source of very original ideas, worthy of careful reading. Double bind - the communicative paradox, first described in families with schizophrenic. To take full double bind a number of conditions must be met: a) the victim of double bind perceives conflicting instructions or emotional messages on different levels of communication (For example, the words to express love, and nonverbal behavior, or "metamessage" expresses hatred, or a child is offered to speak freely, but criticized or silenced whenever he does so). b) the inability of metacommunication ((differentiation of the two messages, the definition of communication as not amenable to understanding); c) the victim is unable to stop the communication; d) failure to comply with conflicting directives shall be punished (for example termination of expressing love). Double bind was originally proposed as an explanation of the problem of the etiology of schizophrenia. The concept of G. Bateson is more applicable in the analysis of problems of interpersonal

communication. Therefore, the selection in every act of communication media, proposed by E.N. Yudina, and the semantic aspect of the team does not give the possibility to trace the nature of their impact both on individual and on society as a whole, by the opinion of the author of this work. The author argues that a common and understandable participants communication system of social norms form a "semantic field" in which the notion of the depth the meaning of the communicative act in the mass communications. In this field, it becomes possible to perceive, encode "the team aspect of" the sent message and give an adequate response. But it must be recalled that the theory of G. Bateson is based on the theory of logical types by A. Whitehead and B. Russell. The main provision of this theory points to a fundamental discontinuity between the logical class and its members, that is, the existence of two fundamentally different levels of abstraction. Based on this theory G. Bateson concludes that, in some cases, people have to communicate using several logical types. From here we have the theory of double bind. Situation of "double bind" by G. Bateson, the following: two or more participants, one of whom is a "victim", repeating experience in the life experiences of victims, when the expectation of "double bind" is becoming commonplace expectation, secondary requirement is in conflict with the first at a more abstract level, and also as the first, supported by sanctions, the presence of a tertiary negative provisions deprives the victim from leaving the field [15, 92-94]. The theory of "double bind" in the communications sector is applicable under certain conditions: individual must be included in a very close relationship with the communicator and feel the importance of the transmitted message, communicator should transmit him simultaneously two different levels communications, one of which denies the other, individual should not be able to comment on the messages it receives, that would clarify on which of them respond, that is, he cannot do meta communicative approval [15]. Nonetheless, E.N. Yudina makes an unexpected conclusion – that social norms serve an integrative function, providing feedback to the media and society, and therefore meta communication in media space.

According to E.N. Yudina the most notable consequence of meta communication was impact of media on the destruction of the Soviet system. Information that media broadcasted during the period of perestroika, has questioned the very foundations of socialism, led to a radical change in values and social norms in the social space of the country that has become a powerful catalyst for transformation. Based on the analysis of TV space in Russia over the past 20 years, from the viewpoint of the synergetic approach, E. N. Yudina shows that it represents a typical example of a non equilibrium system, which took several bifurcation points. The emergence of bifurcation points, increasing entropy processes in the investigated object is associated, in the opinion of the author, primarily with the election process, when various political and economic forces are trying to influence the media space, leading him thus in a strongly non equilibrium state. TV space as self-organizing system automatically begins to search for a way out of the non equilibrium state. And the strongest tendencies of self-organization is observed during periods associated with the bifurcation points of social and

economic system in 1989, 1991, 1996, 1999. As a result of probing new ways to develop the system found a solution that helps to overcome the entropic processes. Each time it led to the appearance of a more complex dissipative system in the Russian TV space [12, 95].

Analysis of Russian TV space, conducted by E.N. Yudina, shows that it has completed a certain stage of development, filling a qualitatively different content. The space of social discourse, which was dominated by discussion of journalism and public importance to the beginning of perestroika, gradually transformed into a commercialized space, having a consumer, pragmatic orientation. Contemporary Russian television has ceased to play the role of spiritual attractor of Russian society, attracting opinion leaders to itself.

The author believes that the next stage of development of society in TV space must lay down a model of public service broadcasting. Public radio and television will chart a new vector of development of media space, contributing to the formation of civil society in Russia. Still the idea of formation of such a television is not positioned in the mass consciousness. In order to create a new model, a public consensus is needed between media consumers, government and the media themselves, the active financial, political and moral support to citizens and consent power to reckon with the existence of this social institution.

It should be mentioned, that the author of this concept carried out extensive work on the study of Russian media space and to determine the structure of the media space (despite the fact that the description of this structure is limited to television as the media) But it is insufficient to bring the concept of G. Bateson and to introduce the concept of meta communication.

It seems logical to focus on understanding the media space as a particular reality, which organizes practices and representations of agents that produce and consume media through the mass media. Such a definition of media space already allows a fairly detailed analysis: firstly, the own means of mass communication as physical objects, and secondly, consumers, media, and thirdly, to analyze the interaction of the agents actors in the process of production and consumption of media. Analysis of these communication processes do not require the use of such additional entities as meta communication. The advantages of analysis in the field of communication processes are quite obvious

Especially, understanding the nature of activity-media space compels us to follow Parsons' structural-functional approach, and to bring to our analysis the concept of social institution, to which belongs one of the leading roles, in the theory of social action. T. Parsons constructs a conceptual model of society, recognizing it as a system of social relations and social institutions. The latter are treated as a specially organized "nodes", "bundles" of social relations. In the general theory of action social institutions serve as a special value-normative systems that regulate the behavior of individuals, and as stable configurations that form status-role structure of society. The crucial role to this approach is given to institutional structure of society, since it is intended to ensure social order in society, its stability and integration.

Introduced by R. Park and E. Burgess notion of interaction as a fundamental social process makes it possible to analyze the media space "inside, being in the plane of media space, and avoid, as recommended by William of Ockham, the introduction of unnecessary discourse entity. The notion of interaction is well coordinated with the theory of social action and structural-functional approach in general.

Interaction as a sociological category allows you to directly link social institutions interacting in the communication process, including mass communication and mass media audience. And most importantly, to use all accumulated unit of sociological theories of mass communication and social management of information campaigns

So, to formulate the concept of media space can be read: media space is a complex open social system, which is created in the process of holistic communication interaction between the following social institutions, audience of mass media, producers / writers of content for media and content itself, technical means used to transfer this content and mass media itself.

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Chadje, Asiet Y.

The Basis of Combination of Russian and Ethnocultural Identities in the North Caucasus¹

The problem related to strengthening national identity is actualized in scientific, social and political aspects in contemporary Russia. Its solution is connected with definition of basis of multi-ethnic unity of the Russian society, in particular the social bases for our national solidarity and identity.

In a context of modernization in our country, this problem becomes more urgent: it is necessary to achieve rally in our Russian society in the course of modernization. The scientific and practical importance of this theme in regional measurement is axiomatic, since it is connected with necessity of combination of multilevel identity (ethnic, region and Russian national) with complex structure of a North Caucasian community. Speaking about contemporary national identity, we consider two interconnected questions.

Specificity of modernized multiethnic region. The elucidation of this issue is connected with the key concept of "a system" which includes ethnoses, ethnic cultures, ethnic traditions, ethnocultural identities etc. along with other subsystems. In self-developing systems such as a sociocultural space, special information structures-codes are formed. They fix features of the system interaction with the environment ("experience" of previous interactions) which are important for integrity of the system. These information structures-codes are an important component, they define ways of reproducibility of a system as a whole (V.S. Stepin). Current thinking emphasizes that such information structures in social systems are the culture and its basic values.

Research of contemporary cultural-identification processes in the North Caucasian region has allowed us to develop the concept of modernization of this region, based on the general mental and sociocultural values of North Caucasian ethnoses, as well as on the civilization bases of multi-ethnic community. Explicit concepts of "ethnicity" and "sociocultural diversity", which are a core of the constructed concept, allow us to perceive sense of modernized traditional society and to define vectors of its development.

The most important newly-opened characteristic of the North Caucasian region is that the ethnic culture (ethnicity) in this region has become a system-shaping form of a social community. A generation and transmission of the social experience accumulated in a macrosocial community of people took place through this form. Such comprehension of ethnic culture has allowed us to overcome, for the first time, a collective-descriptive explanation of sociocultural, in particular

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ethnocultural realities of the North Caucasus and has given a new conceptual content to them.

An ethnic phenomenon plays a prepotent role in understanding the modernization processes in the region. Despite modernization within a traditional society, the high social status of ethnicity is retained at present. This finds reflection in consciousness of the people of North Caucasian community and defines specificity of the region. Projecting an ethnic phenomenon in a culture plane, we have revealed its value potential forming an original vision paradigm. In the conditions of dynamical interaction of traditional and innovative values, the ethnic self-identification becomes an objective requirement of individuals, social groups and communities. Interaction of values of different types and social models defines the character and direction of development of modernization processes in multicultural region.

It is important here to perceive a correlation of traditions and innovations and the process of interaction of ethnic cultures in a traditional society in the conditions of modernization. The updated tradition becomes a development source. The innovation confirms itself through culture. This defines a place and the role of a tradition in a modernized society, and of ethnocultural traditions and identities in the multi-ethnic society.

The modernization way of development of Russia should allow its regions “not to break their traditions but to dwell upon them”. It means that modernized traditional societies can develop effectively the cultural values and use them as the factor of social stability and economic development.

As for prospects of cultural traditions in contemporary conditions, we suggest that the global free market cannot replace ethnic consciousness. Roots of ethnic consciousness, especially standards of cultural originality, change slowly. Having historically been formed at each ethnos, they are a defining factor of the ethnocultural identity. Exactly ethnocultural values form the original outlook and vision of the person. It is no coincidence that there is a conceptual difference in attitude and outlook of the Caucasian and the Western person. Therefore it is important not to lose ethnocultural values and not to let them vanish. Hence, there is a problem related to preservation of ethnocultural diversity and the combination of different kinds of identities.

Feature of combination of Russian national and ethnic identities. The determination of the general conceptual basis of strengthening the Russian identity, taking into account specificity of considered region and arrangement of accents, is methodologically significant for contemporary Russia and its regions.

The first: elucidation of multi-ethnic sociocultural space suggests that maintenance of the ethnic factor has a great impact on social life of the people. Despite ethno- and confessional diversity, the uniform regional culture has been formed in the North Caucasus. Its core is represented by traditional values. In the course of joint residing and mutual cooperation the North Caucasian ethnoses have developed common sociocultural values (mental compatibility of various human

communities, peaceful co-existence of ethnos and confessions, awareness of that a diversity is a reality of life, ability to understand, trust and help each other, to appreciate dialogue and cooperation), which have become sense of coexistence of people. The second: it is necessary to specify the common historical components of unity of Russian multiethnic society. Those are Russian culture, a common historical destiny, the historical past, our historical memory and memory of the Russian nation which stores key events of the country. This is very important for perceiving a combination/integration of the Russian identity with ethnocultural and region identities.

Patriotism as the basis for national solidarity of the Russian ethnos. Today, more than ever, it is important to understand value of patriotism which is the uniting factor of the Russian ethnos and the Russian nation. Patriotism is considered here as a spiritual basis of contemporary Russia. It is envisaged that patriotism will strengthen unity of Russia and our pride of it and will help us to form an image of "the Russian", keeping an ethnocultural orientation. In a word, the Russian patriotism should help us to realize that we (irrespective of an ethnic and religious belonging) are citizens of great Russia. It is important to remember that the past, the present and the future do not exclude, but supplement each other. Memory obliges us to live humanly and adequately. Therefore the past can live in new conditions, creating new senses in contemporary life.

Federal, regional and municipal programs of patriotic education of citizens should be formed and realized to preserve unity of Russia, not to brake up into "ethnic apartments", but to unite, having kept the cultural riches - a cultural diversity, and to take the worthy place in the globalized world.

Important source of identity is memory. In other words, identity can be regarded as a value-world outlook phenomenon. Within the limits of new constructivist methodology, memory can be considered as a relation to another which has specific forms of existence and certain ways of comprehension of the content.

Historical memory is one of the common historical components of unity of the Russian multiethnic society. Memory is of great value because it connects the person with the past and forms a notion of the native land and feeling of consciousness. Disregarding of the past breaks the natural process of self-development of ethnos and the nation. Profound aspects of history work intensely for identity formation. Memory connects the past, the present and the future. The past is fixed in different forms of memory. Undoubtedly, the past in contemporary life gets the new content. While estimating the past from the present we correlate it to the present. This allows us to reveal new senses in the past that change a context of existence of the past. Therefore we find the new content, new sense and the new comprehension in the past, helping us to think and dream of the future.

Let's summarize: the modern reality shows that ethnocultural traditions cannot exist today in the form they were originally shaped in this or that ethnic culture. We should speak of reconsideration of cultural traditions and revealing their valuable content. Humanity stands before a great problem today: a definition

of a way of a survival of the people, countries and all mankind in the modern civilization, specific features of which are globalized base values of the Western, to be exact, the American world. In this connection traditional common cultural questions of mutual relation of traditions and innovations and the general (national) and especial (ethnic) are actualized. These questions are related to combination of universal and unique, whole and a part, Russia and the Russian regions etc. We think that traditions as a way of preservation of sociocultural experience and innovations as a process of its updating can coexist by the complementarity principle. Globalization processes create conditions for interaction of cultural traditions and innovations. The culture develops not only thanks to traditions. Each culture (depending on openness degree) adopts and transforms new forms which can take root on the mental basis of the people.

Identification should be regarded considering sociocultural conditions in which it is formed. In our research, we examine a sociocultural space of the North Caucasian region. Considering multilevel identity as a complicated open system, it should be emphasized that these levels do not exclude each other, they cooperate with each other, coexisting by the complementarity principle. Speaking about combination/integration of different kinds of identity, we do not mean reproduction of ethnic identity to the detriment of the Russian. We are undertaking an attempt to perceive heuristic sense and value of the Russian identity and its potentialities for the Russian ethnoses and its regions. The common base values, namely: historically developed sociocultural values can become a basis for their coexistence. Ethnic and regional communities can develop on their basis as a part of Russian multiethnic society in the conditions of the forming Russian civil nation.

The Russian identity incorporates a set of ethnocultural, religious and region identities. Speaking about strengthening the Russian identity in practice, it is important to pay attention to mutual understanding and cooperation on the basis of dialogue in the conditions of modernization of the country and the globalized world; hence comprehension of sense of unity of the Russian society as "unity in diversity".

Thus, for theoretical and practical solution of this problem, it is important: to use heuristic ideas of a contemporary science, having included "sociocultural experience" in research space of identity; to intensify work of scientific and political elite of the country on the statement of concepts "the Russian nation" and "the Russian identity", showing integrating potential of these phenomena; to use the potential of elite and mass media for shaping an integrating image of concept "the Russian" and its perception in mass consciousness; a concrete definition of the main idea that the Russian identity and the Russian nation do not bring about unification.

Delova, Ludmila A.

Nationally Mixed Families in the Poly-ethnic Region

Inter-ethnic marriages are common in areas with multi-national structure. Adygea, as well as most of the North Caucasian republics, is such a region: its territory is inhabited by more than 100 nationalities and ethnic groups. The most numerous are Russian, Circassians, Armenians, Ukrainians, Kurds.

The analysis of the functioning of mixed families can comprehend the complexity of inter-ethnic interaction in a multicultural society, determine the level of ethnic tension and to predict the political situation in the region.

The number of mixed marriages grew steadily until 1991. Orientation to inter-ethnic marriages as a way of life for the multi-ethnic society of Adygea has changed significantly in the period of radical social transformation.

Based on data from registry offices of the Republic of Adygea, we analyzed the dynamics of mixed marriages in Adygea. From 1991 to 2011 a decrease in the number of marriages, including ethnic.

Empirical study of social and perceptual characteristics of the spouses in mono-and interethnic marriages has shown that going beyond their ethnic community is due to situational and is mediated not so much personal, as the external socio-cultural factors. To these factors include cultural, ethnic, attitudes, stereotypes, values and ethnic identity.

Denisova, Liudmila E.

Social Mission of Church in the Context of the Modernization of Russian Society

The Russian society endures today influences of the global crisis:

1. those have affected not only financial, economic, labour, but, certainly, social, moral and spiritual spheres of life;
2. in which are visually shown processes and the tendencies directed on destruction of traditional, cultural and spiritually-moral bases of society;
3. when it is necessary to speak about necessity of consolidation of all subjects of the Russian society capable together with the government to soften display of crisis and to overcome its consequence.

A panorama of public activity of the Russian Orthodox Church is not so plural. Traditionally the Church adhered to the principle to administer the charity without participation in political life. Generally, the advocacy social activity of Church does not exceed the scope of appeal – to act for goods of our country [1].

At present there are in the Russian Federation few public institutes to change, both some individuals, and a society. The Russian Orthodox Church is just like this public institute capable by Christian revival of people spiritually and moral to help them [2].

Father John Krestyankin, archimandrite of the Pskov Caves Monastery, passed to his rest in 2006, noted that today, when the flow of the in the past unknown temptations whipped Russia; when lechery, violence, avarice, alcoholism, addiction became explicit and already customary defects; and people are simultaneously seize on both, religious zeal and blasphemy; a question about Goodness, about charity it grows into the question of paramount importance, into the principal question of life. “Since it is possible only by Goodness and by Charity ... only ... to oppose the terrible evil spirits, which dominate people and the world” [3].

The concept of Goodness, Charity, brotherly disinterested Love, in the full sense of the word, came into the world with Christianity. None of earlier religions it was attempted to awake love and compassion for neighbors in people’s hearts.

The first ministry, founded by Apostles, in medias res, was “diaconate”, ministry of deacons, which were assigned for charitable purposes, mainly, to serve to meals, i.e., to assist with the charitable work of Christian community, to order its means and to distribute these means fairly between its members.

During the subsequent period Christian Church, being teacher in all good deeds, concentrated and organized the aspirations of believers in giving their help to all, “who hunger now... who weep now”... whom “people hate ... exclude ... and insult” [Luke 6:21-23].

Diaconal ministry of Church in Russia: In Russia the Christian sermon of charity found beneficial soil: St. Vladimir, who crossed Russia, served people as an example of compassion to the neighbor. Chronicle tells, that any poor, wretched,

cripples could freely come to the princely court and be given there “any need, drink and victuals...” For those, who could not [for health reasons] come itself, prince ordered to deliver home goods: bread, meat, honey and kvass.

Grand Prince Vladimir II Monomakh in “The Pouchenie” to His Children added: *“Above all, for the sake of the Lord and your own souls, have the fear of the Lord in your hearts by doing unstinted charity, for that is the beginning of all good... Wheresoever you go, and wherever you stay, give the destitute to eat and to drink. Above all honour the stranger, whencesoever he may come, whether he be a commoner, a nobleman or an ambassador; if you are not able to honour him with gifts, give him food and drink, for these travellers will proclaim a man to all the lands, whether he be good or bad... Call on the sick, go to funerals, for we are all mortal, and pass not by a man without greeting him with kind words...”* [4].

The charity in Kievan Russia and Muscovy was concentrated as in Europe, in the hands of princes and the incipient Church and was achieved generally through the monasteries. The Church and monasteries protected poor and wretched without the special selection. They were called by the canon law of the Russian Orthodox Church God’s [or “bogadelnye” – the article’ authors comment] people, settled near the monastery.

It is well known that the Russian Orthodox Church possessed until 1917 large practices in the area of social work and technologies of helping all widows, orphans, cripples, paupers from the most different classes. The members of imperial family were engaged in charitable activities and got involved in this work all the Russian society. They directly patronized to such charitable institutions as Philanthropic Society, Emperor Female Charity Association, Russian Red Cross Society, Military Charity White Cross Association, the Committee of Grand Duchess Elizabeth Feodorovna Romanova and others.

One of the examples of such experience was the activity of Grand Duchess Elizabeth Feodorovna and her Marfo-Mariinsky Convent of Mercy, founded in 1908. The Convent, based on the model of Early Church, was the unique institution, which resembled more diaconal organizations and “active” monasteries of the West Church, than “contemplative” monasteries, known in Russia. This uniqueness is that the priority value for the Convent was its ministry in pursuance of Christian diaconal service.

In Russia at the beginning of the 20th century, in the atmosphere of the religious renewal, they talked of the prospects for restoration of female diaconate. Christian women, first, from the nobility - under the effect of the example of protestant deaconesses - saw in the diaconal ministry an ample opportunity to connect the praying spirit of Orthodox monkhood with the efficient service to neighbor in the secular world.

During the World War I many field hospitals were opened to the particular means of Elizabeth Feodorovna Romanova, some of the infirmaries were quartered in her Marfo-Mariinsky Convent of Mercy. The Committee by the patronage of Grand Duchess supported charitable the families of the persons, called up to the

war. The practices of a similar work were accumulated even in the period of the Russo-Japanese War.

Let me to quote from the words of the Confessor of the Marfo-Mariinsky Convent, archpriest Mitrofan Srebryansky to the sisters of the Convent: *"After receiving of the cross from the hands of bishop, Christ's servant, as from the hands of Christ Itself, remember always that Christ gave the lighted lamp to you, going to work among the darkness of sins, grief and diseases. The light of this lamp help to you complete your rescue work conveniently and successfully. Sister, remember: each person is God's creation, but lost creation; but he is your brother; nurse your patients, sinful people, without a temper..."* [5].

The Church appears here as the special type of social institute [as the integral part of the public activities - the article' authors comment], for which effective work it is necessary to develop interconnected and consecutively all inherent in it components: lawful, economic, organizational, informational.

After the October Revolution (1917) these tendencies could not be carried out, at least in the institutional form.

The modern situation in Russia is characterized by intensive search of the Russian Orthodox Church of its place in our society. The mission of the Church can be considered today through a prism of public solidarity, a spiritual and civil maturity to assist and support people and to take an active part in strengthening of social stability in Russia, interreligious and international consent, public tranquility and unity in a society [6].

In this context the study of sources, forms and technologies of the charitable activities of the Russian Orthodox Church, the phenomenon of its diaconal ministry is the richest material for the critical comprehension and the creative use of historical experience accumulated by it, in the first place, in the realization of noble and creative social mission.

The historical thought is called to stand on the guard of scientific objectivity, examining the past in his comprehensiveness, integrity and many-sidedness without which that not was withdrawals. In this connection we attempt each particular fact of public and church life to examine in the process of its appearance, development, and through the prism of the development of Russian society. Such approach makes possible for us to more deeply and more pronouncedly present each of the phenomenons of the State - Society - Church relations. It is caused by the necessity of determining the optimum forms of the realization of public initiative and civil independent activity in the Orthodoxy.

Among the most important research tasks can be pointed out analyzing of global and national problems of institutionalization of social ministry of Church by the example of social activity of the diaconal organizations and institutions as well as further innovational reconsideration and transformation of the unique models of Christian-social ministry as one of the integrated and prospective trends in the theory and practice of modern social science [7].

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Fayzullin, Fanil S.

National Values as the Factor of Preservation of the Ethnos at the Unstable Time

Sociological researches show that the role of national values has sharply increased in the preservation of ethnos at unstable time.

As it is known, the concept «national values» fixes the fact of social and psychological originality of the ethnos and its difference from other similar communities assuming the unity of all members of the ethnos united by the common ideas, purposes. Investigations of many ethnos at different stages of their formation and development, convince that the unity of members of ethnos, among other things, is provided with 1) common perception and an evaluation the same acts and events, 2) common attitude to values, 3) presence of certain features of mentality. So it is necessary to approach to concept of national values combining all positions mentioned above.

National values and national value consciousness represents not only the phenomena of psychological and emotional character, but also material objects, symbols, the signs recognized as essential. On the basis of the recognized importance of these values the main part is assigned to all intrinsic interests of the person, the representative of the ethnos: a survival, development, achievement of the purposes and ideals.

The question was asked: «What do you associate with your nation?» The answers received from respondents in the Republic Bashkortostan of the Russian Federation were ranged as following: language; customs, traditions, culture; my parents; territory where I live; history of my nation; our religion; features of economic way of a household life; well-known people of my nation.

National values represent sufficiently stable and constant phenomenon, allowing to single out the main features of the nation that reflect the specificity of the national culture. It depends on concrete historical, geographical and political conditions. Thus universal and general or base values always act as a component and a basis of ideas that unite nations.

The national-ethnic community during its formation has to reflect surrounding reality assimilating it through a certain prism of norms and purposes. At the beginning this reflection has spontaneous-empirical, ordinary-emotional character, but later when international, economic, social, cultural relations have become more developed, these reflections of the surrounding reality assume complicated character. Thus one culture accumulates on another, interpenetrating each other. Here different types of contradictions can occur. So, if the new system of values is introduced into national culture practice by force and some changes are made in it, such changes can destroy all system of traditional relations and also it can touch the dearest, stable basis. At that time all the system of national values is turned out to be shifted and destroyed including belief, morals, the most sacred

principles on which the life of the ethnos was based on. All cultural bonds, all its ties collapse, and the changes get terrible and uncontrollable character. In the condition of globalization many nations have faced this phenomenon. It was not the coincidence that during the break-up of the USSR many different ethnoses appealed to their own national values, and there was an activation of national movements. In this situation, the faster the representative of the ethnos will appeal to the basic ideas of proper national culture from the spiritual heritage of national history with the positive content, the better the process of stabilization. And a positive influence of national values increases in the social life.

The combination of national values and general universal values stimulates the development of public and personal spirituality in the concrete historical conditions of the representative of any ethnos. National values get the active social importance to such extent, in which they become a heritage of the majority of representatives of ethnos and come into practical relations of people of this nation, get into their consciousness and feelings. Thus it is necessary to note that the level of consciousness and ethnos moral principles are defined not only by preservation of historically developed national values, but also by the succession of the national value-focused world outlook of generations and the combination of historical values with new values.

Gordeev, Andrey I.

Problems of PR content on the Internet: Specific problems of Communication in the Internet space

Media development in the modern world is inextricably linked with unprecedented opportunities communicative space of the Internet. According to the representative of the UN General Hamadoun Toure: «The number of Internet users at the beginning of 2011 amounted to more than 2 billion people. [1] It is an enormous audience, which boasts not every federal mass media.

But, as stated in the famous saying "the holy place is never empty." In the Internet space includes multiple stakeholders, who use the Internet resource for personal gain, often "faking" facts to their advantage. In our view, credibility, openness and transparency of information contributes to the development of information society, stability in the world. To date, the Internet is one of the most important channels of communication. It is well known, social networks played a crucial role in the revolution in Egypt. The Internet has helped to integrate, organize the masses of people. Through social networks, including Internet-based networks, Egyptians took to the streets to overthrow the government. Therefore, in the modern world, an uncertain world can not underestimate communication, public relations, social relations in the Internet space. Internet preaches freedom of speech, openness and accessibility of information, dynamic information-sharing, tracking news, features continuous monitoring, instant dispatch information at any point, the movement towards the information society. Amid growing distrust of traditional means of media interest in the relatively new online space continues to grow. Today it is the information technology control many areas of business, social and political life, so the strongest power in the world attached great importance to participation in the World Wide Web. And now we can observe a tendency to strengthen the monitoring and control of the Internet space. I should say that when writing the article, the author takes the position of social - informational approach that best reflects the specific PR communications in the Internet space.

This approach takes into account the increasing role of mass media in shaping the information society. In this case, to the number of effects on consciousness, activity and behavior should be added - «information» and «communication». To form the image of the organization, government body, the management team of all means of power come first information, authority and communication, integrated communication-information space. Until recently, the PR-specialists largely using traditional distribution channels - print media, television and radio. "The Internet as a platform for a major PR-activity scarcely addressed, and largely served as a kind of aid. Online, the owner of the company have every opportunity to choose the most attractive to users, its «face». World history Public Relations (literally - «public relations») has for two centuries. «It is believed that its birth, this term is obliged to U.S. President Thomas Jefferson, who

used it to appeal to the Seventh Congress in 1807. In the 30 years of 19 th century in the United States took shape the concept of «relations for the general good» - «relations for the common good». In this case, the information must be truthful». [4] In Russia, caught on another term –«Public Relations». Actually, this is the essence and the key appointment of PR. The term PR rather conditional, and the existing number of definitions of PR has already exceeded the 300 values. This stems from the fact that the researchers consider this phenomenon in various aspects and approaches, depending on which form the new definition. Some researchers consider PR as a science, art, communication components, vehicles, etc. The most common and close to the author the following definition: PR-is a definite marketing tool used to create the target image of the subject by sending a message to the recipient of various information channels, in the presence of bilateral relations between S and O Communications.

The Internet is one of the most promising and dynamic channel of communication to build. The purpose of PR-create a positive image of the organization. But the problem lies in the fact that created a favorable image is often at odds with the real picture. In other words, the organization selected a strategy, the content is perfect, «lopsided». Even if the organization's website posted 80% truthful, positive information, but will leak 20% fake, then a high probability that the awareness of the users, there will be a suspicion of falsifying data in the remaining 80%. High probability that future reports and press releases will no longer trust. A loss of trust - is the loss of a significant resource, which would be required to fill the large temporal and labor-intensive costs. This article discusses some of the problems specific to the conditions of the Internet-PR communications. Or rather, it is 2 interrelated problems:

- Falsification of data.
- The openness and accessibility of information.

Let us consider each of these problems: 1. The growing problem of data falsification. Each researcher faced with the question: «What sources of information and in what areas can be confidently called a unerringly accurate?» In the Internet space includes multiple stakeholders, who use the Internet resource for personal gain, often “falsifying» facts to their advantage. Modern development of the Internet led to an increase of the phenomenon. For some events are constantly "information war", where almost impossible to know the real situation. Indeed, the internet across almost any perspective you can find various points of view. The variety and abundance of sources, often adhering to contradictory positions, makes it difficult to get the real picture. In our view, the Internet everyone can find what he wants to find. In other words, information, unstructured abundant people often can not understand where the truth is. The researcher is having difficulty obtaining reliable information about the event. An interesting approach to understanding the messages offered by domestic research, Kisses SP: «The main setting in the perception of any political message should be as follows:" Truly is not the message, but what it does to people. What feelings is the message, changing a setting researcher?» [5]

If the user uses the Internet as information sources only public sites of the official institutions and organizations, he has often formed the illusion of a favorable state of affairs, but after a while a situation of "unexpected reasons, is getting out of control. As an illustrative example, consider the situation in the Japanese province Fokusima, where only a month later, the authorities acknowledged the obvious threat and decided to raise the risk of accidents at nuclear power plants "Fukushima-1" to the seventh estimated International Nuclear Event Scale (INES)». [6] ie assigned it the status of the extent of the Chernobyl disaster. In the first comment and follow them, the official Japanese government declared the public that an accident is no serious danger is not, release of radiation and hazardous compounds has not happened. In an accessible, open information galore silent on important issues, behind which lurk in the company's problems, which are significant, but at the same time inaccessible to the masses. In fact, withheld key negative information being made all attempts to prevent its leakage. Therefore, the question of reliability, deliberate misinformation, the anonymity of these sources is still relevant.

The problem of information transparency. Of course, the Internet has expanded opportunities for learning, but at the same time a wealth of information has led to a paradox: the emergence of an open, accessible information in the Internet space, often leads to even more «closed» credible information, that is, in essence, the illusion openness. In other words, the user can receive only that information which is in the so-called "access area". Informational secrecy works to the detriment of us! According to most researchers in the field of social communication - people are more likely and easier to believe negative information than positive. When there are no sources of information, there is a basis for alternative sources, rumors, conjectures, myths, fears. Through social networks is their further spread. For example, we can consider the invasion of coalition forces in Iraq in 2003 to overthrow the government of Saddam Hussein. During this conflict, the available information did not have a guaranteed accuracy or authenticity. «The U.S. administration has provided inaccurate or false information about the transaction. Internet audience, as well as the general public, using traditional channels of information could not understand what is really happening in the conflict zone. Even reporters who were in a combat zone, were puzzled and confused because of conflicting reports received, a strong misinformation». [10] So the question arises: What information should be closed? According to the author, it must deal with issues that do not require public approval and attention, if the private information on them does not cause direct or indirect harm to citizens. Of course, this should take into account aspects of information security, but a landmark and a priority on openness should be maintained. Then it will foster a genuine, rather than the claimed liberal and open. You should also remember that when the permanent «closed» rapidly declining «credibility» of the population to media channels and the officials' statements.

This article has been accepted by an attempt to comprehend the problems of PR content in the Internet, consider the specific problems of communication in the

Internet space: openness of information, providing the legal framework for the Internet space, falsification of data and reliability of the information. PR in the Internet is considered from the perspective of socio - informational approach, in which the formation of image of the organization, government body from all means of power come first information, authority and communication, integrated communication-information space.

In our view, enhance stability in unstable times contributes to the openness of information, development of information society and liberalism, the expansion of «access information». WikiLeaks, OpenLeaks are unique projects provides an opportunity to learn information that is unlit, «behind the frame». This trend supported the newspaper The Wall Street Journal, which has created a new project «SafeHouse». What kind of this project and how it will be?

«SafeHouse will be a collection of data and documents that can be used in the creation of credible news stories,» - said Robert Thomson, editor in chief of WSJ.[11]

Like the website says: «If you have a newsworthy contracts, correspondence, e-mail, financial records or databases of companies, government agencies or nonprofit organizations, you can send them to us using the service SafeHouse11] Indeed, when a high probability of information leakage, the possible outrage of public opinion is great, carry out any manipulation is very dangerous. According to the authors if the number of such projects will increase, our world will be safer, more open and stable.

Conclusion

Many users who use the Internet to obtain news and information, some idealized openness and reliability of the information power of the Internet. The author believes that the Internet is one of the media channels. Consequently, the quality of information in the Internet space has a characteristic of the traditional media advantages and disadvantages, there are interested parties, providing information in a favorable light for them. In an accessible, which has no structure information galore silent on important issues, behind which lurk in the problem of institutions that are significant, but at the same time inaccessible to the masses. In fact, withheld key negative information being made all attempts to prevent its leakage. Meanwhile, the inevitable leakage of information is strongly reflected in the "credibility" of citizens. Accordingly, the informational secrecy works to the detriment. According to the author, the information should be closed on matters not requiring public approval and attention, if the private information on them does not cause direct or indirect harm to citizens. Based on the above said, in today's world, problems of reliability, security, deliberate misinformation, public information sources in the Internet space are still relevant and unresolved.

These existing projects like WikiLeaks, OpenLeaks, SafeHouse and soon others, create an opportunity to change the negative situation. Indeed, when a high probability of information leakage, the possible outrage of public opinion is great,

carry out any manipulation is very dangerous. According to the authors if the number of such projects will increase, our world will be safer, more open and stable.

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Khokhlova Yustiniya I.

The perception of the War in Iraq by American public, the role of the Bush Administration in the process and the US “casualty sensitivity” during the War

The war in Iraq that lasted from March 20, 2003 to September 1, 2010 occupied an extremely important place among all the events of public life which affected the American people during that period. Due to the involvement of the population with the problem of Iraq the opinion polls conducted during these years provide a wealth of material for the analysis of the factors influencing the fluctuation of the public opinion, as well as of the consequences to which these changes lead as soon as the opinion poll respondents and the strata of the population whom they represent became voters.

In terms of the influence of mass media on the perception of the war in Iraq by the US population it should be pointed out that a considerable part of Americans had the distorted ideas about the reasons that led to the war and on how the Administration was coping with the situation in Iraq. The point is that the population of the USA frequently came to the conclusions on these matters based on the estimates aired by sources interested in supporting the Administration, that was observed time and again in the history of the USA¹. The analysis of the results of the opinion poll made from June to September, 2003², showed that 48 % of respondents wrongly believed, that the evidence was available of revealed connections between Iraq and al Qaeda, 22 % were of the opinion that the weapons of mass destruction were found in Iraq, and 25 % considered that the world public opinion approved of the acts of war by the USA against Iraq. In total 60 % of respondents shared at least one of these three erroneous opinions³.

The level of the erroneous perception of events by Americans depended on the information source. The share of the respondents who had one or more of the above-mentioned errors of perception, is represented in the following table:

¹In the book published in 1920 “Liberty and the News” W. Lippman denounced journalists who gave in to the pressure of the government and represented facts in compliance with the line of the Administration. His contemporary, the journalist and writer Epton Sinclair, saw the bias of the American mass-media in that the Western democracy as a whole was no longer based on the power of the informed and thinking people, and news reporting was exposed to manipulations by the authorities and fell under the influence of the wealthy. One must come to conclusion that the situation which developed in the American mass-media during the days of the war in Iraq confirms the opinion of W. Lippman (S. Blumenthal. Walter Lippmann and American journalism today. October 31, 2007.

http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/democracy_power/america_inside/walter_lippman

² The PIPA/Knowledge Network Poll The American Public on International Issues. Misperceptions, the Media and the Iraq War. October 2, 2003

http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/pdf/oct03/IraqMedia_Oct03_rpt.pdf

³ Cf. B. Patrick, A. Thrall Winning the Peace: Paradox and Propaganda after the Invasion of Iraq Global Media Journal

<http://lass.calumet.purdue.edu/cca/gmj/editions/american/dialogue/patrick.htm>

Table 1

Number of misperceptions per respondent	Fox	CB S	AB C	CN N	NB C	Print media	NPR/ PBS
None of the 3	20 %	30 %	39%	45%	45%	53%	77%
1 or more misperceptions	80	71	61	55	55	47	23

Source:

http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/pdf/oct03/IraqMedia_Oct03_rpt.pdf

Other key aberration *i.e.* that Iraq had been directly involved in the preparation and carrying out of acts of terrorism on September, 11th, 2001 was shared before the war approximately by every fifth respondent and 13 % of them even declared that convincing evidences to that effect was found¹.

This can serve as the confirmation of the fact that mass-media, especially during the run-up to the war and during its initial stages, were used by the US leadership as the tool of propagation of the "necessary" views among the population for the formation of a loyal electorate and ensuring the support of its policy².

Those who were mainly learning about the news from the printed press had a more true-to-life perception of events. Therefore, as the polls show, the part of the society that derived their news from several sources of information was frequently inclined to interpret negatively the war in Iraq. The level of the wrong perception also changed according to political convictions of Americans. The supporters of President Bush and republicans were to a greater degree subject to such wrong perceptions. At the same time, however, there was a significant amount of respondents who, while not having any political preferences, also were mistaken on a number of questions concerning the war in Iraq.

Gradually it became more and more obvious that in the contemporary conditions it was not possible to effectively prevent the propagation of alternative points of view on events in Iraq. This fact played a major role in the loss of trust by the Bush Administration on the part of the voters and B.Obama's victory.

An important factor that influenced the change of the mood of the public with regard to the war in Iraq was the new political landscape in the country. This

¹ F. Vergniolle de Chantal l'Impact de la Guerre en Iraq sur la scène politique Américaine 2005 http://www.afri-ct.org/IMG/pdf/afri2005_vergniolle.pdf ; B. Patrick A. Thrall Winning the Peace: Paradox and Propaganda after the Invasion of Iraq, Global Media Journal

<http://lass.calumet.purdue.edu/cca/gmj/editions/american/dialogue/patrick.htm>

S. Kull, C. Ramsay and E. Lewis Misperceptions, the Media and the Iraq War Political Science Quarterly Volume 118 Number 4 20034.

The reputation of the Republican Party in the meantime was also adversely affected by the fact that conservative commentators [A. Williams](#), [M. Gallagher](#) and [M. McManus](#) were ousted because, in return for their positive reporting concerning legislative initiatives of the Administration, they received large sums of money from it under the table.

² Susan Thompson (ed.) Selling the War On Iraq MoveOn Bulletin Wednesday, September 18, 2002 <http://www.moveon.org/moveonbulletin/bulletin4.html>

was vividly demonstrated by the results of intermediate elections of 2006. As their result, Democrats received the majority in both Houses of the Congress. Before these elections the Republicans who were prevailing in both Houses of the Congress were blocking attempts by Democrats to prevent the escalation of the conflict in Iraq, to receive the approbation for the war from the United Nations, to limit as much as possible the influence of the war, once it already began, on the life of the American society. Legislators in their majority in every possible way supported the policy of the President and his Administration, offered additional financing which the Head of the State could distribute according to his own discretion, counteracted any restriction of the powers of the President to wage the war in the manner he thought fit and refused to create investigatory congressional bodies. But in view of the failures of the policies of the Republican Party, and of the Administration, the declining credibility of the President, as well as the divulgence of the unsavoury facts about the methods of waging the war and about the causes and purposes of the war as declared by Administration on the eve of the Iraqi campaign, it lost popular support and, with time, that of the legislators and, to some extent, of the Supreme Court¹. One should not forget that the economic crisis was in preparation in the USA at about the same time and it did not tie in with the expensive military campaign, while the USA was waging two wars at one and the same time - in Iraq and Afghanistan. It appears that the members of the Senate and the House of Representatives began with a greater readiness to express a negative attitude to war in Iraq when it became clear that the Republican Party and the Administration where the leading role was played by neo-conservatives, were losing popular support. It became more attractive for politicians and pressmen to take a critical stance, to dissociate themselves from the President who lost the trust of citizens, and from his policy towards Iraq².

A wide response was caused in the USA by the publication on January, 23rd 2008 of the results of the research the object of which were the statements that had been made during the two years beginning from autumn of 2001 by eight protagonists of the Iraqi drama, *viz.* George Bush, Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, Condoleeza Rice, Colin Powell, Paul Wolfowitz and two press-secretaries of the White house - A. Fleisher and S. Mc Clellan³. According to above-mentioned study, President Bush and seven high-ranking members of his "inner circle" made

¹ In June, 2008 the US Supreme Court made a ruling that cleared foreign suspects at Guantanamo Bay to challenge their detention in American civilian courts. The Bush Administration opposed the Court's approach.

² The corruption scandal of the period when G.W. Bush was in power, related to lobbyist Jack Abramoff accused of blackmail that led to the condemnation by the court of some the high-ranking officials at the White House, contributed to the Bush's demise. A serious contribution to the defeat of Republicans during the elections of 2006 was made also by the confluence of such adverse circumstances, as the hurricane Katrina and the initial blows of the impending financial crisis. The poor performance by the President and Administration has proven the inefficiency and an lack of attention to victims of the hurricane which has fallen upon the territory of the USA in August, 2005. An opinion poll organized by the Pew research centre two weeks after the natural disaster, showed that 69 % of the respondents would like to see such a next president that would be unlike Bush.

³ <http://projects.publicintegrity.org/WarCard/>

at least 935 false statements during the specified period about the danger that Iraq allegedly represented for the security of the USA. The study showed by what methods the country leaders were trying to convince the American people of the necessity to begin the war against Iraq, being based in their conclusions and appeals on false and unverified arguments.

During 532 various events Bush and the above-mentioned persons asserted that either Iraq was in possession of the WMD alternatively - was trying to get hold of them), or/and Saddam Hussein was connected with al Qaeda.

For instance, Bush made at least 232 false statements about the WMD and 28 more about S. Hussein's connection with al Qaeda. Colin Powell broke this record, having for 244 times deceived the public with respect to the WMD and 10 misleading statements about the connection of the Iraqi leader with the international terrorism. Rumsfeld and Fleisher were responsible for 109 false statements, Paul Wolfowitz - for 85, Rice - for 56, Cheney - for 48 and S. McClellan for 14. One can find the following example of such a false statement in the study.

In late 2002, during the weekly radio address to the nation, Bush said that the Iraqi regime possessed biological and chemical weapons, restored installations to produce more of such weapons and, according to what the British government informed the US Administration about, could launch an attack with biological or chemical weapons just 45 minutes after such an order had been given. Iraq sought to acquire nuclear weapons, and if it had the necessary fissile material it could build nuclear weapons in a year's time. In July 2002 answering the journalists' question whether there were contacts between Iraq and Al Qaeda, Ronald Rumsfeld replied: "Sure"¹, in spite of the fact that during the same month the Defense Intelligence Agency revealed the absence of sufficient evidence of cooperation between Saddam and Al Qaeda. The cumulative effect of such false statements amplified by numerous media reports was dramatic: the coverage in print and on television created a massive smoke screen during these several critical months of the immediate preparation for war.

The decline in the president's image was also linked with the destruction of the myth of the "just war" in Iraq. Despite the fact that since October 2005 the number of US losses in Iraq was in a steady decline until March 2006 (84 casualties in November, 68 - December, 62 in January, 55 February and 31 in March), the indicators of the condemnation of the war, conversely, were increasing steadily and reached the highest point since September 2005, amounting to 57%. The reasons for this seemingly obvious contradiction between the decline in losses and the growth in dissatisfaction lies, in our opinion, in the fact that the people who were ready to sustain losses to protect themselves from the threat posed by Iraq, to defend their democratic values, felt cheated. President Bush in the statement he made on December 18, 2005 said that the bulk of the intelligence relied on by the Administration proved to be false, and that he, as President, was responsible for the decision to launch the war against Iraq. Moreover, on February 3, 2006 President

¹ <http://www.defense.gov/transcripts/transcript.aspx?transcriptid=3624>

Bush demanded from Congress that it appropriate additional \$ 70 billion for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. In addition, commentators began to talk about the beginning of a civil war in Iraq, since coming to power of Shia has led to an exacerbation of religious controversies, when the bombing of the Al-Askari shrine in Samarra on February 22, 2006¹ provoked violence between Sunnis and Shia. On November 5, 2006 Saddam Hussein was sentenced to death. Two days later, the GOP lost control of both chambers of Congress. During the November and December of 2006, according to opinion polls, the frustration of the American society with the war in Iraq increased. In this fashion the society expressed its attitude to the policy of the Administration with regard to Iraq. Tolerance of the public² of the fact that hostilities in Iraq resulted in casualties among U.S. citizens appears to depend on two major factors: the perception of the war as just (or as extraneous), as well as the belief in its success or fear of failure.

One gets the impression that it is indeed the hope for the success of the war that largely influenced the tolerance of public opinion of the question about the number of US casualties. The public seems to weigh the cost and benefits of the war. Victims are the price the society is prepared to tolerate if the war is just (the "allowable" number of casualties varies depending on the social characteristics of the person, such as the age, gender, commitment to Democratic or Republican values, education, etc.) and if it may be said that it will be successful. The conclusion appears to be warranted that the attitudes of the public towards the growth in the number of victims depend on the exact factors that led to the war, and in most cases they are superimposed on the perception of other events not directly connected with the US casualties, but also impacting the perception of war as a "legitimate" or unnecessary.

The view of the war as a "successful enterprise" depends not only on the number of casualties on the American side, but on a number of other factors - primarily the achievement of objectives (*e.g.* the emergence of the information concerning the prevention of terrorist attacks), the support from other countries and the death toll on the enemy side.

Several American researchers indicate that the American society is not as susceptible to the news concerning the US military casualties, as is commonly believed. The fear of any casualties at all (casualty phobia), and sensitivity to the number of victims (casualty sensitivity) are different concepts³. Sensitivity to victims varies depending on what group of people is taken into account, and "phobia" covers the population at large, but, again, depends on the public perception of the goals of the war. A conclusion can be drawn concerning a certain rationality of public opinion, which is formed by weighing the objectives, cost and results.

¹ www.rg.ru/2006/03/02/irak-vojna.html (in Russian)

² J. Weisberg. Zero Tolerance. *The National Interest*. New York Magazine, October 10, 1994.

³ P. Feaver, C. Gelpi and J. Reifler "Casualty Sensitivity and the War in Iraq" 2005 <http://www.duke.edu/~gelpi/iraq.casualties.pdf>

Public support for the war is less "elastic" (dependent on the number of victims), if the aim is to counter the enemy, who committed an act of aggression against the United States, or to carry out a humanitarian intervention (with a relatively small number of resulting casualties). On the contrary, the action aimed at interfering in the internal affairs of another state in order *e.g.* to change the political regime lead to greater "elasticity of patience," which the public demonstrates.

Kornienko, Olga Y.

Women and religion: complicated relations

Undoubtedly, religion has played an important role in building relations between sexes. Like any institution, religion is a dynamic and developing organism; therefore it is important not to be on the superficial generalization bit. In some periods of time this institution may become more conservative, in the other, on the contrary, more liberal. In one historical period religion may be liberating women (like according to some specialists, it happened in the first centuries after Christianity appeared), in the other it may play the patriarchal role, thus limiting their rights and opportunities. It is not a secret that at the moment within all world religions there is a problem of rethinking of woman's role in religious life. The way it will be solved in every separate religion and confession is an open issue. It is the believers' self-determination issue.

The purpose of this article is to analyze subordinate position of modern women in religion.

Although women form congregations and according to some assessments do about 85% of all work in any congregation, they have no opportunity to be leaders in their communities. It is quite paradoxical. Though the Church is based on women and woman's labor (women are absolute majority of active (practicing) believers), the Church has always been highly patriarchal institution. Numerous social surveys have shown that the woman's role in parochial life is often restricted by reproduction of traditional woman's responsibilities, for example, cleaning, cooking, teaching and taking care of the young ones. Women fulfill nearly all auxiliary work - teach at Sunday schools, sing, organize trips, collect money, bake bread, cook, and clean candlesticks, wash the floors and lots of other work. Nevertheless, all specified obedience and services have "auxiliary" character for the main service - man's service in Church, who, on the contrary, have power and authorities. The question of woman's ordainment is a stumbling block for many religious traditions.

Religious institution official representatives often show surprise when hearing that such institutions not only cause inequality, but also try by dogmatic way to perpetuate the discrimination against women, not acceptable in the modern society. Religious institution official representatives (hierarchs, theologians) always state that the Church respects women and appreciate them as different from men, but equal to them. Besides, officially women are rejected from the leadership, it is claimed that women are appreciated as women.

Worldwide experience shows that such dual approach or double standard for women in church is perceived by the majority of modern women as a contradiction. And they shall solve such a contradiction themselves, without the Church support. According to the survey, the woman's reaction for discrimination

in traditional religious confessions may be conventionally divided into three typical reactions:

1. Complete denial of traditional religious way of life;
2. Movement to reformation of the codes, rules, customs and traditions, used as guides by religious institutions;
3. Attempts to re-interpret the religious doctrine (most often, from inside, individually) to eliminate contradictions between their experience and proposed doctrine.

Now, we will describe these three variants in detail:

- 1) For example, Mary Daly (1968), a former Catholic nun, claims that the Church and organized religion are so highly patriarchal that there is no chance for their transformation in institutions, giving powers to women and establishing their equality. Therefore, in Daly's opinion complete denial of traditional religious institutions is the only possible solution. She thinks that it is essential to establish their own parallel religious institutions, satisfactory to woman's interests.

Daly's position is interesting, because it makes people start seriously thinking about sex role in religion. Nevertheless, her position is quite problematic because it is Utopian. For example, if we continue her argument and apply it on the spheres of education, law, economy, will it mean that women need to deny patriarchal education (economy, law) and create their own parallel structures?

In everyday life such position radicalism is expressed in disappointment by injustice of Church institutions and decision to leave the Church. It is a shame that an ordinary decision to leave the Church is taken by devoted believers, feeling critical injustice and incapable of bearing with it. For example, devoted believers and highly educated young women often find themselves out of work in church. More often they are the potential leaders, capable of making significant contribution to the community. The decision to leave is always accompanied by regret and feeling of injustice.

- 2) The supporters of the second approach claim that in addition to patriarchal organized institutions in the religious life there shall be institutions satisfying woman's needs and managed by women accordingly. Thus, in Protestantism (in its numerous branches) it resulted in establishment of communities led by women with permitted female priesthood and without patriarchal management principle in its organization. Such an approach presumes reorganization of traditional institutions to provide space and resources for new institutions, which often severely criticized by the traditional institutions themselves accordingly. Thus, in Catholic Church there has been a many years hot argument about female priesthood.
- 3) The third variant is a re-interpretation of the religious doctrine, which is quite an everyday occurrence and may occur in individual

consciousness and in interpersonal communication. Re-interpretation is focused on inside consciousness of the individual and not the church and social life. For example, a woman - believer may develop a unique personal doctrine, compensating injustice in the established patriarchal way of life. A wide range of researches, dedicated to woman's life in traditional communities, show that it is the most popular way. Thus, everywhere women re-interpret the postulate about "woman's obedience to a man", but in their thoughts they transform it into instruction to live in equality and mutual aid in every day life. The obedience postulate in such cases is just symbolic and may become apparent in the wedding ceremony, when a husband is "leading" the wife or in the order for women to cover their heads (which symbolizes obedience). Re-interpretation is a psychological protection, allowing "defusing" contradiction between the modern woman's self-sentiment and religious doctrine. However, the contradiction still exists [1].

Thus, if we address to the analysis of social and psychological aspects of religious views, we can see that the majority of religions are patriarchal. There the man feels himself as a human norm and the woman is different to it and strange [2]. If we take into consideration the fact that religion itself is inactive and its dogmata are indisputable, then the woman's status, proposed in the Holy Writ, is easily taken on trust, entering the public conscience. Thereby in the society they approve the norms with the secondary role of women. No matter how strong the woman tries to disprove it, participating actively in all spheres of social life, she can not escape from stereotypes, formed during many generations and based on the dogmata, as the Holy Writ.

1. World old-time religion - Buddhism and women

According to the Buddhist holy texts, on the whole a man and a woman are equal. As for the high spirituality, there is an unspoken tradition fixing such spheres with men, and woman's destiny is, first of all, a family.

2. Woman's image in Orthodox Christianity

In the theory of the Fall, which existed even in the Old Testament, created by the Christian tradition and being part of our cultural heritage, a woman is described as the Satan's panderess, who was the first to cheat Adam. And as a result of woman's sin the humanity was chastised by the God by being expelled from Eden. According to the patriarchal doctrine about the woman's nature and origin, it is she to whom all dangers and evil are attributed to, and they are named sexuality. On this issue K. Millet writes: "Patriarchal religion and ethics relate women and sex, or better say unite them, as if all burden of responsibility and attainment, which according to the patriarchal concept accompany sex, lay on her conscience. Therefore sex, perceived as dirty, sinful and exhaustive, is related only with women, man's identity is more human than sexual [3, 168]".

Thus, a woman was carrying a "curse", being the source of all human torments and therefore "all women have the curse of Eve".

3. Woman's image in Catholicism

At first sight the attitude to women in Catholicism is a little bit different, where as it is known, the Holy Virgin – Jesus Christ's mother – is specially honored. Mary's image is like the ideal of true femininity, it is used with the epithet "beata". It is curious that even in XIII – XIV the Dominicans especially distinguished such Holy Virgin's characteristics as humility and sequacity. For a reason, according to Christian opinion, it is humility which is the basis of the female ideal. Without it a woman can not gain the sense of existence, given to her by a man [4, 18]"

According to the specialists during the last decades the Catholic Church staff quite often states that the woman's position in the modern world does not meet fairness requirements. However both radical theologians and non-believers have marked the contradiction between the Church declarations and the role actually given to women by it.

The main sphere of religious activity, according to the Catholicism, is a family – "home church", and children's education in religious way, although "temporal" social knowledge is declared to be excessive and secondary. Thus, Mary is mainly representation of maternity, patience and suffering affliction and the Mariolatry is a symbol of passive Christianity, not leading to changes in unjust social relations, representing the symbol of humility.

As it is seen from the presented analysis in Buddhism and in Christianity the role of a woman is not an elevated and social one. She is in a subordinate position. She is withdrawn into the shadows and loses the right to be a pastor for the lost humanity. However in the specified world religions the female status is only developed in general terms, which is different from Islam, where a special attention is paid to this question.

4. Islam and saint women cult

Islam has nearly adopted the position of women deprived of rights in Moslem societies, its complete moral and economic dependence from men. Thus, according to the Koran, a mother does not have rights for her own children, owned by the man. The Koran interprets marriage as a merchant's commercial transaction for buying a product. The sellers are the bride's relatives and the buyer is a bridegroom. The bride is the sales and purchase object, i.e. a purchase, to which, quite naturally, they impose requirements as to the products in the market: no defects and flawless functioning for the owner's satisfaction.

Therefore, the religion has been one of the most important components of the human life. For better understanding of contradictions, faced by the modern woman believer, namely, contradictions between her self-comprehension in the world and within the patriarchal Church traditions, profound and objective surveys and investigations are needed. To do this, it is necessary to collect and analyze a huge amount of real life stories, personal re-interpretations and strategies for survival of modern women in the Church, where unfortunately they are still the obedient majority.

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Krasnova Olga P.

The Spiritually Moral Bases of Russian Ethno-cultural Identity: in the Context of Socio-cultural Analysis of National Traditions

«Without love, without moral perfection people will be not saved also by change of social order, change of laws or establishments».

(P.A. Sorokin)

The urgency of the declared problem can be detected by a condition of positive functioning of the society characterized by social dependence of economy from a condition of morals, level of material sphere from a condition of spirituality of citizens.

The purpose of theoretical research in the field of culture sociology is ordering spiritually moral **КОНЦЕПТОВ**, defining criteria of identity of the Russian person. The basis for socio-cultural the analysis is represented by a heritage of national geniuses of Russian philosophy, diaries and epistolary documents of classics of Russian art Word.

Research problems actualize a contemplated problem and consist:

- In revealing of modern negative tendencies in behavioral displays of the modern Russian person from the point of view of socially philosophical and socio-cultural the analysis;
- In comparison of displays of modern negative tendencies to bases of orthodox spirituality and Russian morals;
- In theoretical research of bases and criteria Russian cultural identity;
- In creation of theoretic-empirical base of operational concepts and a formulation of toolkit for sociological research of a phenomenon of Russian culture in a context of the spiritually-moral doctrine of the Russian person;
- In the analysis and the ordering of spiritually moral bases of the Russian person which has found the embodiment in a heritage of masters of the Word.

The working hypothesis of research assumes: infringement of spiritually-moral laws, ethno-confessional traditions, precepts of national geniuses in **СОЦИОГЕНЕТИЧЕСКОМ** a context leads to negative social consequences, infringement of social balance and social risks.

The defining factors of research of problem space Russian cultural identity are the spiritually moral bases of criteria of identity of the Russian person, analyzed in two plans: ideal (historical tradition) and real that is shown in an everyday life of citizens of Russia.

Methodological basis for researches of spiritually-moral bases of Russian ethno-confessional phenomenon is the interpretive sociology expanding a semantic range of the analysis of social processes in borders defined cultural of essence, using methods of the structural-semantic analysis, the content-analysis, hermeneutic generalizations in the form of a sociological matrix for the purpose of ordering of theoretical positions and the empirical data.

“Tradition” as a category can be interpreted as the ideas inherited from previous generations, sights, tastes, a line of action, the customs, the established order in behaviour, in a life.

The civilization is capable, according to Russian philosopher and political scientist, noted for his critic of globalism and consumer society – A. S. Panarin (1940-2003), to undergo any material loss and to recreate itself under a condition if its valuable kernel has escaped. Destruction of a valuable kernel» generates powerlessness even in the conditions of abundance of material resources [1].

The moral effort is true advantage of the Russian person, advantage simulacra, false advantage are attempt to be released from necessity of moral efforts.

Spirituality finds the expression in archetype of orthodox conciliarism, in cult of Mother of God, in prevalence of spiritual values over material, in the spirit of human unselfishness.

The orthodox person can be characterized by spiritually moral qualities:

- Readiness to put outside the brackets the developed socially organized order - property cosmos-centric the wanderer;
- The ability of «donation» containing in inspired selflessness, responsibility and incorruptibility;
- The “passionarity” (by L.N.Gumilev), which is peculiar to cosmic open person only.

The base of Russian culture is the accurate representation about “good” and “evil”, about the moral duty of the person, about the search of purport of life based on the spiritual values.

F. M. Dostoevsky, classicist of Russian literature and Russian philosopher, respected by the entire world, the way of rescuing for Russia found in the religious-moral active love of man for all people.

In always the loss of the guidelines between the good and the evil, regarding F. M. Dostoevsky, leads to the demoralization of nation. The wills presented in the diaries of writer are the basic special features of orthodox ethics, which identify orthodox Russian civilization:

- brotherly love and the brotherhood, which emanate from happiness of common connection and solid hope for universal aid;
- retention “grand means”, which prevents for the Russian person of the manifestations of spite, ribaldry, the irascibility of spirit;
- “making and faith”; the authentic freedom, which is consisted in that, “in order to go as all to serve”;

- the equality, which is reflected in the skill of Russian person to be glad at talent, mind and beauty of another person and that making possible for people to become for each other brothers not of the economic benefit, but from the completeness of glad life, from the completeness of love;
- the faith, which makes possible for people to preserve its face by the commandment "active love". The basis of civilization existence of Russia F. M. Dostoevsky determines by highest, disinterested ideas and highest purposes of service to entire humanity.

In the publicist heritage classics of word, we find the reasoning, interpreted by us in the context "processes, full of energy" and of the mutual enrichment: "Ideas fly in air, but without fail they live and are extended according to the laws, ideas are infectious. In the overall mood another idea... accessible only to the highly educated and developed mind can suddenly be transmitted to almost semiliterate essence... and infect its soul by its influence" [2; 24; 50-51].

Characterizing civilization component of the reformatory conversions of Peter the I. and determining their significance, F. M. Dostoevsky is created "the picture" of the genesis of the civilization nature of the Russian person:

- despotism completely not in the spirit of Russian people;
- in response to the forced encroachment of "the clothing and the beard" in the Russian peasant was formed stubborn, persistent and solid nature;
- Russian people are too peaceful and love to attain its purposes via peace, gradually;
- Russian people do not love to chase the appearance and most of all values spirit, thought, and essence of the matter. Should be examined the dependence of strengthening love of freedom and solidarity of Russian people on the encroachments on top as the civilization formula: "the stronger was of it the encroachment on top, the stronger it was joined, and it was compressed" [2; 20; 15].

The characteristic properties of Russian nature are "brotherly love for other peoples", "service to humanity, even to the detriment of sometimes her own major nearest interests"; reconciliation with other civilizations; the acquired ability to open and to find the being consisted truth in the European personality; the need to be valid; the tendency to become all by servants for the universal reconciliation. "Who wants to be higher than all in the kingdom of heaven - become a servant of all people", so understands Dostoyevsky "Russian destination in its ideal". The unity of Slavonic peoples does not proceed from the predatory purposes and the violence, but for "the introduction of mite into the treasure-house of the spirit of human" [2; 22; 46-47].

Evolutionary process is considered as the forward movement, which is possible only with the presence "its soil", "its climate", "its training". Asserting the ideal of ideological stability, F. M. Dostoevsky recommends not to be shamed its persuasions: "Who has to say word, that let says, does not fear that it they will not

listen to, does not fear, that they will laugh above it. That will produce it no impression on the mind of its contemporaries. Speak one should how it is possible more frankly and more straight direct to speak out, without being shamed the naive nakedness of its other thought" [2; 25; 5-9].

The development of people as the representative of self-sufficient civilization, his evolution writer sees in the formed his own ideology, the storage of thoughts, the customs, the regulations of public life, national character and the people instincts, sensitive to any kind to encroachments from the side, in the need for the presence of people element in the life of state [2; 20, 209-211].

To rise to the level of self-condemnation can only that nation, which is capable of achieving a reflection, relying on spiritual- moral traditions, thus, achieving and realizing the succession of ethno-confessional traditions; universal values - Russian national ideas [2; 25; 50], with all get along and into everything get accustomed to, it is capable to sympathize to entire human out of a difference between the nationality, blood and soil, it possesses the instinct of universal values, which makes it possible to guess general human feature even in the sharpest exclusivenesses of other peoples [2; 18; 54-57]; the absence in the Russian person of self-elevation, which damages on the freedom of action [2; 18; 54-57]; any Russian, first of all, Russian, and then already belongs to any class [2; 18; 54-57]; the ability of conciliatory view on the stranger, that is been evidence of the most noble gift of nature [2; 18; 36-37]; sociability and gregariousness [2; 21; 160-162]; enthusiasm as "the holy, precious force, which thirsts application and outcome"; the moral force of people consists in the ability to rise to "the height of spirit"; love of truth, search for truth will make it possible to find true course "not by violence, but it is free" [2; 25; 61-63]; the freedom of spirit, which is capable of appear before the oppression of materialism, passions, money and property lust and even before the fear of most severe martyr death [2; 25; 14-16]; progressiveness as the respect for any noble undertaking; sympathy to everything, that heartfelt is honest; persuasions for the Russian person are obtained by sufferings in contrast to the routine liberalism, whose representatives always on the side of those, who is stronger [2; 20; 209-211]; the radical need of Russian people - need of suffering [2; 21; 35-38]; the absence of naive- solemn contentment with itself [2; 21; 35-38]; the ability to find in itself guardian and rescue beginnings, saves itself by swiftness, by the thirst of self-preservation and repentance [2; 21; 35-38]; the gift of generosity, which survived during the centuries of servitude, burdens and misery not injured damaged in the heart of people; love of truth, self-esteem, a sense of self-respect; "the unconscious and extraordinary resistance of people to its idea, the faith in the validity and the truth [2; 19; 180].

The economy of orthodox Russian civilization nucleus consists in the humanistic bases of the national and civic stands of writer, which are the arch of spiritual- moral precepts, rules and the principles, observance or nonobservance of which can testify about the state of civilization, the state of authority and the state of the consciousness of its progressive part - the intelligentsia:

- they be "national life" - the exception of encroachments of the independence of the life of national, the expansion of the life of national, the retention of its originality and the originality;
- the essence of Russian progress - can about itself state in proportion to the development of national life proportional to the expansion of the circle of its independent life in economic and spiritual sense, are proportional to the gradualness of release from the age-long it in itself closure [2; 20; 218- 219];
- at the natural beginnings of nature and customs of the Russian earth concentrated on the sensible and vital guarantee to the progress and the renovation [2; 20; 209-211];
- the essence of national spirit - it is necessary to take into the consideration the height of spirit, to which it ["people" - Olga. P. Krasnova] can rise [2; 25; 14-16];
- the essence of national education - performance of general national duty by education consists in the fact that "... who knows the true word of life, that must, obligated to report to his ignorant, stray in the dark brother to its (on the gospel); - be "the matters for the command of heart" - "it is necessary to make only that the fact that the heart orders: it orders to return estate - return, it orders to go to work on all - go... is required and important determination your to only make everything for the active love" [2; 25; 61-65];
- be "the secrets of the first step" - "clean heart one council: composure and self-overpower before any first step. Carry out itself on itself before others forcing" [2; 25; 61-63];
- the essence of national self-consciousness - "to become Russian means to cease to despise people it. After becoming itself, we will obtain finally appearance the human... form of free essence, but not slave, not lackey...";
- the essence of the humanization of man and his self-perfection proceeds from the fact that "... it is necessary to be produced into the man. Here discipline... tireless discipline above itself... Thinkers proclaim the general laws... of rule, that all together they will be made happy ... that with the unfinished people would be carried out no rules....";
- the essence of civilization - citizen can appear in tireless discipline and continuous work very on himself" [2; 25; 50];
- the essence of national welfare - and if the welfare of nation is reached at a cost of untruth and the stripping of the skins, then it does not bring "health for the nation": "it is possible to lose time, to become poor by the period, to be deprived of market, to decrease the production, to raise high costs. But let then will remain morally it is healthy the organism of nation - and nation will win, even it is material" [2; 25; 50];

- the essence of vital need, labor, feeling of debt - vital need for the Russian person consists in the spiritual calmness, in the realization of the fact that man is only by labor rescued will be rescued, in a feeling of debt; - the essence of the sanitation of roots, which must occur according to "the formula of the oblivion of the current vital problems", reduction in the capital haughtiness with respect to entire Russia. "Seemingly you [progressive intelligentsia; in the contemporary interpretation - "elite", what sounds disdainfully with respect to the fellow citizens - Olga. P. Krasnova] compose the upper zone above the people, which wrapped up the earth Russian" [2; 27; 9-22].

F. M. Dostoevsky teaches the philosophy of life, the lessons of life, directs our attention to the social- philosophical problems, which treat as it, based on the ethno-confessional bases:

- "Freedom" consists not in the licentiousness, present freedom - into self-overpower and wills of its in order to be for itself owner; freedom not in the cash cover and the law, which guarantees it; the highest freedom - "to divide by all that you have to go as all to serve".
- "Equality" is comprehended in the mutually-respect, which does not depend on the degree of talent or good and overgrows into "the brotherhood". Equality consists in the acknowledgement of the talent of another person, in the sensation of happiness from the realization of his talent, in the love for it. Moreover, even if is comprehended its own "insignificance", this does not completely mean that is lost respect for itself.
- Joint labor is based on interaction, but not information of calculations, from the positions "of love for all" [2; 25; 61-63].
- Civil example: "Before preaching to the people: "as it to be", show this on itself" [2; 25; 61-63].

Selection remains after us and in it - the guarantee of future prosperity of Russia.

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Krutkin, Victor L.

Presentative and Representative in the World of Media and Social Knowledge

In the social world there are many artifacts which expand space of the persons. In discussions how the medial world works, the concept of representation is often used. If the presentation – is appearance, the re-presentation means repeated appearance, it is process of transfer of some maintenance in other form.

“Background and the figures” are the concepts entered in Gestaltpsychology. They can be considered more widely, not only in forms of pictures, speech, letters, but in forms of daily behavior. In everyday actions of people it is possible to see that they are guided by the accepted sequences of actions, by the routine, which became habits. In these practices we can reveal a background and figures. Images live in movements between a background and a figure.

Images need an embodiment, there are no unembodied images. Images lean on practice of corporal individuals where there are speech sounds, signs of the writing, the pictures on surfaces. When people interpret the life, they correlate a background and figures. They are guided by senses what are shared with other individuals. Interpretation as understanding of a reality, leans on preliminary representations of an image.

Since the 80-es of the XX century visual research has been dominated by the representational theories (they are consolidated in Stuart Hall studies). At the end of century appears other paradigm of “nonrepresentative theory”, (another terminology is “more-than-representational approach”) (they are presented in the works by Nigel Thrift).

In representational theory culture understands as practices and processes rather than things. By the S.Hall it is a whole way of life, as opposed to “the best that has been thought and said”. Representation penetrates all the people’s activity where cognitive activity is rated first. Cultural meanings are involved into culture circle, where its subjects “act as the language”. “Members of the same culture must share sets of concepts, images and ideas which enable them to think and feel about the world, and thus to interpret the world, in roughly similar ways” [1, 4].

Authors of this approach consider that representations and the interpretations connected with them, are a unique way to the world. Is it true that senses by which the persons are surrounded, «behave as language»?

Let's try to consider the problem on borders of representations in an example of symbolical behavior. In ritual, we have doubling reality, here there is the sacral sphere which value possesses the raised importance for people. Thanks to symbolical behavior not only the new knowledge arises, a new reality arises by ritual.

The feast (for example, wedding) is such media enterprise which not only designates a reality semiotically, but it generates this performing. In wedding we have legitimation of the marriage union, an exchange of gifts, formation of necessarily endured feelings. Symbolical behavior represented the image about custom which the community has, but it also presented a new reality. Wedding is a supper, but also something else – a new family appears here.

We see the representative parts of media sending us to meanings and interpretations. But we see also the presentational parts of media what are revealed in existential experiences of individuals. The media body of a feast includes sensual experiences of people - visual, acoustical, impellent, tactile, flavoring. The people involved in a feast, must not only interpret, they have possibility of direct joy, grief, pride, etc. Not only symbolical behavior as ritual, but also the everyday life will be unity of representations and presentations, unity of cognitive and affective in their experiences.

Let's consider these relations in practices of visual representations, for example in experience of creation of photographic snapshots, which is more often used in social knowledge. The image is a dynamic formation, it is generated by movement from a background to a figure and back, at sources of an image is not the only mental construction, but material gesture. As Merleau-Ponty wrote, the consciousness begins not from a construction «I think», but from a construction «I can».

The image - belongs to system where there is no dualism of the subject and object where the person and the world deeply penetrate each other at corporality level. The person finds itself in the world not as consciousness, but as a body, as «this - body - in - this - world». It is wrong idea oppose an image to language, or think that the image is an unembodied reality.

The interesting example of J.L.Nansi - gesture was the first work of art at the stage of cave, and the artist was the first man who discovered the pleasure of making flint spark in order to make it spark [2. 97].

The picture carries out a role of media. The picture is a way what the image becomes visible. G.Belting has offered anthropological understanding of an image.

The image is in media as our mental images are in our body. It is easy to destroy the picture, but it is hard for making with an image. The picture and an image are connected as two parties of a medal. The image is not meaning of the picture. Before semiotics believed that all things can be presented as signs. Today researchers doubt it. Belting writes: «Images traditionally live from the body's absence, which is either temporary (that is, spatial) or, in the case of death, final. This absence does not mean that images revoke absent bodies and make them return. Rather, they

replace the body's absence with a different kind of presence. Iconic presence still maintains a body's absence and turns it into what must be called visible

absence. Images live from the paradox that they perform the presence of an absence or vice versa »[3. 312].

In art theory today specialist more often insist that creation should be considered as allocated with its own activity. The picture is capable to establish itself that will be a figure, and that – a background. It means that the material aspect of art object is capable to establish its own meaning .

In the beginning it has been recognized behind the products, awarded with the status to be "art". But images which have been ranked as "works of art", make only small part of the huge world of other images [4]. Is it applicable for a photo, where we have not only pictures of known masters, but also the fans who do not have exhibitions and published albums?

The developed stereotypes of understanding of an image prevent to come nearer to the answer to these questions. Also today it is possible to meet belief that a photo as the letter light, is purely natural objective process where one part of the nature is printed on other part of the nature. Later such direct bonds are already denied. The person looks throw eyes, but sees by consciousness. And it doesn't mean that the picture depends on consciousness. Really, looking in the view-finder, the photographer waits for an instant when the image becomes such, «what it should be from his or her point of view».

The true content of a photograph is invisible, for it derives from a play, not with form, but with time. One might argue that photography is as close to music as to painting. I have said that a photograph bears witness to a human choice being exercised. This choice is not between photographing X and Y: but between photographing at X moment or at Y moment [5].

But here the picture is made. Now being the material phenomenon, it begins the its own life. Today researchers are especially attentive to the physical parts of media.

As R. Chalfen points out, photographic images generally answer the question "How do they look?" The question is as simple as complicated. "' How They Look "can be understood as" How these people appear ". It is a question of what we (as observers) find when we examine an individual or group of people." How They Look "can be understood as a question of how an individual or group of people look AT, see and otherwise understand life around them. That is, we are asking about how people make sense of their everyday lives, their immediate environment and the world around them". [6. 142].

If the first aspect is representation the second is a presentation, this that in experience that falls outside the limits semiotics interpretation, operates directly besides language. Documenting a certain event, we simultaneously put a monument to the event of documenting. When we put «the photographed event» on the first place and disregard «event of photographing » there are bases for optimistic estimations of a role of pictures in knowledge.

When we operate in return sequence there will be bases for skeptical estimations. Optimists usually show belief in magic force of photos to save reality. Sceptics will show stamps of the subject who has camera in his hands. On images we can see influences of those who pictured on photo. People always aspire to operate impressions of others about themselves. And, certainly, traces of those who have ordered and have paid manufacturing of pictures. For sceptics it will be important to get rid of the subjectivity of press to use images in a science. But what remains from a photo where there will be no traces from the subject?

H.Becker points out that the meanings of photos lie neither in objectivity nor subjectivity, actually it is in contextuality. "Just as paintings get their meaning in a world of painters, collectors, critics, and curators, so photographs get their meaning from the way the people are involved with them, understand them, use them, and thereby attribute meaning to them" [7.21].

How can «an investment with meanings of photos» come? Are images passive? People can tell us much, with what meaning they connect a picture. It doesn't settle all work what the image is capable to execute. Being material media, a picture as presentation, can generate the meaning by itself. The picture as media is capable to lead the life, having arisen in at one time and a place, it can live in others, cause a resonance, feelings, experiences, and not just to be addressed to interpretive efforts of subjects. As writes K.Moksi, «This contemporary fascination with the other side of experience, what comes to meet us rather than what we bring to the encounter, occurs in many aspects of the humanities from philosophy to science» [8.133].

Images lead own life, they can initiate own meanings. Photos aren't similar to language which we would read. All promises to teach to read a photo, remained without execution (J. Weiser).

To think that the world is a text, it means to return to linguistic model, in it to place a constant sight, «the big narration» to which experience should report.

James Elkins put under question the main idea of visual semiotics where it is considered that «visual elements are or chaotic, senseless marks, or signs as those». It shows that «graphic marks can be understood as objects which simultaneously are and aren't signs» [9. 213-214].

Representation is that we do with an image, leading up it to the picture, but what the picture does with us, leading up us to experience or affect is life of an image as presentations. The image is material, physically real, thanks to the media form images can lead the own life different from that form what it was allocated with its creator. They can borrow something from each other, come into contact or the conflict with each other.

They can "wound" the spectators in such kind. To cause their reactions, affects. Not only to be subject to interpretation, but to participate in experience of love, horror, pleasure, despair, hope. Here the subject doesn't interpret, but enters a

resonance and emotional experiences. Before this sphere considered suspiciously natural, a little concerning culture. But the affect is thinking too,

«Affect is understood as a form of thinking, often indirect and nonreflective, it is true, but thinking all the same. And, similarly, all manner of the spaces which they generate must be thought of in the same way, as means of thinking and as thought in action» [10. 61].

It is impossible to tell anything about a photo, without knowing in whose hands it is. But what day's spectators of a photo speak to us now, doesn't settle all its meaning too. The image living through the picture, is capable to operate on the tomorrow's spectator. The photo has a delayed addressee. And here we have such sides of an image what can't be transferred language. M. Foucault's investigating supervision in medicine, discovers other aspects of vision with focus on the difference between "gaze" and "glance". The difference is that "gaze" reaches the world, which refers to language, hearing and speech. Thus it embraces speaking. In the contrast "glance" is silent vision. There are two sides in the vision: gaze and glance, speaking and silent. Gaze is connected with verbal aspects whereas glance refers to non-verbal communication. Gaze as part of vision is closely tied up to speech and hearing. Furthermore, the speaking side is interpreted and through the interpretation participants may attribute qualities they do not really possess. As M. Foucault suggests glance is not connected with speech and hearing, it is referred to corporality, emotions, feelings, affects. Gaze acts as speech, glance acts as a hand [11. Ch.7].

Terms «visual sociology» becomes habitual. Earlier there was habitual an expression «visual anthropology». Such expansions of subject fields can be carried out differently, but here there should not be a conflict to "parental" discipline. When developing the use of visuals H. Becker warned, that we should stay within sociology boundaries, otherwise we will simply deal with interesting pictures.

The visual sociology, as well as visual anthropology, are not alternatives to a "verbal" science. Here special methods are not developed so much, more likely here is shown, how habitual qualitative methods (supervision, interview, a content analysis, etc.) can be improved at the expense of attraction of new media means. Classical book J. and M. Kollier «Visual anthropology. A photo as a research method» acknowledgement full to volume: here we can see, how by means of pictures (a photo, cinema, video) it is possible to raise efficiency of traditional methods of knowledge.

The comparison an ordinary interview with a photointerview demonstrates the effectiveness of the latter. John and Malcolm the Colliers writes: "Psychologically, the photographs on the table performed as a third party in the interview session. We ask questions to the photographs and the informants become our assistants in discovering the answers to these questions in the realities of the photographs. We were exploring the photographs *together*» [12 , 105].

New media allow to resist positivist objectivization of people, allow to open reflexivity of such objects and to expand considerably a circle of discussed questions.

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The Formation of the Russian Nation Identity in the Poly-ethnic Region: Socio-political Discourse¹

Formula, corresponding to modern ideas about the civic nation, was suggested by the Russian philosopher, G. Fedotov: "Accounting for consanguineous - (here - ethnic - E.K.) is accompanied by expansion of the national consciousness and his attraction to promote the common for all of us home." To do this, it is important that ethnic consciousness as completely as possible and reflect the common interests of the country. Must have a common, uniting all ethnic groups, the humanistic idea.

Modern configuration of the Russian national identity has the two most significant, large dimensions: the socio-cultural and political. Ethno-cultural identity, considered as a variant of the socio-cultural, and participates in the formation of national identity. This becomes possible under certain circumstances: when the ethno-cultural identity is actualized state and combined with solidarity, with tolerant attitudes and trust in government. Favorable socio-economic conditions and equal public access to resources contribute to this process. For example, a study of U. Harutyunyan showed that "the assertion macroidentity "Rossiyane "are in the most favorable parts of the Russian Federation", such as Moscow and Krasnodar region, acting as model regions in terms of laying the foundations and testing the strength of Russian civil nation. In this case, a number of North Caucasus republics such as Dagestan, Chechnya and Ingushetia, according to the scientist, can not claim the presence of an emerging, even any marked multiethnic civil community [1]. For those regions characterized by the predominance of the collective consciousness of the traditionalist (ethno) rather than modernization (integrative) trends. Moreover, such a weak embeddedness these republics in designated process is observed on the background of clearly seen the formation of public policy of the Russian nation. According to experts, at the turn of 1990-2000-ies. there was beginning articulated the importance of managing ethnic and cultural differences, of the opposition "nationalism and extremism" and the consolidation of Russian society in the country. At this period the speeches of the Presidents of the Russian Federation V. Putin and D. Medvedev includes the task of forming a Russian nation. "There has been a line on a more definite support for the model of the Russian nation-co-citizenship." In connection with this it was actualized the changing of the concept of "national policy" to "ethno-cultural politics", or "policy in the sphere of interethnic relations," when it came to policies towards the ethnic groups of Russia [2]. In this context, "national policy" is beginning to understand how "the policy of ensuring national interests." It should be noted that on the federal level the task of preserving the ethnic and cultural

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diversity was formulated as a way of "integration of citizens of any ethnic group in Russia-wide socio-economic and cultural space." G. Zvereva carried a thorough analysis of the idea of "Russian nation" in public documents of this period. She says that the idea of a collective of Russian identity - the "multinational people of Russia" was first expressed in the Constitution in 1993. The text of the "Concept of State National Policy of the Russian Federation" in 1996 has the term "multinational state". Russian people - as an ethnic community which "is a pillar of Russian statehood" - are acting as a guarantor of stability "of the "multinational state" [3].

The next document that reflects the search for and establishment of a unifying idea was a draft Federal Law "On State National Policy of the Russian Federation" (2003 and 2006). The document in 2003 expressed the idea of the priority of ethnicity in relation to the top of a civil and focused on etnofederalist principles of "nation-state more clearly, then in the text of the "Concept of National Policy" in 1996. In the revised version of the bill in 2006 to the text introduces new concepts: the "general civil identity", "Russian nation". "The Russian nation," says the document - is a "historical, socio-political community of the multinational people of Russia with a common historical destiny, the joint creative activities to strengthen a unified state." Later it will be changed the title "On the fundamentals of public policy in the sphere of interethnic relations." The nature of changes in this draft law is noticeable that in the essence of the "Russian nation" more intensified civil sounding

Interpretation of "multinational people" has undergone several changes and was understood as "common citizens of the Russian Federation of various nationalities, united state unity, common interests and spiritual values and acknowledges its membership in a community of the Russian nation." Emphasis on the idea of political nation has led to serious criticism and negative evaluations of the document, and its consideration has again been postponed. Further development of a unifying idea has resulted, according to G. Zvereva, in the formal establishment of the Russian nation, which was held in the spring of 2008 through the creation of the All-Russian Union of Public Associations "Russian nation". The Council of the All-Russia Union, as noted in the media, included "prominent state and political and public figures, leaders of all major federal national-cultural associations." The purpose of the movement - the spread and consolidation the idea of political and civil nation in the Russian society. According to members of a new movement for the first time this idea was "approved" by the statement of V. Putin about the Russian nation, which was contained in his speech on interethnic and interfaith relations on Feb. 5, 2004.

In this context specificity of the Northern Caucasus is not only polyethnic and confessional, they say even about "the ultimate expression of" ethnic and confessional diversity. The basic characteristic of a backbone for the region and the processes occurring in it, is unevenness . It is expressed in economic, political and ideological gaps, coexistence of deeply rooted traditional institutions and manifestations of post-industrial world, the disparity between the status of ethnic

minorities and the majority of their real social and cultural status, and to varying degrees of consolidation processes in the region.

Researchers have discovered pattern, whereby uneven consolidation of the civil population and the level of socio-political stability in the region depends on the identity of groups within its social structure. For example, the identity of ethnic groups with long experience of co-existence (Russian (or Cossacks) and Armenians in the Rostov region, Krasnodar Territory, Russian (or Cossacks) and Circassians in the Krasnodar Territory, the Republic of Adygea), is regarded as a constructive basis for the predominance of consolidation processes (and accordingly, the formation of Russian identity) over the processes of differentiation. The opposite situation with the identity of ethno-social groups, the interaction between them is only now emerging or recovering (Russian (Cossacks) and meshitintsy Turks in Krasnodar Territory, Russian (Cossacks), and the Chechens and Dargins in the Rostov region, traditional peoples and migrants). These findings cast doubt on having a widespread view that by implementing intra-integration, ethnic identity has an impact on the development of disintegration trends in society in general and in particular in the ethnosphere. Thus, inclusion of ethnic and cultural diversity in determining the searching themselves to the idea of Russian society is one of the key factors in implementing policies and practices in shaping national identity. And the use of cultural, educational, media "channels" for the promotion of this idea can be a major mechanism for the formation and strengthening of the Russian national identity.

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Trends in Inter-ethnic Relations in Yugra under the Impact of Migration

The Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug – Yugra is one of the strategically important regions of the Russian civilization and Russian state. The dynamics and the status of inter-ethnic relations in the Okrug require particular attention since this Okrug plays a crucial role in the economy of modern Russia, as it is an oil and gas producing region. These industries provide a fair share of its budget and a very noticeable part of the whole Russian budget, creating reserves for economic growth in the region and country. The Okrug is among the regions which can and should become a driving force of Russia's recovery from the current economic crisis and of Russia's transferring to the path of modern social and technological progress. Thus, the preservation and strengthening of the Yugra inter-ethnic community is the basis for regional (and government) subsistence as well as for social and economic development of both the region and the whole country.

Since the 1960s, the industrial development of the northern region resulted not only in an increase in population, but also in changes in the regional ethnic composition. Specialists and workers from all regions of the Soviet Union came to the Okrug for the development of the oil industry, but most newcomers were from regions with an already-developed oil and gas industry: Azerbaijan, Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Checheno-Ingushetia, and the Western Ukraine.

Prior to the so-called "economic reforms," inter-ethnic relations in Yugra, as well as in the whole Eurasian part of Russia, had been traditionally based on a historically-evolved unity of local ethnic cultures and on specific traits of the Russian national character due to which Russia became a multiethnic state.

Despite the fact that intensive migration flows of the 1960s–1980s changed the proportion of Yugra ethnic groups (the Slavic group declined and the Turkic group increased), inter-ethnic relations in the Okrug remained stable and friendly. This, in particular, is testified to by frequent ethnically mixed marriages in the Yugra region (as, indeed, in the whole country). This means that migration in itself at that time was not a source of growing ethnic tensions, although, of course, it made ethnic relations more complicated. The presence of a common idea united the representatives of all ethnic groups, contributed to the enrichment of cultures through new elements, and stimulated the development of each ethnic group. Naturally, individual cases of violations of the principles of friendship, violation of mutual respect for the traditions and customs of different peoples, that is, the violation of precisely those values that were the source of strength and stability of ethnic relations, were perceived quite acutely in the realm of inter-ethnic relations. The main complaints of permanent residents against the newly arriving population (from all ethnic groups) were mainly related to the protection of a traditional way of life as well as their own culture and environment.

Yet, after the start of “radical market reforms,” already by the mid 1990s, the state of inter-ethnic relations in Yugra, as well as in Russia as a whole, significantly changed. Sociological studies, which we have conducted in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug from the early 1990s to this day, indicate that by the mid 1990s both stabilizing and destabilizing factors affecting inter-ethnic relations clearly were defined. The stabilizing factors were based on the historically evolved community of the nations of Russia and on the traditional values of the Russian and Eurasian consciousness (communalism, that is, mutual tolerance, inclusiveness, friendliness, etc.), adopted and developed in the USSR, and, accordingly, in Soviet Russia.

In the post-Soviet period the demographic balance of various ethnic groups in the Autonomous Okrug has undergone and continues to undergo significant changes. One of the most significant changes has been a distinct trend of decrease in the proportion of the total population belonging to Slavic ethnic groups, in addition to a decrease in the proportion of the Russian population. Slavic ethnic groups have showed a high degree of mutual tolerance and recognition of the key role of the Russian nation in the existence and development of multinational Russia. This trend also consisted of changes in the demographic balance between ethnic groups with a traditionally Christian and a traditionally Muslim cultural background, not in favor of the former.

The basic reason for the destabilization of inter-ethnic relations is social tension caused by the breakup of the socialist system. The main negative factors working with the migration factor and through it, by the mid 1990s had definitely shifted to the economic area or to the areas which one way or another depended on the “reforms” carried out in the country. In particular, due to the shortage of jobs and rising unemployment in rural areas caused by the “reforms,” problems related to employment became the main source of social tension and of inter-ethnic tension which arose on this basis of social tension. The fact is that the growth of social tensions had a negative impact on inter-ethnic relations, provoking and exacerbating precisely those negative aspects of the ethnic and cultural “dimension” of inter-ethnic relations, which had a particularly sensitive character in the multiethnic community of the region, complicating inter-ethnic relations. The monitoring establishing the dynamics of inter-ethnic relations, showed that the factors contributing to tensions in the area of inter-ethnic relations, as well as their order and significance in the pre-perestroika and post-perestroika period, reveal marked differences.

With all this, in spite of the growing degree of inter-ethnic tensions in the Okrug during the further implementation of the “reforms,” tension has not exceeded a critical level beyond which inter-ethnic relations begin to destabilize. This is primarily due to the fact that the historically-evolved multiethnic community of Yugra and traditional Russian-Eurasian values have remained a basis for strength and stability of inter-ethnic relations in the region. This is certainly facilitated by the fact that living standards in the gas and oil producing Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug are higher than in the majority of other

Russian regions. Finally, we should admit that the social and ethnic policies pursued by the local Okrug government have played a certain positive role since the government has tried to neutralize (of course, only as far as it is possible, given the general situation of the whole country) the destructive outcomes of the “reforms.” Thus, according to a survey in 2000, over two-thirds (68 percent) of the surveyed residents of the rural areas living in the Surgut and the Nefteyugansk Districts of the Okrug assessed the state of inter-ethnic relations as stable with no tension; 18 percent believed that there was a little ethnic tension, and only 4 percent of respondents admitted to major tension in inter-ethnic relations. Positive assessment of the state of inter-ethnic relations exceeded negative assessment by 46 percent.

The second wave of intense influx of “new” migrants to Yurga started in 1996, resulting in a continued decline in the portion of the Russian population (and the Slavic population in general). In 2002, the proportion of Russians in the Okrug amounted to 66 percent (on average 80 percent in Russia), and by 2007 it had already decreased to 61 percent. If we take into account the huge number of unreported illegal migrants, the actual proportion of Russians in Yugra will be even lower. The intensively changing ethnic outlook of the region significantly affects the character of inter-ethnic relations.

Comparative analysis of assessments of inter-ethnic relations provided by the residents of Yugra in 2004, 2008, and at the end of 2009 showed that inter-ethnic tension in the area has gradually increased (Table 1).

Table 1

**Assessments of inter-ethnic relations provided
by the urban residents of Yugra in 2004 (N = 1007) and in 2008 (N = 1113),
as well as by an expert group at the end of 2009 (N = 51),
as a percentage of total participants**

Evaluation	2004	2008	December, 2009
Inter-ethnic relations in general are stable (no tension)	56	47	39
There is some (small) inter-ethnic tension	36	44	53
Tension in inter-ethnic relations is significant	7	9	8

Thus, if in 2004 more than half the respondents (56 percent) believed that inter-ethnic relations in the Okrug have remained stable (without tension), by 2008 the proportion of such respondents declined by 9 percent and amounted to less than half of respondents (47 percent). By the end of 2009 the portion of such respondents decreased to 39 percent. Accordingly, the portion of people who noted the presence of inter-ethnic tension in the Okrug increased (from 44 percent in 2004 to 53 percent in 2008 and to 61 percent by the beginning of 2010).

For the most part, there was growth in the portion of people pointing to the presence of some inter-ethnic tension, and growth rates of the group that admitted “some tension” increased. If in 2004, the share of positive assessments of the state of inter-ethnic relations outnumbered negative assessments by 13 percent in the whole array, by 2008 it was reduced to the extent that the proportion of negative assessments was higher than the proportion of positive assessments by (-6 percent). By the end of 2009 this excess reached (-22 percent). However, at the same time no increase in the group admitting “significant ethnic tension” was observed.

The changing nature of inter-ethnic relations in the Okrug can also be seen on the basis of responses to the question in the questionnaire of 2008, “How, in your opinion, have the inter-ethnic relations in the Okrug changed in recent years?” (See Table 2).

Table 2

**Distribution of answers to the survey question,
“How, in your opinion, have inter-ethnic relations
in the Okrug changed in recent years?” provided by the
representatives of various ethnic groups in 2007–2008 (N = 1113)
on a percentage basis**

Responses	Slavic people (Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarusians)	Tatars and Bashkirs	Azerbaijanians	Chechens and the Dagestani peoples	Peoples of the Central Asia (Tajiks, Uzbeks, Kyrgyz, and Kazakhs)	Peoples of the North	All respondents
Significantly deteriorated	11.8	6.3	5.2	7.9	3.6	1.9	8.0
Deteriorated, but not too much	17.5	19.6	9.4	16.5	23.6	21.0	18.6
Have not changed	25.5	24.6	46.9	19.7	40.0	27.6	26.8
Improved, but not too much	14.0	18.3	22.9	18.1	7.3	15.2	16.6
Significantly improved	8.8	12.9	8.3	10.2	16.4	4.8	9.4
Difficult to answer	22.5	18.3	7.3	27.6	9.1	29.5	20.6

This also suggests that, on average, according to the urban population of the Okrug, the degree of inter-ethnic tension is growing, although the growth rate of the “negative group” cannot be considered significant.

However, the assessments of inter-ethnic relations in Yugra and the evaluations of their trends vary considerably in different ethnic groups. Thus, in

the group of the Slavic people (the largest in the Okrug), the percentage of the respondents who believed that inter-ethnic relations in the Okrug have deteriorated was higher than the proportion of the respondents who believed that inter-ethnic relations have improved. In comparison with other ethnic groups, the Slavic people showed the most significant difference (-6.5). Moreover, the Slavic people more frequently indicated that inter-ethnic relations "significantly deteriorated" (29.3 percent). The Azerbaijanians and the representatives of the Tatar and Bashkir group evaluated the changes in inter-ethnic relations more positively (31.2 percent) as well as the Chechens and the Dagestani peoples (28.3 percent). The proportion of those who responded that inter-ethnic relations in the Okrug improved is the highest in these groups. Less frequently, improvement of inter-ethnic relations was noted by the representatives of the peoples of the North (20.0 percent) and the Slavic people (22.8 percent), that is, the portion of the population mostly for whom Yugra was a historical homeland. In recent years Armenians and representatives of the Central Asian peoples started to experience increasing discomfort in ethnic relations.

Let us now consider which factors, according to the respondents, exercise the greatest influence on the increase of inter-ethnic tensions. To do so, we should take into account the survey data for 2004, 2007–2008, and for the end of 2009 (see Table 3).

A high level of social stratification and a socially contraindicative income gap between the "upper" and the "lower" strata of the population is bound to generate social tensions. Naturally, social tension, one way or another, has a negative impact on inter-ethnic relations.

Sociological studies (see Table 3) indicate that the main factors tied with inter-ethnic tensions in the area, according to respondents, for the period of 2004–2009 were "disrespect for ethnic and cultural characteristics" and "significant increase in the proportion of migrants." Local (permanent) residents of Yugra – mostly representatives of the peoples of the North and Russians – often indicate a "significant increase in the proportion of migrants," whereas the newly arrived migrants more frequently indicate "disrespect for their ethnic and cultural characteristics," although these indicators are also quite high for both the indigenous peoples of the North and for the Russians. These factors are followed by an "imperfect ethnic policy" and a "struggle for power on different levels."

In addition, according to respondents, a "struggle for particularly prestigious and profitable jobs" is increasing, along with a "reduce in social protection and support of the local population." The respondents named the "struggle for power at different levels" as one of the social and political factors of inter-ethnic tension. The economic crisis in the country also made an impact on the growth of inter-ethnic tensions in the Okrug in 2009.

Table 3

**The rating of factors causing inter-ethnic tension,
as expressed by respondents in 2004,
2007–2008 and in December, 2009
(according to the degree of importance)**

What causes inter-ethnic tension?	2004	2007–2008	December, 2009
Struggle for power at different levels	4	4	6-7
Reduce in social protection and support	7		6-7
Significant increase in the proportion of migrants	2	2	1
Disrespect for the ethnic and cultural characteristics of particular ethnic groups	1	1	2
Rousing ethnic enmity by some individuals and the media	5	3	4
Struggle for particularly prestigious (profitable) jobs	6	6	5
Imperfect ethnic policy	3	5	3

The main complaints of the local population concerning the migrants were that the migrants “sell drugs,” “do illegal business,” “crime grows because of them,” and “they take out profits from the region and from Russia.”

We may suggest that the growth of inter-ethnic tensions is conditioned to the greatest degree not only by the presence and the growth of ethnic migrants in the region, but also by the fact that this process is not sufficiently well-regulated. Therefore it is not by accident that about half of the experts and one fourth of the respondents explain the presence of inter-ethnic tensions as being due to the shortcomings of ethnic policies which infringe upon (mostly) the interests of the Russian people – the main nation which consolidates Russian national development.

The evaluations of inter-ethnic relations largely depended on the age of the respondents. Young people under the age of 29 in all ethnic groups were more likely to indicate the existence of inter-ethnic tensions than people of older age groups.

Older people (in all ethnic groups) were more tolerant and still tried to maintain traditionally friendly inter-ethnic relations.

However, young people on whom the future development both of the Okrug and all of Russia depends, are to a greater extent dissatisfied with the state of inter-ethnic relations. This is especially true for Slavic, and mainly Russian youth. Thus, among the Slavic youth, only one third (31 percent) of respondents evaluated inter-ethnic relations as stable (no tension), 36 percent believed that there was some inter-ethnic tension, and 15 percent of Slavic youth considered these tensions to be significantly high. The difference between positive and negative evaluations of

inter-ethnic relations was (-19 percent). Among the Tatar and the Bashkir youth the share of positive evaluations was 9 times higher, and among the youth of the Caucasus and Central Asia, the evaluation was almost 30 times higher than among the youth of Slavic origin.

According to one of the experts, in the last 5 years a confrontation has emerged and grown between the old migrants and the migrants of the last decade. The old migrants have lived in Yugra for a long time; they have almost become local residents and perceive themselves as patriots of Yugra. The newly arriving migrants, mostly from the Caucasus and Central Asia, do not consider it necessary to live according to the traditions of the Yugra region. Many of the migrant youths do not have jobs, but want to "have a wonderful life." It is this group which is the most discordant both in relations with their fellow people, and in general with the local population of the Okrug. Moreover, they require their compatriots "to pay extortion money" and "start countdown" of the debt. In this situation the old residents who came from the Caucasus and Central Asia, have started uniting in order to stand up for themselves and to rebuff their presumptuous compatriots - the extremists who also threaten the local population. Such cases when the representatives of different ethnic groups unite in the name of peace and tranquility on the Yugra land, and a sense of Yugra patriotism are becoming increasingly characteristic of those residents of the Okrug who came here long ago, for good.

Sociological studies in 2004 and 2008 in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug showed that the overwhelming majority of representatives of various ethnic groups living in Yugra (2008), consider themselves patriots of the Okrug - 83 percent. The degree of regional patriotism among the people of Yugra has increased with time (from 75 percent in 2004 to 83 percent in 2008).

The feeling of regional patriotism among the population of Yugra is largely based on the time (the duration) of living in the Okrug. Thus, the group of people who consider themselves patriots of Yugra is most significant among those who were born in the Okrug, amounting to 62 percent (with an average of 56 percent in the data of 2004). Almost the same portion of Yugra patriots (60 percent) can be found among the people who have lived in the area for over 8 years. New migrants who have been living in the Okrug for less than 8 years experience Yugra patriotic feelings one and a half times less (41 percent) than the local population (old residents). This applies to many ethnic groups of migrants, including Slavic people (30 percent) and the representatives of the Tatar-Bashkir group (23 percent).

Sociological studies also have showed that the majority of the representatives of various ethnic groups residing in the Okrug are aware of a special historical mission of the Russian nation for the existence of the multinational Russian state. The analysis of responses to the question, "Do you think that the national revival of all the peoples of the Russian Federation is impossible without the revival of the Russian nation?" showed that this mission of the Russian nation is recognized and acknowledged (to varying degrees) by the representatives of all other ethnic groups, but in particular by the Russians. The share of those who disagreed with this statement was on average 20 percent of the total.

At the end of 2009 the experts provided the following prospects for possible changes in inter-ethnic relations in the coming years: about half of the experts believe that inter-ethnic tensions in the Okrug will remain at the same level, 24 percent of the experts believe that inter-ethnic tensions in the Okrug will decrease, and the same share of experts believe that inter-ethnic tensions will increase.

In response to the question, "What can be current threats for the future of Yugra?" the experts (following "the growth of alcoholism" at 39 percent and "the destruction of the environment" at 35 percent) named threats posed by "the increase of crime in the city" at 33 percent, and "the reduction in the share of Slavic people living in Yugra" at 33 percent. The experts also noted illegal export of profits out of Yugra and Russia (20 percent) and driving away the permanent population (old residents) to less profitable and interesting jobs (18 percent).

Thus, over the past 15–20 years, the situation with inter-ethnic relations in the Okrug has changed in the following manner. First, the complexities of inter-ethnic relations, which had existed before, took on tension under the influence of "radical reforms." Then, particularly since 1996, the level of tensions clearly grew, and since 2001 it has increased in a very sharp and noticeable way. The following groups most acutely perceive the tensions in inter-ethnic relations: the indigenous people of Yugra and old residents (the representatives of the Russian ethnicity and of the peoples of the North) and in general all permanent residents of the Okrug as well as youth of different ethnic backgrounds, but most of all the Slavic and the Russian youth.

The hidden aspect of intolerance towards migrants in general, but especially in relation to the migrants from Central Asia and the Caucasus, has its reasons. It constitutes nothing other than a reciprocal protective reaction of old residents of the region defending their right to preserve social and cultural traditions and satisfactory inter-ethnic relations which have historically developed in Yugra.

For those who came to stay in the North, and, especially, for those who were born and grew up there (regardless of ethnicity), Yugra has become their new homeland. Nowadays the inter-ethnic community of Yugra has significantly expanded, including the representatives of many ethnic groups of the Eurasian part of the former Soviet Union.

Mezina, Ludmila G.

Gender Relations in Forming a Road of a Person's Life

A lot of different factors have a great impact on forming a road of a person's life. Social stereotypes are paid attention to among them. It is known that any society influences an individual (a person acquires skills and habits that he/she learns or develops while he/she lives his/her daily life or grows up). It is the society that creates the defined patterns of behaviour. They bear a historical conditioned character. By stereotypes of behaviour the society reproduces the defined type of a man and a woman necessary for functioning the society itself. Let's study the aspect mentioned above in detail.

ill the middle of the 20th century a traditional set of characteristics of a man and a woman was supported. The typical male was known as aggressive, businesslike, dominant, independent and dissembling his emotion, having business skills, making his own decisions, self-dependent. The typical female was believed to be tactful, tender, perceiving the feelings of other people, talkative, concerning herself with her appearance, being in need of defense, punctual in her habits. It is obvious that the characteristics of a man mentioned above speak about his dominant role in the public and family life. The male is the head of both the family and the business life. As for a female, she is a man's assistant. She has to smooth over incipient problems or conflicts and create conditions necessary for self-fulfilment of a man.

It is clear that forming stereotypes of behaviour had a great impact on a road of a man and a woman. Initially, a man however aimed to realize his prior role in the life of the society and the family. His career and personal success were believed to be the most important components of his life. To answer the question if his life was successful or not, it was enough to understand if he had reached the top of the social position or not, if he managed to fulfil himself as a bright individuality or not.

In this case it is natural that the family life was pushed to the sidelines and was considered to be the condition for realizing a male's potential. As for a female's life, it was considered to be successful if a woman had her own family. If she had a family, she got an opportunity to realize herself as a tactful, tender, perceiving everything and everybody persona. Practically at the same time a woman was dependent upon a man. It was a man that had the right to make a proposition to a woman to marry him. The woman had to wait for this proposition. The woman's dependence on a man converted him into the goal of her existence, the important means of solving her life's problems.

Social stereotypes were reproduced through the value system accepted by gender layers. As for a young man an interesting job, independence and entertainment were very significant for him. Love, well-being and a happy family life were very important for a young girl. Divergence of life scenarios at the young

age brought to disappointments, defeating hopes, and as a result, steep turns met on the road of life. A number of divorces during the first year of wedlock proves it. At the middle age the situation changes. The family took one of the first places in the life of an individual, it became the main value both for a man and a woman.

Since the beginning of the 21st century the situation has been changing in many aspects. These changes are connected with those technology innovations that transform social life. A mobile phone, the Internet and television are widening cyberspace and transforming a people's life. A number of personal and business contacts are increasing sharply. People who can solve a bigger number of problems per time unit are on the crest of wave. Sex and age differences are pushed to the sidelines.

The main thing is to adapt to circumstances and to satisfy the requirements of time quickly. The well-known futurologist A. Toffler describes the initiate changes in the society: «What the Third Wave is doing, therefore, is not creating some ideal superman, some new heroic species stalking through our midst, but producing dramatic changes in the traits distributed through society - not a new man but a new social character»¹.

It means that new social stereotypes are being formed that define a behaviour of a modern man. Individuality, its independence, its "embedding" into tempo of life is taken into account. Women demonstrating a high level of adaptation to new conditions, drive a car, start up their own business, master cyberspace and etc. They bear no resemblance to women of "traditional" epoch, oriented to love, family, happiness created for them by the representatives of stronger sex of the mankind. It is obvious that in its turn, it will bring to the changes of relations between sexes. Traditional dominant personality of a man is being replaced by a socially significant person. Both of a man and a woman can be in this position. A woman can take responsibility for her own life, her own children, her own man. And she should be active not only in her professional sphere but in a social life, as well. She doesn't need to wait for a proposition to marry, if she has made her own choice. She can be the first to make a proposition to a man to marry him. But the question is if a man is ready to agree to all changes in the society? It appears that a man will express his disapproval of such behaviour of a woman for some time. But at present the situation is changing and soon it will be an ordinary situation. The mass media is accelerating this process.

At the same time, if one follows the traditional stereotypes of the relations between sexes, it can create additional difficulties on the personal road of life. Disapproval of an active, independent woman can change the road of life of a man.

Despite of linking his life with a peculiar woman, he can ride himself for loneliness (remain all alone). And on the contrary, a woman being self-dependent can realize herself in the professional sphere, if she doesn't meet a worthy man she can link her life with.

¹ Toffler A. The third wave. Cover art copyright by Bantam Books, 1981. P. 382.

The material mentioned above allows not only to make the question about the role of social stereotypes in forming a road of life of a man and a woman actual but it allows to underline the importance of studying this problem in the frame of philosophical anthropology.

Petrova, Elena V.

Ethnosocial Stratification in Siberia Republics

The problems, connected with the present social structure study of the Russian society and with its dynamics development, have acquired a particular actuality during the last decades. The reforms in the economic, political and social spheres of the social life have regularly led to the social structure transformation, to the stratification process deep and have stipulated the necessity to study their modernization forms. The investigation of the social structure transformation mechanisms of the present society, factors and tendencies of the social inequality gives the possibility to simulate the further development of the social structure and stratification. It is more actual for the polytechnic regions, such as the Russia republics, because the social inequality is often considered through the prism of the ethnical population variety.

The dynamics and ethnosocial vectors of the present ethnosocial Russian group development, of the title groups and ethnical minorities in Siberia republics are markedly different. They represent a particular interest for the scientists, and that's why the social stratification peculiarities of the contacting groups are the most actual for the research analysis during the last years.

In 2009-2010¹, the author has carried out the comparative investigation of the ethnosocial stratification peculiarities in the present conditions in Siberia republics (Buryatia, Tuva, Khakasia, Saha (Yakutia)). In the way of investigation the basic ethnosocial stratification figures, their influence on the general interethnic interaction background have been defined, the ethnosocial stratification factors, under which there is the biggest distance between the ethnosocial groups have been investigated, the possibilities and integration processes directions were investigated. The educational ethnogroup level, the employment level in the most prestige labour spheres, the unemployment structure, the demographic tendencies, the specific weight of the skilled intellectual labour workers, the labour resource balance, the representation in the state power bodies have been considered. The ethnosocial stratification of the contacting ethnical groups has the definite specificity in the republics – according to some figures the representatives of the title groups prevail in the separate republics, according to another figures – the Russians prevail.

The figures of the ethnosocial stratification are accepted to consider as factors of the potential interethnic conflicts, which often determine the nature of the interethnic relations. At present, there are factors in reality which can objectively exist as factors, promoting the social distance increase between the contacting

¹ The investigation has been carried out within the financial support of Russian Humanitarian Research Fund the within the scientific-investigated project of the RHRF № 09-03-00520a .

ethnoscocial groups, but not their integration, and thus, creating the field of the conflict appearance. However, the less there is the social distance between the ethnogroups (the interests co-ordination, the equal access to the limited resources, the integration processes) there is the less possibility the conflict origin may take place.

The stable developmentr perspectives of the interethnic interaction in the republics are within the social-economic republic development improvement, of the integration behavior strategy cultivation, the unity simulation of the republican and common civil identities.

Popova, Irina P.

Professionalization in the Social Sphere: the Path of Social Entrepreneurship*

Introduction

In modern society, there are new niches of professional activity that emerge, requiring justification, legitimization and regulation. In social sphere, it is related to the complexities of social life, search for answers in response to new societal needs. How and by whom are these queries identified and articulated, who is searching for answers? Which ways and means to their solution are effective, and which are not? How should we assess and evaluate the efforts towards their development?

In this instance, answers to these questions are based on the research of a case of so-called school's theatrical pedagogy. A team of professionals (teachers and theatrical figures) undertook its advancement as a new profession (speciality, discipline)¹, testing their own ways of solving this problem "from bottom up", in essence, through social entrepreneurship.

This defines specific scope of the study. On the one hand, the scope of educational activities in a secondary school is an important part of the social sphere, where social relationships that leave their imprint on the development of entire society are formed. Declaratively, it is recognized as important, but, at the same time, in general, the social status of its representatives – secondary school teachers – remains low. Largely as a consequence, this requirement of a high level of competence of the teachers, debated in discussions about an adequate approach, often runs into a low level of interest in innovation. Level and quality of teacher retraining programs, instruction in new methods of working with children are often under a question mark. Children's theatrical pedagogy (whose principles, as well as demand for, are articulated by the teachers-staff of the organization at the centre of this research) can take a special place among these new methods. This is a new *synthetic* speciality, which includes education (pedagogy) and theatre, and whose emergence is based on creation of a set of rules, procedures, methods and requirements that form the basis of new professional competences (principles of

* This article presents results of the research, which was within the project "Study of models of social entrepreneurship in Russia." (by support Oxfam, GB, project coordinators M. Mamuta, A. Moskovskaya).

¹ Autonomous nonprofit organization "Logos", scope of activities – directing children's theatre companies and teaching the subject of "Theatre for schools". A department of "Moscow Institute of Teacher Retraining" served as a base for its formation. Creator, founder and the head of ANO - A. N., Ph.D. Art, Drama, Theatre; number of employees – 10 people (permanent, core and external, borrowed); number of clients: 15-45 people – students annually. This analysis is based on utilizing qualitative methods – study of documentary sources, a series of interviews with the head of the organization < member of her team and respondents-experts (5 interviews), participant observation (participation in a two week course organized by the staff of the organization), discussing research results with students-produces of the "Theatrical Institute" (November 2009 – February 2010) (the names of the institutions are changed).

sound, professionally grounded involvement of children in educational process through play, interaction, participation, experience, empathy, etc.).

The subject and issues of theatrical pedagogy have been long and actively discussed in the teaching community: the role of theatrical pedagogy in the shaping of a new concept of education – aimed at establishing and developing child's personality as a whole; integration of innovative theatrical techniques in educational process; specialized training of teachers-directors¹. Many schools incorporate theatrical pedagogy courses in their curriculum. The issue of professionalism of the teachers involved in theatrical education is of critical importance: most often, a real effort to develop new methods of teaching remains destiny of a very few professionals, educators-enthusiasts.

Theatrical pedagogy is also a subject of international pedagogical discourse. Its principles and methods are discussed, for example, within the framework of «drama education» or «drama in education» direction. Drama education incorporates a wide range of sources – it is a synthetic direction, utilizing different forms of drama (here understood as an art form that explores human conflicts and tensions), as well as educational pedagogy for students of all ages. It includes elements of actor training, promoting physical, social, emotional and cognitive development, as well as elements of theater, as well as related arts and disciplines – mime, clown, radio dramas, melodramas, marionette theater, oratory, producing, etc (<http://www.dramaed.net/definitions.pdf>).

This synthesis is often utilized while working with the special, socially vulnerable groups of children and adolescents¹. Currently, such direction as theatre in education (TIE) is being developed as well. In the collective monograph by various authors from a number of different countries, dedicated to this subject, it is noted that this movement serves as an educational facilitator, as well as a source of social change, helping children act in the world, which they are living in. TIE program is aimed at coordinating and structuring samples of activity in certain situations, as well as solving problems, utilizing certain elements of traditional theater, educational drama, and for simulating real life situations, in order to practice finding solutions to these situation².

On the other hand, the mechanism of nominating and promoting these principles in pedagogy, which was chosen by this group of specialists – social entrepreneurship – is very unusual in Russian practice. The term “social

¹ Antonova O.A. (2007) Shkol'naya teatral'naya pedagogika kak sotsial'no-kul'turnyi fenomen / Avtoreferat d-ra pedagogicheskikh nauk. SPb.; Vesker A.B. (2000) Teatral'naya pedagogika v rabote uchitelya, klassnogo rukovoditelya. M.: Narodnyi uchitel'; Lapina O.A. (2002) Shkol'naya teatral'naya pedagogika – opyt mezhdistsiplinarnogo sinteza // Dialog v obrazovanii. Sbornik materialov konferentsii. Ser. “Symposium”. Vypusk 22. SPb.: Sankt-Peterburgskoye filosofskoye obshchestvo; Nikitina A.B. (2003) Rebenok na stsene. Istoricheskii obzor. M.: Vserossiiskii tsentr khudozhestvennogo tvorchestva. Ser. «Ya vkhozhu v mir iskusstva». №12; Sovremennogo teatr dlya detei: dialog teatra I shkoly: Materialy teatral'no-pedagogicheskogo foruma (2008). Samara; etc.

¹ See, for example, Blatner A. (1995) Drama in education as mental hygiene: a child psychiatrist's perspective // Youth Theatre Journal. № 9. P. 92-96.

² Learning through Theatre: New Perspectives on Theatre in Education (1993). London: Routledge.

entrepreneurship” is relatively new to Russia, and a phenomenon, denoted by this term, is considered very important for the formation, shaping of civil society (which in turn is an important condition for the development of professionalism in the country). At the same time, in recent decades, researchers and practitioners have noted rapid growth of such phenomenon as Social Entrepreneurship, although it is still emerging as a field of scientific research¹. At the international level, there are many different definitions of social entrepreneurship²; while there is a general consensus – interpretation of social enterprise as an organization, which is fulfilling a social mission, utilizing commerce and business for self-sustainability³. Other authors emphasize innovative nature of the methods used by social entrepreneurs - innovative ideas, innovative products or services, creative approach to problem solving, new business models¹.

In general, social entrepreneurship is assessed as one of the most important ways of addressing social problems utilizing “innovative methods, inventing and combining social and economic resources in order to create a self-replicating, capable of expansion mechanism of producing and providing targeted social welfare”⁵.

Social problem (or social value, the good) – is one of the key characteristics of social enterprise, which distinguishes it from other forms of entrepreneurship. It is shaped, defined, by a social mission and generates societal changes, creating new models for those institutions that have become ineffective². Social entrepreneurs, in contrast to conventional ones, act as agents of social change, "improving the system, inventing new approaches and creating solutions in order to change society for the better." A social entrepreneur offers new solutions to social problems and then implements them on a large scale, with the development of various forms of social entrepreneurship (http://www.ashoka.org/social_entrepreneur).

In this context, specified conditions determine the complexity and new emphasis in research approaches of professionalization. First of all, such complexities and difficulties are associated with the understanding of the term “professionalization” depending on socio-historical background. Current international debate recognizes the importance of striving to adaptation of various concepts, including basic understanding of professions, professionalism and

¹ Noruzi M.R., Westover J.H., Rahimi G.R. (2010) An Exploration of Social Entrepreneurship in the Entrepreneurship Era Asian Social Science. Toronto: Vol. 6. Iss. 6. P.3-10.

² Galera G, Borzaga C. (2009) Social enterprise: An international overview of its conceptual evolution and legal implementation // Social Enterprise Journal. Bingley: Vol. 5. Iss. 3. P.210-228.

³ Hervieux C., Gedajlovic E., Turcotte M.-F.B. (2010) The legitimization of social entrepreneurship // Journal of Enterprising Communities. Bradford: Vol. 4. Iss. 1. P. 37-67.

¹ Makhlof H.H. (2011) Social Entrepreneurship: Generating Solutions To Global Challenges International Journal of Management and Information Systems // Littleton First Quarter. Vol. 15. Iss. 1. P. 1-8.

² Dees J.G. (2001) The Meaning of .Social Entrepreneurship. Original Draft: October 31, 1998. Reformatted and revised: May 30 [электронный ресурс] // http://www.caseatduke.org/documents/dees_sedef.pdf.

professionalization¹. Commonly accepted understanding of professionalization, in general, is formulated as the development of occupations, where occupations turn into, and are recognized as professions. There is a wide variety of concepts of professionalization depending on different theoretical approaches and viewpoints (thus, in the Anglo-Saxon tradition of sociology of occupations, professions and work, A. Abbott singled out four versions linked to functional, structural, monopolist and cultural understanding of this process².

Various content stages (phases) are specified, defined in this process³, where educational and training institutions, including schools of licensing and accreditation⁴, international ones as well, occupy a special place. Sequence and content of these phases can differ a great deal depending on various socio-historical contexts⁵. This process is analyzed from different points of view, one common approach interprets professionalization as a monopoly: "monopoly of expertise in the market, monopoly of status in the system of stratification"¹.

In Russia, peculiarities of the broad use of the term are related not just to the absence of practice of terminological distinction between "profession" and "occupation", but also to the tradition of perceiving professionalization more as an individual effort to enhance their own personal status through the growth of professional competence and career development². Russian sociologists are increasingly more often examining professionalization in correlation with international context, also highlighting socio-historical characteristics of this process as the strengthening of the status of intelligentsia¹, adaptation of new social actors to changing conditions² and establishment of new occupations³.

¹ Sciulli D. (2005) Continental Sociology of Professions Today: Conceptual Contributions // Current Sociology November. № 53. P. 915-942; Evetts J. (2008) Introduction: professional work in Europe/ Concepts, theories, and methodologies // European Societies. V. 10. No 4; Evetts J., Gadea Sh., Sanchez M., Saez J. (2009) Sociological Theories of professions: conflict, competition, and cooperation // The ISA Handbook in contemporary sociology / ed. By A. Dennis and D. Kalekin-Fishman. Sage publications. P. 140-154; L.G. Svensson, J. Evetts (eds). (2009) Sociology of professions. Continental and Anglo-Saxon traditions. Daidalos; Andrews T.M., Waerness K. (2011) Deprofessionalization of a female occupation: Challenges for the sociology of professions // Current Sociology. January 1. № 59. P. 42-58; etc.

² Abbot A. (1988) The System of Profession. An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor. Chicago: University of press. P. 15.

³ Caplow T. (1954) The Sociology of Work. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis; Wilensky H.L. (1964) The Professionalization of Everyone? // The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 70, No. 2, pp. 137-158

⁴ Wise A.E. (2005). Establishing Teaching as a Profession : The Essential Role of Professional Accreditation // Journal of Teacher Education. 56: 318.

⁵ Neal M.; Morgan J. (2000) The professionalization of everyone? A comparative study of the development o...// European Sociological Review; Mar; 16, 1; Academic Research Library. P.. 9

¹ Larson M. (quoted by MacDonald K.M. (1999) The sociology of the professions. London: Sage. P. 9).

² See, for example, Tsvyk V.A. (2003) Professionalizatsiya kak sotsial'nyi protsess // Vestnik RUDN №4-5. pp. 258-269.

¹ Mansurov V.A., Yurchenko O.V. (2005) Perspektivy professionalizatsii rossiiskikh vrachei v reformiruyuschemsya obschestve // Sotsiologicheskiye issledovaniya. № 1, pp. 66-77.

² Shabanova M.A. (2006) Novoye pokoleniye rossiiskogo biznes-soobchestva: osobennosti professionalizatsii i adaptatsii // Sotsiologicheskiye issledovaniya. № 12, pp. 28-40.

Nevertheless, the commonality, in my opinion, is that this *process of improvement (strengthening) of the status of a professional group/ specific type of professional activity includes a number of common stages associated with availability of resources and legitimization in society*. This general understanding can be accepted in this case.

On the other hand, the difficulty of this study is associated with analytical assessment of what is more important in this process – real needs of functioning of the society, or special interests of specialists (practitioners) that are advancing this process. It is important to understand, and to realistically evaluate the dialectic of this process – how can special interest of the experts help formulate and legitimize a real social need and, at some point, create a new, more favorable situation in this sphere, which would contribute to the development of society. Thus, this methodological problem, sort of doubles, - on the one hand, there is a functionalist task of determining the role of an emerging kind of professional activity in society, on the other hand - critical approach to the actions of specialists-practitioners vested in advancing this process. These two sides compliment each other, helping analyze and evaluate this process. Its foundation is the work of educators, aimed at shaping, selecting, spreading and expanding new knowledge, skills, requirements and principles of professional activity, which should form the basis for the emergence and formation of a new profession (speciality, discipline). Motivation, methods and nature of these specialists become crucial in assessing its social significance. Analysis of interaction with various actors, obstacles in their endeavors become important not only to their activities, but to addressing real social problems as well.

Finding's interpretation

Background

The creation of an independent non-profit organization "Logos" was made possible almost entirely thanks the work of talented and charismatic leader-organizer Anna, who managed to attract dedicated and talented people to the idea of development of a new discipline (teachers, directors, actors). According to a member of the organization, *"this is her undertaking, nothing would have happened without her, and none of us could have handled it without her. She is the engine; she is the charisma – her own personal, as well as the charisma of our whole team... Talking about the roles in our team – she is the generator of ideas, an analyst"* (Elena, team member). An idea of creating such organization, in order to address a fundamental problem of professionalization of children's theatre producers, has matured based on an in depth study of Russian theatrical and educational tradition in this sphere, as well as personal inclination: *"when I was choosing the subject for my diploma – it became clear that I wanted to write about children's theatre, since I have been doing this from childhood, from very early childhood..."* Her research supervisor (Head of the Higher Theatre School) confirms her passion for it: *"I was very impressed with two of her*

³ Smirnova-Yarskaya E.P. (2001) Professionalizatsiya social'noi raboty v Rossii // Sotsiologicheskoye issledovaniya. № 5, pp. 86-95.

characteristics: she is very fond of children – loves them madly, that is very important, she has devoted her life to them. And, second, she is a researcher by nature."

Scientific and cultural-historical framework. An important element of formalization of a new speciality (subject or discipline) is the formation of its scientific and historical basis, presence and availability of cultural and intellectual traditions, which confirm its significance and that at present have to be systematized and developed. Such framework (basis) was forming around the materials regarding the development of ideas and practices of a "theatre with child actors " during pre-revolutionary period and the first years after Russian revolution (1917)¹. This basis has been laid by scientific studies during undergraduate and postgraduate years, while studying the works of Russian theatrical figures. Thus, the legacy of Nikolaj Bakhtin, a major psychologist, educator and publisher of "Igra" ("The Game") magazine, dedicated to the issues of "how, why and what should be taught to people who deal with theatre and children", becomes central to the formation of methodological basis of the new discipline (speciality). Knowledge of documents related to the development of these ideas directly served as a basis for formulation of the objective of the future of "Logos": "When I came across Bakhtin' documents, it became quite clear that this was nonsense, that it has not yet been implemented. And whatever has been implemented between 1918 and 1926 (since it was followed by Stalinist school reform, which ground everything into dust - all of what had been established as practice before 1926) is not being utilized. Although, fragments of that reach us from the West, as if it was just yesterday, that they – in America or Germany (where large centres for children theatre movement are established) - have recently invented this" (Anna, team leader).

Formulation of the problem. Broad cultural and historical background became the basis for the formulation of the social problem, solving which required finding adequate institutional means. This problem was interpreted as a need to systematize and professionalize theatrical child pedagogy, due to the dominance of dilettantism in this sphere. There are two sides to this issue. On the one hand, there is a prevalence of practices of theatrical activities among children in school, and teaching of the subject by incompetent teachers, amateurs, which leads to underutilization of the resources and opportunities that such activities present in the educational process for the formative stages of child's personality, and often becomes a source of psychological trauma in children. "Amateurs, in their majority, are unaware of (and are unable of such awareness) their full responsibility to the children and society for the "fruits" of their theatrical activities. And that is why

¹ Pre-revolutionary year 1916, when, during the First All-Russian Congress of the Leaders of People's Theatre, the issue of Children's and School Theatre has been widely discussed, became major milestone for this direction (movement). School Section of the Congress adopted a resolution, which, inter alia, stated that dramatic instinct, inherent in the very nature of children and, which manifests itself from a very early age, should be utilized for educational purposes (Grebekina A. Theatre Pedagogy Yesterday and Today. // <http://www.theatre111.ru/science03.php>). Movement, aimed at professionalization of theatre in school continued after the revolution, with the so-called Children's Section of Narcompros becoming its fulcrum in 1918.

they are not too principled and demanding in organizing and implementing this activity, both in relation to administration, and in relation to the children. A professional is demanding to himself as well as the others, precisely because he is well aware of the force of impact of theatrical activities on the formation of an individual student. But, these fair demands seem unjustified to a non-expert in this area"¹.

On the other hand, there is a need to systematize the experience and expertise of Russian educators in the field of children's theatre. By then, the head of the team met with the leaders of theatrical youth movement and recognized that even their activities were just isolated individual efforts, impossible to reproduce in mass practice of children's theatrical productions. (*"They were great working with the kids. But, there was no system to what they were doing then (and what they are doing now")*).

The basis for the *difficulties in resolving* this problem is formulated as well – a lack of regulatory base, framework for teaching of this discipline and training of professionals in this field. We must emphasize the advanced nature of formulating and posing this problem as urgent. The fact is, these relevance and urgency are not completely understood even among the our respondents – experts themselves. They underline different aspects of this problem. Thus, the head of the «Higher Theatre School» emphasizes its importance mainly as means of reducing crime among youth. The head of the drama school of a pro-gymnasia is also clearly aware of its isolation from the mainstream activities of the school, but is yet unable to formulate a clear overall picture and the severity of this social problem. Only the team leader formulates it scientifically, in a well-grounded manner; it is supported by her colleague and team member (Elena), which reflects the formation of a consolidated viewpoint of activity in this field. Nevertheless, the problem in its entirety does not seem to be urgent and relevant to the rest of the respondents – it is simply just another problem among the number of other similar educational and cultural issues, and, therefore, has to pass the stages of articulation, lobbying, gaining widespread popularity, down to the slogans (heads of the "Higher Theatre School" and "Centre for Children's Arts"). We can summarize this situation with Elena's striking wording: *"Public Demand (in a professionally organized Theatrical pedagogy) has matured. But, this realization has not matured quite yet"*. Thus, the creators of "Logos", perhaps, went too far ahead in the formulation of this social problem and ways of its solution, this problem, however, does not have broad public recognition.

The elaboration on the problem occurs with gaining further experience under the conditions of social entrepreneurship. Its relevance generally extends to the possibilities of the development of new professions (occupations) in social sphere, which exist de facto, through the efforts of enthusiasts, people, "infected" (and "charged") with the idea, but experience difficulties in establishing it de-jure.

¹ From the published materials of "Logos"

“If our state and government determines those areas where it needs specialists – it does not know what they are classified as, it knows what they are supposed to do. Here, we need people that are supposed to rehabilitate those, who lived through a disaster, and we have a shortage of such specialists. All of us understand that very well. There, we have to have people that work with terminally ill patients, including children, in the hospitals. Undoubtedly, we have a shortage of such people. Although, we don’t exactly know what kind of a speciality this is supposed to be. We need teachers that would work in full-day schools. We need someone who will deal with the homeless and so on and so forth. As soon as such people, who claim that their program is aimed at ensuring that these experts are provided – this program must receive benefits – rental subsidies, charitable and payroll donations. And then, it (the State) should evaluate which ones are effective, and legitimize those specialties, which these people are really working with, since these ones cannot be just pulled out of the hat. Thus, flexible legislative state support is generalized here for all of the new professions/ occupations in the social sphere, which are brought to life by the contemporary situation and social initiative (volunteers)” (Anna, team leader).

Formulation of the objectives. At the same time the goal is formulated – organizing training courses for such specialists in the field of theatre pedagogy, with the prospect of creating a systematic basis for professional training of the experts in this sphere as a whole, as well as, as a separate speciality. And, in the future, with further development of “Logos”, this goal kept growing stronger, being reinforced and more defined as an official establishment of a new speciality/ profession: *“Among ourselves, we call it – pedagogue – a director/ producer of educational space” (Anna, team leader).*

Creation of new competences

Stages. Activities aimed at implementing the objective were determined by two conditions: the necessity of creating new competences that would apply tried and tested scientific approaches, which separate this course from the other courses/ disciplines of teacher training; and the requirement of autonomy (independence) in this innovation.

The first step in this direction was the establishment of short-term courses for teachers of supplementary subjects specializing in directing children’s theatre groups. At that time, “Moscow Institute of Teacher Retraining” served as the base for these courses, where Anna came to work in 1996; and where the faculty formed as a result of encounters at professional events. Two years of conducting short-term courses at the “Moscow Institute of Teacher Retraining” helped gain necessary experience and create a team that was really appealing to the students (at that time, these were only Moscow-based teachers of supplementary education). *“Anna assembled the best staff available at that moment in Moscow, and even not in Moscow” (Elena).*

Next step – creation of two-year courses with a large number of listeners/ participants (including other regions of Russia), with stronger focus on the theatrical component of emerging discipline. This necessitated a search for organizational forms that would provide freedom in organizing the content of this

course. In this case, the main difficulty was in absence of this discipline from official lists of the subjects taught in schools. That is why we needed a fundamentally different organizational mechanism: *"... we quickly realized... that we needed to create an organization; that ... we had to sign contracts with some licensed university. Because, as soon as you approach a college and tell them that we have such a program, you are told – we don't have such speciality. Teacher-producer/ director of educational space – is something nonexistent in nature"* (Anna, team leader).

An autonomous non-profit organization "Logos" that could meet these requirements and provided necessary flexibility in implementing this objective was registered in 2000. In the beginning, "Logos" organized courses under the agreement with "Higher School of Theatre Workers" (one enrollment 2001-2002), and then with Moscow University of Culture and Arts (2002-2006). In 2006, these activities came to a halt due to a stricter legislation in the sphere of education, regulating its financial and organizational terms: fixed (according to the scale), and not contractual payments to the teachers, as well as an increase in taxation of the courses and dormitory fees for the students (in accordance with commercial rates). These conditions made functioning of the courses impossible in its former regime, since they substantially raised the costs for participants – mostly school teachers with moderate incomes, forced to study at their own expense. ANO (NGO) "Logos's" activity has been "frozen", and, today is aimed at maintaining charitable objectives of the organization, such as conducting theatrical festivals. *"We left ANO "Logos" as if it was something living, since while teaching our students, we always included festivals as part of the learning process. Being a part of city departmental structure, organizing a festival – is impossible in principle"* (Anna, team leader).

Today these courses are held at Moscow "Institute of Teacher Retraining, thanks to the efforts of "theatrical sector" of the Department of Culture". The courses continue to teach the discipline based on existing and developing methods. Both the staff and the team leader emphasize their value and uniqueness. The courses are budgetary (free for students) and are organized only for teachers from Moscow, which significantly limits the objectives of "Logos". The problem lies in adaptation of the *content* of the emerging discipline to the scope of course requirements:

"...we were forced to open such state based department for Muscovites. This causes significant problems, external and internal, both organizational and creative. Since, on the one hand, if our students were studying to become amateur theatre directors, specializing in Children's Theatre, and yet, they were still directors, which is important, so the training course standards were directorial. This is a pedagogical establishment. The only thing we were able to find that was somewhat able to match our requirements was "social pedagogy". Of course, the speciality "social pedagogy" implies an entirely different specificity – social educator, head of child theatrical group ... curriculum wise, we were forced to offer an enormous amount of hours that were rather useless ... And those subjects that are unnecessary in this profession, we "bend" them to suit our needs. For instance, we are obligated to teach the history of pedagogy. It is absolutely clear that it does not have any practical importance for our students. For ourselves, we called this course: "history of social

pedagogy", but, in fact, we teach the history of children's theatre pedagogy. We develop a history course that chronicles how history of games with children developed since primitive society ... And so on" (Anna, team leader).

This also limits implementation of "Logos's" goals and objectives in their entirety: *"Children's theatre pedagogy is, after all, still a mixture of pedagogy and art. Unfortunately, we do not have the right conditions to bring it to the level of art. We can only practice it at the level of craftsmanship. Independence of university programs, an opportunity to study in accordance with their own program, tested and approved – creative independence above all"* (Elena, team member).

Additionally, there is a fairly significant audience problem – it is restricted to teachers from Moscow only, which also narrows the scope of activities and implementation of the objectives of this organization. Besides, free character of this education, in certain aspects, "gets in the way". An opportunity to leave the classes (their particular characteristic is their intensity, "deep submersion" methodology during training) to take care of unfinished business at home and at work: *"They don't have to pay for it, and it's bad. They are sent to our courses. They do not have a well-formulated agenda; they are homogeneous, monotonous. When people come from completely different places, it leads to a very intensive exchange"* (Anna, team leader).

At the same time, functioning of these courses allows an opportunity to save and develop unique methods and techniques, tried and tested during dynamic "course" activities of "Logos", and preserve (if only for the future) its main objective – professionalization of child theatre pedagogy.

Utilized resources

Human resources of the organization. A special characteristic of this organization is a sufficiently strong base – Department of Cultural Studies of the Institute of Teacher Retraining. The first courses took shape here, the new staff came here after completing these courses, "infected" by ideas promoted by the organizers of "Logos". According to the team leader, this was a deliberate policy with regard to training, and, in general, it contributed to the expansion of the objective, helped broaden the base of its realization: *"From the get-go, when we began to train them, we started to evaluate – this one will stay on our team, he will be in charge of this, and this one will be doing that. We easily and willingly gave away our "slice of the pie" to the next graduate. In principle, it was clear that if emergence of this profession was our primary goal, then the specialists that at first were students, interns and then experts, had to emerge as well"* (Anna, team leader).

During the years of "Logos's" existence, a so-called theatrical sector of the department has formed: *"Logos" and the theatrical sector of the Institute are basically one and the same...* Many of its staffers came over from the courses, answering the "call" of the team leader, and, initially, worked as volunteers. The term "volunteer", as it is used here by team member Elena in regard to the work of the staff of "Logos" / theatrical sector, primarily means that the cost, both temporal and professional, essentially, does not bring sufficient financial returns.

“Frankly speaking, we are all volunteers. None of us profit from this activity. It would be nice if we could break even, it would be nice if we did not have to invest our own money. Although, we do invest our own money. I use the term “volunteer” from this particular point of view. That we invest our time and effort, our soul, without receiving any material compensation. Receiving only moral satisfaction from the job well done” (Elena, team member).

This, in her opinion, is a special (psychological) type of people, professionals, who are ready to work, and work very hard for the idea: *“They are prepared to earn money in other ways, in order to be able to support and promote this idea. We work and earn money here, but you know, what our budgetary salary is like... But, I assure you, the amount of work that theatrical sector manages to perform in a year is absolutely unimaginable for such a small number of people”*.

Methodological basis. The development of a complete, all-inclusive range of teaching methods for this speciality is an important resource for the development of the new competencies. *“Everything that a head of children’s theatrical group has to be able to do, we offer in a single program”* (Anna). And its main advantage lies in a unique methodological framework, based on the “root stage direction and pedagogy”, which means that live sprouts, self actualization and realization of a living desire can only grow out of a live rout, hidden in the very personality of a student, or an actor.

Supporting social network. One of the conditions of successful functioning of an organization such as “Logos” is organizational support, based on cooperation and mutual assistance on the part of organizations, similar in profile. Partnership (cooperation), fairly long and continuous, is “barter” in nature (providing rent-free facilities in exchange for holding various events, etc.). We are talking about, primarily, such socio-professional group support in the field of education: directors of the centres for creativity, schools, heads of universities, etc. It is based on shared values, and the main one among them - is the value of working with children, based on desire to work with them professionally, carefully developing every child’s personality.

Professional Associations. At the same, team leader challenges the need and feasibility of establishing professional associations, or, at least, is skeptical about this idea: *“it seems to me that the associating process does not need to be institutionally formalized. These associations emerge naturally, and I do not understand why they need to be formalized”* (Anna, team leader). Perhaps, this negative attitude towards associations of creative workers and artist in principle, sustained negative stereotype – team leader skeptically notes that in such formally established associations *“creative people immediately start trying to figure out among themselves, who is more creative!..”* (Anna). Perhaps, this is linked with Russian traditions of historically weak autonomy from authorities among such associations. Characteristically, the other respondents demonstrated no enthusiasm for the subject as well. Either way, establishment of a professional association to promote the new profession does not appear to be a productive idea.

Failures and barriers to the development

So, the activities of this organization aimed at creating a new occupation / speciality / discipline remained “frozen” for several years now. Primarily, this was the result of double barriers – *administrative (bureaucratic)* on the part of the state (legislative hurdles in the development of activities), and *social*, related to a lack of social basis for furthering the objectives of the organization. Furthermore, we should emphasize a *psychological* barrier associated with general type of a person (entrepreneur) involved in social (cultural and educational) sphere.

According to the team leader and the respondents-experts, *administrative barriers*, associated with tighter compliance with the norms and standards of educational institutions that conduct the courses, presently make the prospects of introducing a new speciality, which would provide the basis for professionalization of the discipline of theatre for children virtually impossible.

In order to overcome these barriers, the leader and her staff periodically contact state authorities. However, these trips to the ministries and departments produce no result: *“perhaps, we are just not in the position to waist most of our lives, knocking our heads on the government office doors. It is important to teach, write books. We're really working 20 hours a day. It is difficult. We have good professional staff, but, naturally, we do not have good management. And where would it come from?”* (Anna, team leader). Thus, the organization’s interaction with state authorities is limited to reminders regarding this problem, and relevant excuses or simply silence on the part of the officials.

Another way, which also requires overcoming certain institutional barriers, lies in utilizing an opportunity to petition for establishing a new speciality that would offer students primary higher education in this profile (field). However, according to the team leader, existing colleges of this profile are not interested in adopting and developing a speciality for outside authors and developers. The only way out would be to give such (university) status, in time, to ANO (NGO) “Logos”: *“If we could only hold out, we would have later applied for licensing, certification; we could have registered ourselves as a university. And then, after becoming a university, we could demand establishing such a speciality. But it did not happen”* (Anna, team leader).

Social barriers – an insufficient base of support for advancing the goals of the organization, as well as general unwillingness of society to discuss this social problem as relevant, requiring immediate action.

Supplementary education teachers themselves, the ones that organize theatrical productions for children, and are the main clients, “consumers” of the services of the organization (potential students), most often feel their isolation and dependence on the attitude of their school administration toward their work and theatre in general (*“Basically, we are on our own...”*). School principles and other teachers do not always understand the importance of this undertaking, or interest in education and development of such teachers. Parents do not always support their children’s participation in school theatre productions either, often because these parents are *“perestroika parents, frightened and hungry. They have other priorities.*

They neglect their children" (Elena, team member). This is according to the head of child theatrical group of a pro-gymnasia, head of the drama club.

Theatrical community does not consider this a priority either. Those teachers and theatrical figures that are interested in the development of objectives and activities, similar to those of ANO (NGO) "Logos", are apparently not inclined to collaborate, advance and promote this idea jointly.

In general, this problem is not at the centre of public attention: *"Everyone seems to think that it is just entertainment, not worthy of attention, that anyone can do it ... Many things are misunderstood, no one recognizes their danger ... Very few people look into the future"* (Anna, team leader). Failure of society to recognize the importance if this problem can be explained by the lack of its articulation at the political level (as a state slogan), as well as the lack of strong lobbying. According to the head of the House of Children's Arts, emphasizing the importance of proclaiming certain social objectives at presidential and governmental level: *"Nobody said anything about the theatre yet"*. And that removes this sphere of activities from the scope of acute social issues.

We should take the *psychological barriers* into account as well – they lie in a specific psychological type of people that work in this field, primarily "for the idea".

" ... I believe that the failure of our cause lies precisely in this. Whichever way you slice it, if we are trying to start any endeavor, it has to be treated as ... a business, as a production department. Namely, an enterprise, which should generate income. There has to be one psychology – business. And we are treating this as a hobby ... we do not consider earning money as our objective... I think these are remnants of our Soviet past, since it is shameful and embarrassing to make money off an ideal..." (Elena, team member).

The head of the House of Children's Arts also recognizes the problem in distinguishing between "professionals" and "entrepreneurs"; as well as the focus of professional activities on specific audience, unable to pay for the services. And this is a common problem for all of the workers-"insiders", involved in entrepreneurship in the social sphere. Therefore, it is important for such organizations to attract outside managers: *"this should be handled by a different type of professionals ... A person with this type of ability, this type of grip is needed here, regardless of what he does ... Clearly, if you start dealing with this on the side, and your main job is acting or teaching, you can not do this well. To each his own. Too many conventionalities pop up when we start searching for funding and dividing earnings"*.

However, attracting outside managers does not seem effective or even realistic to the staffers of «Logos» themselves: *«In order to become a manager of such an organization, one has to at least have some understanding of what we do. Number one. And number two – we cannot pay them...»*.

Conclusion

Is there an opportunity for new prospects?

Can we qualify the activities of a non-profit, non-government organization in question aimed at developing a new speciality as successful or unsuccessful?

On the one hand, today it can be considered a failure, because these activities of the organization are reduced to bare minimum, such profession is not established and the conditions for its development appear to be unfavorable. On the other hand, its work, albeit in a "hidden", latent form, continues quite successfully; theoretical and methodological developments that form the basis of the emerging speciality continue to be taught to school teachers, developed and applied in practice. Promoting this idea, the organization suffered only one considerable loss - autonomy of its activities that offers an opportunity to mold ongoing courses in accordance with the tasks and objectives that are important to them, as well choose the audience capable of perceiving them with an adequate return. But this particular loss seems to be especially difficult.

Nevertheless, the experience of such activities on societal scale demonstrates inability of solving a social problem alone, on your own. If a problem that is recognized and formulated as overdue only by professionals, while the other parties that should be involved in its solution - society (direct consumers, who use the services, community organizations, colleges, etc) and state (administrative bodies that have the right to approve standards of training) remain uninterested in solving it, efforts of the professionals remain ineffective.

Specificity of social entrepreneurship among social workers - teachers and theatrical figures - casts doubt on the fruitfulness of the "from bottom up" approach to solving social problems. Far more stable social mechanisms are required in order to help capture, recognize and articulate a demand for new occupations and figure out new solutions, based on sufficiently broad expertise, if all three parties are cooperating.

Savka, Aurora V.

Russian socio-cultural traditions and modern age

The social transformations taking place in the present-day world as well as the challenges that society is facing, including assessment and understanding of its place in the historical process, bring to the forefront the problem of modernity and the closely related to it problem of identity. Integration of not only present, but also of the past culture is a key feature of modernity.

Today, the concepts of identity arouse great interest among researchers in social sciences and humanities, which is not accidental. As C. Jung remarked, "as soon as society disintegrates, identity is invented". This "explosion" of interest is determined by the in-depth qualitative changes in our age, such as globalization, mass migration, a "tangle" of international issues, regionalization, fragmentation of self-consciousness, a deep spiritual crisis, civilizational breakup.

The current deepest socio-economic and spiritual crisis, which is unfolding on the global scale, brings to the forefront the problem of socio-cultural specificity of Russia, and the specific features of its people's mentality, moral values and historical traditions. Orthodoxy plays a special role compared to the other socio-cultural traditions, which is determined by a whole range of historical circumstances. According to P. Sorokin, the main features of Russian consciousness and all the components of Russian culture and social organization represented ideological, behavioral, and material manifestation of Orthodox Christian tenets from the end of the 9th to the 18th centuries. For many centuries, the Orthodox Christianity played a far more significant role than any other confession in the history of Russian society.

Conciliarity is a value characteristic of Russia. Being located between the two cultural poles – the West and the East – and absorbing them, Russia combined the Eastern submission of an individual to the ancestral clan and community with the Western individualism and respect for the person. In Orthodoxy, the concept of "conciliar" suggests a possibility to unite people on the basis of spiritual commonality. It is a consequence, a result of the free human nature, "freedom of human will", and of the divine "grace". «Conciliarity» also had an active aspect of cooperation, which formed the basis of the local community life and mutual assistance of neighbors.

The form of government in Russia is the history of the idea of social organization, a "symphony". The Eastern-Christian idea of interaction and relationships between the state and society treats their central issue as search for the meaning of life and internal transformation of personality. It originated in Byzantium (the theory of divinely instituted absolute power) and in the East (actual examples of absolute dominion). The idea of symphony – «mutual agreement and, at the same time, independence of each of the areas in the relationships between the

Church and the state», which gave an opportunity to influence not from the outside but from the inside, determined the strength of the secular state where subordination was limited to the frameworks of duties, where there was no strong and stable estates system, and where classes of society were distinguished not by their rights and the privileges they had, but by the nature of the duties imposed on them by the state. Reflection of these ideas in the "person-society" system of relations determined the qualitatively different role of the state, which has always been of active and regulating nature, characterized by its initiative.

Strong State authority coexisted with developed institutions of local government, which was highly praised by the well-known Russian lawyer I. Ilyin, who called it "corporate self-government".

Social transformations are based on the tradition of a specific legal culture. In Russian mentality, the idea of "natural law" was replaced by the ideals of virtue, justice and truth – a moral rather than legal attitude to the legislation and law, which is explainable. Together with the Orthodox Christianity, Russia accepted the Greco-Byzantine idea of law and order in which common law plays a prominent part. A Russian is less law-abiding as content is more important to him than form. **Good and justice** are the moral values which are rated high on the value scale but are not associated with legality and law in the traditional sense, sometimes even being set against them.

The specific features of the Russian civilization model were largely determined by the **established ownership system**. «Ownership is neither good nor evil, but something in between which can turn into good or into evil». The Orthodox Christianity does not provide any foundation for any particular economic system, but it provides a criterion to judge about ownership in different circumstances. This criterion is the "spiritual welfare of man».

Contempt for philistinism is a most characteristic feature of Russian society, which, in particular, is contempt for the bourgeois concentration on property, on earthly goods, on the striving "to live so that everything is as it should be" – good furnishings, clothing, and dwelling. The term "philistinism" comes from A. Herten, who understood collective mediocrity, moderation and orderliness, and hatred for strong personality by it.

Dahl's Explanatory Dictionary defines ownership as "sob`" or "sobina" – the term which, in addition to property and possessions also means the moral, spiritual and all the personal qualities of the man.

The ever-growing scope of environmental problems brings to the forefront such ideas as philosophy of economy and Russian cosmism, implying a moral attitude towards nature, "Sophian economy" instead of economic reductionism, universality ("vselenskost"), and noospherism, which emphasize the indissoluble unity of society and nature.

Shevchenko, Alevtina V.

The Synergy of Ugliness

An informational humanitarian catastrophe – such was the diagnosis given to the Russian information/communication space in an analytical report by the Russian Journalists' Union several years ago: '...there is a persistent decline in trust towards commercial television, which is filling the airtime with scenes of sex and violence and resorting to excessive sensationalism in the race for ratings... In general, we can observe a growing gap between the information needs of the majority of the public and the broadcasting policy of most television channels'¹. As once noted by Jean Baudrillard, television is 'ultimately addressed to no one at all, delivering its images indifferently, indifferent to its own messages (you can easily imagine it still functioning after humanity has disappeared)²'.

The problems of barbarization of the information environment are the domain of informational anthropology, a scientific field developing within the intersecting frameworks of anthropology and informatiology. Its object is the *homo informaticus*, its subject – the rules and patterns of information display in biosocial environments, its relations and correlations in the material and ideal planes of consciousness. Methodologically, informational anthropology adjoins Vernadsky's concept of the noosphere, Tamara Dridze's semiosociopsychology theory and Igor Smirnov's psychoecology, all of which study the interrelations and mutual influence of man as an informational being and his informational environment. Psychophysiology confirms an evident growth of the impact of semantic, informational factors on consciousness and mind. (Observe the validity of the early statement by Polish psychiatrist Antoni Kempinski about the prevalence of the informational metabolism over the energy metabolism, which was made long before the information boom). A consistent approach is ensured through application of P. Anokhin's theory of functional systems and K. Sudakov's quantum system concept³.

What, then, are the dangers faced by the contemporary *homo informaticus*? Many researchers believe that the most pertinent one is ill-intentioned acquisition of sense generation management techniques in open social information/communication systems. A human's substance as an informational being is inaccessible to his consciousness, pertaining to the subconscious. However, any perceived information either already possesses a psychosemantic equivalent or, if the stimulus is new, such an equivalent is instantly formed by identifying

¹ Аналитический доклад СЖ России «Перспективы создания общественного телерадиовещания в Российской Федерации». М., 2004.

² J. Baudrillard. *America*. (Verso, 1988) 50.

³ Анохин П.К. Психическая форма отражения действительности. София, 1973; Судakov К.В. Информационный феномен жизнедеятельности. М., 1999.

characteristics common to possible meanings. Thus emerges the *sense* of the informational signal, and communication is formed.

Sense itself exists between image and event, in a transitional area between the object of reflection and the subject of perception. It serves as an indicator of the situations perceived by the subject of cognition. But this is also a sphere which contains the differences between personal presence and assumed, virtual 'objectivity' of external reality¹. This is the zone of bifurcations rich in attractors, an intermingling layer between chaos and orderliness of the cognitive and emotional worldview. This is the zone of archetypical choice between useful and harmful, good and evil, beautiful and ugly. This is the zone where information/communication media dominate natural institutes of socialization, creating their own sense of generation environment, a semantic ecosphere where individuals are only consumers of meaning, rather than producers of sense. Instead of the expected 'age of knowledge' founded on the transmutation of values, mass media have led humanity to their dissipation and entanglement.

According to Baudrillard, communication is something more than a mere social phenomenon; it represents superrelations possessing a specific interface of conflicts, contradictions and passions. Mass communication, when not backed by a social technique, a 'living' interface between the individual and society, but merely mediated by a means of interaction, turns into 'a rigid script, an uninterrupted fiction designed to free us... from the void of our own mental screen'².

An analysis of evening and nighttime show lineup on popular channels, abounding in news, entertainment and music shows, proves that the main method is to create a mass emotional and cognitive discord, i.e. a negative incentive state whereby the subject simultaneously possesses two psychologically contradicting items of knowledge, opinions or ideas about a single object. (Leon Festinger).

The issue of the cultural, artistic entity as an instrument of impact on the ecology of information space is extremely important. Nevertheless, in practice most channels demonstrate a pronounced neglect of professional standards of genre, language, ethics etc. The sense field of journalist creativity rather resembles a space of nonsense filled with a product that can only be generally characterized as a 'non-image'. (In his *Martyrolog*, Andrey Tarkovsky writes, 'The image is an impression of the truth, a glimpse of the truth permitted to us in our blindness¹.')

Dictionaries define *ugly* as containing an evaluation of objects and events as monstrous, ignoble, contrary to the idea of beauty and the beautiful. Ugliness in art – and television, to some extent, can certainly be defined as art – creates a negative attitude to the horrible and the ugly, awakens feelings of protest and aspirations to beauty. Naturally, an individual understanding of ugliness depends on national, historical, class and taste differences, but it is always and everywhere identified

¹ Свирский Я. Синергетика смысла. М., 2000.

² J. Baudrillard. *The Transparency of Evil. Essays on Extreme Phenomena* (Verso, 1993) 13.

¹ Возвращение Андрея Тарковского // Российская газета. – 2008, 20 февраля. №36.

with evil. In the Russian cultural tradition ugliness is seen as a reflection of deformity in social life, as a 'distortion of normal development', a consequence of a social malady, i.e., as an objective phenomenon possessing an antihumanistic aspect.

Karl Rosenkranz in his *Aesthetic of Ugliness (Aesthetik des Hässlichen, 1853)* sets ugliness in opposition to the sublime. He also suggests a detailed classification of the ugly: the formless, the amorphous, the asymmetrical, the disharmonious, the vulgar, the lowly, the deformed, the disgusting etc., ending in the horrible.

Modernism and postmodernism declared ugliness 'the master theme of the epoch', a source for the renovation of art. The philosophy of 'death of the subject' was the pinnacle of postmodernism (modernism had declared the death of God, who had epitomized kindness and beauty in culture). In cinematography, this theme took shape in a new genre: the horror, where scenes of violence are amalgamated with their far more fearsome anticipation. The first horror film, *Halloween* by John Carpenter, grossed \$60 million worldwide. The total gross of the film and all its sequels, which have been steadily released for over 30 years, comes to \$250 million.

Analyzing the metamorphoses of the sense of cinema, art expert M. Trofimenkov dwells on the now popular trend of 'trashy' remakes as a reflection of bad form, careless, sloppy behaviour consistent with the spirit and letter of the original¹. This style belongs to the gore subgenre, also known as 'splatter films', pioneered by Herschell Gordon Lewis, whose *Two Thousand Maniacs!* was remade in 2005 by Tim Sullivan, thus launching the 'natural blood cycle'. However, the screen orgy of the 1970's, as well as the boom of pornography - legalized for the first time ever - had understandable sociocultural grounds, notes Trofimenkov.

All taboos were broken, just as it happened in Russia in the early 1990s. Movie maniacs incarnated subtopian fears of the breakaway element of sex and violence. On-screen monsters took their revenge on society for abusing conservative values.

Reflecting on the question of what is sublimated in mass consciousness by the modern remakes of old films, the author finds himself at a loss to answer. 'What fears they relieve is a mystery. Anti-terrorist paranoia? The Iraqi massacre..? Paradoxes of globalization? There would seem to be too much pathos in any of these answers to explain such unsophisticated on-screen phenomena'. Probably, this is quite simply '*waste-free production*' of pseudo-art, concludes the researcher.

How, then, is sense organized in an information space initiated by ugliness? It degenerates into its counter-element, is turned inside out, becomes a perverted form. The semantic sphere turns into mass absurdity, public discourse with no relevance to real objects, violating the laws of logic, unjustifiable confusion or

¹ Трофименков М. Круговорот крови в природе. Голливуд умеет перерабатывать киновторсырье // Коммерсантъ – Weekend. 2007. 19 октября. №36.

substitution of categories. Grandiose manipulations are performed with statements that are logically correct but carrying deliberately misleading, harmful messages.

Absurdity has become an attribute of being itself, rather than certain statements and observations. The painter Chris Ofili did not consider it sacrilegious to depict the Holy Virgin Mary as a black woman surrounded by flying genitalia. Mayor of New York, Rudy Giuliani, expressed his indignation on behalf of all insulted Catholics, publicly denouncing the Brooklyn Museum of Art where the painting was on display and suspending all city's funding to the museum. In her essay, *Killer Mockingbirds. Jake and Dinos Chapman's First Russian Exhibition* (Kommersant), journalist Anna Tolstova comments on the mayor's actions, exclaiming, 'Had the mayor seen the Chapmans' fiberglass sculpture depicting three guys with their hands, feet and other organs cut off and blatantly displayed hanging on a tree, he could have spoken out in the name of all humanity, wounded in its better feelings.'

'Classic aesthetics had no category for the disgusting; the brothers Jake and Dinos Chapman are filling this regrettable gap with the whole scope of their art,' writes Tolstova. The critic elaborates, 'The dismembered soldiers are a very close reference... to the most horrible of *The Disasters of War* etchings. But everywhere the old, educative art, from Goya to Rodin, saw the beautiful, the horrible, the tragic or the sublime, the Chapman brothers - through a contemporary viewer's eyes - see nothing but empty and irrevocably outdated pathos. The old museum, with its humanitarian ideals, is completely unsuited to the public that sees the reflection of its most morbid dreams in every broadcasted news.'

In the 1980's Russian television spawned the so-called 'Nevzorov effect' described by journalism professor Sergey Muratov in an essay entitled *The Chronicles of Epileptoid Broadcasting* (Nezavisimaya Gazeta website). He believes that long before American action films appeared on Russian TV, the country already had its own genius of the gruesome, the shocking and the criminal: reporter Alexander Nevzorov, author of the infamous *600 seconds* news show. He liked to compare himself to a filibuster, pirate or highwayman. His creative motto is extremely clear: 'We have no right to be idealists and preach the honour code of Russian nobility. We have neither a code, nor honour, nor nobility - nothing'. Nevzorov's *Nashi*, *Panopticum* and *Dikoye Pole* have produced metastases on almost every channel. His documentary horror videos often featured cannibals as protagonists. 'Commercialization has unleashed the instincts of hypochondriacs, people who feel good when they feel bad and even better when everybody feels bad. The latest development is the genre of epileptoid TV,' writes Muratov.

Electronic mass media bring about a manifold increase in the moral, psychological and intellectual damage inflicted by the art which forms attractors in the synergy of ugliness. The algorithm for managing informational preferences of the population is simple but not unsophisticated: as soon as the reaction to the provided information demonstrates even partial incongruity, the action plan is amended, for instance, by forming an 'agenda'. In order to prevent the viewer from searching for alternative information in the case of a complete mismatch

(displaying so-called tentative research behaviour), the objective is to cram the airwaves with similar effects to eliminate the very condition of variety.

Reality shows, which attract millions and millions of viewers, possess a special synergy. Not long ago, in mid-2007, the whole Europe was deeply shocked after baring its soul towards the so called *Big Donor Show* broadcast in the Netherlands¹. In Europe, over 40 thousand people are waiting in organ transplant queues. The BNN channel selected three out of 25 desperate candidates publicly pleading for salvation. The show's producers declared they had acted for a noble cause, endeavouring to attract attention to the issue of donor programs to benefit patients who required organ transplants in order to survive. After the airing of the show and the exposure of the hoax - under public pressure! - over 12 thousand people sent text messages to request donor registration forms.

Journalist V. Belash cites a number of other shows that have angered both their viewers and participants². The premise of *Who's Your Daddy?* (USA) was that an adult who had been put up for adoption as an infant was placed in a room with 25 men, one of whom was their biological father. If the contestant could correctly pick out who was his father, the contestant would win \$100,000. In *The Will* (USA) a group of Americans were supposed to use any means to gain the affection of a millionaire who would mention the winner in his will.

One of the most strenuous researchers of mass communications in the 'postmodern epoch' Jean Baudrillard noted, 'We find ourselves in the realm either of ultra- or of infra-aesthetics. [...] Inasmuch as we have access to neither the beautiful nor the ugly, and are incapable of judging, we are condemned to indifference. Beyond this indifference, however, another kind of fascination emerges, a fascination which replaces aesthetic pleasure. For, once liberated from their respective constraints, the beautiful and the ugly, in a sense, multiply: they become more beautiful than beautiful, more ugly than ugly [...] (the 'bad', the 'worse', kitsch), an ugliness raised to the second power because it is liberated from any relationship with its opposite'¹.

Society must learn to fight the aggression of ugliness. Not run away, but dare to have an opinion. Not condone the proverbial 'artist's freedom of expression', sacrificing public morality and ethics on which this 'freedom' parasitizes. And on no account support the decisions of government to bestow state awards on controversial 'somewhat artists', who are not just 'giving the finger' to earthly powers, but showing a 'cosmic phallus' to the sky.

What, besides an ethical taboo, can science provide to counter the synergy of ugliness? Several years ago, researchers in the Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences introduced the concept of 'strategic subjects'. It establishes a generalized model for various types of subjects, including the individual, the group, the organization, the nation, the state, etc. Strategic subjects

¹ Журналистика и медиарынок. 2007. №6.

² «Власть» 2007. №4.

¹ J. Baudrillard. *The Transparency of Evil. Essays on Extreme Phenomena* (Verso, 1993) 18.

are perfect examples that can contribute to the improvement of the ecology of the information society, if the public would aspire to turn them into reality¹.

Let us enumerate some attributes of strategic subjects according to the regulative/communicative parameter: in a leading reflexive ethical system the convergence of *good* and *evil* is considered as *evil*; in a reactive ethical system convergence of *good* and *evil* is considered as *good*. In the context of harm or benefit to society, the human as a subject of life has two modes of existence realized according to an active pattern of reflexive development and a reactive pattern of reflexive programming.

Current challenges to the emergence of strategic subjects in Russia include:

- the search for innovative 'system-forming ideas' to stimulate the development of all types of strategic subjects;
- improving the Russians' strategic management culture;
- creation of an information environment to develop and support strategic subjects in Russia.

The introduction of information/communication interaction in society on these grounds permits to reformulate the objectives of legal regulation of the activity of subject of information exchanges, to set new tasks for the socialization system and institutes on different stages of personality formation and fulfillment, to contribute to an individual protection against negative psychological influence, and to improve spiritual culture and competency of information/communication professionals.

¹ Лепский В.Е. Становление стратегических субъектов: постановка проблемы // Рефлексивные процессы и управление. Том 2, №1, 2002.

Surkova, Irina Y.

Accommodation and Housing Problems of Servicemen in Russian Army

There are some ideas concerning the current situation in the Russian army, social issues and troubles that the army as a social institution deals with. Beside that, the article touches upon social problems of servicemen everyday life's experience. Federal laws and local regulations are supposed to guarantee effective program of social support to regular servicemen, but they contradict each other and intensify social tension in the servicemen environment. As the result, the Army reform aggravates social problems, complicates integration of servicemen into army social space. The social support system of servicemen is fragmentary in relation with their way of life because stated privileges and guarantees for people serving in the army are not being provided.

The most acute problems in the military sphere are housing provision, material support, social guarantees and privileges, life conditions, time-limit service conditions, bullying. Within the frame of qualitative methodology we have used the semi-structured interviews with 38 servicemen. Selection of respondents was carried out in the military units by a method of "a snow clod". It is a method to get in touch with members of certain group when one respondent connects the researcher with other respondent in the same group¹. As the result the first place of social problem's list is occupied with "housing problem". The research data show that 55.7% of respondents joined the army hoping to receive housing in the nearest future. More than a third of respondents (41.9%) live in military units; 20.4% - rent apartments; 12.6% live in their parents' apartments; 10.2% live in hostels. Only 10.8% of respondents stated that they had no problems with housing².

Free-of-charge habitation was always considered to be one of the attractive sides of military service. The first meeting with the commander and the accommodation of the young offices influence the further relation to the army and discharge of duty. *«We have arrived to the military unit. One of us was married... We asked the commander about accommodation. He has told, throw things in the armory room and go in a city to find apartment»* (37 years, the major, Nizhni Novgorod). Sometimes the chance to have habitation increases if serviceman is married and his wife arrived with him to the military unit. But in real life it isn't true, and our respondents told about it. *"Clever people told me that we should come with my wife, because this is a good opportunity to get something better. Leaning on "clever people's advice" my wife and I went there, but all the hostel rooms were occupied. We began to live in the club chief's office. It was so romantic, but extremely small. There were two cots, a*

¹ Tompson, D.L. & Priestley, D. Sociology. M: "Publishing house AST", 1998. P. 447

² Surkova I. Social Problems in the Russian Army within the Framework of Social Work // Journal of Comparative Social Work, Issue 2, 2010 // [www.jcsw.no ISSN 0809-9936]

table, and chairs. If we moved the chair from the table it leaned against a cot" (37 years, major, Moscow region). The accommodation within the military units is sometimes very original. Some of our respondents were located in the bath-house and in the military barrack. Thus commanders exonerated from responsibility for servicemen accommodation. It violated the "social contract", and law rules both.

Young lieutenants, captains, majors, and colonels who along with the others expect turn on habitation reception live in hostels. The system of housing distribution gives failure because of small rooms fund in hostels, fixed to the military unit, and also some rooms are occupied ex-servicemen who haven't house according to laws. The problem of relationships within the families becomes most important within this context. The specific of military service foresees periodical change of the place of residence. As the result members of servicemen's families cannot find jobs of their specialties and become unemployed. So, "housing problem" is the factor that destabilizes normal family relationships.

The majority of servicemen require housing improvement or need apartments. So, Vyacheslav (31 year, warrant officer, total military experience - 14 years) noted, *«I live with my parents and a brother in a three-room apartment with adjacent rooms. I am not on good terms with my relatives. In order to be placed on the waiting list for getting my own apartment from the military unit the total area of our apartment should be 2 square meters less. The total area includes rooms, the kitchen, the corridor and the balcony. If I decide to marry we'll live on my balcony. If I choose to live in a hostel - it will be the deterioration of living conditions. Thus I cannot get on the waiting list for another 5 years. It is a vicious circle...»*. This statement shows imperfection of regulatory framework in regard to the provision of servicemen housing.

Dissatisfaction with housing accounts for a number of negative social phenomena. For example, the majority of servicemen who did not receive housing from the Ministry of Defense suffer serious financial losses because of insufficient amount of indemnification for housing. *«We have not enough money to pay for the apartment. What kind of apartment can we rent for such money? We're getting compensation for commuting and it is not enough for other expenses»* (Michael, 35 years, major).

So, for example, if we compare the salary of commander of platoon (lieutenant, military experience - 4 years) and the lowest price of an apartment in the suburb of the capital we shall see that the serviceman will be able to buy it only in 22 years time. In this calculation I am not taking into account the inflation, constant growth of prices for accommodation, expenses on food, clothes and living essentials. Unfortunately salary growth in 2006 has not changed this situation.

The right of servicemen to get housing is stated in the Constitution of the Russian Federation (Chapter 2, Article 40). Provided accommodation may include room in the hostel, location at outquarters and other kinds of housing. Provided apartments should be equipped with the things necessary to create normal domestic conditions for staff. The right to housing is detailed in Article 15 of the Federal Law «About the status of servicemen».

One of important direction in solving housing problem for servicemen is financial support for purchasing apartments or houses. The right to receive and use such financial support is confirmed by the state housing certificate (The program started in 1998). Such support is granted to servicemen from the federal budget and amounts to 80% of the housing cost. The transfer is made directly to the seller's bank account. The positive side of this program is the opportunity to get apartment in a short period of time. The negative side is the fact that servicemen should have enough money to cover 20% of the apartment cost. Recalculation of the housing certificate is done once a year but the prices of apartments rise every day. Therefore the certificate cannot guarantee proper housing. As the result the program «State Housing Certificate» is being realized only by 32%¹.

Nowadays new directions of solving housing problem are being discussed actively. One of such directions is introducing "accumulation system of buying accommodation" (Federal Law of 20 August 2004 № 117-FL.). The main purpose of this Law is the regulation of relations between the government and servicemen with one of the realization forms of their right to housing in the period of employment and severance². A person who chooses to serve in the military should make a contract with the Military Department for a certain period of time. After that there will be opened an accumulation bank account and every year the state will transfer money to this account for buying accommodation. After three years of accumulation the participant has the right to receive the interest-free target loan within the means which have been saved up in this time³. It is supposed that when the serviceman is dismissed there will be money on his account sufficient for purchasing housing in any area of Russia.

In 2005 after this Law enactment, the Federal Administration of accumulation system of buying accommodation for servicemen was created. Its duties include the account of assets on nominal memory accounts, registration and delivery of target housing loans, information-explanatory work, informing of participants on the habitation market. To participate in the "Accumulation system of buying accommodation program" it isn't necessary for servicemen and their families to be acknowledged as need in housing. However this program has limitations because quantity of the housing accumulation doesn't account serviceman's family structure. Also there are difficulties to buy housing in the major administrative centers without involving their own or borrowed funds⁴.

¹ Mukhin, V. & Baranov, N. Housing Problems in the Army is still acute // Independent Military Review. № 37 (361). 10.11. 2003

² Novikov N. Forms of the Habitation Maintenance. // The House Lawyer, №12, 2005. P.7

³ Vlasov V.V. Perspectives of the Military-men Housing Problems Decision. // the Bulletin «Russia – NATO vectors», №8, 2004. P. 31-32

⁴ Baranenov V.V. Analysis of the Federal Dispositions of the Statute "About the Storage Mortgage System of the Housing Maintenance of Military-men" // Justice in the Armed Forces, №7, 2005; Gurkin S.S., Mironov O.I. Problems and defects of the Storage Mortgage System of the Housing Maintenance of Military-men. // the Russian Military-legal Collection, №7, 2006

Negative tendencies of housing programs realization try to lower using different ways. So, now distribution of apartments has passed from military commanders department to the special housing commissions. The centralized list of participants, minimizing no-purpose using of the room fund was created. The place in this list depends on two circumstances - statement dates on the housing account and the city chosen for life¹. It is appropriated only once. In the Ministry of Defense site it is planned to make the electronic list of participants that will make more accessible the information on habitation granting. Now there the various information materials connected with insurance and credit programs, normative-legal base in the context of housing maintenance of servicemen. Servicemen can ask questions and to receive answers from housing department experts.

Thus, it is necessary to control distribution of money under this Program. Free-of-charge housing for servicemen from the housing fund carried out by federal executive powers is of importance too. Besides, it is necessary to establish interaction between various Military departments in order to optimize distribution of housing among servicemen belonging to different ministries. It is necessary to involve non-budget funds for long-term crediting. Such consolidation of actions and combination of various mechanisms will allow solving habitation problem in the Russian Army. Solving of housing for the servicemen is carried out through actions of such programs as "State Housing Certificate", "Accumulation System of Buying Accommodation", and also distribution of service housing from resources of the Ministry of Defence. Directly the solving of the housing problem is connected with the life conditions and problem of relationships within families, because servicemen accommodation is in the terrible conditions for lives. In these context duties of the social worker under this point include servicemen family living and housing survey, an explanation of rights and duties to servicemen in the field of the housing law, the help in the registration for accommodation, control over timely allocation of apartments or rooms in a hostel for the servicemen.

¹ Gavrilov J. The Flat in the Internet. // the Russian Newspaper - Capital release №5367 (288) from 12.21.2010

Tazov Petr Y.

Influence of Sociocultural Process on Societal Level of the Values of Students

The values of students are formed after school and transform during education in school and less in high school. Socialization of students in high school include professional values and vales of professional as a social self-determination. Sociocultural processes determinate the process of formation of the values of students. In this article I show the influence of sociocultural process on societal level. This level includes social groups –family and reference groups.

Before we start discussing this process we need to show a sociocultural process that determinate the transformation of the values of man. One is an individual idea. The domination of the individual identify over the collective identify is one of specificity of postindustrial society. Social groups' ideas are less important. Second factor is a low social individual perspective according to social perspective and aims connected with the development of the society. Third factor is a result of mass globalization.

Many people in countries thanks to the results of globalizations come to national ideas, national culture and identify that must save own culture territory specific identify from damages from the foreign culture elements and social identify. Erosion of own culture and new cultural and religious elements create social Voltage and some conflicts.

Sociocultural processes on the societal level as factor of form system of values students.

The place of the social structure of family is important for influence family on student's values.

The research of Laboratory of Perm University¹ (S=700) showed that different social groups of students farmers have different values.

For students from farmers' families the most important values of high education are "demands of market" (41,2%) comparing to other groups. For students from family of employees the most important value of high education is "a high competitiveness of the on market of job".

Specific high important values for group students from farmers' families are:

-Without high education I can't make good career(61.1%)

And low influence on choosing decision of high education(5.9%).

Other groups of students have higher level of evaluations influence family on choosing decision of high education.

¹ Kurbatova L.N.,Stegniy V.N. Social portrait of students in transforming society.Perm,2009.

Socioculture process influence in social groups and system of values create specifically social attitudes from students of these groups.

Table 1

Social status	Farmers	workers	intelligentsia	traders	businessmen	employees
Why you decide study in High school? %						
Without high education I won't have interesting work	33,3	38,2	39,6	43,6	44,2	42,5
Without high education I can't make good career	61,1	45,6	46,4	60,3	59,3	64,2
With high education I make material financial position success	33,3	34,6	27,9	38,5	31,4	36,7
With high education I have cultural development	19,7	22,1	37,8	37,2	39,5	35,0
People with high education have high respect in society	-	12,5	26,1	25,6	30,2	33,3
With high education I can't be unemployed	38,9	12,5	10,4	11,5	12,8	15,8
Influence family on choose decision of high education	5,6	17,6	18,0	12,8	10,5	22,5

Tepikin, Vitaly V., Tepikina, Zoya A.

Intelligentsia and Intellectuals as a Generator of Unstable Times

Modern social relationships can be readily considered in the context of unstable times. It is clear already that we have reached the level of social organisation and man's interaction with his environment when the complicated structural system of a society resembles some technical mechanism where everything is well fitted and properly functioning, but at the same time remains noticeably vulnerable. Instability of modern times is determined, as we see it, by confrontation of culture and civilization - the matter which is very complicated and for an analysis as these scientific concepts overlap each other to some extent. So what we need is modernisation of social relations which isn't limited by of Russian or another culture.

It is known that E.Kant paid attention to the difference between culture and civilization. Before Kant culture was understood as everything made by human efforts. But time has shown that man is far from being perfect, he is able to improve his professional skills relatively fast and acquire new knowledge, but he is totally unable to grow harmoniously in a moral aspect. We entered the 21-st century where everything seems to be well-thought and properly arranged for cultural life of man. However we are facing acts of violence (including mass killings), economic and environmental abnormalities. All the three factors of instability of social relations must be brought down to the minimum with the time and later outrooted completely. The intelligentsia want things to go this way. But it doesn't taking place. New technologies are being actively developed by the intellectual part of a society technologies, promoting industrial growth and as a result increasingly destroying the environment. Of course, researchers are making efforts to launch waste-free production and to put out certified environmentally-friendly products. But the commercial component remains a priority for the owners of enterprises, instant personal benefit too often puts rational scientists arguments and forecasts in the shadow. And here we don't touch upon the problem of pitiless exploitation of natural resources, showing moral immaturity of those who is at the steering wheel of the process, those who don't make (or don't want to) thoughts of our descendants future.

The intellectual group of a society is a direct generator of modern unstable times culture. If at his times Kant considered moral categoric imperative to be the basis of culture under which all man's actions are determined by moral motives, by consciousness, now we are facing the orientation towards rationalism. What is rational, is right (confirmed by norms of modern culture). The conception «civilization» has swallowed up the conception «culture» to a greater extent. And this is unfortunately a norm by itself.

Society fears instability but it can't get rid of it until it comes to understand that culture has only one measurement - the moral and spiritual one. This measurement is the only humanistic one by its essence.

To equate culture with civilization is dangerous not only due to its instability which we are facing on a global scale now (wars, acts of terror, global economic crises) but also due to a more serious consequence of technical self-destruction of mankind. Therefore it is high time for the intelligentsia and intellectuals to launch a modernisation of the society according to the principle of generating the culture of stable times. Here we can't do without the concept we heard about at the recent international congress in the speech of Moscow and All-Russia Patriarch Cyril: «safekeeping of nation's cultural code, cultural matrix» must become the concern of state-level importance. Here the case of states having their national cultures.

Tishchenko, Natalia V.

Images of Criminality and Types of Illegality in Modern Culture

Speaking about the economic type of illegality, Foucault reproduces the educational idea about the connection between the freedom of personality and owner's rights. In spite of the critical attitude toward the heritage of the Age of Enlightenment, Foucault did not overpass the boundary of the economical illegalities while analyzing the penitentiary system, although the processes that took place in prisons and the «qualitative» changes in crime indicated that the illegality in economical sphere is changing to the offence against the law of some other kind. Criminality and the penitentiary system have passed on a new level of interrelation: 1) the form of the protest against prison regime; 2) mercenary crimes keep the mass character, but stop considered by the social system as global damage; 3) new forms of criminality appear. Aggregate of these processes formed the third type of offence against the law which is named by the criminologists as *transnational organized criminality* and methods of punishment and correction must be absolutely different in struggle with such criminality.

In the XX century a new method of opposition between convicts and prison administration became popular. From the beginning of appearance of the modern type of penitentiary system it was obvious that gratitude and devotion of convicts toward the guards – is an utopian dream of such panoptic prison system's creators as Beccaria and Bentham. And what is more, secret and evident opposition inside a prison between the convict and the guard became the basis of effective methods of discipline and supervision. That is why the traditional form of insubordination over a period of XX century was escape and killing of the guard. The alternative form of protest was starvation, but it was used by «unusual» criminals – political convicts from the point of view of criminal law of XX century. Murderer, thief, robber, swindler tried to get out from prison or penal servitude which deprive the freedom of action because being imprisonment they fill themselves absolutely powerless. Formation of a prison subculture is connected with the feeling of powerless in prison and such subculture legalizes norms of behavior according with its own norms, but not using the public law. Political convicts in prison not only brought up a question about the rights of convicts in context of human rights, but also emphasized fundamental difference between them and all the other convicts and demand from administration «not criminal» attitude toward themselves.

The 20th century – is a century of movement for rights and removing silence from different groups of population such as: women, children, aged people, invalids, prisoners of war, and convicts.

Starvations, refusing to go for a walk, absolute insubordination of internal prison order took on more and more political features. Convicts did not demand

immediate liberation, but they insist on the attitude from the state towards them as full rights citizens. This movement of convicts for their rights was not the indicator of increasing the political activity of people in the 20th century, but it was the evidence that the isolation is not already an effective method of punishment, panopticon loses its effectiveness and expediency, «to oversee and punish» is possible and outside a prison. Activity of Foucault group that informed about the conditions of keeping in prison at the beginning of the seventies showed to all the community a range of a new form of opposition in prison. They published reports about starvations, refusals to take medicine and some other actions of protest. Besides, it became clear that suicide became the most popular form of protest in prison which characterizes the absence of normal forms of the necessities of life in prison. It would be incorrect to think that nowadays escapes from prisons, colonies, imprisonment pending trials, the attacks and murders of prison staff are stopped. But the recurrence of such violent acts from the point of view of the researches depends on the character of prison contingent (the larger percent of extremely dangerous prisoners, the more threat of increasing the violence in prison) and is not interpreted as a form of protest against difficult conditions in prison¹.

One of the most interesting points of view about the protests in modern prisons was suggested by R.Morgan. Using the analysis of revolts and disturbances presented in report of Home Office of Great Britain (1991) there the appraisal of the first-rate prison rebellion in Manchester in modern history was made, R.Morgan formulated the principle of «irregularly enlarging spiral» interpreting disturbances not as an event, but as a result of previous definite process². According to this model the established control strategies turned out to be problematic because of several reasons including the questions of legitimization of authority: transformation of organization's structure, worsening the conditions of holding in custody or unjust attitude. Concentration of insoluble situations leads to absolute polarization of prison staff and convicts, increasing the antagonism and defencelessness, decreasing the level of tolerance from both sides. In this moment any insignificant conflict can be a «trigger» that turns anger and frustration into rebellion. The model suggested by R.Morgan with some limitations can be applied to suicide behavior in conditions of incarceration in prison. The main difference between two forms of opposition consists in such situation that in case of suicide inability of control strategies increases the feeling of lawlessness and defencelessness among convicts which lead to establishing the control of more strong convicts over weak and vulnerable, but not to directing their animosity on prison staff. In return administration realizes a series of interference from isolation and displacement of convicts up to toughening the regime rules. Both forms of opposition demonstrate how the collapse of control system takes place.

¹ Miller J. *The Passion of Michel Foucault*. New York, 1991. P. 187-207

² Morgan R. *Preventing Torture: A Study of the European Convention for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment*. Oxford, 2000. – 345 p.

Nowadays isolation of a criminal is not a sufficient and adequate measure of punishment just as liberation is not considered by a convict as a main aim. In the 20th century predominant discourse by means of scientific researches, mass communication media, rhetoric of social and law-protective organizations stops transmitting penitentiary system in terms of reclamation and equitable punishment. This discourse treats a penitentiary system as a practice of segregation, exclusion and warehousing which threatens the whole life and systems of the necessities of life in particular. The percent of mercenary crimes in Europe and America is rather high as before (from 75% up to 94% in different countries¹). But the sphere of action of such illegality group constantly decreasing and nowadays do not present a serious danger for the society. Besides, regulation of many economical violations is carried outside the criminal code by modern legislation and is included in the administrative, family, tax, civil codes.

Market economy reached such a level of self-reliance that does not need only criminal mechanisms of protection against such types of crimes in economical sphere as: «vagrancy» or «violation of succession». Even such criminal offences as: bribery, forgery, abuse of authority are widely punished not by the way of penitentiary system, but using such informational and administrative mechanisms as: announcement in mass media about the cheat of one's company management leads to collapse and bankruptcy of the whole financial and industrial network which consists of banks, insurance companies, service-producing industries. But if the society worked out the immunity against some types of economical crimes it does not mean that the society fully secures itself against illegal actions. Nowadays public system is rather vulnerable as a hundred years ago and its main threat is a *transnational criminal activity directed on worsening the health of population and disorganization of structures of the necessities of society life*. In 1994 in Naples World Conference on Organized Crime took place where it was pointed out and proved ten threats caused by transnational criminality².

In practice, these threats result in such forms as: 1) illicit drug trafficking; 2) weapon delivery (including weapons of mass destruction); 3) internal and international terrorism; 4) trafficking in man, woman, children, human organs. Prevention and punishment of these criminal actions expected from the administration refusal of former strategies of punishment. Experience showed that: drug addict's revision supposes not isolation, but long medical treatment; weapon suppliers and terrorists can not be disciplined using the system of labour obligation; modern slavers and sellers of human organs till recently were not punished by criminal code in many countries. The reasons of appearance of the third form of illegality consist in the character of predominant authoritative interrelations. Authority could not adequately respond to several forms of crime which do not correspond to general economical structure of penitentiary system.

¹ Report of Home Office from 2010: <http://prisonlife.ru>

² Report of the World Ministerial Conference on Organized Transnational Crime held in Naples, Italy, from 21 to 23 November 1994: <http://www.imolin.org/imolin/naples.html>

From our point of view, there are four groups of illegal actions with internal structure that does not correspond to panoptic prison: 1) «irrational crimes» which get over the jurisdiction of psychiatry; 2) gender stereotypes in crime analysis which stimulate strengthening the norms of nuclear family and social practices of woman exclusions; 3) violent deprivation of poverty; 4) ethnic/racial types of criminality. The spread of such crimes and there public response, discussions about methods of struggle against such crimes – all these processes form the basis of development of transnational organized illegality.

There are three groups of illegal actions in cultural and historical aspects which changed one another in the 18th – 20th centuries in Europe and their characters are directly connected with changes in everyday cultural practices: 1) illegality in such field as «people's law»; 2) illegality in economic sphere; 3) transnational organized criminality. In Russian historical and criminal experience all these three types of illegal actions are represented. Forming of prison systems which are connected with these types of illegal actions has its own features and it is necessary to give cultural and historical, social and anthropological explanations on them. So we can conclude that in the 17th-18th centuries in Europe serious integral changes took place which resulted in appearance of a new type of illegality and correspondingly a new method of punishment. The theoretical link of transformations was the ideology of Enlightenment and a well-known thesis of Locke in particular, which says that the main values of a human being in civil society are «*life, freedom and property*». Total care about «*life, freedom and property*» of a citizen led to the appearance in the 20th century of a third type of illegality which threatens the fact of life existence and demonstrates the paradox of Enlightenment values.

Following M. Horkheimer and T. Adorno we suppose that the main contradiction of Enlightenment is the internal dissimulation of primary task which was raised up by the ideology of Enlightenment: overcoming the instability and dependence using the calculating methods of technological irrationality¹. In penitentiary system this paradox looks in the following way: intensification of operating rules is accompanied by strengthening of opposition and increasing of social aberrations in criminal sphere. In just the same way modern transnational criminality appeared because of the intersection of mechanisms of total rationalization and strategies of prediction. Now it is necessary to find out how much these processes are typical for Russia and what transformations occurred within European system of reformation and punishment.

¹ Adorno T., Horkheimer M. *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*. Trans. Jephcott Ed. Stanford, Cal.:Stanford University Press, 2002. P. 82

Tsarkov, Petr E.

The Social Ideals in Sociology of P. Novgorodtsev

This article presents the view of Russian sociologist Pavel I. Novgorodtsev on the problem of the “social ideal”. The author gives a definition of the concept of social ideal with application of gnosiological, axiological and praxiological approaches.

For the most part of Russian thinkers 19th – beginning of 20th centuries the category of “social ideal” was closely connected with the theme of Russian destiny and also was very important and ever systematic. The representatives of different and sometimes contrast directs of Russian social philosophy and sociology worked on this problem: Slavophiles and Westernists, conservators and liberals, national loyalists, Russian populists, Marxists.

Social cataclysms which were happened in Russia in the beginning of 20th century made a question about social ideal practical. The disproblematisation of social ideal as a part of reality (political and social life) was happened. Because of these actions, many of thinkers changed their views for future structure of Russia. And among these thinkers were that people which thought that the better ideal is a liberal ideal of freedom and equality.

Pavel I. Novgorodtsev was one of these scientists. He was a leader of Moscow school of law sociology and have published his fundamental research “About social ideal” in 1917, near the Great October Revolution. In this book Novgorodtsev oriented to social and political arrangement of Western Europe and announced a new and most important social ideal: the principle of common union, based on freedom and equality. We will try to explicate a status of “absoluteness” in the books of Novgorodtsev.

In this conception we can see an absolute ideal, because it does not include any historical, concerning or coneret elements. Novgorodtsev does not say what things have to be free or equal. Social ideal as an absolute ideal can't have any precise indications from the sphere of concerning apparitions. To look for absolutely perfectness in it means to look for absolutely and conserving things in one time and to mixed this things. Concretely historical forms are just areas of displays and evolution of absolute social ideal. Every step of social progress (by Novgorodtsev) is connected with absolute social ideal as a temporary and concerning form. So, every period in the history of human society has its own value and completion. Because of this understanding of social ideal, Novgorodtsev doesn't tell about state and political system of society in future on the pages of his philosophical books. The most important in the social ideal is a principle of common universalism (freedom of personality and equality of all people). We have to say that absoluteness as a quality wasn't included to social ideal in the works of Novgorodtsev, written during the period after Great October revolution and emigration. In the article “The Recovery of Shrines” (was written in 1923; was

published in 1926 in the magazine "The Way" after death of author) Novgorodtsev wrote about perfection Russian state system in future: "There will be that forms, which people will wish and need at the moment".

Axiological aspect of absoluteness of social ideal was changed by Novgorodtsev as much as possible. It was happened because of historical and political events and author's reflection about it. In the book "About common ideal" (was written before revolution) Novgorodtsev connects absoluteness of social ideal with priority of moral values (freedom, equality and fellowship of all people, based on belief in united world's truth). This values based on principle of union for all humanity. Truth has universal character and things, which are separate one nation from another, are wrong (not valuable) and false (anti valuable) on the author's mind. After 1917 Novgorodtsev could see a real revolution experience, which promised freedom, equality and fellowship, but determined a dictatorship and despondent on the rights of personality. After it he changed and corrected axiological aspect of his theory of social Ideal, because he tried to find new universal values not for all world, but for Russia.

Novgorodtsev called these values as "shrines" (absolute values). Absoluteness and priority of common values were changed for belief in ideals and shrines of nation. Novgorodtsev wrote that we have to greet not for nation, but for its shrines. Ideal society can be created just with help of hagiocracy (the power of the shrines). So, what are ideals and shrines of nation for Novgorodtsev? He told about Christian commandments which can unite people. And also values' side of category of social ideal acquirers one new aspect: the concept of Motherland becomes absolute and it becomes important that Motherland doesn't similar with Western countries. Social ideal stays absolutely in its content but it becomes more concretely (we can't find it in earlier works of Novgorodtsev). So, in the book "About social ideal" Novgorodtsev told that the "national partitions" hamper to realize absolute ideal and because of it he told about value of nationalism.

Praxiological aspect of the theory of social ideal by Novgorodtsev is a substantiation of the way, helped to realize absolute ideal in reality. It is closely connected with two other aspects (we have told about it earlier). Absoluteness of social ideal in its content (abstract demand of freedom and equality) and in its high and boundless values (Christian ideal of perfect personality) means that it can't be in reality. It can be realized just beyond the boundaries of human history, in the sphere of ultra history. How can it be realized? Society becomes more and more near to social ideal when it realizes different historical goals and determines different missions. It's important, that the first thinks about constant moving of society for realizing of world truth' ideal was definite by evolution theory (it was understood as constant evolution without pauses). Absolute social ideal realized in real life as a result of common creative efforts of humanity and nature. Absolute, which is important for society because of law of common love, is presented in the world, but it is hid.

In his last books Novgorodtsev also indicated that it can be just one perfect and veritable way to ideal. It is a free inner renovation of every human and also an

inner understanding of mutual responsibility among people. Novgorodtsev underlined religious and moral specialty of determination of "social ideal". But also he didn't allot a necessary attention to ways and methods of its achievement.

Varganova, Olesya F.

The Problem of Mutual Adaptation of Migrants and Natives as a Factor of Society Development in Modern Russia

The public changes of last decade have cardinally changed a political and social situation on the post-Soviet territory, and millions people became the compelled migrants. Getting last years strongly pronounced ethnosocial and ethnopolitical character, migration introduces corrective amendments in life of local societies, influences on carried out by the states policy, and the main thing - changes personal characteristics of those who are compelled to move for other territories in search of quiet life and the best future.

In immediate prospects the quantity of compatriots from the republics of the former Soviet Union which are coming back to Russia, and also coming labor migrants will increase, it is necessary to accept and assist in the decision of their diverse problems. Now mutual adaptation of migrants and local population isn't optimum, against the general mutual friendliness, xenophobia and intolerance as it shown from natives and migrants. It is necessary to notice that purposeful work on formation of tolerance, cooperation and friendship between migrants and local population isn't conducted.

In Russia may be distinguished two kinds of mutual adaptation of migrants and local population in contemporary time. The first kind of mutual adaptation of migrants and natives arrived for a constant residence such as compelled immigrants, refugees, the compatriots who have returned home. This kind of migration for migrants means passage of adaptation from the neutral relation through tolerance, the consent, solidarity to cooperation and friendship. The second kind of adaptation is characterized by short duration and transition in periodically repeating cycle for adaptation of labor migrants and local population. This kind means transition from communication to positive mutual relation and periodic cooperation.

The features of mutual adaptation of migrants and natives in modern society became a subject of the analysis of research "Socio-economic features of mutual adaptation of migrants and local population in Republic of Bashkortostan".

The relation of local population to migrants prevails towards the negative: 53,3 % are defined by the relation more likely negatively, 30,3 % - are negative, hostile, only small part of respondents (13,3 %) characterizes the relation to migrants as neutral. Among the interrogated are absent, those who takes a positive view of visitors.

Migrating groups receive the greatest share of the help for account of relatives and friends which can help with employment, habitation, necessarily to render material aid: 34 % of labor migrants receive the help from relatives and 28,3 % from friends, for the migrants who have arrived on the permanent residence, the share of the help from relatives and friends makes 27,2 % and 20,4 % accordingly.

The insignificant share of the help appears to migrants state structures of our country. Only each 8 migrant gets certain support from host country state structures. Thus, making of the decision on migration, the individual can count only on support of close people.

Natives in bigger measure are motivated on interaction with migrants in sphere of labor relations, in smaller – in rendering of a straight line financial and material aid. Women's labor adaptation is more successful, than men's adaptation.

The migrant getting in new sociocultural environment faces with variety of problems which reduce speed of adaptation of the person. These problems may be defined as financial difficulties, difficulties at reception of citizenship and absence of habitation.

According to the received data, among respondents – labor migrants less etnotolerance, than the migrants who have arrived on the permanent residence.

As to the relation to the migrants who have arrived on the permanent residence here more positive situation, but not the ideal. And goodwill is shown only to Russian (31,7 %), Bashkirs (33,3 %) and Tatars (28,3 %), arrived on the permanent residence.

As a result of the conducted research it is considered necessary carrying out of purposeful work on formation of the benevolent relation to migrants. The state, municipal bodies, public organizations are urged to spend regularly work on development of the positive and benevolent relation to migrants.

Paramount value for adaptation of migrants has the decision of their essential problems, such as: absence of habitation, difficulty at citizenship reception, employment, financial difficulties, and residence permit reception.

The optimization of process of adaptation of the migrants has coming on a constant residence the greatest value activization of following factors: the elimination of all barriers on a way of the decision of problems of arrangement of these people in Russia, the strengthening of activity of all institutes of the society directed on rendering assistance to migrants in the decision of all of their problems, the strengthening of explanatory work among natives to form at them aspiration to help migrants whose have arrived on a constant residence, the introduction in a duty of municipal bodies the organization of consultations and improvement of professional skill of labor migrants.

Modern life of the population in Russia is already inconceivable without ability to live of migrants. The presence of certain number of migrants in population structure is considered a sign of civil society, the democratic state. The further successful use of labor potential of migrants, their optimum ability to live in all spheres of a society depends appreciably on mutual adaptation of natives and migrants.

Yudina, Tatiana N.

Migration, Ethno-social Structure and Ethnic Relations: Past, Present and Future of Moscow Megalopolis

Nowadays Moscow is the city with the greatest number of inhabitants in Russia and Europe. As of January 1, 2010, population of Moscow was 10.563 million persons. Moscow is the center of Moscow urban conurbation and the largest migration center in the Eastern hemisphere. Like all capitals of the world Moscow is the city with population diverse in ethnic terms. At the present time representatives of more than 130 nationalities reside in the city.¹

Ethnic composition of Moscow population has changed over its history in results of migration movements, changeover of ethnic identity and changes of reproduction modes prevailing among ethnic groups that reside in Moscow.

Data of the "single day" censuses held in December of 1871 and in January of 1882 for the first time allows making judgments on ethnic composition of Moscow population of that time. The criterion in this case is the currency of a person's mother tongues. In 1871 share of Muscovites speaking Russian comprised 95.6% while in 1882, due to increased migrant influx, this share decreased a bit and comprised 94.5%. According to data provided by V. Filippov, share of the Polish speaking residents in 1871 and 1882 comprised 0.06 and 0.05%. Share of the Latin speaking residents comprised 0.03 and 0.03%, share of the Lithuanian speaking residents was 0.06% and 0.03%. Share of the Yiddish speaking residents comprised 0.94% and 1.61%. Shares of other ethnic groups defined in terms described above were: the Tartars – 0.15% and 0.24%, the Armenians – 0.10% and 0.12%, the French – 0.34 and 0.29%, the Germans – 1.82% and 2.02% respectively. The share of the English speaking Moscow residents at that moments comprised 0.12% and 0.10%, shares of the Italian speaking and the Scandinavian speaking residents were 0.03%, 0.02% and 0.04%, 0.0% respectively. Share of the Dutch speaking residents was 0.01% and 0.00%. Share of residents speaking other European languages was 0.04% and 0.04%. 0.05% and 0.03% of Moscow residents spoke Oriental languages. 0.14% of the polled did not answer the question.²

According to data of the first All-Russian census of 1897 Muscovites whose mother tongue was the Russian comprised 95%. The most visible ethnic groups were the Germans (about 8 thousand), the Polish (9 thousand), the Jews (about 5 thousand), the Tartars (4.3 thousand). According to data of the 2002 census the largest ethnic groups were the Ukrainians (253.6 thousand), the Tartars occupied the position of the second largest ethnic group (166.1 thousand) though they have increased their presence in Moscow). By 2002 number of the Armenians and the

¹ See: the Federal State service of statistics, http://www.perepis2002.ru/grf_map.htm

² See: V. Filippov. The dynamics of Moscow population's ethnic and confessional composition according to previous censuses data. Valery Tishkov (ed). On the way to the census. Moscow: Aviaizdat, 2003, pp 277-313].

Azerbaijanis residing in Moscow rose considerably and comprised 166.1 thousand and 95.6 thousand persons respectively.

As the majority of researches point out¹, the most important reason for change of Moscow's ethnic landscape is migration. In the 20th and the 21st centuries a significant ethnic component of migration inflows brought about quantitative and qualitative shifts in ethnic structure of Moscow's population in terms of the most representative ethnic groups.

According to the 2002 census data, 47% of Moscow residents were not born in the city. Migrants of the first post-Soviet decade (1992-2002) accounted for 27.7% of the incomers. Persons who arrived in 1989-1991 comprised 5.1% of incomers (See Table 1).

Table 1

Population of Russia and Moscow sorted out according to the time of permanent uninterrupted residence in places of their abode, in % (according to the 2002 census data)

	Russia	Moscow
Population as a whole	100.0	100.0
People residing continuously from the moment of their birth	55.0	53.4
People residing not from the moment of birth	43.6	40.6
Of these (in % of the people residing not from the moment of birth)		
From 1992-2002	29.6	27.7
From 1989-1991	6.6	5.1
From any moment prior to 1989	62.7	64.2
Did not indicated from what moment they reside in	1.1	3.0
Did not indicate places of their birth	1.4	6.0

According to the 2002 census data the determinant role in migration flow falls on the Russian interregional population exchange. Over a third of migrants (33.2%) coming to Moscow for permanent or temporary residence arrive from the Central region. 45.2% of these persons are residents of Moscow region. The second largest source of migrants arriving to Moscow is North Caucasus. This region accounts for 15.1% of migrants. The Russians predominates amongst migrants from Russia (they comprise 72.6% of the total number of migrants from Russia). Then, with a big lag, the Ukrainians (5%) and the Armenians follow (4.4%). The Tartars,

¹ See, for instance, O. Vedenina. Migrants in Moscow: does ethnic segregation pose a threat to the Russian capital city? //J. A. Zaionchkovskaya (gen. ed.), Issue 3. Moscow, 2005; J. Zaionchkovskaya, N. Mktchyan. Moscow and migration/ Demoscope Weekly. Electronic version of "Population and society" bulleting, No.200 and other publications].

the Byelorussians, the Jews, the Georgians and the Azerbaijanis account for 1% of migrants.

Migration from the CIS countries and the Baltic states accounts for about one third of the net migration increment of Moscow population. The main providers of population are Ukraine and countries of Trans-Caucasian region. Then, with a great lag, Central Asia follows. In these migration flows the Russians also predominate (they comprise 36.7%). Then, in descending order, the Ukrainians (16.9%), the Armenians (15.5%), the Azerbaijanis (7.8%), the Georgians (7.1%), Byelorussians (2.6%), the Jews (1.3%), and the Tartars (1.0%) follow.

The share of migrants from countries of Trans-Caucasian region who have settled down in Moscow exceeds the level observed in the country as a whole and exceeds the level observed in Moscow region more than two-fold. On the contrary, Moscow is hesitant to open its doors to incomers from Central Asia: in comparison to the country as a whole share of migrants from Central Asia in Moscow is twice as large. It seems that this disproportion might be explained by a greater remoteness of Central Asia from the capital. However the remoteness has a slight influence on the presence of migrants from Central Asia in Moscow region.

According to data of various studies¹ migrants from Trans-Caucasian region seek to settle down in Moscow permanently. Temporary labor migration is not an option for them. In result the aggregate share of various Caucasian nations' representatives, according to O. Vedenina's calculations², surpassed 4.5%, i.e. increased five-fold. That made them the most visible group of incomers.

According to the 2002 census, migrants from the distant countries comprise more than 7%. These migrants started to constitute a rather noticeable group. Natives of Afghanistan, China, Turkey, Vietnam, Iran, Pakistan, India, Nigeria and states of former Yugoslavia are the most numerous.

Results of intensive ethnic orientation of migration processes have brought about the quantitative and qualitative shift in Moscow's ethnic profile. To be precise:

- share of the Russians in the population of the city decreases (it went down by 4.9% in the period from 1989 through 2002, i.e. from 89.7% to 84.8%);
- share of the three most numerous (next to the Russians) ethnic groups' presence decreases. Share of the Ukrainians has decreased from 2.8% to 2.3%, that of the Tartars has gone down from 1.8% to 1.6%, that of the Jews has fallen from 2.0% to 0.8%;
- share of the Caucasian and Trans-Caucasian ethno-cultural groups increases. Thus the aggregate share of the Azerbaijanis, the Armenians and the Georgians in the population of the capital city which comprised mere 0.9% in

¹ See: Immigrants in Moscow. The Kennan Institute; J. A. Zaiionchkovskay (ed.). Moscow, Tri kvadrata, 2009; Yu. V. Arutyunyan. On potential of interethnic integration in Moscow megalopolis//Sociological studies, 2005, No. 1 and other publications].

² See: O. Vedenina. May ethnic quarters emerge in Moscow?]

1989 rose to 2.6% by 2002 and surpassed the share of the Ukrainians. The specific weight of the Armenian population rose from 0.5% to 1.2% and the specific weight of the Azerbaijani population rose from 0.2% to 0.9%. Share of the Georgian population grew at a more slow rate and its specific weight rose from 0.2% to 0.5%; the intensive influx of ethnic groups (the Chinese, the Koreans, the Bosnians, the Turks, the Afghans etc) previously unknown in Moscow which has no practice of social interaction with such groups and formation of new ethno-cultural and ethno-social groups within population structure of Moscow is observed.

However there are other forecasts of changes in the ethno-social outlook of Moscow. Thus, according to data provided by the Vavilov's Institute of general genetics and published in a supplement to "Kommersant" newspaper the forecast of Moscow's ethnic outlook is as follows: by 2025 the ethnic Russians' number will decrease by 28.0%

Nowadays the forecast of Moscow's population ethnic composition published in the *RussianBusinessConsulting* magazine¹ prevails in Internet. This forecast presents calculations of the total number of aliens and Russian citizens of non-Russian origin. This number is estimated approximately at 6.3 million persons. Then the authors of the forecast proceed from that fact that 10.5 million people reside in Moscow, subtract 6.3 million of aliens and non-Russian citizens of Russia from 10.5 million of Moscow inhabitants and draw the conclusion that the aggregate number of the 'Great' Russians, the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians residing in Moscow comprises 4.2 million persons or 40% of the total number of the city's inhabitants. The further calculations are reduced to the following: the forecast's authors: they subtract number of the Ukrainians residing in Moscow (according to A. A. Grigorovich, the Chairman of the Moscow branch of the Association of the Ukrainians in Russia, this number comprises 600 000 – 800 thousand people) and number of Byelorussians residing in Moscow (according to Frantishek Kovrigo, the Chairman of the "Byelorussians of Russia" autonomy, this number exceeds 100 000 persons) and arrive at the approximate number of Moscow's Russian residents which is 3.3 million persons. (Subtraction is made on the assumption that the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians are separate nations).

Therefore the ethnic composition of Moscow population, pursuant to data published in the *RussianBusinessConsulting* magazine, appears as follows (see Table 2)

Will the forecasts of ethnic structure of Moscow population published in "Kommersant" newspaper come true or to what extent these data correspond to the real situation? Answers to these questions will be given in results of the 2010 census. But we should like to note that if further trends of immigration impact on dynamics of Moscow population number, change of its ethno-social structure remain to be the same up to the end of this century then we will have every reason

¹ [See: RBC, No. 11, 2007, p. 42].

to speak of the third demographic transition which will change composition of population and not just ethno-demographic indicants normally connected with the first and the second transitions. As it is known, the concept of the third demographic transition was advanced by David Coleman¹. Unlike concepts of the first and the second transitions that ignore migration which has become so important demographic factor of the present day and has so significant impact on all demographic processes, Coleman's concept takes into account that low levels of fertility bring about change of policy toward migrants. Migration, at its turn, has impact on composition of population. Coleman thinks that eventually migration may cause the total change of composition of population and to replacement of the current population with population consisting either of migrants and migrants' descendants or of populations of mixed origin. If the current trends continue up to the end of the century then the dominant factor having impact on characteristics will be migration and not the difference between birthrates of native population and migrants.

Table 2

Ethnic composition of Moscow population

Nationality	Share of Moscow population
The Russians	31%
The Azerbaijanis	14%
The Tartars, the Bashkir, the Chuvash	10%
The Ukrainians	8%
The Armenians	5%
The Jews	5%
The Tajiks, the Uzbeks, the Kazakhs, the Kyrgyz	5%
The Koreans, the Chinese, the Vietnamese	5%
The Chechens, the Daghestanians, the Ingush	4%
The Georgians	3%
The Moldavians	3%
The Romany	3%
Other nations	4%

The way of the subsequent generation migrants' self-identification will also be a significant factor. The point is whether migrant descendants will identify themselves with the recipient society, the country they came in or with a country they came from. Even if mixed marriages are taken into account the question arises whether they will identify themselves as something separate as persons of foreign or mixed origins or not. If they increasingly identify themselves with the population of the country they came in all these changes will be of not a great importance.

¹ See: David Coleman. The Third Demographic Transition/Demoscope Weekly, No. 299-300, 3-16 September, 2007].

If the opposite trends prevail and descendants of migrants define themselves and identify themselves as a group distinct and different from the native population decreasing in absolute numbers and relatively the situation will be quite different. Such processes may have very diverse and significant consequences and impact on identity of a country and on social cohesion of its population. A situation may emerge when diverse groups of people will want to speak their own and different languages and will demand different legal systems. Such groups may have different orientations in the foreign policy of a country where these groups reside.

In comparison with the first and the second demographic transitions the third demographic transition is more dependent on human will in the sense that national governments control levels of migration, at least, nominally. Coleman's considerations set forth above point at the necessity to restrict volume of migration at a level which would provide for a chance of incoming people assimilation in terms of these people learning the language of a recipient country.

Intensity of migration flows and the subsequent sophistication of ethno-cultural and ethno-social dispersion create for researchers a set of problems in respect of Moscow megalopolis' ethno-social future. In particular, it is necessary to know how young generation Muscovites appraises intensity of migration flows to Moscow? What value orientations govern behavior of various ethnic groups that have come to Moscow in different times and now reside there? What trends are developing in interactions between migrants who came to Moscow and the indigenous population (the recipient ambience)? What model of interaction is emerging between migrants and the recipient ambience? What feelings of well-being have different ethnic groups of migrants in Moscow? What are opinions about Moscow future of the native Muscovites and of different ethnic groups? Let us focus on some of issues that are to be investigated in greater details.

Appraisal of migration flows intensity in Moscow

Young people, as a whole, appraise intensity of migration inflows to Moscow as a high one and define the problem of "migrant influx" as the second most acute problem of Moscow megalopolis. Young Muscovites born in Moscow attach even greater poignancy to the problem. Young Muscovites who identify themselves as Russians also note the "migrant influx" problem as the most significant issue.

With what are the reasons of young Muscovites' suspicious attitude toward attraction of a substantial number of migrants to Moscow? Irrespective of place of birth (i.e. whether Moscow residents were born in Moscow or lived in Moscow for some time) respondents see the principal reason of threat to Moscow's security on the part of migrants in growth of criminality in result of labor migrant attraction to Moscow. Respondents designate growth of interethnic tension as the second most significant threat to security and stability in Moscow and, depending on number of years a respondent has lived in the city, put on the third place the following reasons: displacement of natives inhabitants from prestigious jobs, decline of the

Russians' share in the population of Moscow, growth of social tension in the city. Respondents of all groups designated the displacement of natives from prestigious jobs as one of the most serious threats. Virtually every fourth respondent mentioned this threat. However, in reality only every twenty fifth native Muscovite has confronted such situation. At the same time every twenty fifth respondent born in Moscow met the opposite situation: a native got a job while a migrant was declined.

Relations among various ethnic groups, native Muscovites and migrants

Ethno-social future of Moscow is in many ways defined by interethnic relations between the Russians as the megalopolis principal ethnos representatives and representatives of other nations as they emerged and will be evolve.

Young Muscovites representing the ethnic group Russians appraise the Russians' relations with other Slavic nations as friendly, warm and peaceful and more rarely appraise these relations as tense, conflict and hostile. Appraisal of relations with nations of Central Asia and the Volga region is more skewed to peaceful but tense. Relations with nations of North Caucasus and Trans-Caucasus region are, as a rule, appraised as tense, conflict and even hostile.

Interesting enough but natives of Caucasian region do not feel such tension, conflict and hostility in their relations with the Russians. Number of respondents who appraise their relations with the Russians as friendly, warm and peaceful exceeds by factor of 7 or even 10 the number of respondents who identify themselves as the Russians and share this appraisal.

Respondents residing in Moscow but representing natives of Central Asia as well as natives of Caucasian region appraise attitude of Russians toward representatives of their own ethnic groups more positively than the ethnic Russians. It should be emphasized that their appraisals are less positive than appraisals of Caucasian region natives.

Young Muscovites' appraisal of the Russians' relations with other nations are practically identical with the appraisal given by the ethnic Russians. However young people who came to Moscow and did not live in the city for more than 10 years, i.e. people who have not become old-timers in the city as yet, are more optimistic in their appraisal of the Russians' relations with nations of North Caucasus and Trans-Caucasian region. Number of this group members who appraise these relations as hostile and conflict is actually twice as low as in other Russian groups while number of those who appraise these relations as peaceful in this group is higher.

If we speak of a more general appraisal of relations that emerge among people of different ethnic origins living in Moscow then it should be noted that the Russian Muscovites ethnic group members are more biased to a certain negative hue. Only 14.9% of respondents from this group say that the majority of surrounding people refer to representatives of other ethnic origin with due respect.

Among representatives of natives from regions of Caucasus and Asia respondents who share such appraisal comprise 41.9% and 27.6% respectively.

Among native Muscovites and people who have come to Moscow at different moments respondents born in Moscow appraised the relations with natives of Caucasus and Central Asia more negatively. Only 16% of respondents from this group appraised these relations as respectful. Meanwhile every fourth respondent from the group of comers to Moscow said that these relations are respectful.

Relations emerging among various ethnic groups are in many ways determined by the fact whether respondents have regular communications with representatives of other ethnic groups. We have to note at once that every fourth Russian respondent has no contact with representatives of other ethnic groups. Most probably, that is explained by the fact that respondents who refer themselves as Russians define an individual's nationality, in the first place, by his/her external features. 64.7% of respondents from this group do so. Apparently they do that because they refer all persons of Slavic appearance who speaks Russian to the Russians ethnic group.

Only every third of respondents who identify themselves as Russians is free of ethnic prejudices in relations with members of his/her circle of contacts. Thus 15.2% of Russian respondents say that there are representatives of other ethnic groups in circles of their contacts but do not designate these relations as pleasurable ones. Other 29.5% of respondents say that the hue of communications depends on nationality of members of their circle of contacts. Respondents representing natives of Caucasian and Asian regions appraise their communications with members of other ethnic groups with a greater grain of optimism and say that such communications are pleasurable. This appraisal is shared by 66.7% of Caucasian region natives and 57.6% of Asian region natives.

Respondents born in Moscow have a more homogenous circle of contacts. Every fourth respondent from this group has no persons of other nationalities in circles of their close contacts. Share of respondents who have no representative of other ethnic groups in circles of their contacts is two-threefold lower than among the native Muscovites but they are more actively engaged in communications with representatives of other ethnic groups and do that with no prejudices against representatives of such groups.

In comparison with other ethnic groups people who do not approve possibility of their close relatives' marriage to representatives of other nationality constitute the obvious minority (10.8%) while 23.5% of other Slavic nations' representatives approve such possibility. Every third respondent from natives of Caucasus and Central Asia approves interethnic marriages. The highest share of respondents who disapprove interethnic marriages is observed among ethnic Russians.

Only every tenth of natives Muscovites could approve interethnic marriage of his/her close relative. Among people who came in Moscow less than 5 years ago number of those who approve who approve interethnic marriages of their close

relatives is three-fold higher. Share of those who approve interethnic marriages of their close relatives decreases as the duration of residence in Moscow increases. Share of those who reject interethnic marriages absolutely remains to be approximately the same irrespective of duration of residence in Moscow and is about twice as low as among the native Muscovites.

In comparison with other ethnic group respondents representing the Russians ethnic group are unwilling to marry to representatives of other ethnic group. Every third Russian respondent consider such marriage undesirable for him/herself and mere 2.2% are already married to a representative of other ethnic group. Meanwhile only every fourth among natives of Caucasus considers such marriage undesirable and every fifth of them is already married to a representative of another ethnic group.

Every third respondent think that interethnic marriage is not an option for him/her and every third respondent more thinks that such marriage is undesirable for him/her. Share of those who reject interethnic marriage among people who came in Moscow in recent 10-15 years is lower than among native Muscovites and only every fifth member of this group thinks that an interethnic marriage is not an option for him/her.

It is our opinion that self-identification of various ethnic groups residing in Moscow and of people who came in Moscow for permanent residence has an impact on decision about opportunity to marry to a representative of other ethnic group. Comparing results of analysis of data related to these issues revealed an ethnic paradox.

As we have mentioned earlier, the group of respondents who refer themselves to Russians are the least prone to consider a chance to marry to a representative of another ethnic group. However ethnic Russians residing in Moscow feel themselves the Russians in the first place, then members of their families and only after that they identify themselves as Muscovites. And only 19.4% of them feel themselves as representatives of their nationality. At the same time natives of Caucasian region feel themselves as representatives of their nationalities and, on the contrary, are ready to marry to representatives of other ethnic groups.

Those who were born in Moscow feel themselves as Muscovites in the first place. Only one of ten people who came to Moscow less than 5 years ago refer him/herself as a Muscovite. As number of years a person has lived in Moscow increases this feeling grows stronger.

So how do various ethnic groups residing in Moscow, native Muscovites and migrants see the future of Moscow? According to opinion of the overwhelming number of respondents from ethnic Russians group Moscow will lose its original Russian ways and traditions, representatives of various nations residing in Moscow will conflict often, and Moscow will become a city of migrants divided along national, ethnic or local origin lines while level of majority inhabitants' culture will run low. Ethnic Russians appraise the social future of Moscow just a bit less pessimistically. Majority of this ethnic group respondents think that standards of

common people's living will remain low and the ordinary citizens will not afford expensive purchases. It will be difficult to find jobs that correspond to level of one's education, skills and are well paid, the healthy way of life will not be widely accepted. Moscow will be criminalized and will be unsuitable for comfortable living. Representatives of other ethnic groups actually entirely agree with opinion of Russians residing in Moscow in every respect mentioned above. However neither representatives of other Slavic nations nor natives and Caucasian and Asian regions are so categorically determined in their judgments in respect of conflicts amongst various nations residing in Moscow and of prospect of Moscow's transformation into the city of migrants fragmented along national or local origin lines. Yet even they do not foresee a serene future.

How will native Muscovites develop their interaction with migrants within framework of migration policy in the megalopolis? What do young people think about that?

Young Muscovites born in Moscow are more inclined to policy of insulation. Every third member of this group thinks that migrants should live in conditions of greater isolation and not interfere in the life of indigenous population. People who live in Moscow for less than 5 years are less prone to such position. Rather they vote in favor of multiculturalism or assimilation. The more migrants become old-timers the more they start to favor politics of assimilation.

There are people among respondents born in Moscow who are opposed to presence of migrants in the megalopolis in principle. This position is reflected in such their utterances as "migrants have to go away", "everybody has to live in their historical Motherland", "they are to be expelled".

If one looks at possible forms of interaction from point of various ethnic groups' view then opinions of the ethnic group which identifies itself as the Russians coincide with opinions of native Muscovites and call for policy of insulation while representatives of other Slavic nations, unlike the Russians, opt for assimilation in the first place. Every third respondent from other Slavic nations group, natives from Central Asia share this opinion while respondents from Caucasian region think that national and cultural unique and distinctive identities should be preserved. And 42.3% of respondents offer policy of multiculturalism (see Table 3).

Table 3

Possible forms of interaction between native inhabitants and migrants in appraisals of various ethnic groups/ (per cent of the polled)

What should be interaction between native inhabitants and migrants?	Russians	Other Slavic nations	Caucasian region	Central Asia
It is necessary to promote assimilation of migrants in Russia. Migrants should turn one's own, merge with the Russian society, study the Russian language and the Russian culture, turn Russians	18.9	32.0	26.9	33.0

It is necessary to promote assimilation of migrants in Russia. Migrants should turn one's own, merge with the Russian society, study the Russian language and the Russian culture.	13.1	24.7	42	23.7
Migrants should live as isolated as possible and not interfere in the life of indigenous population	37.1	16.5	8.7	11.3
Other	1.3	0.0	1.9	3.1
Other	1.3	0.0	1.9	
Difficult to answer	29.6	26.8	20.2	

A high percent of respondents who found it difficult to give a definitive answer to the question about a desirable form of interaction between indigenous population and migrants deserves our attention. In fact, every third respondent in every group avoid answering the question. It is our opinion that answers to questions how will interaction evolve in general, what ethno-social relations will emerge, what will be ethno-social future of Moscow in many respects depend on this group of people who have not defined their attitude toward types of integration policy in the megalopolis.

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Sobriety – is a Norm of Life. Is it a Question or Reality?

Introduction

One of the main goals of the new Russian state Concept of decrease alcohol consumption and preventive maintenance of alcoholism among Russian population for the period until 2020 is to reorientate population on a sober and healthy way of life. Is it possible to manage the process of decrease in consumption of alcohol among population by state means? We consider necessary to remind once again that moderate consumption of alcoholic drinks acts in modern mass consciousness as a social norm, as a part of household culture and a way of life. Alcohol is closely interweaved with a social interaction; it is a part of labour, enterprise, leisure-time, communicative and entertaining activity of the population. Mass alcohol consumption carries out an essential social function and is a consequence of objectively existing requirement at the modern stage of social development. The drinking population in a whole behaves as uniform social system, opposing declared by alcoholic policy norm of sobriety. Impracticable state slogans of absolute sobriety, naturally, should cause sharply negative reaction of population. Therefore the absolute sobriety is almost unattainable not only in the nearest, but also in far prospect. The public attitude to alcohol, expressed in representations of compelled character of sobriety, cheerfulness and generosity of a drinking person, alcohol «decencies» (traditions) in certain situations, etc., shows that standard slogan – «Sobriety – is a norm of life!» – which is typical for alcoholic policy of former years, does not correspond to to-day's realities.

We realize that total exclusion of drunkenness from a social life is a problem on the distant future. Moreover, this task demands the step-by-step decision. The alcohol use has taken root in our life so deeply that it was unnecessary to speak about refusal of alcohol for adults. Instead of destruction of old norm, it would be more efficient its progressive replacement by more moderate norm – the neutral attitude to alcohol. It may be formed by elimination of reasons of alcohol abuse, and not by the reinforcement of antialcoholic pressure. At the same time familiarity with factors of sobriety and mass attitude to drunkenness, alcoholism and own alcoholic habits is the important part of the process of decrease of alcohol consumption.

Sample and method

The empirical base of the research consists of various gender and age groups of Russian society – teens (pupils of secondary and senior grades) and able-bodied population from 18 to 60 years – Internet users.

The interrogation of teenagers includes:

- Survey in Moscow, Nadym (Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Region) and Kazan (2004, 9-11 grades, N = 1456);
- Survey in Moscow and the Volga region (Kazan, Mozhga, Vyatskie Polyany, Busuluk), (2006-2007, 7-9 grades, N = 2879);
- Survey in Moscow and Nadym (2010, 9-11 grades, N = 593);
- Qualitative interviews and focus groups with schoolchildren (Moscow, 2010, 9-11 grades).

Multistage random sample was used.

In order to investigate changing trends in public attitudes to alcohol, sobriety, and the state antialcoholic policy 3 waves of on-line researches were conducted. The first wave was in 2009, the second and the third - in 2010 with a time step of 6 months. Each wave of on-line survey polled 600 respondents. The object of the survey was Internet users from 18 to 60 years old, living in big and middle cities: Moscow, Kazan, Ekaterinburg, Omsk, Krasnodar, Perm, St. Petersburg, Pskov, Syktyvkar, Lipetsk, Vologda (quota sample). The area of the on-line research allows to consider that spacious Russian territory were covered with the survey. On-line survey as the operative, economically defensible way of obtaining data reflects a momentary situation of alcohol in the north, south, east and west directions. Kazan was chosen as the capital of a significant administrative, political, and cultural center of Tatarstan, as well as three other small cities of Privolzhsky federal district: Buzuluk, Vjatskie Poliany, and Mozhga. These smaller cities were chosen as representatives of small regional cities with similar level of social and economical development. Nadym was chosen for deeper studying so-called «Northern model» of alcohol using. «Northern model» of alcohol consumption is represented most vividly in Yamal-Nenets district and is the most dominant unfavorable type of alcohol consumption in Russia, characterized by frequent consumption of strong alcohol (vodka and spirits), shock doses and heavy socially-medical consequences.

During the last years Internet penetration in Russia has grown in tens times: the daily share of Internet users makes about 21%, and in big cities reaches 60%. Internet audience in Russia is «shifted» toward the younger, male, educated and wealth respondent - Internet user. In this regard, on-line sampling was adjusted by gender and age.

This trend research makes it possible to get quick comparative results. We analyzed the dynamics of plant populations in relation to alcohol, sobriety and alcohol policy. Dynamics of public attitudes to alcohol, sobriety and antialcoholic policy has been analyzed.

Results and discussion

The term «sobriety» is not defined in current scientific discourse. The term abstinence is found more often and is generally agreed upon as the treatment goal for severe alcoholics. «Abstinence» is defined as nonuse of the substance to which a person was addicted. Absence of adequate definition of sobriety, both among

researchers, and population, leads to various understanding of this term. Probably, such variability leads to different result concerning a quantity of the people conducting a sober way of life in sociological studies. For example, according to the survey of Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VCIOM) and Fund «Public opinion» from 19 % to 28 % of Russians does not use alcoholic drinks. It can be explained by modern transformation of concept of sobriety in Russia. To-day sobriety is understood as the incidental or ritual (on holidays) alcohol usage, the use of light alcoholic drinks (beer and domestic wines). Moreover, to carry out a survey among persons abusing alcohol and passing treatment in specialized organizations is a challenge: 25 % of such patients assured researchers that they had never tried alcohol, despite the ethanol had been found in analyses (I. N. Pjatnitskaya).

So high figures of teetotalers can be explained by the fact that some respondents considering themselves as nondrinkers did not take alcohol at a given time (and at the moment of interrogation), because had been hypnotized against alcoholism, given up with alcohol by themselves (left hard drinking) or had alcoholic problems in the past. Alcoholics, who had passed treatment and being in remission to a moment of survey, also related themselves to «authentic» nondrinkers (total abstainers). It is important to remember that former alcoholics do not cease to be alcoholics; it is possible to speak only about more or less steady remission. Considering alcoholics (people having medical diagnosis), it is appropriate to speak about «abstention» or «steady remission» as a necessary condition to be sober.

The real quantity of nondrinkers makes no more than 4 %. There were those who did not drink, have never drunk, and considered sobriety as a way of life. Sociological researches and medical statistics give the same figure. According to this data, the quantity of heavy alcoholics and «authentic» nondrinkers in Russia is almost identical - (4%), i.e. normal (Gaussian) distribution.

There are some questions. How, why and under what conditions attitudes to alcohol consumption or sobriety are formed? Bases of alcoholic behaviour are put in the childhood. Children have not yet lost natural sobriety in the life. However, characteristic feature (paradoxical only at first sight) of early primary children's and teenage alcoholization is, on the one hand, an absence of requirement for alcohol, on the other hand, in most cases, an absence of internal protest motivation. Teenagers often appear in a situation, which are not excluding and even assuming alcoholic behaviour. Acting in a modern information field, they consider alcohol attractive. This promotes development of such risk factor as an anticipations and expectations of emotional influence («high») of the alcohol use. Representations about alcohol are formed much earlier, than a child enters elementary school. Children consider alcohol exclusively negatively until 9-10 years old and perceive alcohol use as a «bad thing» leading to negative consequences. Approximately, until 12-13 years such attitude keeps negative. However, at a given time anticipations from the alcohol use transform, becoming more and more positive.

The most part of teenagers gain their first alcohol experience at 12-15 years old. The quantity of pupils tasted alcohol by 14 years has grown almost twice for last 15-20 years. According to our interrogations, only 36% of 14-year pupils tried alcohol in 1991. The interrogations of 2004-2010 show that already 68 % of high school pupils (7-9 grade, 13-15 years) and more than 80 % of pupils of the senior classes (10-11 grade, 16-18 years) tried alcohol. Age dynamics analysis of alcohol consumption has shown that the quantity of teetotaler teenagers gradually decreases with the years.

Analyzing received materials, we tried not to reduce reasons of primary teenage and youth alcoholization basically to imitation and teenage curiosity as it would simplify the difficult social mechanism of familiarizing youth with alcohol. Alcoholic customs generated within many decades and in many respects defining teenage attitudes to drunkenness and alcohol consumption, their position about own alcoholization - are objective reasons in the first use of alcohol. Subjective reasons - primary alcoholic convictions, which as it has been specified earlier, sharply vary by 13 years.

The situation of the first alcohol test reveals a position of adults in non-drinking education. Statistical analysis shows that teenagers, who tried alcohol for the first time in 16 years and later, were «provoked» by own parents. It means that adults (parents) have a certain age limits to teach children appropriate alcoholic behaviour. Light alcohol offered by parents or relatives in celebratory conditions, doesn't make a shock impression on children. Such first experience plays an insidious role in forming of representations about norms of alcoholic consumption. In fact, children's «norm of sobriety» has turned out the myth, invented by adults, avoiding the reality. Moreover, teenage sobriety often can be a response to heavy alcoholism of parents leading to demonstrative sobriety of children. Afterwards such teenager can steep in any kind of deviations (narcotization). It was not important that children of alcoholics did not become alcoholics, but that they failed to prevent the abuses associated with other forms of addiction.

This indicates a transfer of some non-specific susceptibility to a pathological behavior, the social ill-health, caused by the lack of internal locus of control and skills of coping-behavior. The study showed that, as a rule, teen sobriety rarely leaved its mark on the fate of the person. It should be taken into account that the degree of involvement in alcohol consumption - in many cases is a matter of time. As you gain and increase drinking experience, which is inevitable in adulthood, more and more nondrinkers will become little drinkers, moderate drinkers (regular drinkers), or drunkards.

The basic contradiction defining alcoholic teenage behaviour, lies in the fact that «the norm of sobriety» exists for them only as a directive, and alcohol consumption is a practical norm, which they observe at home, in the street and mass-media. Desirable, socially approved behaviour of youth requires the ability to find the compromise between «theoretical» and practical norm. This ability - to stay sober among drinkers - not always meets even among senior generation.

Considering the relationships with parents and teachers it was found that non-drinkers had noted a good relationship with adults more often than consumers. At the same time, they have noted strained relations with their classmates, that could be explained by misunderstanding of sobriety from associates. It is known that public attitude to adult teetotalers is slightly distrustful and suspicion in Russia. The study shows that youth attitude to sober associates can be even alerted.

Non-drinkers spend much time at home and more often note that their relationship with their parents are very good (non-drinkers twice less evaluate relationship with parents as «satisfactory», «bad», «worse then ever». Non-drinkers are more often than drinkers share with parents their thoughts, feelings, worries, hopes and wishes. Being under the rigid social control, they are more often than drinking teens «always act as their parents order».

Analyzing teenagers non-drinkers, a group of parents with alcoholic problems and/or with other form of deviant behavior was allocated. The vast majority of studies investigate what kind of person is inclined to abuse. There are many publications on this theme. Our task was to investigate what kind of person was not inclined to abuse. Why are there such individuals among youth, who, despite alcoholic codependency in the family, negative examples outside the family and ineffective anti-alcohol propaganda, do not drink alcohol, but resist the influence of peers? The comparison of two groups of teens non-drinkers has shown that sober teens from families with alcoholic problems had more clear and definite concept of drunkenness than sober teens from ordinary families. Such teens consider alcoholism not as individual and private problem and attach particular importance to a state of intoxication of another person.

Investigation of senior pupils (10-11 graduated grades) has revealed a group of teenagers who almost never drank in companies at parties. This model of alcoholic behavior can be called «restricted model». In this case, we don't speak about non-drinkers, but about those teens who, for any reasons, prefer not to drink alcohol in the company of peers, although not abandon its use in other situations, for example, in a circle of relatives.

Judging by publications in press and the impressions of the adult population, as well as statements of teens themselves, non-drinking among young people in a company is an extremely rare and almost incredible phenomenon. In the late 1980's, we noted a significant proportion of respondents with this model of alcoholic behavior - in some studies up to 25% of Moscow senior pupils. Now we have fixed that the group refusing the alcohol use in the company in Nadym (as well as in Moscow) made 13 % from the interrogated senior pupils. Usually, these respondents consume alcoholic drinks primarily in the family and avoid them in the company of their peers. Half the children with sober outlooks is on friendly terms with schoolmates and have 1-2 old friends, but every fifth has noticed that it had no a company to spend leisure-time. Every third representative of «restricted model» of alcoholic behavior said that drinking was rare in his environment, and the majority of them indicated that drinking was not accepted in their community

at all. Two-thirds of children of this group drink alcohol once a year; others have indicated that they drank alcohol only on holidays. Despite rare alcohol use in this group, one of the ten respondents has noted that experienced alcohol intoxication once. Fourth of these children avoid companies and situations where get drunk, and half said they did not drink strong spirits, selecting a compromise model of behaviour. This observation indicates that teen group often act as a conductor of regular alcoholic behavior. Evidently communication in a «restricted model» is limited by one or two of classmates.

We know from interview with schoolgirls that members of their family «prepare» them for inevitable meeting with the enemy – alcohol before majority, suggesting to experience intoxication in a family atmosphere, try various spirits. These actions are made from the best motives in order the girl would be psychologically ready to different unexpectedness and not be trapped and develop abstinence skills.

Considering a sobriety among able-bodied population, it is necessary to notice that the concept of sobriety was transformed and unrecognizably deformed today. Studying the way of life of nondrinkers and factors of sobriety both in families, and in groups of teenagers «nondrinkers» (no experience alcohol use) and alcohol consumers has shown various understanding of the slogan «sobriety – is a norm of a life». According to our researches, sobriety is frequently understood today as the incidental use of alcohol or usage of light alcoholic drinks. Respondents oppose themselves to hard drunkards and alcoholics, believing that against their background they look like authentic nondrinkers.

Years of experience on the subject show that using both qualitative and quantitative methods in the survey, a researcher should specify several control questions. The respondent often start interview with a socially approved statement: «I have never tested alcohol! I do not drink at all, I am against alcohol and everything concerning spirits, I am not interested in alcohol in general. Nobody have ever drank alcohol in our family». During the interview, the respondent blurts out that: «Well, I may drink a little, of course, but only on holidays, but I do not drink». After 1,5-3 hours at the end of the interview the researcher reveal that «It is not a sin sometimes to drink slightly during week-end. It doesn't make me a drunkard». Such respondents consider themselves teetotalers and sincerely believe in it. There are enough of such «faked» nondrinkers – 14%.

Apparently, differences in results of different studies are caused by inadequate comprehension of sobriety in society. Therefore, when analyze alcohol practice (habits) a researcher should pay attention to forming, functioning, developing and erosion of sobriety norm, observe variants of its infringement in different social groups, mapping socially approved deviations from this norm (so-called cultural alcohol consumption).

According to the study, only 1% of the respondents have never used alcohol or abandoned its use after a single sample. Another 2% of respondents have noted that «drank alcohol once a year or less» (these «consumers» were attributed to the group of «non-drinkers»). Most of non-drinker motives of refusal of alcohol

demonstrates principles of a sober and healthy way of life for themselves and their posterity: «Alcohol is not accepted in our family» (50 %) and «don't want to show a bad example for children» (37 %).

It is interesting to consider a small group of respondents (8%), who have been taking alcohol once in the past, but subsequently refused from spirits. There are other reasons for such refusal among this group than among non-drinkers. More than a half of respondents (57%) explain their refusal by usual volitional decision without giving a specific reason. The second most important motive – «I don't like the taste or the effects of alcohol (42% in the first wave, 30% in the second wave, 36% in the third wave). According to on-line research, about a quarter of respondents from this group do not want to give a bad example for children, next quarter of respondents consider sobriety as a way of life obligatory for everybody. The share of those who had serious problems with alcohol in the past and then refused from it was 9%. Every fourth has noted a bad heredity and a fear to become an alcoholic. Others have noted that had refused from alcohol to support a loved one with alcohol problems; some people passed treatment at experts in narcology.

It is interesting to examine gender differences in «refusal group». There are 9% of men and 5% of women. Why do men refuse alcohol use? Volitional decision without specific reason takes the first place of motives («just decided not to drink»). The reasons associated with the alcohol disease are on the second place («had problems with alcohol», passed treatment at the expert in narcology etc.). The third most popular reasons concerns effects of alcohol drinks, their taste («don't like the taste», «don't like intoxication», «don't like how alcohol affects the well-being»). Further such reasons as influence on posterity follow («not to give a bad example for children», «want to conceive a child»).

Women refuse alcohol primarily because they don't like the taste or its effects on organism; secondly because of children (pregnancy and lactation). Volitional decision without specific reason takes the third place of motives («simply decided not to drink»). On the fourth place is a belief that «sobriety - is a norm of life, nobody should drink in general».

At present, despite tolerant attitude to «nondrinkers», there is a tendency to their social solitude. They become socially isolated. Active non-drinkers consider that only people with sober views deserve respect.

Unfortunately, there are still many questions demanding special investigations (possibly interdisciplinary experts with attraction of various areas of knowledge): how, why, under what conditions attitudes to sobriety and alcohol consumption are formed, how the mastering of alcohol ritual and values is occurred?

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Some Approaches to the Social Responsibility of Small Business in Russia

Qualitatively new socio-economic relations in Russia have created the development of small business. Entrepreneurship is becoming more actively introduced in the economic, spiritual, social life. In the country there is a system of relations institute of business and society. These relations are based on the humanization of work, observance of ethical standards, protection of the environment, social responsibility.

Small enterprises in a certain degree must meet public expectations and to act:

- in the interest of workers provide social protection workers, labor safety, not to violate the conditions of employment, ensure employment and decent wages, etc.);
- in the interests of the consumer (the quality of the goods produced and the services, the comprehensible prices, diversity of choice, etc.);
- in the interests of suppliers (stability orders, payment by the terms of the agreements, etc.);
- in the interests of the state (timeliness of payment of taxes, participation in social programs, support for social infrastructure and other);
- legally with other stakeholders (local communities, the different communities);
- in accordance with moral the norms and values of the society;
- in the framework of ecological standards and adopted normative acts, orders.

Socially responsible enterprise has significant competitive advantages, consisting in creation of conditions for the personnel, in the growth of labour productivity, improvement of the company image, customer loyalty, improving its positions on the market, the dynamism of its development, the preservation of stability and possible attraction of investments. Since these actions are directed towards all parties, and strengthening the moral foundations. The advantages of small enterprises in the solution social problems is determined by its proximity to the solution of specific regional problems, as well as their activity is largely determined by the need of society. These benefits are stored in the strategic approach to social planning for the long-term period.

Social responsibility of business is connected with realization of the basic needs in a survival, safety and stability and the response to social problems of a society. This response is realized through the concept to "service of business to a

society», consisting in a business role, in the decision of social and economic problems of society.

It is necessary to develop criteria of an estimation for understanding of the practical importance of social responsibility taking into account small enterprise development. The criteria should be flexible depending on the type of activity, socio-economic situation of the region, where the enterprise operates, the size of the company and etc.

Small business is a partner of the state and the company, respectively the progress of economic development of the country, the region depends on the activity of the enterprise, and the impact of public management structures for the business. A reasonable balance of interests of the stability of economic and social results, both the company and business.

The concept of social responsibility is contradictory. Many scientists and practices differently estimate it. Working out uniform criterion will allow is more transparent to define social responsibility. The criteria of social responsibility will allow subjects of business to realize its effectiveness the economic and social benefits and to recognize it as the basic factor of competition.

It is possible to allocate a number of the directions in which it is possible assessment of social responsibility:

- the quality of the output products or services;
- environmental protection, ecological safety;
- social protection of workers;
- comply with the legislation;
- activity in the social programs of the region (participation in public organizations, charitable actions);
- the reputation of the company.

Effective development of small business in many respects due to social responsibility. Social management in a format social responsibility is defined by following stages:

- the enterprise Mission, accenting on enterprise social problems;
- Carrying out of social programs;
- the Estimation of social programs.

Management of social-significant aspects of the business structures should be carried out on the basis of the mission, reflected in the code of the company, regulating the issues of occupational safety and health, rule of law activities, protection of the environment, the control of finance. When planning long-term strategy to evaluate the programmes and to build a system of partnership with the state structures, public organizations, expert communities.

The results of an optimal social policy to redraw the costs and bring some effect, so as to create a positive image and strengthen the trust of business partners, which more usually build business relationships on a long term basis with the socially successful partners.

Partners consider social activities of enterprise as an indicator of an attractive investment in assessing the performance of the company, as a result of activities in the field of environmental protection, as the following legal norms and standards, as a factor of legality and reporting transparency.

Social responsibility not necessarily should be generated by wide loyalty. It can represent itself as one of a component of profitableness and means of competitive advantage.

At the moment in Russia small-scale business not especially incurs responsibility in performance of social programs. Their activity is reduced only to performance of narrow problems in the organization. Somewhat, social possibilities are convenient for using owing to a lack of material resources. Such policy in the organization, is based on maintenance of social contact of workers and proprietors. In this situation there are no fears in essential decrease in profit, and pragmatism calculation is on the contrary observed, putting in development of the internal environment, the social reputation of the enterprise raises that, finally, will be reflected in stability of long-term prospect.

The role of small business in the process of social integration while regard to its functioning. It is clear the scale of the Russian business has not reached the value, which affected in sufficient volume of solution of social problems. In addition, there are no clear criteria that affect the values of modern businessmen. This is connected with the primitive moral confusion in the business world and with difficult conditions, in which they are located. It is crucial to establish formal relations with the state authorities in the framework of social reporting.

To account for social responsibility should be the availability of information on the basic components of social plans and real contributions to social problems.

In not depending on the advantages, which will be held in a socially responsible activities, special wide response among the entrepreneurs it is not received. This may be due to lack of state policy with regard to business, the absence of sufficient information about the goals and results activity of entrepreneurial structures, weak understanding of the social problems facing the business, the lack of sufficient incentive mechanisms, the spread of shadow economic relations and etc.

At the moment there are no real measures that promote socially responsible behavior of entrepreneurs. Sometimes enterprise voluntarily takes the initiative and independently active in the public interest. Before the state should become the problem on creation of favorable conditions and interest in harmonization of interests of all participants of business relations under the decision of social problems. Small and medium-sized enterprises are in a certain degree of social responsibility, but to count on a significant result without the state support is not necessary yet. Strategy on creation of social business will play a huge role in social and economic development of Russia and will transform it not only into the form of personal enrichment, but also will act as the resonator of social intensity.

Rusalina, Alla A.

Social Self-Feeling of the Modern Person in Unstable Times

Psychological well-being of a human being was studied by foreign psychologists since the mid 20th century. There were detailed investigations of the structure, components and factors, which have positive or negative impact on men. However, outside of the attention of researchers was the fact that in the modern world every person is involved in various communities. The study of this phenomenon was carried out, as a rule, on the basis of a psychological approach. This is reasonable, but at the present time, in our opinion, is not enough.

The historical state of humanity at the present stage is characterized by the processes of globalization of economic, social and information development, as well as strengthening of the role of various communities, by means of which the man is included in the society, and in each of which he may feel differently. As a result of the well-being of personality in the system of these communities and the impact of globalization processes is formed a special general emotional condition of the person and his vital activity. In contrast to the commonly accepted term "well-being", which rather characterizes such feature as an individually-psychological well-being of man, we'll refer to a "social self-feeling". It is necessary to examine this new historical phenomenon with the help of an integrated approach. On the one hand, from the perspective of social psychology and sociology, and on the other hand, from the position of psychology of the personality and historical psychology.

In the Russian sociology, the characteristics of the various social groups in the modern world have been studied for more than thirty years. Originally, researchers studied the indicators of social well-being of certain social groups (first of all, poorly protected), and secondly, they studied indicators of the level of social adaptation of these groups to a new social situation in the changing world.

Our study of social human self-feeling started in 1992 in the framework of the study of labor motivation in the organization and the factors that contribute to it. The study included 244 workers and engineering-technical workers of one of the machine-building factories of St. Petersburg. The social self-feeling has been defined as an integral of the human state, which develops as a generalized estimated-emotional reaction to the set of social conditions of its existence.

The structure of a social self-feeling can be considered as a composite characteristic, arising on the basis of the integration of two interrelated components: cognitive and emotional. The first is based on the man's social ideas of the world and on his place in it; the second is a complex of social feelings, caused by these representations. The complex of cognitive and emotional components forms the general social self-feeling of people, which in the end determines the general strategy of his social behavior. In psychology this construct has been

described as a social setting, only in our case it is considered at the level of the whole complex of interrelations and interactions of the man and the society.

During 1992 we tested a number of indicators of a social self-feeling of human. Along with generally accepted in sociology "satisfaction with life in general" and "confidence in the future" we included:

- assessment of social well-being in society;
- assessment of the degree of social tension in the society;
- assessment of the degree of favorability of common social situation to the respondent;
- estimation of the satisfaction of prospects of development of the society.

For the estimation of quantitative indicators of each criterion of a social self-feeling of man we applied the method of scaling and calculating of the indices of the group estimations. The study showed a high degree of interrelation of all these indicators.

The analysis of data of the research has showed an interesting tendency: a global social situation in the country was estimated more negatively comparing to the personal situation of respondents. This tendency may be illustrated by data of table 1.

Table 1

**Comparative assessments of the social situation in the country
and own personal situation**

Assessment of the total social situation in the country	The indexes of group evaluates	Assessment of the personal situation	The indexes of group evaluates
The degree of social well-being in the society	- 0,68	The degree of favorability of social situation to personality	- 0,55
The degree of social tension in the society	0,68	The degree of personal nervous tension	0,44
The degree of satisfaction with the development of prospects of the countries perspectives	- 0,54	The degree of satisfaction with their personal perspectives	- 0,46

In subsequent studies of social self-feeling we have analysed one more indicator - assessment of interviewees' feelings of social discomfort, i.e. disorder in a modern society. This indicator is significantly interconnected with all the other indicators that we used; it also turned out to be quite informative for the study of a social self-feeling of man.

A more thorough study of a social self-feeling was conducted in 2005-2006 in the cooperation with A.A. Grachev, the head of the department of organizational psychology of the Russian State Pedagogical University named A.I. Herzen, and research grant of Russian foundation for the humanities. In the course of this

research we interviewed 397 inhabitants of St. Petersburg; at the same time the sample was almost a representative in relation to the population on the basis of social-demographic parameters.

In this study, to examine a social self-feeling of the person we applied the following approach: the social self-feeling was examined through the levels of the subjectivity of man, his manifestation as an active worker of public life in each of the communities separately on three levels: 1) information assessment (passive adaptation level); 2) emotional integration and 3) active activity (active adaptation level).

First level - informational assessment - was presented in the questionnaire by the following empirical criteria of subjectivity:

a) assessment of the level of awareness about the activity of a certain community. It is necessary to notice, that it is the subjective assessment of awareness, rather than a real awareness of human rights, the study of which should be the subject of a special research, carried out with the use of specially developed methods.

b) evaluation of the reliability and stability of the community; this evaluation is aimed at determining the total valence of man's relationship to the community on the basis of the social concept of the objective of the essential characteristics;

c) evaluation of possibilities to realize their abilities of and addiction in the community; this evaluation reveals man's perception about the personal significance of this community for himself.

Second level - emotional integration was also presented by three empirical references:

a) assessment of the level of a self identification within the given community (sense of membership in it, their belonging to this community);

b) assessment of experiences liability (taking responsibility) for the community;

c) assessment of the experience level of pride for the community (the experience of the successes of this community as their personal achievements).

Third level is an active activity or active-adaptation. As the criteria for this level of subjectivity we used estimations of the person possibilities for the development of his social activity in this or that community and inclusion in society:

a) assessment of the level of freedom of expression of their views in this community (implicitly this presentation includes assessment of personal needs in this kind of freedom);

b) assessing of the accounting of public means (and his personal opinion) of the given community in the preparation and adoption of administrative decisions;

c) evaluation of possibilities of active participation in social life of the community; it is also reflected as the respondent's personal position, his own need for such participation.

The selections of the evaluation were formulated in a verbal expression in the form of judgments, and the mathematical treatment estimated scores ranging from +2 to -2.

In general, the proposed three levels of the indicators, in our opinion, reflect the three major components of the integrated social system of man's attitudes in relation to inclusion into a certain community in society: cognitive, affective (emotional) and activity level formed on the basis of the first two components intention to adhere to certain forms of behaviour. As the outcome of an integral indicator of social self-feeling of a person in each of the communities we used an overall assessment of the degree of comfort in this community for the respondent.

The main attention in that part of the study, which was carried out directly by the author of the article, was paid to the comparison of indicators of social self-feeling of the respondents in the following groups: family, the primary group (labour collective), organization, city as the region of residence and the country as a whole. General comparative data are presented in table 2.

Table 2

Summary table of indicators of social self-feeling
of respondents in different groups in society

Evaluation on the criteria subjectivity	Community				
	Country	City	Organization	Primary collective	Family
<i>1. Informational-assessment level of subjectivity</i>					
a) personal awareness of this community	0,11	0,26	0,57	0,72	0,70
b) the existence of conditions for the development of abilities and inclinations	-0,22	0,02	0,25	0,42	0,75
c) the stability of the provisions of the community	-0,20	0,29	0,49	0,43	0,39
<i>2. The level of subject-emotional involvement</i>					
a) the sense of belonging to this community	0,64	0,64	0,65	0,76	0,80
b) the experience of pride for this community	0,52	0,77	0,41	0,53	0,83
c) the acceptance of responsibility for what is happening in this community	-0,04	0,06	0,39	0,67	0,87

<i>3. Active-active level of subjectivity</i>					
a) freedom of expression of their views in this community	-0,007	0,27	0,16	0,65	0,88
b) the counting of the public opinion in the managerial decision-making	-0,45	-0,31	0,08	0,34	-
c) the opportunity to actively participate in the social life of the community	0,005	0,22	0,32	0,62	0,85
<i>4. General indices of social self-feeling in groups</i>					
The well-being of the situation to the personality in the given community for himself	0,05	0,28	0,50	0,64	0,77
The overall satisfaction of the community of inclusion in society	0,04	0,41	0,38	0,64	0,77

As can be seen from the table above, the indicators of a social self-feeling in different groups concerning various human rights in the society essentially differ among themselves. There is a clearly shown trend of the reduction of all indicators with the enlargement of communities, although there are some exceptions

At the same time for the majority of indicators of social self-feeling statistically significant differences between men and women are not found out: the greatest number of differences occurs in the assessments of material well-being, as it is shown in table 3.

Table 3

**Statistically significant differences in the estimations of
material well- being in groups of men and women**

The estimated characteristic	The indexes of group evaluates		the t-test	Level reliability
	Men	Women		
Dependence of financial position from oneself personally	0,48	0,22	3,58818	0.000376
Material opportunities to realize their abilities	0,17	0,006	2,30067	0,021944
Material opportunities to take care for one's health	0,32	0,11	2,95026	0,003369
Material opportunities to provide for yourself and your family	0,22	-0,16	5,40954	0,000000

The table data show that men significantly higher estimate their material situation as regards different characteristics, which correspond to the objective indicators, in particular, the differences in the wage level of men and women. The highest mark got the position that financial position depends on oneself personally, but in the group of women this indicator is more than two times lower than in the group of men; the integral estimation of the possibilities of material to provide for yourself and your family in women has a negative sign.

Both men and women give low marks to the indicators of material well-being in the present time. Thus, the index of financial security of the family is in the group of men only 0,22 (in the group of women the same index is equal to -0,16); similarly, the presence of material opportunities for the development of their abilities in a group of men is estimated as 0,17, and in the group of women this indicator is practically equal to zero.

The comparison of indicators of social self-feeling in different age groups showed that statistically significant differences exist only between a group of older respondents (over 51 years old) and the rest of the age groups. The most significant difference of average indicators of satisfaction with life in general (0,11 in the group of the most senior and 0,44-0,55 in younger age groups of respondents). In general young people higher appreciate their social self-feeling regarding most of the indicators.

According to almost all indicators, except for the estimation of stability of community, the family received the highest score. However, the latter often does not depend on the characteristics of one's family, but from its financial situation, which, in turn, is often determined by objective factors. Despite conclusions of many sociologists about the crisis of such a social institute as a family, it continues to represent for modern people one of the main values. In the family, people can most fully realize their abilities and inclinations, and can show themselves as active subjects. Naturally men take full responsibility for their families and the level of

satisfaction of their inclusion in the family is higher comparing the inclusion in other communities.

At the same time, there were almost no statistically significant differences in the estimations of social self-feeling among officially registered people and those who are in civil marriage. Such differences were found only between indicators of activity and independence in the profession (in the group consisting of people who are in civil marriage they are higher).

The second most favourable community for a social self-feeling of the human is the primary group, or in other words labour collective. It is in the primary group where many respondents enjoy the freedom of expression of opinion and where they can participate in the discussions and can take managerial decisions. Many people refer to their labour collective as a "second family".

The social self-feeling in the organization as a whole is characterized by average indicators. The most highly appreciated:

- the sense of belonging to this community (0,65);
- the assessment of the awareness of the community (0,57);
- the well-being of the situation in the organization for themselves personally (0,50).

The lowest indicators for a social self-feeling in the organization are: the possibility to take part in administrative decisions (0,08) and the freedom of expression of their views in this community (0,16). Thus, the majority of respondents suffer from a shortage of opportunities for the development of social activity in the organization.

Of special interest are the indicators of social self-feeling in the city and in the country of residence, i.e. in Russia. As regards the indicators of social self-feeling in St. Petersburg, most of them are positive (although the marks have a relatively low level). Whereas as regards the indicators of social self-feeling as citizens of Russia, almost half of the similar indicators are negative. Most of the negative marks are as follows:

- possibility to express public opinion which may influence administrative decisions (-0,45);
- possibility to realize one's abilities and inclinations (-0,22);
- the stability of the community (absence) (-0,20).

At the same time, a relatively high rating received the sense of belonging to the country (0,64), and the sense of pride for own country (0,52). The sense of belonging to the city (0,64) also got a high rating, and even higher rating was given to the feeling of pride for one's city him (0,77). It should be noted that in terms of social well-being in the country there is almost complete consensus between men and women.

The pride for the city appeared to get higher marks than pride for one's organization and labour collective! In addition, the estimations of satisfaction of the city as a community are higher than similar estimations of satisfaction of the

country and organization. Thus, living in Saint-Petersburg provides the basis for the formation of a positive social self-feeling, and the city in a certain way stands out from other communities as regards human rights.

In the study we also received some very interesting information about the inner structure of a social self-feeling of the person and the role of its components in the development of such important personal characteristics as personality rights, understood as the highest level of the development of its activity, establishing it as the creator of his own life.

The study also yielded some interesting data on the internal structure of the integral indicator of a social self-feeling of man as satisfaction with life in general and some of its constituting components. In our sample, the most closely connected with the indices of satisfaction with life in general were indicators that deal with communication sphere, namely satisfaction with the relations with relatives and friends. At the same time, social discomfort was mostly caused by the following indicators: a) lack of possibilities to develop personality in different spheres; b) lack of possibilities to enjoy one's hobby, c) the low level of security and safety of one's life. An interesting finding is that an overall satisfaction with life was not directly connected with the level of material well-being.

Vasilenko, Olga V.

The Culture of Drugs Consumption

The cultural is basis of the consumption, which appeared when we choosing some goods, services or drugs. In the process of the goods and services consumption everyone constructed their identity and correlated it with available resources, values, norms, information, which collected per communication means.

In the consumer society a thousand million individuals plunged in the development and reproduction process of the consumption culture in their every day life. In the one case it is mechanical coping, reproduction current samples, models. In the other case it is distressful, creative search the answered on such questions as: What drug does me make the fastest recovery? What drugs are the best – domestic or foreign ones? What do I prefer for treatment: medical herbs or drugs?

The cultural of drugs consumption is a very important for everyone because there are not any people that will be out of this consumption. The cultural of drugs consumption is operating, basis program of all consumer benefits using by the members of society. These consumer benefits included a keep health, disease preventive, complicating disease cancel.

The consumer cultural of all sphere involve objective and subjective components, in other words cultural capabilities area and realization these capabilities on the individual and groups level.

At the surface of the drugs consuming is a process of free individual choice. But deeper level of the consumer cultural we can easy find out in case removing from one country to another, where culture appear in the form of widespread and dominant treatment practices and self-protection cultural, sport activity, family activity rest.

The structure of consumption goods within the market is an indicator of consumer cultural. There are a lot of tablets, capsules, pelvises in Russian drugs market. But the cultural of drugs consumption is various in different countries.

The cultural of consumption include the following objects: self-vision of the consumer values and norms, social sanctions of breach or observation these norms, language as a set of rules of consumer acts interpretation, self-moving and hard consumer practice (Scheme 1).

Examine these components in detail.

Values are a result of estimating by men comparative qualities of few objects in point of public views. Estimating is involved of two main ranges: consumer costs (What is benefit?), the exchange value (What is more expensive?). Objects have not any benefit. It takes place as a result of estimating and actor and object contact. Value is considered in the frame of certain personal practice. So, if the

health has been low values in Russia, consumer behavior orientated on the cheap drugs, in spite of side effect. With the aid of values range men constructed their world around range things based on their benefit criteria. In a result there is classification system in personal mind. In their practice people need to estimating all around things to use values range describe people and their acts, things as the most valuable or useless. For example, drugs will be benefit for ill people and unhelpful for healthy ones. Widespread drugs in past may be not as effective as a new, contemporary drugs that provide higher quality treatment. At the same time overage drugs have more confidence for old adult as a result of absence knowledge about new drugs. So, changing social practice lead to change all values system, that's why it has socio-cultural and historical character.

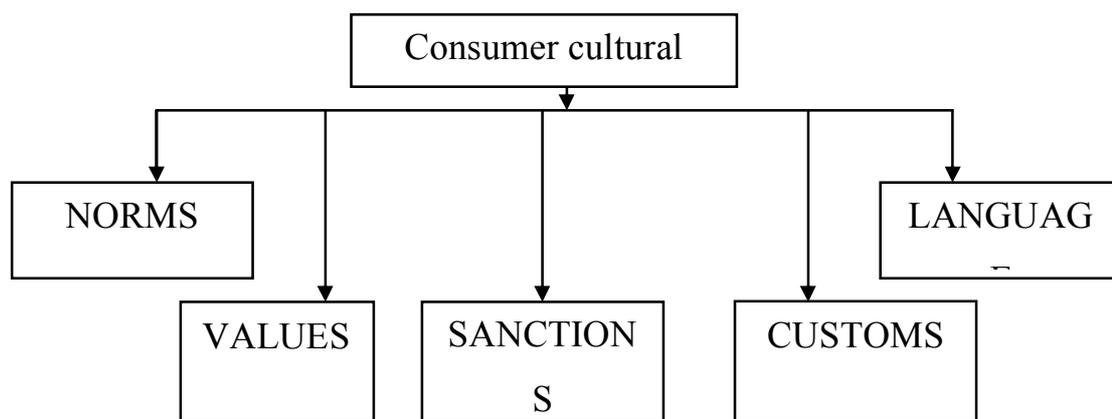


Figure 1. The consumer cultural components

Norms are the second consumer cultural components. Norms are the rules and models of behavior determine the cultural. The norm is expanded on pharmaceutical things of consumer: goods and services. Norms have two images: self norms and norms for others (social expectations). Norms are determined true or false behavior. The norm system of pharmaceuticals created with establishing this sphere simultaneously. Pharmaceutical consumer behavior norms depend on relationship between producer and consumer, consumer and social groups, consumer and pharmacist. In the first relationship norms determine status and role partners. Who is the main? Whose interest is more important? Are drugs produced for consumer needs or producer benefits satisfaction?

In the second norms determine existence or absence of social approval of consumers too. There are cases when the queue demand drugs quality dissatisfied consumer leave pharmacy and not to distract pharmacist attention. The queue is a sample of social consumer behavior of drugs.

Finally, social norms regulate relationships between consumer and pharmacist that promote or not decrease risk of consumer behavior. So, if the drugs selling oriented on benefits a pharmacist will propose more expansive goods. For example, there are more pharmacy have showcases with the most expansive drugs.

Next cultural components are sanction. Sanctions are reaction of cultural representatives on maintenance cultural norms. Sanctions are divided on positive

and negative. They occurred in the form of respect, envy, mockery and verbal or physical derisions. A man with his needs and capabilities can't take into account the cultural and subculture of own community. Otherwise assurance of true choice and effectively of drugs will be shacked in lesser consumer displeasure.

Consumer culture includes such regulations as right, moral, customer and fashion.

Right is legal norm of behavior. Rights usually is limited by interpretation the illegal behavior models which is crime or offence. Laws of different countries regulated consumption forming the limit as for pharmacist so for consumers. The norms of selling are often hard regulated because violation of composition, data of consumption and other components are guaranteed drug's quality and effective.

So, in Russia drugs production are regulated by federal drugs law. There is hard punishment for illegal trafficking of narcotic drugs and psychoactive substance. But selling of falsify drugs hasn't enough hard sanctions that not to prevent defective drugs.

Moral is a system of behaviors norms that regulated the most important principles people's relationships. Moral demand of men has responsibility in the process of consumption. The moral norms make consumer not to take goods free. In spite on observance of business ethics, production's reputation is not the main components in the process of choice pharmaceutical producer by potential consumers. So, staffs of purchasing department really know aligning of pharmaceutical producer's forces. They don't mistake about reputation status of pharmaceutical producers. Forming their assortment wholesale dealer was oriented on widespread advertising for satisfied potential demand from chemist. Their's main criteria is commercial benefits. Pharmaceutical producer of more widely promoter brand will be has the most population demand from distributors and chemists, if their drugs are less effective. The drugs population will be based on competent promotion of new brand name, that creating necessary image of consumers. As a result the distributors' choice of producer established by not a producer reputation but widespread goods in pharmaceutical market, that delivered in time, that are quality, have enough quantities with prolonged delay of payment.

Distributor's reputation is a capacity to pay. But it's not to help of lost influence and can't return lost control on own market part. It often happened when competitors have the best business-technologies, more attractive services and more administrative resource.

In purchasing drugs, chemist shop oriented on economic benefits or on the health of everyone. There are high cost, a lot of falsified drugs in Russian chemist that show orientation on benefits.

In the pharmaceutical sphere the reputation based on allegiance of old customers and attraction of a new ones. The good business reputation may be necessary but weak condition for attractive of investments and outside loans. For

the purpose of take out tender of drugs deliver distributor is needs not only reputation but administrative resource.

Customers are norms of every day life hand on. The consumption forms change in customers. So, if the man is ill, the one custom will be visit a doctor, the other – going to sauna, the third – using natural remedy: tea with lemon and raspberry.

Fashion is a result of rational human action. Following the fashion person constructed own identity of fashion man, so modern and having the up-market symbols. There is a question: “Is there fashion in the drugs consumer sphere”? Of course. For example, new drugs applied because widespread by public opinion and mass media (advertisement).

All to above listed elements may divide only analytic purposes. Really they have interwoven between each other. Any norm consists of more or less element of estimation, it like symbol or mark, has sanction for divergence from value-norms standard.

The process of adoption of consumer cultural has begun in childhood. In this age child are learned how to eat, drink, converse, put on and treat. He has learned about what drugs are bitter or sweet; what drugs do help to breathe if the nose bunched up, or what drugs do help to swallow if the throat is ill. In the traditional society we can to adopt basic of consumer cultural to drugs using during childhood, in the modern it can't to be. The world of drugs is changing. The list of news of pharmaceuticals sphere is huge from only one decade. If they put in, we can study how to use them, to get information about their consumer characteristics, and their potential negative using effects. This process to goods renewment, in which include the world of drugs now have not perspective to stop. So, men include in the process of consumer socialization, during a man choose the need drugs from the huge proposal cultural assortment. Socialization is being individual and creative forms. In result there are different people assume really different cultural basics, become different consumer type in some social context. The market has imposed on some drugs and pharmaceutical goods. But in the process of socialization cultural program of environmental are adopted selectively and probabilistic.

Senses, weakness, sympathy, antipathy of people in the consumer world can not always explain the facts that we observe in present. The key of consumer behavior understanding often can find only in the childhood, a good distance of the person's past. Agents of consumer socialization are family, school, advertising, product label, books, consumer magazine, Internet.

The one of the main phenomena of postindustrial society is being wide-scale consumption. The market change culture in the sphere of wide-scale consumer, which hasn't delicate taste and high education. Mass offer has created by popular production and modern mass media. Mass offer formed demand and mass demand determine offer's content.

Mass drugs consumption becomes a very large danger for West and Russia. In the economic developed countries a man can orient in the world of mass goods

and drugs. He can determine the quality, information about production. There is absence the mass consumption in the USSR. There is the mass cultural proposal, but consumer has passive role, choosing in the hart framework by forming ruling elite.

Forming market relationship, becoming privet producers has changed the consumer situation in Russia. But the hard rational of entrepreneurs, the absence of social responsibility becomes the reason of consumer risks. The development of consumer culture helps to overpass the consumer risk, because it's the main regulator of consumer behavior.

Semenova, Anna V.

Russian Press: Problem of Terrorism

Terror (from latin, terror fear, horror) – policy of deterrence, suppression of the political opponents by violent measures. The definition of a terror in the dictionary of foreign words is those. Unfortunately, in our modern life, this word has become an ordinary concept. Last decade has shown that common citizens are not safe from terrorism, no matter how detached they are from politics. Lack of safety makes clear the fact that the information about terrorism and terrorists is of interest not only for representatives of the competent organs, but also for the common citizens. People seek the answers for the questions: what is terrorism? Where are its roots? What are the reasons for concrete terrorist acts? Who are terrorists and where are they coming from? Basic and practically unique source of answers to the problems raised is mass media. From this radiant source the gaps in mass consciousness are filled, and accordingly the public opinion is shaped. Therefore it appears to be interesting to use scientific, "strict" methods of the analysis, namely content-analysis of press, to study main tendencies, special features and methods of public opinion on the problems of terrorism formation.

As an empirical basis of the research we took popular press: "Moscow Komsomolets" (the daily political newspaper spreaded in 89 subjects of the Russian Federation, circulation 1.903.320 copies) and weekly newspaper "Arguments and Facts " (circulation 2.921.170 copies). The given research is pilot, therefore the chosen sample was small: 28 numbers of "MK" of January, 2002 and 5 numbers of "Arguments and Facts" chosen from the months of November, December of 2001 and January, February of 2002. In the case with "MK" we chose all monthly issues; in the case of "Arguments and Facts" we chose a few issues from different months. As in January, 2002 in Russia, there were no major scandal terrorist acts, similar to the September ones in New York, we could analyze the work of the press on a rather quiet background without any serious information "splashes".

The analysis shows that despite a rather "quiet" situation, the newspapers gave a lot of attention to terrorism. Thus, in 17 issues of "MK" out of 28 of them, there were articles about terrorism. All in all, 23 articles on terrorism were published in "MK" during the period under question. And only in three of them terrorism was just mentioned; all the other articles were completely devoted to it. On the whole, the articles took about one and a half full turns. Smaller attention was devoted to the problem of terrorism in "Arguments and facts". Though the frequency of such materials is rather high: more than half of all the numbers (three from five) have it. On the whole, the articles took about one turn, and from eight articles in two, materials of terrorism are only mentioned on a minor plan. It is important to notice that short materials are predominate in both "MK" and in "Arguments and facts". So, in "MK" more than half of materials (12 of 23) take about half of a column. In "Arguments and facts" 5 materials out of 8 take less than a quarter of a page. From the point of view of the content of the materials, most

articles in "MK" devoted to the war in Chechen and concrete Chechen terrorists, like Raduev (10 of 12). From the point of view of the subjects, all the articles can be subdivided into four basic groups of papers:

- 1) War in Chechen Republic on the whole (9 in "MK" and 1 in "AF").
- 2) Articles about concrete terrorists (5 in "MK" and 2 in "AF").
- 3) Responses to autumn terrorist acts in the USA (3 in "MK").
- 4) Other (6 in "MK" and 5 in "AF").

First group of articles can be subdivided into two groups: half of them are divided to the federal forces' successes, the other half – to their failures in Chechen. The scope of space devoted to failures is larger, while the information about successes is rather brief. It is necessary to mention an ironical tone of the first part, while the tone of the second has a neutral character. Even the titles of the first group are quite ironical: "From "cleaners" life in Chechnya is not cleaner", "We killed and killed them (Next victory in Chechen is not over the hill", "Generals are on the "needle" There is a hunt for the generals". The photos are practically absent.

The second group of materials mostly consists of the so-called personal files, containing various facts about life and activities of the well-known terrorists. We shall dwell on them a little. First of all, we shall look who exactly has attracted the greatest attention of the journalists. The most popular terrorists are: Usama ben Laden (5); Basaev (5), Raduev (4), Mashadov (4), Hattab (4), Gelaev (2), Udugov (1), Baraev (1), mulla Omar (1), Zakaev (1). As we can see, the majority of them are Chechen field commanders, and all of them are Moslems, which is accentuated in many materials – "brothers-Moslems", Islam terrorists, Moslem fanatics etc. Let's consider in detail personal characteristics and facts from personal life that can be extracted from analyzed materials. Let's begin from the most popular, terrorist, terrorist number one (as he is mentioned in the newspapers), Usama ben Laden.

Actually, one big article and two small ones are devoted to ben Laden. From them it is possible to get the following information. He studied at the faculty of economics and finance at the Royal University in Saudi Arabia. He has been in business since 1979, controlled the fund of resistance to the Soviet Union, in 1991, he transferred the activity to territory of Sudan. There he built a state highway, the main international airport of the country. Besides he gained about 50 million dollars' shares of the leading bank. Now he controls the whole empire: the investment company Taba Investment Co, engaged in the investments in the international financial markets; holdings Laden International and Wadi al-Akiz; petroleum companies giving annually up to 10 million dollars; building company Khidzhra Constraction, and also a company that export foodstuff, which Russia and the countries of the CIS buy. It is known also, that the corporation of ben Laden built roads in the capital of Kazakhstan, Astana. Now ben Laden has a stable financial position. His brother Esama ben Laden opens a fashion shop in London. The first samples of the clothing will be sold in Near East, and later on in Europe. His lawyers are already working on commercialization of the goods "from ben Laden" in the USA.

There is also a paper on the refutation of false information about adventures of ben Laden in Las Vegas which was spreaded by the American special services. On the one hand, it is devoted to the refutation of the slanderous fabrications of FBI, but, on the other hand, it is done only in two last paragraphs and looks very doubtful. At the same time all adventures of ben Laden with his friends in Las Vegas are retold very vividly with a set of intriguing detail: switching of ben Laden' underpants' on the scene, visits to prostitutes, Karaoke-singing, like Frank Sinatra“. The text is supplied with an impressive photomontage with smiling ben Laden, singing in a microphone with girls from a variety show and game automatons on the background. The text starts with a bold heading that says that while American special forces search in vain for the terrorist number one, he has a good life in the gambling capital of America, Las Vegas. He spends hundreds of dollars and visits American prostitutes. There is also a description of ben Laden in the article: he is described as a handsome man with short hair and sad beautiful eyes. We can assume that despite the fact that a journalist tries to refute the given information, readers will keep in mind interesting “details” about ben Laden life. They will think that “there is no smoke without lightning”: the information is vivid, and sounds as if it comes from employees and psychologists of FBI.

The following most frequently mentioned names - Shamil Basaev, or “Uncatchable Shamil”, as he is called in papers. He is mentioned in 4 materials, and in a big article devoted to all Chechen field commanders his biography is discussed in detail. Various facts of his biography are given: service as a fireman in an airport services; three times he tried to enter the faculty of Justice of the Moscow State University. Later, in 1980-s, according to unverified sources of information, he got involved in sailing clothing or became an active participant of a Chechen public group in Moscow. The journalist thinks that the second sounds like truth. Among Chechen Diaspora of Moscow Basaev had a considerable authority. His character is - unruly. Appearance - for a certain period of time looked perfect, good clothing, spoke Russian without an accent. Then he got a lot of problems, started to wear an old sweater and jeans, and soon left Moscow for Caucasus to escape from his creditors. Than he was heavily wounded and lost part of his leg. Now he is one of the most influential and active field commanders in Chechnya, he has tight contacts with Hattab and actually depends on the money coming from him. Besides, there was some information on Basaev's family: the father and brother were killed in 2000. “One-legged Shamil stays lonely ” - stated in the article.

Speaking about Hattab, it is possible to say that for the journalists he remains the most mysterious and significant figure. He is frequently mentioned in materials, but there is almost no information about his life, character and appearance. It is said that he comes from Jordan, he is called "black Arabian", one of the most influential field commanders. According to the articles, he stands behind the most significant events of the war in Chechen, the federal forces can not catch him - and that is about all what said about him.

The following figure attracting attention of the journalists is Raduev. Except a series of small issues about him, there is a large paper in “Arguments and Facts”

fully devoted to him. He began as a YCL leader in the Army, than became a member of the Communist Party. He grow up to the deputy leader of the Comsomol committee in the technical school. Later he entered Rostov institute of national economy and became a comsomol leader of Chechen-Ingush regional committee. In the beginning of 1990s, he organized and became a leader of the "Center for voluntary labour associations". Speaking simply, he started trade of Turkey sketchers. Later he finished High school of Management in Bulgaria (Varna) and defended his Ph.D. thesis in San-Remo. He married Dudaev's niece. Character: a good speaker, very ambitious, active. Now his name is terrorist number two. In a paper about his trail he is depicted as a "small Mongol" with an inadequate behavior: "sits silently and than apologies, than bursts out laughing".

Mashadov is mentioned as frequently as Raduev. But he is presented as a figure more authoritative and influential. Mashadov, as the author of the article writes, became a military man by chance: respectful people from his native village Zebir-Urt decided to send a healthy and rather clever young man to study in a prestigious artillery school in Tbilisi. Having finished it, Mashadov was appointed a commander of a platoon in the Far East. In a year, he was given a battery. Then he studied in the artillery academy in Leningrad, from where he was invited to the south of Hungary, Seged, where became a commander over a division, then became the chief of headquarters, and soon a commander of a regent in Vilnius. In 1986s, Mashadov sold an apartment in Vilnius and left for Groznii. Now, as the author of the article says, nobody needs the President of Ichkeria. The Russian services do not "touch" him as he is a one of the possible negotiators with Kremlin. Foreign patrons have turned their backs on him: on the recent conference "brothers - Moslems" in Irbid in the north of Jordan, he was deprived of the financial support. One of the reasons of it, the author of the article says, was discharge of Ruslan Gelaev from a post. The character traits: diligence, eagerness, stubbornness. He was one of the first people in our country who was awarded by the order "For the service to the Native Land". In Hungary his division was one of the most advanced. Vladimir Bokovikov, deputy of President representative Kazantsev, who was a friend with Mashadov's family, characterizes him like this: "Mashadov was introverted and closed. These characteristics did not stop him from being an excellent military man. He was an extremely diligent and persistent man, who understood that he was nothing without knowledge". His colleagues constantly saw him at text-books about the theory of artillery and tactics of battle operations. Mashadov was very rigid: people who were under his command complained of a strict discipline. He used to resort to Communist party meetings to reprimand the military under his command.

There is quite a lot of information about Gelaev, Udugov and Baraev. Gelaev was a simple gangster. Thief's career of the 20-years old Ruslan Gelaev (who changed his name for Hamsat) began in 1980s, when he was under trial due to his robberies. In the beginning of 1990s, he went to the Abkhazian war and began a career of the soldier of "good luck". During the famous Reid from Pankisskogo ushelia of Georgia to Abkhazia Gelaev was wounded heavily and currently is

under treatment on the territory of Georgia. His authority among Chechen soldiers is considerable. According to some sources of information, Gelaev prepares a new Reid to Abkhazia with the aim of creation of the terrorist war camp in the mountain region.

Mashad Udugov, earlier known as Temishev, also known under a nickname "Chechen Gebbels", is called a genius of information wars. His passion for journalism began in high school, when he started working for the regional newspaper "Komsomolskoe plemya". In 1979 he entered the Faculty of Journalism of the Moscow State University. Later he became a part-time student of the Faculty of Economics in Groznii. At the same time he became a Comsomol member and started to work in the newspaper "Krasnoe znamya" in Gudermes. He was characterized as a rather clever and intelligent man, a good organizer. He could find just anybody and make him talk on any subject. Nowadays, he is considered persona non grata by the Turkish politicians, so he left the country and lives in Bahrein. He is the main ideologist of the Mashadov's parliament and is responsible for fundraising the financial support for Chechen soldiers. Though, as the newspaper writes, his own business matters most to him.

Arbi Baraev is less spoken of than all the other Chechen military men. When he was 17-year old he decided to become a policeman, as his father. Having got just a secondary education, he began to work as an auto inspector in his native village. He was very strict on the drivers. His uncle, Zelihman Yandarbiev, a famous poet, recommended him to Dudaev. Due to his uncle, Baraev was noticed.

Mulla Mohhammad Omar, spiritual leader of the movement "Taliban", "leader of faithful", leader of Islam Emirat Afganistan. There was rather a large paper on him in a tandem with ben Laden under a title "Two alive targets" in "MK". The paper is written on the basis of foreign (American) sources of information, though the data sounds rather unproved, as well as in the case with ben Laden. The content of the article is the following: Omar managed to disappear from a triple ring special forces of the Northern alliance and American special forces. He was carrying on him about 100 million dollars, stolen from different banks from large cities of Afghanistan. He is characterized as a half-mystical figure. He is about 41 years old or 47 years old. Those who saw him say that he is very tall, constantly wears a black turban and has just one eye. It is difficult to find out whether it is true as there is only photo of the man "who looks like Omar". It is known that he was born in the region of Kandagar. He was taught Islam in religious schools in Pakistan, in 1980s he was a member of the Islam party, which fought against "Soviets". When the period of the inner country tensions began, Omar became a leader of the movement "Taliban", at that time just a students' organization. Later there was Kabuls' capture and taking under control the greater part of the country. According to a unanimous agreement of the representatives of Moslem clergy, Omar became the leader of Islam Emirat of Afghanistan. As far as his personal life is concerned, until recently he had four wives, a daughter and two sons. In the result of USA bombing one of his wives and all children were killed..

This is about all factual information, given about terrorists' personalities. It is interesting which devices journalists used depicting their images. First of all, it is necessary to mark an absolute dominance in the materials of ironic-indulgent tone. All the articles are written in an ironic manner. You can see it from the names of the articles: "Were are the underpants of ben Laden?"; "Were did mulla Omar got his fruits?"; "Soviet dreams of terrorists"; "Ben Laden feeds Russia with fruit and nuts", "Lebed's song of Hattab", etc. On the whole, all the materials leave readers with an unpleasant feelings, and do not provide with a confident information. Definitions given to terrorists leave much to be desired: "small mongol", "playboys-terrorists", imperceptible Shamil, "underbeaten", "terrorist number one", "Chechen Gebbels", bandits, gangsters, separatists, etc. Journalists hint on direct financial interest of the terrorists and their affluent financial position, about the money they operate with or have in personal possession.

The materials are illustrated with photographs. There are more of them than in other materials: three articles out of five have photos of various "heroes": Basaev and Mashadov are represented in the military form with weapons; Udugov – behind his desktop in a study; Raduev – with the book in the prison camera and behind a lattice in the court hall; Baraev in the military form; Baraev deep in thoughts. Saying nothing about a photomontage with ben Laden, which was discussed above.

On the whole, the articles of the second group, despite their small numbers, took a lot of space: about 2/3 pages in "Arguments and Facts" and 1/3 in "MK". The materials of the third subject group were all located in one issue and took approximately 2\3 pages. Their basic ideas were:

- 1) " In USA dollar again is more popular, than terrorists". In other words, economic interest of both the American government and common Americans moved back to financial issues. The first shock of the autumn terrorist acts vanished. In the first article, it is spoken about a political "speculation" of the American president on the theme of terrorism for the sake of his rating. He is afraid that the public will change the focus of interest and switch to the condition of economy. This can lead to "erosion of support of the President". In the second material, it is told about speculation on the memory of victims of September 11. This has to do with suits having to do with compensations and trade of baseball caps, T-shirts, and souvenirs on the place of tragedy.
- 2) The financial and human losses of the USA as an outcome of terrorist acts are very great, especially financial.
- 3) The measures against terrorists do not give any real results. The materials were illustrated by photos with an image of destroyed buildings in New York. The general tone can be described as ironical. As an example can be given the titles: "Economics, fool!", "Coloured ticket to hell", " Conflicting bills". In the first material, there is a photomontage: Bush in the front of the ruins.

In the materials of the fourth subject group we included the information about bloody terrorist act of the Palestinian terrorist; information about Americans' attitude towards captive talibs and simple mentioning of terrorism on a minor plan. Two materials out of them are of major interest. The first one is the paper about Chechen children from the camp of the refugees in Ingushetia, which were sheltered in Kolomna, to treat and to heal. In a paper the issue of hatred against Russians is raised (bombing, awful conditions of life in the camps for the refugees). There is also an issue about unanimity and help of Moslems to each other and the problems of attitudes from Russians towards Chechen (There is a story about a Russian girl who was thrown into the street when people learned that there would be no money given from the government). The material is illustrated by the photo of Chechen children and the Russian at whose place they found a shelter. Tone of the article is serious: "There is no place to run. Children are uncomfortable in the country speaking Russian".

The second material is opposite to the first one. It is possible to name it a typical "scary" article. It tells us about invasion of Moscow with Afghani refugees. The article tells us about one million illegal refugees from Asia, where people of Caucasian nationality are perceived as an integral part of the Moscow landscape. Only talibs are more dangerous, because Afghani Diaspora lives in capital on the principle of mutual help. The common tone of an article is ironic, as well as the title - "Rare talibs will reach Moscow". The article illustrated by a photo with an image of two Eastern men carrying a heap of boxes.

Thus, we presented information extracted from monthly survey of two big newspapers. What answers to the questions posed at the beginning can the reader get? First, let's try to draw up a collective image of the terrorist. First of all, it is definitely a representative of the Moslem world. Only in one paper the Russian terrorist organizations were touched upon, although in the context that they are capable of no real activities. Terrorists' image is evolved with a certain romanticism (though it is rather true of "foreign" terrorists). He is either well-educated or tried to get a good education, and could not do it, because of his average abilities. He is overpowered with the thirst to become famous, get authority with the help of various career ladders (Comsomol, Army, etc.) or relative connections or Martial Arts. (By the way, The results of the research on the pshycotype of Chechen soldiers showed that most of them want fame). The other characteristics of the terrorists are the following: they are greatly interested in money, they have their own business and try to get advantage of the financial help to the terrorist movement. They hate people with different religious belief, because some of their relatives were killed by them. they are active, try to reach lot's of goals. Nothing is said about their criminal actions. Only 4 materials were devoted to the victims of terrorism. Their smartness (possibility to hide and escape from special forces) is widely commented. With the last fact the question of struggle against terrorism is tightly connected. Voluntarily or involuntary, the majority of materials confirms the myth about the invincibility of terrorists by the military men, impossibility to

prevent their actions and inconsistency of special forces in struggle against terrorism.

Speaking about an image of the terrorist created by the journalists, we can see that most of them give a one-sided picture. It looks like they try to popularize terrorists' image (romanticism, elusiveness, brotherhood of faithful, mutual help, high financial status) and undermine the authority of special forces.

The questions of terrorism's roots, its reasons, why people become terrorists have received almost no comment. Mostly the personal reasons (revenge, hatred), aspiration for fame and money come to the fore. Nothing is said about a political and ideological background of terrorism. Practically there is no information about the essence of Islam and its' transformations, which justify "sacred" war against unfaithful. The economic actual situation of modern terrorism and its tight connection with separatist movement isn't touched upon. The opposition of rich North and poor South is left without attention. From the point of view of international relations, there is almost nothing said about the policy of double standards practiced by the USA before September 11, when all the antiterrorist activities of the Russian Federal Center operation in Chechen Republic were condemned.

Quite surprising is the ironic and over free tone used in the articles, where journalists write about serious and even tragic things. The rush to make materials entertaining gives an opposite effect.

These are the main conclusions of the analysis of monthly collections of two newspapers. Judging on them, we see that regular and massive analysis of periodic means of Mass Media is of great importance, taking into consideration the fact of increased terrorism danger.