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Family Policy. Children and Youth

Abashina, Anna D.

Objective Factors for Social Disintegration of Children under Systemic Crisis of Modern Russian Society

First of all, it is a low economic level of life for many families. As an objective factor of social disintegration and social orphanhood, it is characterized by the following key indicators: low level of domestic material well-being, average family income inferior to the minimum wage in the region of residence; objective lack of funds for nutrition, clothing, etc. for all family members.

Thus, under the systemic economic and social crisis at the turn of the XXIst century, in urban areas of Russian society almost two-thirds of all families with recipients of a scanty allowance for each child under six years were beyond the poverty line. Today, under the financial crisis in the country, according to our empirical data, poor families represent from 42% to 66% of parents in different age groups in Orel region. In urban areas these are families with 1-2 children and two parents of working age, and more than 18% are single-parent families with children and large families (three or more children) with unemployed parents. Such a situation not only leads to a degradation of educational and social functions of the family in society but also to a strongly pronounced lack of social protection of children. It is no coincidences that according to our survey, up to 12% of unsupervised children in Orel region live in the families exposed to high social risk (migrants, refugees, immoral families etc.). These are precisely the families where addictive behavior of children is the most commonly encountered.

Thereby, it is evident that the youth is in the area of social disadvantage caused by the social crisis, and obviously no "mother capital" can bestead, especially in Russian province where the unemployment rate is the highest, particularly among the college graduates. Here, from 25% to 65% of young families with one child (or more) become a sort of a "launching pad" for social disintegration and maladjustment of their children.

Over the last decade, the overall structure of poverty underwent little change. Families with children are still the main group of the poor. As a result of the sampling observation of household budgets in Orel region, in 2009, families with children accounted for 58.8% of all households with disposable resources per capita below the subsistence wage. In the townships and rural areas among the extremely poor families (with disposable resources per capita below the subsistence level in 2 or more times) families with children accounted for 69.6%. If in 2008 the disposable resources for 1 person in families with one child amounted to 1,828.1 rubles per month (about €43), the same showing reached only 1504.5 rub (€36) in families with two children. Those resources are even less in families with three or more children: 977.1. (€23) and 705.8 rubles (€16) respectively.

In tote for all the households of Orel region such resources 1697.3 rub. (€40) per person per month. Hence, we can calculate that the amount of disposable

resources per capita in families with one child represent only 1.26 of the subsistence minimum in the general; in families with two children it is 1,08 of the same minimum. The situation in families with three children is even worse: they have only 0.72 of the conditional minimum per capita; in families with four or more children it is only 0.42 of subsistence wage. The result shows that the dynamics of growth of income in large families (four or more children) is significantly lower as compared with the same showing for the population in toto and for families with less than three children.

So, there is a clear upward trend in long-term poverty concerning large families (with four or more children). It is significant that the disposable resources in Orel region increased by 36% in stable 2005 for all households, in families with one child - by 31%, in young families with two children - even by 45%. However, in families with three children it was only 30%-growth; in families with four or more children - only 18%. Exactly these families are characterized by different forms of degradation in development of child's personality.

A similar trend can be observed in the evaluation of quality expense of incomes in these types of families. Of course, this situation is due to a high dependant burden in large families. Analysis of income and consumption patterns of these families indicates that they are falling further behind in terms of well-being in comparison with families having fewer children. Thereby, in modern Russian society the quality of life in large families often does not allow to provide children with nutrition and fully organized and culturally enriching entertainment, which ultimately does not satisfy basic needs and the development of cognitive, aesthetic, and spiritual interests of children .

It is especially significant that the assessment of the level of available resources can take account of both income and positive income of food produced on their own, in private farms in suburban areas, as well as subsidies and privileges (for food, transportation, housing and communal services, health care, maintenance of children in preschool etc.) received in monetary terms or in kind. Thus, for households with low incomes in urban areas of Orel region, the cost of their own production in 2005 amounted only to 8% of available resources; at the same time for rural areas this was up to 32% of resources. It is no coincidence that low socio-economic potential often turn such families either into distressed ones or into families of social risk. Voluntary renunciation of parental responsibilities or "chucking" children out on the street is quite typical for such families, especially if they are in emergency for a long time.

The second key factor of social disintegration is bad living conditions. This affects social development of children - directly or indirectly. The absence of an adequate housing that would meet the regulatory requirements of dwelling (living in a shack, a basement or in other rooms initially not intended for permanent residence), leads to the fact that a child misses an opportunity to accomplish and implement his or her leading psychophysiological needs. Insanitary conditions or neglect of everyday health norms inevitably leads to further complications of family relations' organization. In the conditions of limited housing, they are

potentially more contentious because the family members, and in the first place - the children, are most susceptible to stronger mutual emotional influence. Due to straitened existence any family conflict creates a tense emotional atmosphere, causing the child's anxiety, psychological distress which in turn prevents his harmonious mental development. Adverse living conditions are contributing significantly to family problems, causing the growth of child neglect and child abandonment.

The third key factor is parents' unemployment and lack of employment opportunities for unsupervised teenagers who would like to work. In practice this factor steadily increases the amount of socially disadvantaged and destitute children, especially in Russian economic environment with its great dependence on raw materials where unemployment varies considerably. Thus, if in 2008 the number of unemployed has decreased by 23%, in the first quarter of 2009 the number of unemployed registered in the public placement service has grown by 10-12% compared with the last quarter of 2008. This leads to unemployment benefit payments that are not enough for a socially protected life, especially in families with children. In this case, it becomes very difficult or almost impossible for a mother with a child to find a job. Similar circumstances have parents from migrant families, refugees and displaced persons.

Exactly because of the above-mentioned factors the number of abandoned children in the Russian society does not reduce; moreover, if to take into consideration the current financial crisis, it is possible to predict a sizeable increase of the number of "foundlings", since the absence of decent economic and housing conditions of living and unemployment are the main objective factors that lead to the voluntary abandonment of parental right to upkeep of their own child. The situation is the same with foundlings. Any changes for the worse of a lifestyle and material situation of family result in a risk of its total (social and moral) degradation when the parents in some sense get rid from their preschool children abandoning them in the most crowded places of a city (markets, churches, train stations). Name, age, place of birth and nationality of a child are usually determined either by a host or by additional information left with the child.

In terms of social significance and prevalence, the most important objective factors of children's disintegration in social environment are the various types of crises: the military conflicts, economic and financial crises and other emergencies that disrupt existing systems of life sustenance. Throughout the socio-historical development of the Russian state, it was this factor that engendered the proliferation of homeless children and adolescents, for it always contributed to the rise of social chaos in human relationships and world-view of society. In extreme circumstances of life, for example, in a refugee family, child is often homeless, standing outside public and legal conditions of life in a new society. In fact, he or she often lives outside everything that is essential: with no shelter and livelihood, without tutelage of parents or persons in loco parentis, without care and attention from the state. All this leads a person in its development to a variety of serious social consequences: problem situations in his and his family lives, marginal

behavior of family members, aggression, child negativity, sexual promiscuity, alcoholism, drug addiction, substance abuse and much more.

Akkieva, Svetlana I.

Matrimonial Conduct of the Balkarian People in Kabardino-Balkaria

An attempt founded on the materials of the sociological interview carried out in 2010 [1] to consider what factors have an important influence over the choice of a helpmate and family making of the Balkars was made in this article. The Balkars reside compactly in Kabardino-Balkaria, some groups of Balkarian people live in other territories, regions, cities and towns of Russia (there are about 2 000 of them in Moscow and St. Petersburg). There are Balkarian Diasporas in Kazakhstan and Kirghizia (about 7 000 people) and in Turkey (precise number unknown). This article concerns the Balkarian people living in their historic Motherland - in Kabardino-Balkaria.

A family was always greatly appreciated by Balkarian people and marriage was considered a natural need. Marriage of the Balkars as well as of many other peoples was strictly exogamous. Exogamy was extended to include cousins from both a mother's side and a father's one seven times removed. They abstained from getting married even to namesakes, though they belonged to different kins. Marriage to foster or close relations, to the children of atalyc and to sworn brothers was forbidden.

Nationally-homogeneous marriages prevailed among the Balkars. That was formed under the influence of numerous reasons (mono-ethnic structure of the settlements, comparatively secluded life and others). Interethnic marriages were everyday occurrences among the representatives of princely estate for whom estate equity of the people getting married was important.

Marriages to the representatives of neighbour peoples: the Kabardians, the Ossets, the Svans were not a rare occurrence in the peasants midst. Religious regulations that were supported by the Tzar administration as well played an important role when they entered into interethnic marriages. Thus according to the Russian Empire legislation it was forbidden to the persons of orthodox and catholic religion to enter into a marriage with non-Christians. The Quran didn't ban strongly the marriages between Moslem men and non-Moslem women (Moslem women were deprived of this right under the Shariat regulations), but marriages of this kind were blamed in practice. Islamic ideology regulated considerably the marital conduct, that is why entering into marriage was regarded a sacred duty of a Moslem person among the Balkars as well as among other peoples confessing Islam. "The person having entered into a marriage has more merits to the God than the most religious Moslem that remained a bachelor." [2]

The Balkars almost always observed the order of seniority in marriage. According to custom, a junior brother didn't have a right to marry before the senior

one. Wherever a senior brother was situated, a junior one couldn't marry without his permission.

Marriage of a junior sister before a senior one gets married used to be especially blamed as it abased the latter according to the Balkars' conception. In such cases, parents could curse a culpable junior sister and give up any contact with her.

Traditional notion of a marriage as the alliance aiming mainly to achieving the most immediate human needs in everyday, material arrangement, in reproduction of next generations, in support of old ages predetermined the marriage choice. The Balkars took the choice of a fiancé or a fiancée very seriously. They took into consideration everything: welfare standards of a family, reputation of a family in society, a number of children in a family, their gender composition, what family a father and a mother came from, if close relatives had any diseases. When choosing a fiancée special attention was paid to her character and practical qualities.

A marriage choice was implemented as a rule by the parents of the people entering into marriage, but a personal choice of the young people was not forbidden either if it was "successful" from the parent's point of view. Late marriages were typical for the Balkars. However, it concerned men mainly. Girls got married at the age of 18-22 and even earlier [4]. There were several ways to contract a marriage: a marriage through matchmaking by agreement, levirate-sororate or fiancé exchange and the marriages by the means of a theft both forced and sham. However, in majority of cases people entered into a marriage by the means of free agreement with parents of a fiancée.

Divorces were very rare but they were allowed in case of a wife's childlessness, some diseases of a wife or a husband, a husband's rudeness or a wife's negligence.

Conditions of family making and marital behaviour began to change when soviet authority came. In the frame of the radical transformations in social life and public foundations, that took place in the country, measures in the field of public education, enlightenment and culture: making a national written language, teaching Russian, illuminating illiteracy, establishing culture-educational institutions and others took on special significance. These new opportunities were assimilated mainly by men, in spite of the efforts of the authorities to involve women into the social and economic life. In spite of homogenizing effects of the soviet gender policy women went on living according to the traditional standards [5].

Increasing in number of interethnic marriages was noted during this period. Those were mainly marriages of Balkarian men having high educational level with Russian, Ukrain, Armenian women and the women of other nationalities who had high educational level and were involved into public production.

The Great Patriotic War and the deportation of Balkarian people that followed it resulted in serious changing in gender-age structure of the Balkars that influenced women's position and affected the marital behaviour of men and women. Increasing in number of interethnic marriages of the Balkars with the representatives of other nationalities was noted in this period. Men entered into interethnic marriages more frequently than women did. There were some differences between men and women in marital partners in the interethnic marriages. Thus, Balkarian men married the Germans, the Russians, the Ukrainians and the Tatars and women got married to the Kazakhs, the Kirghizes and the Uzbeks.

In 1960s-1970s change in the instrumental treatment of children in a Balkar family was observed. In the past in the Balkar society as in other traditional societies boys were considered by parents as future bread-winners that's why they gave particular attention to their upbringing and marriage choice. Absence of a boy was a serious incentive for giving birth to another child irrespective of the general number of children until there was born a long-expected boy. From the second half of the XX-th century the Balkar parents brought up girls the same way as boys. They were considered bread-winners who would provide care for them in old ages either. There was even an idea in public opinion of girls as more "reliable" breadwinners than sons were. Moreover, the following words could be often heard: "Жашдан эсе атасына -анасына кызы игиди. Жаш бир кыркуу башны келтиредиле да, аны тегерегине тепсейдиле, кызы бир да болмаса бир керек кюнүндө кыраар" (A girl will make more for her parents than a boy will. A son will marry some girl and will fuss about her and a daughter will help her parents in need). Therefore, they suggested an idea of a career advance necessity to girls equally to boys, and marriage wasn't formulated as the only ideal achievement. They endeavoured to give a good education and a good profession to girls. Those girls who could display their character firmness, abilities for education and other promising professional qualities to their parents and relatives obtained recognition in a family and right to achieve success in career and the age of family-making was put off. They regarded the successful in studies and in public activity girls with respect and they were considered enviable fiancées. The girls with medical professions - a doctor, a nurse were preferable. In the late 1970s-1980s the prestige of the girls working in the sphere of trade increased at the marriage market (they could procure "deficit" in the conditions of goods shortage and turned out to be a good match for boys and their relations.)

In 1960s-1980s raise of the average age of consent was noted. Girls and boys preferred to enter into marriage after graduating from secondary special or high schools with a partner of the same or even higher level of education. The opinion of a family and close relatives was if not decisive then determinant in the choice of a marital partner.

In the above mentioned years orientation to the mono-ethnic marriages increased among both women and men. The strategy targeting the marriages

closed within an ethnic group in the conditions of active internationalization became a protective mechanism of preservation and reproduction of ethnical culture, ethnical identity.

Women's orientation to obtaining education, career success, marriage according to the seniority and orientation to mono-ethnic marriages and some other factors led to the result that some part of women remained single. Starting from the 1970s in the Balkar family the process of gender roles in a family exchange accelerated. That was connected with increase of economic contribution of a woman, which was equal or even higher than the one of a man. In young families living separately from their parents, it resulted in dual domination of a husband and a wife in a family and it was typical for young married couples, mental workers, town-dwellers and people living in more urbanized villages mainly. In the late 1980s-1990s, economic reasons led to the fact that women had to take almost entirely on themselves pecuniary maintenance of a family and to engage into the so-called "shuttle business". Women sometimes had to be away for several months to provide their families with food while men who could not provide their family with an enough income had to stay at home and to look after their children. Economic welfare that such division of labour promised often turned into moral problems in a family caused by a long absence of a woman at home. Among them men's loss of their dominant status in a family and hard drinking, alcoholism, dipsomania being wide practiced. Lack of care for children and insufficient attention paid to them in such families resulted in prevalence of influence of street, decline of parent's authority and increase in asocial occurrence among teenagers.

Starting from the middle 1980s softening of strict traditions in marriage behavior was noted: they don't adhere so strictly to entering into marriage by seniority (first a senior and then a junior); they infringe exogamy on marriages in a mother's and a father's line more and more often, therefore marriages between cousins five or even four times removed (in a mother's and even in a father's line), however there was still strict forbid over marriages with relatives having one surname.

Rise in the educational level among men and women, involving women into production, growth in the age of entering into marriage, change of gender roles in a family led to decrease in number of children in a family. It was recorded in the KBR in 1980s already when in towns families with 2 children got prevailing.

In new ages with its social activization of youth, personal contact between boys and girls first in the field of study and production and then in everyday sphere became far more uninhibited. Easier signs of attention, pre-marriage courting became normal, nevertheless sexual contacts before marriage were reproached as they used to be. Existing tendency to late marriages contributed to public welcome of pre-marriage courting aiming young people get to know each other better, evaluate if they were matching each other in value criteria for family making. At the same time, alternative tendencies of society and its culture

development made for liberation of marriage moral, sexual culture in some youth groups in the last decade.

In 1990s regeneration of traditional institutions: a family, a kin and ties of relationship took place in Kabardino-Balkarian society. In patriarchal environment a family ensured different kinds of assistance and protection for its members in difficult living conditions. Under the social transformations of the late XXth – early XXIst century traditional ties of relationship, a family, a family name, relative clans gained much power and influence over the lives of individuals and became some sort of “social lifts and filters” for promotion the individuals in the social structure of society. Under the new conditions the significance of marriage as a social capital increased and the marriage itself was considered as a conclusion of a profitable interaction, making a good match. Families grew taking a marriage market in terms of profit and expenses. While choosing a marital partner the status of a family of a fiancée or fiancé and their relatives, material and social profits that they could derive from the marriage became a determinant.

Interests of a family that could preserve or strengthen its position in society, achieve success for a wide circle of relatives through the marriage of a daughter or a son became a primary importance when entering into marriage.

In such families, they attach instrumental meaning to children themselves and their marriage and in the course of socialization maximum integration of the children into social and clan structure was ensured.

High formal level of education, high social, economical status had determining influence over marriage behavior and marriage strategy of young people. Considering children from the instrumental point of view was typical in general for majority of high-status families, and the families themselves targeted to preserving and increasing of economical and social status. And, according to the well-known researcher of a Balkarian family M.Ch. Kuchmezova: “Lately frequent occasions of entering into conjugal union between representatives of “new” well-to-do groups have been noted” [6].

In nowadays conditions and environment increasing number of young men are aiming the marriage in which they expect not only to create a family but to obtain high symbolic and economical capital, to find resources of social connections that the capitals of a fiancé / her relations make up. That’s why the point of view that one of the reasons of increasing the number of marriages of Balkarian men with Kabardian women (especially typical for the representatives of so called elite of functionaries) became firmly convinced in public mind. It lies in achieving necessary resources for them. Researchers record that in case of any ethnic minorities experiencing hidden discrimination, marriages are the mechanism of compensation non-consistent statuses a an individual, some kind of social lift or “entry code” into privileged groups. As a rule representatives of such groups have had high culture (often economical either) capital, that has been exchanged in marriages for political capital of marital partners [7].

Without excepting that some part of the inter-ethnic marriages are made in order to gain “profit”, I should mention that marriages between the Balkars and the Kabardians have never been rare occasions.

It's common knowledge that an important factor affecting interethnic marriages and mixed-nationality families is the mode of settling. The foothill area of the republic has always been the zone of close interethnic contacts, into which a constant migratory stream both from the plain and the mountain parts has been coming. Villages in this contact area were poly-ethnic and interethnic marriages have been quite usual here. Social-politic events of 1920s and deportation of 1940s resulted in the fact that the Balkars who had resided in those villages changed their ethnic identity but preserved their family name identity (tukum-kin). The Balkars has called these group “taulu Cirkassian” (that is Balkarian Kabardians, clearly meaning that they have recently been the Balkars). Starting since 1990s and having continued up today, process of family name meetings and institutionalization of clan unions contributed to strengthening of links and contacts between representatives of Kabardian and Balkarian branches of the same families. The declared aims of the family name meetings are strengthening of relations between members of a kin, increasing of the responsibility of members of a kin before their kinsmen, bring up the best traditions in their youth, have not contradicted the main task of the arrangements – in conditions of going on transformations of public relations – to use the relative institutions as social capital and as a mean of achieving status and economic positions for representatives of their family names, to strengthen their positions in society. Entering of representatives of different ethnic groups into the clan union intensified the significance of relational, family links as social capital for the representatives of the given family name irrespectively to their ethnic identity: a Kabardian or a Balkarian. In conditions of poly-ethnic republic, such kind of capital proved to be the most optimal and profitable. Later on family name clans became multifactor occasions, foreign Adyg diasporas got included into the process [8].

The materials of statistics and organs of ZAGS (registry organs) of the KBR indicate that nowadays the number of mono-ethnic marriages are prevailing in the republic but there is still a large part of inter-ethnic marriages that makes 25%. Increasing in the number of inter-ethnic marriages including marriages of the Balkars with the representatives of other ethnic groups can be considered as the process of democratization of the relationships within a family and the rise of youth's role in choosing a marital partner. At the same time it doesn't give cause for absolutizing the thesis of the youth entering into marriage on their own choice. The materials of my researches as well as the ones of my colleagues read that in the answers of respondents variant of preferable entering into marriage according to their own opinion but taking into consideration the opinion of their parents is prevailing [9].

According to the observation of Ya.K. Smirnova, the well-known researcher of a Northern Caucasus family, young fiancées and fiancés both by force of relative

material dependence (they need parents' support and experience difficulty with habitation) and of traditions, psychological stereotypes, are not free from the parent's will. Therefore, for the majority of them the order of things when "the marriage has been made on our own opinion but with the parent's approval" is considered the optimal one [10].

In most cases, Balkar newly-married couples live first with a family of a husband's parents. If any unmarried sons or other single children live in the house, the young family is separated from the old one in which parents are capable of working. If parents are old and there are no any other children though, newly-married couples as a rule have to live with them. Moreover, an old family and a young one keep joint house but a daughter's-in-law salary isn't spent for family needs and is left in her own disposal. Under such conditions, any discord between the relatives of the husband and the daughter-in-law have personal nature. If for any reason a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law do not get on with each other, the mother-in-law separates the young family so that they live on their own. Sometimes an old family and a young family have separate household in different rooms of one house or if their conditions allow (there are two houses in one yard or there is an outhouse there), the young family is moved into one of these houses. The son in such cases supports his parents, visit them, consults them in important cases, and the parents assist in bringing up children, look after the children and the house in the absence of the latter and so on. Relationships between old and young generations often cause breakdown of young families, and sometimes lead to depreciation of the olds' position who have to put up with disrespect and disregard from the side of the young generation. Under the typical for nowadays breaking off obligations between generations the loss of commanding positions of the old generation takes place. Under such conditions old people turn out to be weak and unprotected [11].

In most of Balkarian families traditional division and distribution of roles in a family is preserved, a man is a nominal bread-winner and a woman even if she works, takes upon herself housekeeping, up-bringing of children and other women's duties. This research revealed that roles in a Balkarian family are not divided strictly, both a husband and a wife equally are occupied with material provision of a family, bringing up their children, a man sometimes takes upon himself most of housekeeping.

As mentioned above, particular attention when choosing a fiancée or a fiancé is paid to the "advantages" of a match and presence of strong support of relatives.

This research revealed that the above factors have restraining influence over divorces and a family breakdown. The opinion of parents, public opinion and negative attitude towards divorces that are left among the Balkarians is still playing an important role in keeping conjugal unions. At the same time this research revealed that if relationships between a husband and a wife are not favourable, more than one fourth of respondents think that a family is not worth keeping.

This research showed that under the influence of swiftly changing social, ethno-cultural and migratory processes, increasing in educational level of population, changing in material life conditions, changing in marital and divorce behavior takes place in a Balkarian family, that affects demographic development of the people.

References

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Arsentieva, Nina M.

Competences of young workers: supply and demand at a regional labour market¹

The shift towards a diversified innovation-based economy is crucial for our country these days. Building a knowledge economy has become the top priority of economic policies pursued by the governments of all developed countries. A high level and quality of human potential is required in order to implement economic development scenarios aimed at innovation as well as to increase labor productivity, which, in their turn, depend greatly on the educational system. Competences that help the most active citizens succeed in the setting of the new economy, when adapting to rapid changes and generating them is vital, tend to be demanded the most by today's world. Nowadays, Russia is beginning to realize that a system of professional, and especially higher, education that would prove effective during the Information Era should be centered around the competence-based approach to specialist training. The main hypothesis of our research study that proved true later on suggests that the use of a certain technological innovation as well as its type serve as factors differentiating market demands for young workers' competences.² The respondents and experts claim that the innovation sector, i.e. the sector making use of basic innovations, is characterized by a high need for creative skills of all kinds. In general, job requirements set for the professional education graduates by the innovation segment are much higher than the conventional ones. The complexity of assignments encourages self-education, and promotes a greater degree of expertise-broadening activities among workers. According to the survey data, 43.4% of the respondents employed in the innovation sector read professional literature (compared with 22.9% in the traditional sector), 28.9% keep track of the latest scientific and technical findings (with 7.5% for conventional workers), 39.5% are enrolled in further education programs or involved in self-education (18.6% for the traditional sector).

Specific education and qualification requirements set by employers allow graduates to critically assess the quality of education they received in professional institutions in terms of its conformity with these standards.

The gathered data reveals that the quality of education provided by professional education institutions (colleges and universities, special or technical schools) mostly suits the workers employed in the traditional sector of economy. Moreover, about two thirds of conventional employers also find it more or less

¹ The article prepared with a support the project " Role of knowledge-based economy in the development of innovation sector of Siberia: economic and social aspects"(programme of the Russian Academy of Sciences №30).

² Results of the sociological research, related to the requirements of the innovational sector of economics to the competence of the employees and conducted in 2008-2009 in Novosibirsk by the author were used while preparing the paper.

appropriate, since otherwise the employees would make different assessments of how well their education level met the job requirements. The employers, in their turn, would have to spend more effort and money on training their specialists and on encouraging them to participate in such programs.

In contrast, the staff hired by enterprises working in the area of innovations tends to be more critical in its assessments, pointing out particular drawbacks of its education. Particular attention should be paid to the fact of them "being taught with the use of outdated equipment and old-fashioned methods".. This flaw has been mentioned by many respondents, showing that the professional education system is not capable yet of meeting the requirements that the innovation sector of economy sets for the professional competences its specialists should have. Thus, we can say that the current system of basic professional education, in fact, reproduces the well-established occupational skill structure.

To counterbalance the shortcomings of the education system, the employer of the innovation system pursues an active personnel strategy, which permits him, on the one hand, to avoid employment of "accidental" workers and, on the other hand, to offer final-year students more chances to get jobs they were trained for. Thus, the proportion of young workers in the innovation segment doing such a job or a job close to it amounts to 84.4 %, while that in the traditional one, to 58.9 %, respectively. In this case 75.0 % of the workers of the innovation segment immediately got jobs in the corresponding capacity (the one that had been promised when they were hired), while in the traditional segment, 57.0 %, respectively. The presence of a career development system in the innovation segment exerts a positive influence on the official career of a young worker. Thus, 84,2 % of interviewed workers in the innovation segment confirmed the promoting type of their career, while in the traditional one, 47,9 %, respectively. Among the young workers of the innovation enterprises practically no one has been unemployed, while among those of the traditional ones every third worker has been unemployed (for a time, of course). Thus, the personnel strategy of innovation enterprises minimizes the risks, and the social (as well as private) expenses of the graduates from the professional education system on the search for a job, including a professional one, and will prospectively allow vocational school students and graduates to make long-term strategies of education as well as of behaviour at the labour market.

The proper level of requirements to the volume and quality of professional training of specialists in the innovational segment cannot be secured by the existing public standards of higher professional education. The system of the current higher and supplementary professional education is not ready to meet these challenges of the innovation segment of the economy. This problem becomes the most acute when it concerns engineers. Thus, a number of innovation projects, being realized at the enterprises, frequently require so large a scope of professional knowledge, that can only be provided by no less than two or even three basic specialities, these being for from always closely related or related at all. The managerial subjects see

ways out this situation variously: they practice the probation of a specialist at the expense of the enterprise at leading research and education centers of this country and abroad, pay much attention to self-education, or invite consultants, etc.

Enterprises that are members of corporations, which have preserved their career development system since the Soviet times find themselves in a more advantageous situation. At these enterprises the requirements for the basic education are somewhat lower because young specialists will all the same be trained there to the necessary level. Thus, the corporation "Rosatom" has preserved the three-level career development system for ordinary workers (Siberian/Moscow/Central Institute of Competence Development – SICD, MICD, CICD), and the workers of the innovation segment pass in a planned order through all the three levels of training. The same corporation is in a position to train workers for its enterprises at any higher educational establishment of the country, including those in the capital, on the budgetary basis.

The problem is solved somewhat easier when it concerns specialists in economics, management, logistics, etc. In this professional segment the system of supplementary professional education of young specialists (higher school graduates) for their work on innovation projects has developed to a certain extent at the regional market of educational services. At the same time the supplementary professional education system stands in need of greater flexibility in selecting courses and disciplines so as to meet more precisely the eligibility requirements made by innovation enterprises. The need for better selection has been noted by all experts, for at the present time not a single higher school of the country is training specialists who can immediately get into the act, working competently at innovation projects. The minimal time for training competent specialists for key professions, in the opinion of experts, should be no shorter than 6-8 years.

Our research study has demonstrated that real economy is demanding such competences as the ability to learn on a constant basis, adapt to a new environment and work in a team. At the same time, such traditionally significant qualities as being able to work hard, with diligence and discipline remain equally important. Staffing issues of the innovation sector of economy are another vital point to be considered. The key feature of the innovation sector of the economy is its great demand of various creative qualities that should be possessed by the workers it employs.

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Blinov, Andrey O., Zakharov, Vladimir Y., Zakharov, Ilya V.

Ethical Foundations of a Modernisation Strategy

The definition of modernisation is: a transformation of the way a system's operates, creation of new intrasystem links. The nature of modernisation in the context of this article is building the capacity of the Russian economy by enhancing the market's efforts to introduce innovations. Innovation enables existing resources to further increase their capacity and creates new resources.

International experience shows that a consolidated group representing the elite and having strong authority shapes the modernisation strategy. There is such a group in Russia today; however, the success of the modernisation initiative depends on the group's ability to unite various elites, offering them a shared vision of the nation's future and common values, and to involve the major social strata into the modernisation process. Tatyana Gurova is right in saying that economic benefits for the country and for some of its social groups, even though they are a strong incentive, are not sufficient to ensure the success of a modernisation initiative in the long term (Gurova, 2010). Modernisation of the Russian economy should focus on the nation as such and personality, thus expanding the economic reform into political and ethical dimensions.

The problem here is that the moral values and norms of several important elite groups and social strata are not in line with the modernisation strategy, so we may not be able to build an innovations based economy by 2020 or even 2050. What should the dominant values be in our society to ensure the success of modernisation? Which tools can we use to promote these values?

The modernisation should target the whole nation; the social core of this initiative should be the people who make an effective contribution to the development of a modern market economy and who vest their hopes in Russia as a country in which their children and grandchildren should live happily.

To make a breakthrough, the elite and its followers must advocate essential values and have aspirations beyond profit or personal wealth. In other words, we need the ethical standards and a culture encouraging new growth spirals.

While the elite in Russia recognises the political dimension of the modernisation process, the ethical element has been clearly underrated.

We saw in the 1990s what happens if the transformation of the economy is unsupported by ethical standards. The violent destruction of the country's economic potential cannot be justified, for it inevitably leads to further crises. It is immoral towards one's contemporaries as well as generations to come.

It is ethically wrong when a handful of people get immensely rich fast while a vast majority of their fellow countrymen plunge into extreme poverty. In 1990s a small number of Russian businessmen with close connections to the government were getting unreasonably high profits, while effective revenue of most people went steadily down. The Russian elite were split into smaller groups; there were no shared values or a vision of the nation's future and how to progress towards that

future. In that situation several factions of the national elite considered it acceptable to pursue their personal interests to the prejudice of the nation. According to Western analysts, that would have been impossible in the preceding period of our history.

The crisis of the 1990s did not bring about a moral renovation; instead the ethical element of the economy was wiped out altogether, the moral benchmarks were lost. The Russian economy took a path which served the interests of the few instead of the many, and that reduced its efficiency and sustainability dramatically.

A notion spread among a considerable part of the national elite that to build an effective market economy the existing public sector structures had to be torn down as quickly as possible to eliminate any chance of resistance to reform. The state was regarded as the main and the most powerful antagonist rather than a tool for harmonising the interests of various social groups.

We then saw the country stabilise temporarily in an economically inefficient equilibrium with a high probability of further desorganisation of the economy. This was exactly what followed, until the powers that be recognised the current economic policy was inadequate.

If the ethical crisis of 1990s had been prevented or mitigated, the economic crisis would have been shorter and less destructive. The moral crisis was both a pre-requirement and a consequence of the economic crisis.

Over the following eight years of restoration and growth the Russian elite has become more consolidated; little by little a nation-wide vision of the country's future is being shaped. At the same time, there are groups of politicians and top managers who have become accustomed to working in growing markets with weak competition, when large investment in new technology is unnecessary, and the population is not interested in politics. They have neither the motivation nor the resolution to do their best to ensure the welfare of their organisations and their country. They do not regard Russia's independent economic policy in the global markets as their field of interest, therefore, they are not the national elite. They believe that the government is incapable of creating an enabling environment to modernise the economy, and do not wish to be involved in the hard and time consuming effort to renovate Russia and to strengthen its positions in the international market.

Investment into new products, into research and development of new technology is still very low. The amount of money businesses spend on innovations is comparable to the money spent on charity, political parties, football teams, or bribes. This does not imply the lack of finances – this is simply an evidence of a different set of values prevalent among many Russian businessmen.

That kind of thinking has been a major impediment to modernisation. The deterioration of ethical standards among these business owners and managers has largely led to the situation when instead of competing for new technologies, businesses compete for access to political power.

Often their personal selfish interests prevail over national priorities. As V. Vishnevskiy and D. Dementyev rightly note, the root of Russia's many problems lies in the selfish attitude of business owners during the transition period (Vishnevskiy and Dementyev, 2010).

This is not something unique – such behaviour has been seen in other countries at other times. When ineffective owners lose their companies to effective and efficient Russian owners, this boosts economic development and creates a basis for the modernisation, yet we have seen many examples when strategically important companies have been sold to foreign owners. Governments with large domestic markets and an independent economic development policy do not sell leading companies in need of modernisation to foreign owners *en masse*. To attract foreign investment and import new technologies (which are a vital element for enabling the socio-economic development) a wide range of tools with proven effectiveness can be used; however, the focus of this effort should be the interests of the national business, of the national political, technocratic, and intellectual elite, of Russian citizens. This is how all developed countries approach this issue.

Today a range of initiatives are being designed to help renovate Russia, and they are being consolidated in a single system, because the effort to modernise the society needs to be coordinated. A change in the values, beliefs, and thinking will entail a change in behaviour such that top managers (and a wider public) will be governed by higher ethical norms and values: conscience, civil spirit, duty, loyalty to the country and the people. We believe that this is a global trend. People whom D. Collins and his colleagues call 'Level 5 Leaders' (Collins, 2009) can achieve outstanding long term success for their companies, creating new national and international leaders.

As the modernisation strategy progresses, those who have other principles, for whom personal gain or pride are on top of the list, will drop out of the elite, while ethical leaders capable of growing 'national champions', will become part of the elite.

This is by no means a spontaneous process; attracting talented leaders and involving the wider community requires strong public relations initiatives focusing the moral element of the modernisation process, but the national elite clearly underestimates the need for this.

Let us consider the communications channels with a strong impact on ethical values and standards: education, corporate communications, and mass media.

Education. Russia already has educational centres for raising the elite, and will continue to develop them to an internationally competitive level. Their main goal is to create world class elite with a national focus, which would strive for the common good, the welfare of the nation and the state, guided by the necessary spiritual and ethical values.

These people will have different professions, occupations, and interests, but they will share the same thinking and consider themselves members of the same team. Among the Russian elite of the modernisation era personal gain will be

replaced with the task of creating 'national champions', building an efficient economy and a strong country, sustaining a high quality of life for the Russian people.

These people will realise that they will have to work much and work hard, but they will be prepared and committed. They will become part of the global elite while remaining loyal to Russia due to the enabling environment it will have created to uncover their creative potential and implement their ideas.

While it is clear, which tools should be used to build the future elite, the situation requires political will to set clear targets and to allocate the necessary resources.

Corporate communications. Russian and international experience shows that rapid pivotal changes associated with the development or restructuring of an organisation can lead to fears and stress among employees, escalating social tension: a factor many managers fail to take into account. At times like these it is vital to set clear ethical markers on the roadmap to the future.

Research shows that how much employees know about what is happening and will happen in their organisations impacts their attitude towards the change. When the level of awareness is inadequate, fears of the future escalate, and gossips start to spread. Let us compare the results of our polls at a Russian mechanical engineering company (Blinov, Zakharov and Zakharov, 2008) and a research done at Hoechst UK (Hutton, 1990:108).

The question was 'Please estimate whether your company gives you too much, too little, or sufficient information on...', and the following responses were received:

Table 1

Employee Awareness Level (as % of the pollees)

Too little information on...	Russian Company	Hoechst UK
the reasons behind the main decisions	82	77
the company's plans for the future	81	64
the company's new products	74	56
planned changes in your workplace	64	50
your job	48	57
the activities of your department or shop	43	51

Assessments are clearly very similar, both in terms of the overall level of dissatisfaction and its structure. These are two different companies operating in different markets and in different countries, implementing different strategies at different stages of the lifecycle (one emerging from a crisis, the other developing rapidly); the common factor is the following: both companies are going through a period of fast and radical change affecting their structure and position in the marketplace.

It can be assumed that the level and the structure of employees' dissatisfaction with the information they are getting depends on how dramatic the changes are and how quickly they happen. It follows then that the quicker the pace of economic modernisation and the deeper it goes, the larger the budgets should be allocated for awareness raising and the more effective these initiatives should be (the stronger and more targeted their impact should be).

In transformation, the economy becomes even less stable and more exposed to external and internal factors. The quicker and deeper the change goes, the less manageable and predictable it is. Public relations initiatives are necessary to minimise the risks associated with the economy getting out of control. Underestimating the importance of awareness raising can lead to a new crisis or catastrophe.

Publicity initiatives in the media. In 1990s the steady deterioration of the human and social resources was sustained by special publicity efforts. The main channel was the television as the most effective means of manipulating the population. For example, protagonists of popular TV series smoked incessantly and drank liquor, and most of the time busied themselves with infighting and shootouts. Art, as one imitates the behaviour of the characters it depicts, shapes our attitude towards one another and the world around us, identifies the values of our society, its ideology, which, in turn, can accelerate or hamper economic modernisation.

In 2006 a poll showed that the number of Russian residents who admitted they mistrusted others was almost 4 times higher than the number of those who said they did trust other people (56.4% versus 15.2%). Polina Kozyreva notes that over the preceding 15 years the levels of suspicion, lack of trust and wariness had been growing (Kozyreva, 2009). It is a known fact, however, that a strong nation and an effective market economy can only be built upon a strong social capital.

The modernisation strategy will only achieve its goals if it focuses on strengthening of the social and human capital. Publicity projects, which are detrimental towards the human capital, should be cancelled and replaced with new initiatives, aiming to develop it. New publicity initiatives should not only be based on high moral values, but should in fact aim to instil and sustain those values among all social groups.

Forty years ago in Europe and America the situation was the same as in contemporary Russia. Yet, today we see there are strong campaigns financed by the government and businesses to strengthen the morale and create a national culture for innovation. Public service advertisements constitute over a half of the advertising market in developed economies. A culture of healthy lifestyle and creativity are promoted. Behavioural patterns consistent with an innovations based economy are instilled in the societal mindset.

The backbone values of the Russian nation, on which its survival depended, such as labour, family, commitment to society, community spirit, have manifested themselves at all stages of our country's history, albeit in various forms. At the

same time, new values start to emerge and develop in response to the society's changing external and internal environment and development strategy.

Today we need a new publicity strategy and initiatives programming the Russian national lifestyle appropriate in a society of the innovations era. In our opinion, they should be based on the following three premises:

1. While a country is in transition towards the new development course, the society needs an intellectually challenging and entertaining television, helping the nation to actualise their eagerness to learn, to create and shape a common future, and these values are fundamental to our national character.

2. For the Russian economy to grow fast we need a healthy, motivated, and growing population. Publicity should aim to promote healthy lifestyles, confidence, and reliance on one's own capabilities and opportunities.

3. The strategy of renovating the economy could only be successful in Russia with its varying natural, economic and social environment if: 1) the leading social groups became united over common goals and 2) actively involved in the change and 3) strove to help one another. This understanding has been taking shape over the centuries, and the constituent values have become incorporated in the Eastern Orthodox culture manifesting themselves as collectivism. Building an environment of mutual trust and unity, designing effective forms of joint problem solving become a priority for the new publicity initiatives.

Today we all very much lack examples of ethically correct behaviour, of honest and righteous life in a new environment, examples of successes, of happy if challenging lives. What should one do, what life should one lead in contemporary Russia to be happy? What should be loved and what should be hated? What should one aspire to, and who should one perceive as a role model?

In an effort to modernise the economy all social institutions will have to change together: businesses, public authorities, non-governmental organisations, religious associations etc. We need a breakthrough in ethics, and we need to make way for it now, for tomorrow may be too late.

The world is moving towards an ethical economy, changing after each crisis. It is similar to searching a way out of a labyrinth, when one walks into a dead-end now and again or has to backtrack. A new wave of technological breakthroughs will boost the development of those nations which will be able to lead this process supported by strong moral values.

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Borlikov, Herman M.

Regional Education in a Poli-cultural Society

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The university takes part in the performance of the state scientific and technical programs "the Federal-regional policy in science and education", "the State support of a regional scientific and technical policy of the higher school and development of its scientific potential", "the Russian state scientific fund", "the

Russian fund of basic researches", the Federal target program "Russian language", "Integration" and others. The Kalmykia University takes part in the International Projects of programs: Tempus-Tasis, DAAD, "the Agriculture and ecological equilibrium with countries of Eastern Europe (Germany)", "Holistic management" (USA) etc. The most perspective complex directions in our higher school today – research of problems of Kalmyk ethnos, ethno-pedagogic, Mongol-studying, astrophysics (Sun studying), archeology, ecosystems of Prikaspija, Russian functioning in the poly-ethnic environment, restoration of traditional breeds of native animals.

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

Dementieva Izabella F.

Prevention of Domestic Violence Against Children

Prevention of continuation of adverse family conditions of children's living with the threat of violence must be implemented by mobilization of all the potential social recourses both within the family and outside of it. Recourses that protect children from domestic abuse primary are:

- 1) Pedagogical education of parents;
- 2) Governmental social policy mechanisms;
- 3) System of intra-family support;
- 4) Individual recourses of family members;
- 5) Recourses of social environment;
- 6) Democratization of family relations etc.

The interaction of social factors promoting the continuation of domestic abuse against children and factors preventing from this process can be represented as the following model:

Table 1

Prevention of domestic violence against children

Factors - the driving force of domestic abuse	Factors of neutralization of domestic abuse
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parents` alcoholism - Parents` drug addiction - Family criminality - Unemployment - Poverty - Parents` divorce - Extramarital child`s birth - Unwanted child - Remarriage of parents - Pedagogical incompetence of parents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pedagogical competence of parents - Resources of the society (social policy) - The system of intra-family support - Individual recourses of family members - Recourses of social environment (relatives, friends, neighbors, colleagues) - Democratic style of intra-family relations

Factors of domestic violence neutralization presented in the model can be substantively described as follows:

- Parents` cruelty to children can often relate to their *low pedagogical competence*. Parents` understanding of the lack of their knowledge in this area gives reason to hope for improvement in physiological climate in such families and for reduction of violence.
- *Social policy* in relation to the "risk" families should be constructed targeted and differentiated according to the nature of disadvantage.

Asocially oriented families (alcoholic, drug-addicted, criminal) should be put to the moral pressure through the formation of the negatively directed public opinion, as well as by using the means of force persuasion through the legal institutes of society. Families with socially caused problems, on the contrary, need government support and assistance.

- *Recourses of social environment* are presented by intra-family ties with relatives, neighbors, colleagues at work etc. who can, in case of wide interaction, create a psychological atmosphere of participation and family support for preventing its possible manifestations of aggression towards children.
- Neutralization role of *intra-family support* aimed at the overcoming negative factors by the members of family manifests similarly. In this case the positive effect of intra-family support is directly caused by mobilization of each family member's *individual resources* to the prevention of violence against children.
- An essential element of domestic violence prevention is the *democratic style of relationships* establishment in family, which allows neutralizing interpersonal conflicts and eliminating cruelty from the treatment of children.

Thus, the above model of balance of domestic violence prevention can be interpreted as follows: if the factors, which are the driving force of domestic abuse, act in the family, then the factors of domestic abuse neutralization should be mobilized and contrasted to them for creating the conditions of health and life safety for children.

Obviously, children who has undergone violence need not just help, but specially organized diversified medical and social, juridical, psychological and educational assistance, which consists in detecting, identifying and resolving child's problems with the aim of realization and protection of his rights to the full development.

Violence and child abuse are the problem that requires applying knowledge and skills of specialists of various professional affiliations: physicians, psychologists, lawyers, social workers, pedagogues, law-enforcement and other services workers. Specific wordings used by specialists of various professions can differ in details, but it is obvious that child violence is an interdisciplinary problem requiring an integrated and coordinated inference of different specialists. Neither one professional nor the whole isolated department cannot solve this problem alone as far as it is impossible to be a lawyer, physician, pedagogue, psychologist, police officer and other professionals in one person.

Gaydukova, Elena A.

Empirical Research of Socially-psychological Representations about a Modern Family as the Phenomenon of Ordinary Consciousness

Urgency. Though marriage and family institutes still exist and make an important part of our life, their character has sharply changed. The condition of a modern family is characterized by a number of conflicting tendencies: reduction of durability of matrimonial relations and growth of economic and social independence of women. Besides, in the light of new approaches to comprehension of development of human potential (feministic, gender, etc.) new ideas about men and women, their mission in a family and society is also staticized.

At this juncture, "woman-housewife" is compelled to work and therefore to have double employment; it is difficult to women and men to combine professional and family duties; in a family as the small group, there are no accurate distributions of functional duties between members of a family.

Research problem. The experts considering questions of a family and marriage from different positions don't have general definition of a family because there is a set of criteria which can be put in the basis of this concept.

The family is an object designed in advance which has not realized semantics. Universal character of concept of a family as instances of biological and social reproduction keeps the knowledge or conjectural knowledge of all people about what the family is; this last is strongly entered in our daily practice that appears as implicit image for everyone natural or, speaking more widely, the universal fact.

The social essence of a family is defined by two basic functions which it fulfils in a society: the reproductive function and primary socialization of new generation (that is implemented in the most intimate form since the birth of the person).

It is possible to allocate following aspects of a family: 1) a family as the social institute characterized by the certain rights and duties, regulating relations between conjoints, between parents and children; 2) a family economic: unites the persons connected economically – the general family budget; 3) the family territorial, unites persons on the basis of joint residing; 4) a biological family which consists of parents and children.

An attempt to consider concept "family" by means of the concept of social representations has been made in this article. We will specify some moments connected with the description of the theory of social representations, before to pass to results and conclusions of author's research.

The concept of social representations is one of theories of "an average rank», aimed to reveal the tendencies of functioning of structures of ordinary consciousness in a modern society. This concept has been developed by the French

social psychologist S. Moskovichi with the assistance of Z. Abrik, Z. Kodol, V. Duaz, K. Herzlish, D. Zhodele, M. Plon, etc. the Basic idea of the concept of social representations is that mental (spiritual) structures of a society urged to consolidate psychological stability of the social subject (group or the individual) and to focus its behavior in changing situations. A subject of socially-psychological studying is considered to be the social reality (set of social representations) by means of which public relations are presented in individual consciousness of the subject.

The structure of social representation contains three measurements:

- the information – the sum of knowledge of represented object;
- the field of representation characterizing the organization of its maintenance from the qualitative party;
- installation in relation to object of representation. Within the limits of the concept of social representations there were following directions of the analysis of social representations: at level of an individual picture of the world; at level of small group; in respect of intergroup relations; at level of the big social groups.

The basic functions of social concepts are: preservation of stability of consciousness, behavior determination, interpretation of the facts and their inclusion in the individual picture of the existing world.

Thus, social representations is a way of interpretation and conception of the daily reality, the certain form of social knowledge assuming cognitive activity of individuals and groups. Representation is a product and process of an active socially-psychological reconstruction of a reality (or an image). The object of research is not fragmentary opinions of the separate individual, it is the statement, reaction and its estimation as member of social group (for example, as member of a parental or reproductive family).

Data and methods. It is schematically possible to note some the methodical receptions applied at research of social ideas in different direction of the given concept: poll, the content-analysis of materials of the press, a method of the associations, the structured conversation, a method of focus groups, a discourse-analysis, methods of an estimation of experts, testing on the basis of the theory of personal factor of J. Kellys, etc. A method of semantic differential (repertoire personal semantic differential), a method of pair comparison (images of members of a family) and a method of psychosemantics of some images (a color personal questionnaire, semantic structures of interpersonal perception in married couples / parental) have been used at carrying out author's socially-psychological research besides target poll and testing.

Further we will consider some conclusions received as a result of conducted socially-psychological research. The purpose of the research was a development of a socially-psychological model of a modern family on the basis of social concepts of members of a family about sexual-role relations. At this point sexual-role relations were understood as relations between conjoint, relations between parents and relations between parents and children.

As a result of the research the comparative analysis of each family of concepts of "practitioners" and "theorists" of family relations about sexual-role relations in a family has been executed. According to the structure of the concept of social representations described above, during research following aspects have been revealed: valuable orientations of respondents, reproductive preconditions of respondents, estimations of different reality situations, subjective concepts about distribution of duties between conjoints and parents, male and female qualities of "father" and "mother", psychosemantic concepts of images of "father" and "mother".

Some aspects of social representations will be considered briefly in this article because of the great volume of a research material: subjective concepts about distribution of duties between conjoints and parents, male and female qualities of "father" and "mother", psychosemantic concepts of images of "father" and "mother".

Socially-demographic characteristics of respondents. 58 persons have taken part in the analysis of each family: 29 parents and 29 full age children. Middle age of parents – 45 years (from 43,23 till 47,19 years for 95%-s' confidential intervals); middle age of interrogated children (students) – 19 years (from 18,7 till 19,3 years for 95%-s' confidential intervals). Distribution on marital status: students never were married (100%); parents: not married (never was married) – 3%; married – 69%; unregistered marriage – 7%; divorced – 14%; the widow – 7%. The sample is spontaneous, not representative.

We have suggested following hypothesis: socially-psychological concepts about matrimonial relations and in particular about qualities of "Father" and "Mother" will differ depending on the social and reproductive status of the person.

Results. We will consider one after another some aspects of studying of social concepts about sexual-role relations in a modern family.

1. Subjective concepts about distribution of duties between conjoints (parents). Both parents should carry out following duties equally according to the majority interrogated respondents: to earn money; to distribute means for large expenses; to bring up children; to solve the problems connected with carrying out of leisure and holiday; to keep in touch with relatives. The majority of mothers (52 %) consider as the duty to distribute means for current expenses and to run housekeeping (48 %). The majority of students (69 %) also, as their mothers, consider conducting housekeeping by mainly parent duty, it is so probably because the majority of the interrogated students are representatives of a female. Thus, it is possible to assume that modern parents should possess androgenous qualities and to be claimed both in a trade and in a life.

2. Male and female qualities of "father" and "mother". Each person is the owner of set of psychological character traits. Some lines are universal, and some lines traditionally contact typically male or typically female psychology.

As a result of diagnostics under S. Bem's test at the analysis of each family, the majority of parents (69% of mothers) have attributed to themselves androgenous qualities while their children (52% of students) have attributed to their mothers female qualities. However by results of calculation of nonparametric

criterion the Hi-square between indicators of students and their mothers under the test it has not been revealed statistically authentic distinctions ($p=0,110$).

The one-dimensional linear distributions have been constructed also on the basis of the results of a choice from most typical for "mother" 60 qualities. According to students, "mother" should be characteristic femininity, sincerity, warmth, tenderness of feeling, love for children, tenderness, ability to console, ability to help, ability to sympathize, the care of people, appeal etc. According to mothers, "mother" are characteristic following qualities: ability to help, fidelity, ability to sympathize, ability to concede, reliability, conscientiousness, care of people, understanding of others, love of children, tactfulness etc.

3. Further we had been made the psychosemantic analysis of social representations of images of "father" and "mother". For this purpose the hypothesis has been suggested that it should be peculiar different characteristics and qualities to the image of "father" and "mother" because "father" and "mother" carry out different functions in a family. The given hypothesis was checked by means of two basic techniques: a color personal questionnaire and diagnostics of personal semantic systems.

3.1. A color personal questionnaire. The list of 12 most frequency and semantically various adjectives of color has been presented respondents. It was necessary to choose for four repertoire positions («the ideal father», «the ideal mother», «the ideal husband», «the ideal wife») no more than five adjectives of color which, according to respondents, should be characteristic for "ideal" images. In this article we will stop on the results received for two images: «the ideal father» and «the ideal mother».

Before starting the description of the received results, it is necessary to notice that color as set of shades, represents the steady semantic structure correlated with emotionally-personal features of the person. The color choice occurs subconsciously, therefore it allows to see a reality, instead of subjective concept of the person (as usual happens at verbal techniques – polls, questioning, psychoanalytic session etc.).

According to students, the image of "ideal mother» is connected with white, green and pink color and associates with flight, clearing of obstacles, an openness to new possibilities; to new undertakings; with cleanliness and innocence; stability, hardness, persistence and a constancy, strength in the belief, deep feeling of self-esteem; necessity to love and be kinder.

For «the ideal father» the qualities expressing stability, strength, persistence and a constancy representing system of values; respect, dignity, competence, authority, the property, a dominant in certain space should be characteristic. Also rest, merge, association, harmony, love; to a lesser degree associations with flight, clearing of obstacles, an openness to new possibilities; to new undertakings are inherent for «the ideal father».

According to parents, the image of "ideal mother» includes three primary colors: white, green, orange. That is flight, clearing of obstacles, an openness to new

possibilities; to new undertakings; cleanliness and innocence; and also the qualities expressing stability, hardness, persistence and a constancy, deep feeling of self-esteem; the feeling of own importance shown as respect, dignity, competence, authority, the propriety, a dominant in certain space; cheerfulness and optimism, sociability, impulsiveness, ambition, purposefulness, a self-confidence are peculiar for «ideal mother».

Respondents associates the image of "the ideal father» with dark blue, yellow and green color. It means that the given image is characterized by rest, harmony, love; feeling of free development.

Thus, it is possible to draw a conclusion that «the ideal father» and «ideal mother» should possess mixed (androgenous) properties as both "father" and at "mother" according to students and their mothers, should have qualities, characteristic for semantics of green color. Our assumption has proved to be true partially.

3.2. Diagnostics of personal semantic systems of images of "father" and "mother". The semantic analysis is understood as allocation and the analysis of semantic structure of a mental image. The value has already the status of a psychological category in domestic psychology for a long time.

The major methodical alternative in diagnostics of personal semantic systems is the use of ready lists of variants of the answer (a ready set of bipolar scales). The probationer is offered to choose from set, let rather wide, but the limited field of possible answers in type techniques of "control lists». In this case the individual originality of the received information is limited already to that the probationer works with the most frequency adjectives (clichéd semantic distinctions unifying system of values, projecting it in the stereotypified system of values of mass consciousness.

The list of 107 most frequency and the various semantically adjectives designating personal qualities of the person, which are significant in communication, was used in the author's research. It was set 2 repertory stimulus-object of the description: "Father" and "Mother". Thus the binary compelled choice was imposed to the examinee: each quality should be carried to one "object" or to another – to whom approaches more. Such updating intended for elimination an artifact of "social desirability» and modeling in experiment of situations of the disputed choice, typical for married couples / the parental.

By the results of the prospecting factorial analysis the visual comparative analysis has been made for each of two groups. As a result of the factorial analysis of results we hoped to show psychologically independent maintenance and functioning of the semantic factors concerning choices of students and their parents.

The factorial analysis has executed on explaining variables, being guided by an overall objective – to lower quantity of variables. 107 explaining variables to 26/26 (22/23) factors with own values above 1,0 was reduced by the method of the major constituents with use of a method of rotation of Varimaks. Each factor

included variables with loadings on this factor from 0,50 and above for interpretation.

The results of classification of variables under factors have been reflected (the tables aren't presented because of great volume in this article) in four resultant rotating matrixes of factorial coefficients (1 matrix - students estimated qualities of "Father"; 2 matrix - students estimated qualities of "Mother"; 3 matrix - mothers estimated qualities «the Spouse, i.e. the father of children-students» and 4 matrix - mothers estimated qualities «Mothers, i.e. themselves as mothers of children-students»).

First three factors that made the greatest the contribution to the general dispersion have been considered in each matrix for the description of the results of factorization, however we will stop only on the first factor in each matrix (group of respondents) in this work.

The first matrix. 26 factors explained 98,559 % of a total dispersion for the 1st matrix (in which students estimated qualities of "Father"). 1 factor (13,420 % of a generality) includes following adjectives: diffident, mild, bashful, timid, firm, strong, trustful, shy; firm, strong, resolute, artful.

The second matrix. 26 factors explained 98,576 % of a total dispersion for 2nd matrix (in which students estimated qualities of "Mother"). 1 factor (12,537 %): cruel, irascible, aggressive, firm; shy, timid, soft, mild, bashful, careful.

The third matrix. 22 factors explained 100,00 % of a total dispersion for 3 matrix (in which mothers estimated qualities «Father / Of the spouse, the father of children»). 1 factor (17,286 %): the agile, independent, resolute, business, good head, skilled, careful, acute, moral, the fidget, actual, independent, exact, conscientious, vigorous.

The fourth matrix. 23 factors explained 99,216 % of a total dispersion for 4th matrix (in which mothers estimated qualities «Mothers/themselves as mothers»). 1 factor (19,125 % of a generality): artificial, hypocritical, mercenary, artful, insidious, envious, insidious, agile, the proprietor, the formalist, limited, business, cynical, mischievous, prudent.

Thus, subjective representations about qualities that according to respondents, "Mother" and "Father" should possess, have been received as a result of the factorial analysis.

After carrying out of the factorial analysis on the basis of the list of 107 adjectives one-dimensional linear distributions of qualities of "Father" and "Mother" have been constructed. It has been made to confirm that socially-psychological concepts of students and their mothers differ. On the basis of received data it is possible to carry out only the comparative visual analysis, conclusions have character of assumptions, instead of statistically meaningful patterns because it is inconsistently to count coupling coefficient for multivariate questions.

Qualities, characteristic for "mother" according to parents is an aggression, cruelty, hardness, a childness, irascibility, pithiness, passion; according to students - love, trustfulness, moderation, keenness, tactfulness, care, tenderness. Qualities,

characteristic for "father" according to parents – force, cynicism, a negligence, a childness, boldness, hardness, cunning; according to students – temperament, boldness, hardness, a negligence, mercenariness, independence, a freedom.

Conclusions. Thus, having considered subjective concepts about distribution of duties between conjoints and parents, male and female qualities of "father" and "mother", and also psychosemantic representations of images of "father" and "mother" it is possible to draw following conclusions:

- Distribution of family duties (except everyday expenditure for household needs) and acceptance of important decisions in modern families is carried out by conjoints (parents) together – there are no rigid divisions who particularly bears responsibility for this or that decision.
- Androgenous qualities should be peculiar to "father" and "mother" in modern conditions for successful functioning of a family: stability, hardness, persistence, a constancy, deep feeling of self-esteem, feeling of own importance.

In the conclusion, on the basis of the presented results it is possible to correct the concept "family". A family (in a modern society) – the small social group, where members have (can have) blood-related, social, economic, psychological communications and possess androgenous (mixed) personal qualities and, hence, don't bear strict social responsibility for acceptance of decisions at performance of family duties.

Grishaeva N.P.

Investigation of Preferences of Joint Pastime of Parents and Primary School Age Children in Megalopolis

Among the major contradictions in realities of the childhood characterizing the current time and especially child-parent relationships in a megalopolis the following can be noted. On the one hand, there is a democratization of children's life, expansion of rights and freedom of a child, while, on the other hand, at the same time the space of children's life is being limited dramatically, the child's right to play is being lost, and information field is often limited for children only by television and computer that negatively affects the primary socialization of younger children.

In society adults' attitude to children has changed, and it is possible to note sharp distinction of parental positions – from child rejection to child centrism. Social psychologists point out loosening of traditional mechanisms of transferring knowledge and moral values – distortion of relationships between parents and children, but it is exactly in the younger childhood when a kid should discover the world of human relations, sense of various activities and public functions of people.

Research «The Preschool Child of 2011» has been conducted by Institute of Sociology RAS in 2010 – 2011, with a purpose to define the preferable pastime of parents and younger children. 112 parents and 115 children at the age of 5–7 years old visiting preschool centers of Moscow participated in the research. The study was conducted using the questionnaire with parents and individual interviews with children.

Survey data allows to draw a conclusion that in a modern family time spent by parents with younger children averages 3 – 4 hours per day. By kinds of activities it is divided as follows: most of the time is given to conversations with children, then to reading and developing activities, in a less degree to walks, and just minimal time is spent on joint games.

Almost all the interviewed children (85 %) would like to play with parents every day, however adults do not attach proper importance to game, referring to being busy and tired (40 %). And 50 % of parents consider such activity as absolutely useless. This is largely can be explained by modern social attitudes to priority of intelligence development at younger age, and also by ideas of today's parents about game as unaffordable luxury, which the child can indulge to the prejudice of other useful activities.

Research data allows to compare preferences of children and parents in joint pastime. The overwhelming majority of children would like to play with parents and watch TV (82 %), and parents – to read a book to children (75 %) and to do something useful (82 %). The greatest divergence in preferences of children and parents concerns games and reading fairytales. Reading is preferred mostly by parents and is selected by children least of all. The most preferable activities for children are games and watching TV-programs. Point of contact is a joint telecast

watching which in average takes 2 - 3 hours per week-day and 4 - 5 hours at day off for children.

Thus, comparing survey data, it is possible to make a conclusion that the space of children's life in a family tends to restriction. The quantity of activities interesting for children and parents is reducing. Many kinds of actions necessary for effective socialization of a child, for example, game with parents - are decreasing; and disputable from the socializing point of view activities such as watching television have a tendency to significant growth.

The research also showed that intelligence development has the highest value in consciousness of parents; they are always ready to help children with difficult intellectual games and to devote to it the largest time.

Inutina, Tatyana S.

Young specialists looking for a job

Work plays a very important role in the life of an every person. Profession successfully chosen raises person's self-esteem, reduces the number of physical and psychological problems and helps to obtain complete satisfaction in the person's life.

Undoubtedly, correctness of the chosen profession and the level of its learning influence on all parts of human life. That's why it is very important for a person to make a true choice.

Present-day reality gives a great number of different prospects. Annually about five hundred new professions appears around the world. At the same time many of them "live" only five - fifteen years, and then they either die or change beyond recognition.

Nowadays the labour-market in our country can be characterized by the absence of the system of the placing in a job after the graduation from educational institutions, in particular from vocational training institutions. It leads to serious problems. Loss of prestige of the efficient labour is at the bottom of the appearance of pessimistic attitudes of mind among young persons. They don't believe that they will have an interesting job and it will be well-paid. Changes of labour motivation are going on among the youth. Skilled young specialists often change their professions; it may lead to misbalance in the professional structure of the labour force in the future. They show preference to the work with the low intensity but well-paid.

On graduating from educational institutions the majority of young people feel so-called "shock from the reality"; this problem is bound up with the fact that their ideal view of the future professional activity comes into conflict with the real situation in the working place.

At the ages of twenty-five - twenty-nine young workers seek to show their worth in the work, to make a success and to obtain the recognition. At this period professional principles are coped with, and qualified specialist raises. Need of self-affirmation is in foreground, young specialist tries to be independent in his activity.

We can see two problems in the labour-market: the first - wishes of employers disagree with real characteristics of the young workers, the second - young people have an ideal view of the professional activity and of ways of adaptation on the labour-market. These problems influence on the choice of a profession and also on the placing in a job in the future. For example, nowadays prestige of the educational institution is not always bound up with the real prospects of the job placement after graduating. And what is more, the young person is guided in his choice of the future by the ideal view, but the real situation in the labour-market is not taken into account. The young people often postpone the problem of the placing in a job till the graduating.

At the beginning of the labour activity the ideal view of young specialists about the future career, conditions of work, socialization among the colleagues and so on are fallen; and anxiety, depression and other psychological problems are appeared. Coming into collision with the real labour situation leads to reappraisal of values. So, it influences on the psychological state of young people, and a job is not taken as a means of self-perfection.

At the same time position of the youth in the labour-market is also formed by educational institutions: they train qualified specialists, form their labour values and model of behaviour in the labour-market and in the work collectives.

Nowadays in Russia there are more than three thousand five hundred vocational training schools, and more than one and a half million of students study there. Annually about seven hundred fifty thousand qualified specialists are turned out from them. The life quality of all people in the country depends on the professional quality of the graduating students, because all things in our life are made by workers.

Modernization of the professional education touches upon deep problems of the whole education in our country, in particular the competitiveness of young specialists in the labour-market.

The system of professional education in our country has changed greatly during last ten years.

Scientific and technical progress and crossing to the market economy in our country became the cause of the radical changes in the system of professional education. We can note them:

- High level of professional skills and qualification became an important factor of social protection of workers and their professional self-preservation;
- Appearance of great number of small and big private companies led to the changes of labour activity and to high professional mobility;
- Professional education became a factor of the raising of competitiveness of young specialists in the labour-market;
- Dynamism of the modern industrial technologies, new kinds of employment, probability of unemployment – that's all made for the necessity of training the new type of specialists which can easily adapt to the constantly changeable world;
- Integration in the world economic association made for the approaching between the quality and level of professional education.

Till recently the educational level of the youth has been higher than the same of the older generation, but now it is not so self-evident. Besides, there is a great gap between the theoretical knowledge of the young specialists and the real situation at the working place, that's why employers don't wish to have as their workers just graduating from the educational institutions. So the problem of the placing in a job appears.

A lot of employers suppose that young specialists don't have qualities necessary for the labour activity; but they have undesirable qualities, such as: absence of labour practice, absence of skills of forming mutual relations in the labour collective, instable behaviour, unnecessary emotionality. Such perception prevents the opportunity of placing in a job. In that case we can see a great influence of some social stereotypes, such as: all young specialists must have all necessary qualities before the beginning of their labour activity. It leads to the discrimination of age in the labour-market. At the same time, though socialization of a person is bound up with the age characteristics, this process proceeds individually in the every case. We can note that the person may have the infantilism and social unripeness during the whole life, but he can overcome such qualities at the young age.

If we examine plans for the future of school-leavers, we can see that the majority of them want to continue their education. But there is, of course, the number of school-leavers who want to work at once after the leaving school. On the average, fifteen per cent of school-leavers plan to find a job or to attend short-term professional courses.

If we examine plans for the future of graduating students from the vocational training institutions, we can see that the majority of them want to work, and a few of them want to enter the institutions of the higher education.

In conclusion I must say that the choice of the profession predetermines the success of the future labour activity and career. Every person needs to obtain the recognition among people, wants to meet with the people's approval and to be independent in his activity. And one of the ways to achieve this is to choose the profession which could assist a person in his development and self-perfection.

Khairullina, Yulduz R., Khairullin Raul R.

Demographic Policy in modern Russia: the opinions and reproductive practices of youth

Decline in fertility as a serious demographic problem noted in 2006 in his Message to the Federal Assembly, Russian President Vladimir Putin.[1] He believes that no amount of migration will resolve our demographic problems unless we create the right conditions and incentives for the growth of birth rate here among us in our own country, without creating effective support programs for mothers, children and family support.

Vladimir Putin at a meeting of Legislative Council in the Kremlin on Dec. 21, 2006 [2], speaking about the development of "Concept of Demographic Policy of the Russian Federation until 2025, marked the 3 levels of implementation of the unified state population policy - the federal, regional and at the local government. He noted that the task of federal authorities in addressing issues of population policy - to establish common rules and regulations to provide safeguards to ensure the arrangements with necessary financial resources. And colleagues from the local government will inform people about the content of the approved documents, add their own support measures to develop its own regional strategy to address population issues, taking into account regional specificities, traditions and characteristics. They, in turn, must be taken into account the federal level, so that eventually formed a unified state policy on this important joint activities.

In his annual Message to the Federal Assembly, Russian President Medvedev D.A. noted in 2010: "First of all, let me tell about measures to improve the demographic situation. Compared with 2005, the birth rate in Russia increased by more than 21 percent. This number, incidentally, is one of the best in the world. Infant mortality declined by a quarter. Last year, for the first time in 15 years, we managed to reach the growing population of Russia. In many ways, this is certainly the result of the "Parent capital", the national project "Health" and other measures of social support for families. We undertook a demographic problem seriously and permanently, but must understand that in the next 15 years will be affected by the consequences of demographic decline of 90-ies and the number of so-called women of reproductive age is much reduced. This is a serious threat, a challenge for our entire nation".

In a detailed report to the Epistle to the State Council of the Republic of Tatarstan in 2010, President Minnikhanov R.N. a significant place is given to measures to support the family, motherhood and childhood "As a result of population policies and investment in health, we could significantly improve health status that was reflected in increased rating of the Republic of Tatarstan among the subjects of the Russian Federation in this sphere. Tatarstan is in a group of regions with low infant mortality rate (5.9 vs. 7.89 deaths under 1 year per 1 thousand live

births on average in the Russian Federation), the maternal mortality rate (8.6 vs. 22.71 deaths of females at 1 thousand children born alive), mortality, the population of working age (518.5 vs. 627.5 deaths per 100 thousand population of appropriate age), ranked fifth in terms of public satisfaction with medical care (46,5% of respondents) .

Today, different agents of management advance various stabilization programs of fertility, which require approval of their legislative support. Implementing the national strategy for demographic development at various levels of government is based on the separation of powers and competences. Approved today, "The concept of demographic policy of the Russian Federation" is consistently implements, along with the national projects in health, education and affordable housing, a system of measures to complement it, but also provides independent strategic direction of public policy for the demographic development of Russia.

The basic principles of population policy enunciated in the concept: the complexity of the solution of demographic problems, focus on priorities, choices for each direction of the demographic development of the most problematic issues and implement effective mechanisms to address them; timely response to demographic trends in the current period, taking into account regional characteristics of demographic development and differentiated approach the development and implementation of regional population programs; interaction of public authorities and civil society institutions; coordination of legislative and executive bodies at federal, regional and municipal levels.

In general, at the federal level is developed and implemented a specific set of measures to stabilize the fertility outcomes of the social, residential, institutional and informational areas. Then, at the regional level, in line with the possibility of specifying the goals and objectives of population policy, present its own set of laws and other regulations that attract additional resources for the implementation of regional priorities, population policy, specify, in accordance with local needs goals and objectives to stabilize the fertility support families with children, taking into account the local context.

At the regional level - the Republic of Tatarstan is implementing the "Comprehensive Program of the demographic development of the Republic of Tatarstan to 2010 and projected for 2030".[3] It provides the implementation of measures in areas such as: social, housing, education and information: an various ways to use the grant "Mother's capital" to pay for treatment of children, increasing the possibility of using a mortgage for young families, an increase of criterion for inclusion of families in the category of "young family", the growth compensation under the social mortgage in the event of birth 2 and 3 children, reimbursement of the parents' payment for the child in day care centers, the implementation of targeted social assistance to citizens with children (baby food, medicines, school meals, child allowances, subsidies for travel, housing, utilities), housing large families, social support for families who have been born three children at once, the

establishment of the medal "Maternal Glory".

Thus, a comprehensive program of Demographic Development of the Republic of Tatarstan takes into account the specifics, traditions and characteristics of the region in the field of demography, the law specifies the powers of regional and municipal authorities and local authorities in this field. Its implementation is carried out taking into account the concrete sociological research in the Republic of Tatarstan, held with the participation of the authors to analyze the views of young people on key population issues, its set of values and behaviors.[4] Findings of the research can identify priority actions to be taken by the state for the stabilization of fertility at the national and municipal level.

First, consider the respondents' opinion on the state of the demographic situation in the Republic of Tatarstan and its prospects, which was revealed in a survey. So, the youth believes that the situation in the Republic of Tatarstan unstable and requires a number of measures for improvement (58.5%), about one-third (33%) believe that it is stable. Young people believed that most of the last ten years the situation with birth has improved (43,9%), one-fifth believed that it became worse (21.7%). In its forecasts for the next ten years younger respondents are less optimistic, about a third think that it will improve (36,3%), almost an equal number believes that it will not change and get worse. (15,1% and 16% respectively).

In modern conditions the youth, among the main factors influencing fertility in the country calls: the family (4.54), medicine (4.36) and way of life (4.32). Then, the state (4.11), work place and environment (3.98 and 3.97, respectively) and education (3.29). Among the external factors affecting the decline in fertility youth calls: economic instability (79.2%), lack of adequate state support for families with children and alcoholism (by 57,5%), as well as drug addiction (!) (54,7%). Following in the top five reasons are: poor health care and bad ecology (53,8% and 35,4% respectively). Every third and fifth leading cause believe the reason is the high divorce rate (29,7%), lack of promotion of norms of family having many children (19,8%) and even distribution of values of homosexual love (18,9%). Among the reasons, primarily affecting the reluctance of spouses to have children, youth highlights: low family income (88.2%), lack or shortage of residential areas (83,5%), uncertainty about the future of spouses (62.3%) ; and careerism of spouses (39.6%) and conflicts of marital relations (31,1%). The small size of the child grants and the socio-economic vulnerability of women when leaving on maternity leave was chosen only by one in five and ten respondents (19,8% and 12,3% respectively).

According to the opinion of all respondents interviewed in the Republic of Tatarstan, to increase the birth rate the state must take the following measures: increase the amount of benefits for child care, assist in obtaining housing for families with children, increase the amount of benefits for pregnancy and childbirth, implement programs to provide financial support families with children, implement programs to strengthen families, increase the duration of maternity leave, implement programs to promote the values a large family.

Fecundity in the families of the young respondents in the present conditions is as follows - the majority of respondents have two children - 47,2%, one child - 17,5% children absent in 20,8%. The research showed that the preferred reproductive attitudes of young respondents are as follows: most of the best finds having two children (48,6%), an increase in the number of people who have only one child (20,8%), but also increased the number of those who would like to have 3 children (18,9%). At the same time, the actual reproductive behavior away from the preferred. Younger respondents are planning the birth of the first or another child in a long time: most of the plans in terms of up to 5 years (32,1%) and over 5 years (22,6%) in the next 3 years plan to 12,7% during the year only 3,8%. Not yet defined in terms of 18,9%.

With regard to measures to support families with children who are waiting for the respondents, then, above all, younger respondents believe it is necessary to increase the following benefits: a lump sum at birth (adoption) and benefits for a child and maternity leave (52,4%) monthly benefit for a period of leave to care for a child under the age of 1,5 years (44,3%), minimum monthly allowance for children in families with monthly income below the average of two subsistence minimums for each family member (42,0%).

In addition to solving the problem of housing allowances and the respondents expect the state and other social support measures for families with two or more children, such as: reduction of the share payment of utility bills, depending on the number of children in the family (59,1%), reduction of tax payments from the parents (37,3%), providing family leisure trips to share and provide "certificates of education" to pay for the education of higher vocational education (34,4%), respondents also noted the granting of concessions for public transport (32,5%), providing the queue places in kindergartens and schools (31,1%).

Thus, the strategy of population policy should take into account the ratio of population, individual socio-demographic groups and to be comprehensive, multileveled, systemic, promising to line up in several areas. Today it is needed a paternalistic approach, implying forestalled state support. Its priorities should be: support for families with two or more children, the development and implementation of economic, social and cultural incentives, reproductive behavior, protection of reproductive health, increasing the fertility rate to 1.7 by 2025.

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Kozina, Ekaterina S.

Development of innovative potential of young generation of Russia

Russia is at an important stage of the economic, political and social development today. Special attention to innovations and development of innovative potential is dictated by the life of a modern society. After all an embodiment of innovative processes in new products and the new techniques are bases of its social and economic development.

During the last years the economic crisis became the basic theme of political and scientific discussions burst in our country and all over the world. However at discussion of these problems in attention focus there are the questions of exclusively economic character connected with crisis of financial sphere, noncompetitiveness of the Russian technologies and instability of position of large economic agents.

Meanwhile, it is necessary to pay attention that crisis in our country has not only economic character. It is a social crisis, connected with spiritual and cultural decline of a society, disintegration of traditional system of values.

Therefore the state policy of its overcoming shouldn't be closed only on actions of macroeconomic character. It should be directed on society consolidation, support of civil initiatives. Thereupon the youth policy of the state is got special value. Young men are just capable of meeting crisis and leading the country to spiritual and moral revival.

The youth is the most active component of a civil society. Young men are better adapted for introduction of innovative projects and technologies in various spheres. They are a concentration of essentially new knowledge and ideas, are mobile and full of strength for building of the life. The Russian youth is the main customer of the worthy future, the main strategic resource of our country. [1, 6]

Practice of last decades convincingly proves that in quickly changing world strategic advantages will be at those states and societies which can effectively accumulate and productively use the human capital, where basic carrier of innovative potential of the development is the youth. Therefore questions of work with youth occupy one of leading places among strategic priorities of the countries caring of the development.

Objectively in connection with the aforesaid in the majority of the countries there is a revision of conceptual approaches in youth work. In modern Russia the youth policy was allocated in independent sphere rather recently, its principles and the basic directions are defined in Strategy of the state youth policy developed for the period till 2016 and in the Concept of long-term social and economic development of the Russian Federation till 2020.

The number of the major problems includes now perfection of standard base of a youth policy, formation of personnel potential of the state youth policy, its scientific and methodical maintenance, restoration and infrastructure modernization, support of activity of youth and children's public organizations, information support of sphere of the state youth policy. All listed directions of the state youth policy have found reflection in the project of the Concept of the Federal target program «Youth of Russia» for 2011-2015.

One of key priorities of the state youth policy in the developed Concept designates development of potential of youth and its use in interests of innovative development of the country. Realization of actions within the limits of the given direction is aimed on the decision of a problem of the Program «Creation of mechanisms of stimulation of innovative behavior of youth and its participation in working out and realization of innovative ideas» that the Share of the young men participating in actions (competitions, festivals, the Olympic Games) a scientific and technical orientation, in youth total» will allow to reach target values of an indicator», - so is declared in the document project.

A result of realization of actions for the given direction will be created a system of «electronic passports» of talented and initiative young men within the limits of SAS «Youth of Russia», containing the information on their achievements and interests. Also within the limits of SAS «the Youth of Russia» will accumulate the information on actions realized by various departments (competitions, the Olympic Games, programs) and given possibilities for talented and initiative youth, actual offers of the employers given by the centers of sphere of a youth policy services etc. the Information will be accessible to all target group in a network the Internet. Besides, on the basis of the data containing in «electronic passports», the information on available possibilities according to individual interests by certain criteria will be selected and go to each young man.

However, causes fear that the declared purposes of the state youth policy in Russia can remain declarations without active support by young men, the youth organizations and associations. Therefore a prime problem is a searching of effective ways of education of requirement for self-realization at young generation from the early age in the course of socialization.

The internal requirement for self-realization of the young man is that engine in development of its abilities and talents which make a basis of innovative potential of the person. In this case, orientation of the state youth policy to support and development of exclusively talented youth demands extra care in definition of categories "difficult" and "talented": innovations don't suffer rigid frameworks and templates.

Besides, the youth is more susceptible to the changes occurring in the world community including to use of new technologies in realizations of a youth policy, and they in domestic practice, unfortunately, frequently take root with the big delay.

The new problem consists not in the decision of problems of separate categories of youth, and in maintenance of positive development of young generation as a whole. It is easy to notice that world approaches are aimed at embedding of all generation of young men in operating structures of a society through a "participation" principle. Participating in their work, young men accumulate a private experience and have an opportunity to influence life of the educational institution, community, a city, etc. Youth participation is directed on overcoming of estrangement of youth from the adult world, finally on formation of responsibility of young men for a state of affairs in a society.

Thus, strategy and a policy of social development of youth should be under construction on the basis of essentially new approaches and in particular on the basis of self-realization of young generation in the course of amateur performance, social creativity, enterprise, realization of innovative projects, programs with active support of the state and public institutes.

Thus it is possible to allocate two primary goals in business of realization of a youth policy: 1) strategic, connected with formation and realization of long-term programs of education of active, viable young generations, and 2) tactical, connected with the help to young men on all spectrum of their radical interests and requirements. [2, 64]

The youth policy should carry out the main humancreative function, allowing the person of the young man to form itself as independent socially active subject, to provide an innovation social development of a society and itself. The dominating motive should become not adaptation to inhabitancy but requirement for its change and perfection. The priority is given to creativity as to complete scale of kinds and ways of activity.

Making active interests, requirements of young citizens for the self-realization, the new youth policy urged to rationalize, resolve arising problems, to direct them to a channel of civilized interactive dialogue between the society and youth in result it becomes the formation of the most powerful intellectual-innovative potential of Russia.

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Kubjakin, Evgeniy O., Kulikov, Evgeniy M.

The Internet in the Process of Socialization of the Russian Youth

The global network of the Internet occupies an important place in a modern society. Every year the number of its audience increases, forms and connection methods to the Internet become simpler. As a result of progress of communicative technologies existential borders are leveled. If before the scale of activity of the majority of traditional mass-media was determined by the sizes of the country, region, settlement, but now the audience of the Internet has extended to planetary scales [1].

The international computer network has become a new mass-media, a popular mass medium, a platform of economic and political operations, a venue of leisure and even religious actions. From a specialized computer network of the Internet for short term has acquired lines of social system. Like the Earth is occupied by millions people, the Internet is «occupied» by millions computers which with using of the uniform report of information interchange, special system of addressing (the IP-address, domain names) identify and find each other. Interaction in the Internet has led to set occurrence «the virtual worlds» which subjects are real and virtual persons, groups and a generalities [2, 101-102].

Actually, Internet creation has led to formation of a virtual social reality where individuals are trained, communicate and «live» as in ordinary real life, or frequently substituting it. The reason of it that any technical innovation influences society, being simultaneously both generation of scientific and technical progress and the social order [3, 9-10].

Owing to origin and development of the Internet in a society is available a number of essential transformations. In the Russian society of a tendency of information and globalization are more and more obvious every year. We will consider more in detail a situation connected with influence of the Internet on process of socialization of the Russian youth, as one of main social processes.

The understanding of socialization has affirmed in sociology as that part of process of formation of the person in which course the most general, widespread, steady lines of the person shown in socially organized activity, are formed by adjustable role structure of a society.

According to T. Parsons's theory, the individual incorporates general values in the course of dialogue with «significant others», therefore following by the valid to standard standards becomes a part of its motivational structure, its requirement [4, 229-231].

Reforming of the Russian society has caused change of standards of successful socialization of youth, set of rules of transfer of social rates and cultural values from generation to generation. It is possible to allocate following basic

features of socialization of the Russian youth on a boundary of centuries taking into account transition from the Soviet model of socialization (uniform by the norms, with equal starting possibilities and the guarantees, providing predictability of a line of life) to other model (while only developing variant, stratified): transformation of the basic institutes of socialization; deformation of the valuable and standard mechanism of social regulation and formation of new system of the social control; a disbalance of the organized and spontaneous processes of socialization towards spontaneity; change of a ratio public and private interests towards expansion of an autonomy of the formed person and space for amateur performance, creativity and the initiative of the person [5, 114].

M. Gorshkov and F. Sheregi mark, the mass communication role in youth socialization, in forming of its outlook is conclusive, especially in a century of general information. In each state mass communications are either constructive, or destructive means of forming of mass consciousness, valuable orientations, political and common citizen's installations of young generation. Last ten years in Russia, as well as all over the world, intensive development of electronic information technology has introduced essential corrective amendments in influence of traditional mass-media on youth [6, 112-113].

It is known that mass media represent an important element of process of spontaneous socialization of the youth, leveling the importance of traditional agents of socialization: families, educational institutions. The most important thing is the progress of communicative technologies which leads to origin a new social and communicative reality, a wide social and cultural context in which the socialization of present Russian youth passes. It is obvious that socialization of young Russians is performed in the conditions of formation of a global information society. In information society mass media (first of all it's the Internet) plays a crucial role in social processes, including in youth socialization. During mastering of social values, rates, samples of behavior, activity the young man as though «absorbs», drops through a prism of personal reaction all significant information for it. Today in Russia the situation becomes complicated that in a role «significant others» for youth even more often act mass media, the part from which practically isn't supervised by the state.

Complexity consists in an information overload of youth and chaotic stratification in its consciousness of the diversified information that leads to deviations in the course of socialization, in mastering of the undesirable information from the point of view of educational and socialized process [7, 25]. In the Internet any teenager can familiarize with pornographic materials, scenes of sexual violence. Also a problem is uncontrolled mastering by youth, rising generation of obscene abuse and a criminal slang, acquaintance to the materials propagandizing consumption of alcohol, the drugs, describing advantages of such conduct of life. The information on specificity of explosives, poisons, possibilities of their production and application should cause anxieties. It is simple to find in the

Internet the radical religious literature, to enter interaction with any sects. The current situation can't cause alarm and concern of the public, scientists, politicians.

Now the diversified information is published in the Internet, including contradicting legal and to behavior moral standards. The virtual environment offers many materials from which it is necessary to protect minors that, unfortunately, in practice doesn't occur. The youth is to the greatest degree subject to the Internet influence because this environment especially it is a lot of adventures, rebels, lonely, curious, trustful – these are social-age features of youth. The youth is distinguished also by draft for all new and, in general, a novelty romanticizing. Thus possibilities of the state and a society in control sphere over the Internet are seriously limited, considering planetary character of it.

Growth of influence of a global network of the Internet has essentially affected the Russian youth. Scientists had been noted changes in socialization, social development of the Russian youth in comparison with the Soviet period of time, and these changes by many researchers are estimated more likely negatively. Dysfunctions of processes of socialization of the Russian youth lead to a number of negative social consequences, and first of all, to growth of extremist installations and an expert in the youth environment. It is obvious that the problem of negative influence of the Internet on process of socialization of the Russian youth isn't solved at the moment.

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Malyugin, Alexander V.

Enchanted by Stalinism: toward the Problem of the Renaissance of Stalinist Views among Contemporary Russian Youth

The problem of young people and their political self-identification is one of the most important problems in contemporary Russia, and the solution of this problem will, beyond all doubt, influence the trajectory of our country's development. As all other countries of the former communist alliance, Russia is experiencing complex post-totalitarian transformation that requires the elaboration of optimal adaptive strategies for population. Relating to this instance, the mentality of youth some time (during the 1990-s) represented a considerably gratifying scene: amidst the overall frustration which had been caused by the destruction of fundamental ideals, amidst the chronic social asthenia which seemed to be insuperable, the Russian youth had optimistic views, positive attitude to the democratic reorganizations, and obvious sympathy towards the West. In this connection, expectedly, the great responsibility was laid upon young people, inasmuch as, according to the elder generations, the mission of youth was to actualize the high aspirations of the previous generations against the severe countrywide crisis. The common social inactivity of Russian citizens was to be compensated with the active work of young people by virtue of their achievement orientation and high motivation. Juvenility – an ascribed social characteristic – in some degree began to be perceived as the singular possibility of achievement.

But how does this young generation comprehend the contemporary strategy of Russia's evolution? Relying upon the result of empirical investigations, one can say that the overwhelming majority of young Russians would like to see Russia among developed Western countries, at that considering the claim of becoming the superpower to be the reducing factor in constructive borrowing of the Western development models. However, the quota of young respondents who insist that Russia's entrance into the European community is an integrative concept represents at most 10%. At the same time, just 29% of young respondents agree with the statement: "Russia should attempt to become the European country rather than to search for its own path", and the majority (57%) does not agree with that [2]. It can be explained through the work of the compensatory protection mechanism which is inherent both to Soviet and post-soviet societies and is determined by the moderateness of attitude to Russia among Western countries and in sort by the unwillingness to adopt Russia friendly. In our country the percentage of those who agree with the following assertion: "It would be better for Russia if foreigners stopped to push their ideas upon us" – increases: in 2005 they constituted 71%, but in 2007 there were 78% of them (N=2000) [ibid].

It is evident that unless the manifest tendency of enlargement of radical isolationist trends takes place, but at least the trends that maintain the necessity of

searching for the nationwide strategy which could consolidate the active population against the external enemy. It is the West in whole that begins to be perceived as such enemy by youth which follows the elder generations. L. Gudkov notes that the West for our country which is experiencing the traditionalist modernization is a significant concept, and its structure symbolizes the impact of mythology on the consciousness of Russians [1]. The nurturance of the image of the hostile West motivated the large-scale hostility among some groups of youth, the revival of nationalism and empire attitudes as a response to the imitation of belonging to the Western life style which is demonstrated by the most provided young people in Russia. Investigators note the lack of conscious political choice among contemporary Russian youth. In the process of value transformation the socio-cultural patterns in the youth consciousness show crucial fluctuation. It can be explained through the intense symbolic struggle between Russian political subjects that brings about the contradictory picture of political reality in the consciousness of youth. The fragmentary character of political consciousness of young people frequently contributes to the radicalization of their political opinion. Either the mechanisms of self-attribution to the increasingly becoming aggressive and militaristic majority or mechanisms of cynical negation of occurrent events work in contemporary Russia.

In connection with the rise of xenophobia and popularity of empire political orientation among young generations there also emerge the problem of Stalinism as a phenomenon of social consciousness and the question about its revival among radical Russian youth. The figure of Stalin appears to be not casual. In July 2007 there was conducted a survey. It was devoted to the inquiry of mass historical consciousness and perception of our country's past by Russian citizens. 44% of all respondents think that the Soviet past influenced the morality of contemporary Russians well, and 50% are sure of its positive influence on our culture's development. 91.6% are agree with the affirmation that repressions took place when Stalin governed, and 63.5% understand that these repressions hurt millions of victims. Nevertheless Stalin has taken the third place among the leaders who "cause sympathy" among Russian people. The survey was conducted in St. Petersburg, Kazan, and Ulyanovsk in the form of personal interview (N=3000) [6].

The sympathy to Stalinism among Russians can be presented as a peculiar "Stalinist syndrome" which consists of three elements: 1. the notion of Stalinism as of the Golden Age; 2. idealization of the Soviet chiefs; and 3. the myth of the Great Patriotic War 1941–1945 [ibid].

The concept of modernization is connected with the first element. Evidently, the image of Stalin which is significant not only for historians but also for the general public (including young population) emerges exactly against the modernization. Well known Churchill's phrase: "Stalin had found Russia working with wooden ploughs and is leaving her equipped with atomic piles" – obtains distinctive and almost sacral significance. It displays the majesty of this historical personality, substituting with this majesty the actual heroism of multitude of Soviet people. Stalinism in the consciousness of majority of Russians appears entirely as a

period of modernization accomplished by the society of voluntary workers who placed the idea of the national mightiness higher than their particular interests. Their achievements are projected on the image of Stalin who appears to be a unique personification of all the accomplishments that took place or were invented by agitators. The shoot forward in the epoch of Stalin transforms into an indisputable evidence of rightfulness and necessity of large-scale repressions which are justified because of impossibility to hide them. The concept of modernization has become particularly of current interest now, after it has been declared as the main direction of Russia's development in the nearest future. Consequently, all manner of youth organizations become active, and they proclaim the necessity of "steady hand" in state management, because, according to their members, sabotage is inevitable.

Thus, an autocratic component of the national leader image in the consciousness of youth is prevailing one, and it determines the frames of perception of political situation in Russia. Exactly with this the idealization of Stalin (the second element of "Stalinist syndrome") is connected. He was a chief who succeeded to integrate the country in the turning-point when the sovereignty of state and existence of the Soviet nation were set on stake. The principle of leadership becomes the central one, and it accomplishes the function of sacralization of "personality role in history". The image of enemy launched the mechanism of socio-cultural integration at that time, in the period of the Great Patriotic War, and now it remains the symbol that consolidates the nation. Searching for the enemy is a foreground task of several youth organizations, and it shapes the collective notions of the majority of youth representatives.

In this way, in July 2008 the question: "Do you think that Russia has enemies nowadays?" - was offered to respondents. The number of those who answered: "Yes" - among representatives of 15-24 and 25-39 ages was equal and made 64% in each of these cohorts. In other cohorts as far as the age of respondents increased, the percentage of those who were agree with that assertion also grew (N=1500) [2]. It is remarkable that, answering the question: "What do you think, are the accusations by the West of democracy transgressions in Russia caused by anxiety about Russian citizens, or they are done to discredit Russia and to obtain some preferences?", - the young people of 18-24 age who were agree with the existence of accomplished by the West activity that discredits Russia constituted 72%, and this quantity was more than the quota of representatives of the other cohorts who followed them. At once, the quota of those who answered so among other generations made 67.3% on average (N=1600, 2008) [ibid]. The evidence of these surveys explicitly shows that the West appears as the real political and ideological enemy in the consciousness of youth.

This structure of we-identity of young Russians is supported by the state, which can be characterized as an authority in the sphere of ideology construction. Apparently, this explains the phenomenon of "Putinism" which is declared by several youth organizations (the most famous of them is "Nashi"). It evokes an extreme incomprehension among Western observers. The public approval of authoritarian and bureaucratic methods of state administration by these

organizations can indisputably be considered as a new birth of Stalinist ideology. It is evident that the phenomenon of "Nashism" consists not of manifested response to the activity of youth movements that propagandize xenophobia, but of rearing mass loyalty to Russian government and Vladimir Putin. He is a peculiar personification of hope which is felt by all Russian population, especially by young generations. Incidentally, the American magazine "The Weekly Standard" calls this movement as "The Putin Jugend". It is notable that there is an agitational poster on the official site of "Nashi" movement. We can see Medvedev and Putin on it, and the signature is following: "Will you be the third?". Thus the agitators make an illusion of belonging to the performances of Medvedev-Putin tandem. The identification with the authority by active young people appears in this respect as the kind of ideological control over the situation implemented by the creators of ideology.

The feature of Russian national character to divide the world into the friends and the enemies ("the ours" and "not the ours") acquires in this instance the ground for cultivation of quasi-patriotism, which is posited by the name of this movement. According to A. Asriyan, the epoch of Stalinism as a "top of USSR existence" was an "ideal type of maximum effectiveness". This effectiveness cannot be tolerated by people for a long time, therefore they rush to the other extremity - "the ultimate humanism of human rights and political correctness". Furthermore, Asriyan suggests: "The actual Empire is a perfect compromise between the effectiveness and humanism, between the tension of Stalin's project which is nevertheless built upon the Overmen, and the abdominal fat of the present world structure" [3]. The appeal to the Overman image, besides being a simple flattery, accomplishes a serious integrative function in terms of vulgarly interpreted Nietzschean philosophy. Such oratory, in spite of its manifest populism, is, perhaps, the credo of young people who confess sympathy to Stalinism.

The third component of Stalinist syndrome is the myth of the Great Patriotic War which is also the origin of Stalinism idealization. Sociologists affirm that it is a curtain myth which accomplishes the compensatory function in the structure of Russian collective identity [6]. The war as the tragedy of multitude of people is not mentioned in mass media because of its hurting character, and it is replaced with the assertions of "great national act of bravery" and "the patriotic sacrifice which was offered on the Altar of the Motherland". Zaslavsky wrote that in the period of Soviet system existence this sovereign interpretation of the 1945 Victory allowed the prevailing authorities to exploit their anti-fascist orientation as a contrast to the Western capitalism and liberalism [1, p. 37]. But the breakdown of totalitarian system evoked no changes in reproduction of this symbol. It permits to say not about the conservation of the War attitude in mass consciousness, but about the taboo which is laid on this topic and about the unrationalized attitude towards it. The absence of contemplation about the War testifies that the semantic complex of national act of bravery and common heroism remains constant.

Furthermore, the surveys which were conducted among Russians in 1991 and 2001 showed the following dynamics of collective notions about the War. The

question was: "The loss of Soviet Union in the period of War are much more than loss of Nazi Germany. What, in your opinion, caused this?". The quota of those who think: "It was caused by the fact that Stalin and his assistants worked regardless of victims" – in 1991 was 33%, but in 2001 this percentage shortened to the number of 22% [1, p. 41]. Such rehabilitation of Stalin in the consciousness of respondents tells us about an increasing credence not only to his image, but also to the authoritarian management style. The mechanism of justification of Stalinism begins to work, and this process is started by the ideological cliché of "our Victory".

A. Assmann distinguishes between the two kinds of collective memory: 1. the cultural memory, keeping of which is provided by the normative texts; and 2. the communicative memory which is transmitted by delivery of oral recollections [4, p. 199]. The fact that characteristics of the transmitted past remain unchanged and they are kept by young generations tells about the predominance of cultural memory. The recollections about the War are offered to the youth as a doctrine deprived with the personal experience. It supposes only canonical interpretation and latent prohibition of alternative ways of history conceptualization. The memory of participants and first-hand observers is substituted with the ideology.

It is evident that now we are going through the stage of memory politization. This phase was preceded by the phase of authentic recollections and the phase of medialization [4, p. 205]. The attitude towards the historical memory as to an instrumental value and necrosis of feeling are inherent to the present phase. Heredity of war attitudes among the young people is explained by the work of traditionalization mechanism that preserves the social order and stability by means of setting clear frames of memorization.

The discourse of Stalinism is an idealization of total constraint, and it embodies the charismatic type among Weber's types of supremacy. Subordination by virtue of emotional and affective feeling is a substitution of rational and legal power execution, and it certainly cannot be viewed as a progressive phenomenon of social life. Stalinist syndrome, probably, is one of the variations of integral "Empire syndrome" which includes following elements: 1. empire body; 2. empire consciousness; and 3. empire authority [5, p. 261]. The passive and adaptive strategy of Russian people, "the complex of victim" described by L. Gudkov (who interprets it as "a reaction to the coercive processes of acquiring mass character by society which are implemented from above" [1, p. 107]) and phenomenon of "negative identity" (the term also belongs to L. Gudkov) as a demonstration of negative adaptation to the institutional structures which "interlock the possibilities to increase value potential" of Russians [1, p. 16] – all these symptoms are the background for the restoration of Stalinist ideals among Russian youth. The question of the cause of this phenomenon is debatable; some researchers suggest the term "defective socialization" of Russian youth in the period of 1990-s as an explanation of it [2]. Nevertheless, it is clear that even among youth the indifference towards country's political life prevails because of depreciation of politics, and Stalinism is a philosophy of radical minority. The revival of Stalinist views is a

situational phenomenon that reflects the essence of the societal transformation which is experienced by Russia nowadays.

Under the idea of Stalinist revival in our country there undoubtedly hides a concept which has been invented centuries ago, and its essence can be summarized as the exclusiveness of social and historical existence of Russia. "The construction of socialism in one, taken alone country" (the main concept of Stalinism) is a manifestation of qualitative estimation of Russia's place in the world with the inherent isolationist trend. The contradistinction between Russian we-identity (which relies on collectivism) and alien they-identity of Europeans (which has individualism as an ideological basis) may have as one of its results a renovation of Stalinism as a nationwide ideology which could integrate all "the ours" against "not the ours". We can find deep historical roots in it: the Slavophiles viewed «Sobornost'» (collegiality) as a true nature of Russian people who delegated the power to "the Anointed by God" (the Tzar). In Stalinist interpretation this person, expectedly, is a Chief who legitimates his authority with the illusion of collegiality (the so-called collectivism), and those who stumbled at the validity of this collegiality had the stigma of "nation's enemy". The exploitation of national resentment and nostalgia can be characterized just as an ideological campaign, whose consequences may range from maintenance of existent order of things to radicalization of mass social behavior caused by low rate of gratification.

Karl Mannheim's idea that youth is a latent resource should be accepted as prevention from the ideological "brainwashing" among young people, because they possess a serious potential for social development and generally provide the social system with vitality. Speaking on the whole, we can say that the renaissance of Stalinism nowadays is understood as a return to sacralization of the governor's person and idealization of repressive social institutions contrary to the modern institutional demands of Russian society.

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Mikheeva, Anna V., Cherkashina, Tatyana U.

Social Necessity and Possibilities of the Family in Using Public Agents of Children Socialization

The most important result of socialization is the formation of the human potential of Russian children, i.e. the totality of knowledge, skills, physical abilities, and personal qualities embodied in children. This potential contributes to the further social interactions of children and ensures their individual development. But the principal elements of socialization appear within the family, and it is the family that bears the main expenditures on the upbringing and education of children, i.e. there occurs initial investment in the human potential formation

However, the present state of the family institute, which is often characterized as crucial, cannot help telling on the functioning of the family as the institute of primary socialization. So, among the young people of 15-19 years of age a trend is observed to an increase of the portion of those who have failed to obtain the basic education. Much anxiety concerning the rising generation is also caused by their poor and ever worsening health, by the spreading social orphanhood, homelessness, vagrancy of little children and teenagers, as well as by high juvenile delinquency [1, p. 467]. The study of the present-day correlation between the educative role of the family and that of extra-familial institutions dealing with children has been the aim of our project "The socialization of present-day children in Russia: the roles of family and public agents". To put it another way, we are now to find out how the diversity of the forms of the family life influences the process of children potential formation and what social and economic resources the family and society involve in this process. The topicality of the present research is also due to the fact that practically no study is made on the family with cooperation the out of family (public) education agents, but as a rule, study is only made of either the relations between parents and children in the family or the problems of socialization in the public institutions.*

Since the family is traditionally regarded as the most important institution of the primary socialization, the expectations of the society that the family will perform this function are well founded. The consequences of the deplorable state of the family, which fails to ensure the personality formation and socialization of the children, are risky not only for the young generation but also for the society as a whole. According to E.B. Breeva, the non-adaptation of children is becoming in Russia an object of the natural security policy [2].

Under these conditions, of rather great importance for the society is the activity of the public institutions of socialization assuming the functions of upbringing, education, health maintenance, safety of little children and teenagers: preschool agents, comprehensive schools, musical, sporting, artistic, technical schools, stations, clubs, and other agents of supplementary education as well as

* The project is realized at the Chair of General Sociology of the Economic Department of Novosibirsk State University (the scientific head is Cherkashina, Tatyana U.); the project is being supported by the Russian Humanitarian Scientific Foundation, № 10-03-00499a.

medical institutions for children. At the same time, the state decreases its investments in the fields of education and children's health protection while the population has to increase them. But do all the families have any possibility (and wish) to invest money for the education, health protection and safety of their children? The answer to this question is conditioned not only by the present-day differentiation of families according to their economic position but also by the diversity of the modern forms of family life: families with older relatives, one-parent families, families with step-parents (stepfathers or stepmothers), families with stepbrothers or stepsisters, etc. Moreover, family investments in children also depend on the character of intra-familial relations whose present-day vector is ever more often directed from infant centrism to conjugality [1, p. 468-469; 3, p. 297].

At the first stage of the research the task was to reveal changes in the scale and structure of investing economic and temporal resources of households in the human potential of children within the period from the middle of the 1990s till the end of the first decade of 2000. The novelty of this way of setting the task consists in that while studying the differentiation in using educative services the objects of the research were usually households, which differed in their composition, economic and regional status. As to our project, we intend to make quantitative estimates of the dynamics of economic and temporal investments of households differing in composition and status in the upbringing and education of *their* children up to 14 years of age. The period under discussion – from the middle of the 1990s till the end of the first decade of 2000 – is characterized in Russia by numerous multi-scaled transformations.

Firstly, one of these is the transformation of the principles of social policy under the action of economic reforms/conditions in the early 1990s, among which one can single out (a) involvement of individuals and households as co-payers for social services; (b) rationalization of the expenditure of state resources; (c) releasing of enterprises from secondary assets and from the social infrastructure (public children's agents, centres of cultural activities, clubs, etc.).

Secondly, it is the transformation of labour behaviour of the Russians: during the period from 2000 to 2008 there was an increase in the employment of women, the tendency being characteristic of both the women of the productive age and those older than 55. In the context of children socialization this phenomenon can be estimated as a prerequisite for "delegating" the family's and other kinsfolk's education functions to public (out of a family) socialization institutions. Our research fixes the projection of these tendencies to the micro level – the behaviour/attitude of households as of "investors" towards of *their own* children (in the human potential of *their own* children).

The empirical database for solving the first stage problem represented the data of the Russian monitoring of the economic position and health of the country's population (RLMS) for 1994-2009. An analysis of the data of the RLMS for 1994-2009 has shown that adults spend the least time on children in families with only one parent (part of the total time being spent on little children by an elder child over 14 years of age): in 2009 the median value of the total every day hours spent by adults

on child care and upbringing in such families amounted to 3 h 47 min per day. A little longer – 4 h 23 min is the total time spent on children in families with both parents. The presence of relatives of older generations (grandmothers/grandfathers or great grandmothers/great grandfathers) in a household increases significantly the total time spent on children: on the average (median), 5 h 40 min per day in families with one parent and older generation relatives, and 6 hours a day in families with both parents and older generation relatives.

As a child grows up, the total time spent by adults on their communication with him/her decreases. The mean total time spent by adults on their contacts with a child under 2 years of age amounted to 9 h 34 min a day; with a child of 3-5 years, 6 h 9 min; with a child of 6-7 years attending no school, 3 h 43 min; but with a schoolchild of 6-11 years it was 3 h 23 min and with a schoolchild older than 12 it was only 3 hours. One can assume that this time is spent in the morning when a child gets up, washes, has breakfast and goes to school, and a couple of hours in the evening when the schoolchild has supper, puts her/his textbooks and exercise books in her/his satchel and goes to bed. So in the present-time Russian families the time required for the communication of children with their parents and other relatives is getting ever shorter. As for help in the upbringing of children from relatives living separately, it is getting ever more circumstantial and fragmentary (for more detail see [4]).

Under these conditions the socialization function should be taken, and is taken, over by out family institutions concerned with children: sporting, artistic, creative schools, centers, stations, etc., as was the case earlier in the pre-reform times in Russia and in the USSR, and as is the case now in many European societies. Our analysis of the data from the RLMS shows a tendency to an increase in economic expenditures in families on the nursing, upbringing and education of children. But these expenditures are made up of both intra- and extra-family expenses. Now, a noticeable tendency is traced for an increase in the portion of expenses born by extra-familial (out family) institutions in the total volume of expenditures on childcare. Hence one can conclude that expenditures are rising in Russian families on payments for the *services* in children care, upbringing and education. These services are rendered by social agents of education (school and supplementary) and by individual ones: nurses, private tutors, trainers, psychologists, doctors, etc. These tendencies may be of two kinds: normative and circumstantial. In the former case, norms of parental behavior are formed stipulating ever greater participation of professionals rather than parents in the formation of the human potential of children; in the latter case, the increasing use of institutional services is caused by the present-time stage of the increasing out-of-home employment of women.

The second task at this stage of the investigation consisted in revealing the problems of the out family institutional agents of socialization. In this capacity we considered generally recognized “suppliers of services” in the field of upbringing and socialization of children – institutions of supplementary education of children. Expert interviews were held with the managers, psychologists, teachers, trainers,

and instructors of these institutions in the Siberian cities of Novosibirsk, Kemerovo, and Barnaul. At the present time a transition is taking place to a new system of work in many parameters: principles of financing, payment for work, criteria and indices of teaching and its efficiency. For this reason in the course of interviews different experts expressed a multi-valued attitude towards the coming changes.

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Noskova, Antonina V.

Some Problems and Contradictions in the Present Family Situation in Russia

The subject of the paper is an analysis of some contradictions between the modern types of demographic behavior and the Russians traditions in the marriage and the family. On the one hand, the family processes in Russia are similar to ones in other European countries. On the other hand, they have some interesting peculiarities. These two points cause some contradictions in the family behavior of Russians.

Contradictions in the family behavior of Russians

In Russia, the current birth rate is very low now, it is lower than in some European countries, e.g., in France, Sweden. But even today, for the most Russians, the family values have the first position in the hierarchy of the life values. So, according to the sociological surveys about the most important life priorities, 70-80 percents of Russians put “the family” on the first position.

In 2008, for about 73 % of Russians, a family is «the most significant thing in the life». For comparison, it can be pointed that the wealth as the supreme value was chosen by 25, 6 % of Russians, and «interesting work» was chosen by about 31 % of the interrogated Russians (See Table 1)¹.

Table 1

**The supreme values rating of Russians
(% of the total number of respondents)**

Values	%
To be a rich man, wealth	25,6
Interesting work	35,6
Respect	25,1
Career, power	9,7
Good family, good children	73,1
Confidence in the future	49,5
Freedom	4,4
Love for God	5,5

¹ The data presented come from the survey «People life change on the Post-Soviet space», which is carried out by the Academic Institute of Social Researches at Russian State Social University (RSSU) in 2008. The national-wide representative sample covered 2017 people.

Safety	18,3
Good ecology	22,9
Honestly	19,6

Here, it is necessary to note that "the family" for Russians has its traditional meaning in contrast to Western Europe and America, where the family also means often even LAT (Living apart together), various forms of swing relations and the homosexual unions. Prof. David Cheal said about this that «the flagship journal of the National Council on Family Relations in the United States used to be called *the Journal of Marriage and the Family*. It is now called *the Journal of Marriage and Family*, reflecting the idea that there is no longer one dominant model of the family but a diversity of patterns for family living»¹.

For the majority of Russians, the family is characterized by traditional ways, with marriage of man and woman, two parents, children, common residence. This thesis confirms the stability of the official marriage set of Russians. It also indicates the remaining stability of family structure of Russians.

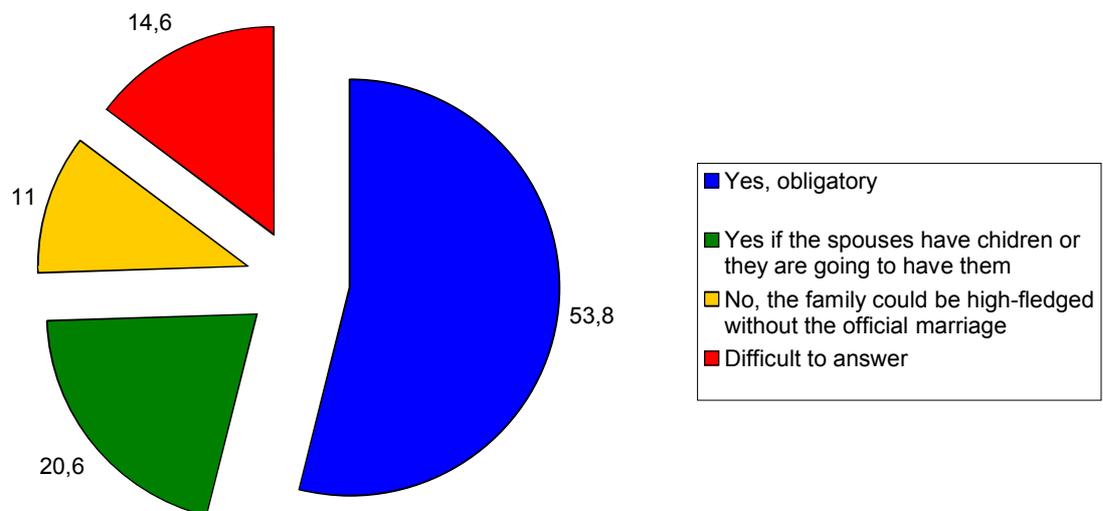


Figure 1. Opinion of Russians on the necessity of official marriage (% of interrogated)

So, at the poll about the official marriage necessity, more than the half of Russians (53,8 %), consider that it is definitely necessary to marry because the good

¹ Cheal, David. Families in today's world: a comparative approach. Routledge, New York, 2008. P. 4.

family cannot exist without the official marriage. And only 11 % believe that the good family can be without the official marriage (Figure 1)¹.

Another contradiction is that there is a high divorce rate in Russia and, simultaneously, there is a high satisfaction of the marriage relations. Let's address to the data of sociological research «Monitoring of Social Sphere»². As a rule, the majority of Russians answer a question about the satisfaction of the family life positively enough. In 2008, the answers to the question: «What mood and feelings are caused in you by your family and children?», were distributed as follows:

- 49,5 % of respondents answered – «satisfaction, love, gratitude»;
- 24,5 % – «reliability and security»;
- 9,7 % – «anxiety, alarm, hopelessness»;
- 0,9 % – «depression, rage and irritation»;
- 15,5 % – «it is difficult to answer».

In 2009, 72 % of Russians answered a question “Are you satisfied by your family life in whole? » positively. Here, 27,6 % answered "I am completely satisfied", and 44,3 % answered "I am more likely satisfied"³.

What does this data indicate? It is possible to assume that the Russian people are happy in marriage and their marriage is steady enough and stable.

However, another statistics also exists. It is based not on the subjective estimations but on the objective indicators, statistics of divorces. Here again, Russia occupies the top lines in the countries rating of the divorce level. Statistics of divorces gives us other conclusions: the marriage doesn't look the stable social institute, and the family is often a stress source.

Here we can see the contradiction between the subjective perception, the idealization of the family life and the real demographic process such as divorce.

Factors that influence on the contradictions for the Present Family Situation in Russia

What are the reasons of the paradoxicality of the situation in the family and demography spheres? Among the factors that cause the contradictions for the present family situation in Russia, we show the following ones: the global transformation of family institute; transformation of the love; the social, economical and moral collapse of 1990th; historical and cultural peculiarities of Russia.

1. Global transformation of family institute.

¹ The data presented come from the survey «Family. Demography. Social Health of the Population», which is carried out by RSSU in January, 2006. All-Russian representative sample was used, 2400 people were interrogated in 85 settlements in 25 regions of the Russian Federation with observance of quotas on sex, age and types of settlements agree the data of Russian Federation State Statistics Service. An error of random sampling is 1.9 %.

² The data presented come from the survey «Monitoring of Social Sphere», which is carried out by RSSU annually since 2002. The paper uses the data for 2008 (when 1548 people were interrogated) and 2009 (when 1730 people were interrogated).

³ The data presented come from the survey «People life change on the post-Soviet space»

There is no doubt that the influence of the civilization trend that is caused by general modernization and globalization of mankind (industrialization, urbanization, formation of a consumer society, etc) is indisputable.

This leads to the historical descent of need for children and distribution of the one-two children model as the result of reproductive behavior of a family. This also leads to the gradual, evolutionary transition from the traditional models of a family, a marriage, a birth rate to the modern models. The tradition, being imposed on the contemporary models of behavior, leads to the contradictions and paradoxes.

2. Transformation of the love.

The love between the man and the woman takes a special place among major factors which lead to happy home life. Antony Giddens, a classic of the postmodern sociology, gives an opinion that the modern family is kept exclusively on the «pure relations»¹, which are exempt from the economic and other utilitarian interests. In this case, it is important to find an answer on the question: “What sense is put today by people in the concept “love”?”

In the research «Monitoring of Social Sphere, 2008», the Russians were offered to connect their understandings of the love with three (from eleven) indications, which better reflect the concept of the love in their opinion. All the variants offered had positive value. Nevertheless, methodologically, these eleven variants were subdivided into two kinds.

The first “kind” of the love is a love as «the form of productive activity» (E.Fromm's expression)²; it is an altruistic feeling that is directed on the partner. This type of the love was tested by the following variants:

- Impossibility of existence without a beloved;
- A sense of responsibility for the beloved;
- Readiness to sacrifice oneself (or own interests).

The second “kind” of the love is a feeling of reciprocity. It is characterized by such connotations as: understanding; the respect of each other; feeling of happiness; sexual harmony, etc.

By the results of the polls in 2008 and 2009, the sense of the love is in the reciprocity for the majority of Russians. About 72 % of Russians have connected this high feeling with «understanding and the respect of each other», and only 11 % – with readiness to sacrifice oneself (See Table 2).

¹ Transformation of intimacy // Translation from English V.Anurin. — St. Petersburg.: Publishing house «Piter», 2004.

² Fromm E. To have or to be? Moscow, Progress, 1990.

Table 2

Characteristics that reflect the concept of the love
(One can choose 3 points maximum),
% of answering

Indicators that reflect the essence of the love	%
Feeling of happiness	34,5
Sexual harmony	36,5
Understanding, the respect of each other	71,7
Spiritual intimacy	26,3
Impossibility of existence without a beloved	13,9
Sense of responsibility for the beloved	28,8
Readiness to sacrifice oneself (or one's own interests)	11,4
Stability in relations	21,6
Disinterestedness, unselfishness	7,2
Reciprocity	29,2
Other	1,0

However we will notice that from the point of view of Christian understanding of a matrimony, altruism and self-sacrifice is a condition of realization of any present marriage.

The aspiration only to personal happiness leads to instability of marriage relations. But the absence of such personal qualities as ability to live for the beloved and to overcome one's own egoistical inclinations doesn't allow building steady relations as the lifelong marriage. Apparently, it could explain the high divorce rate contrary to the background of the subjective feeling of happiness in marriage.

3. The social, economical and moral collapse of 1990th.

The dualism of the demographic and family situation is also caused by the social, economical and moral collapse of 1990th. Its consequences have not been overcome till now. The real worsening of financial position of Russians, the polarization of the social groups of "rich" and "poor" has caused the sharp deterioration of demographic indicators in 1990th.

The liberal ideological labels, which dominate in the official ideology in Post-Soviet Russia after 1990, have put a personal freedom and one's economic interests in the center of the all social relations. The ideals of individualism, sexual freedom, economic independence, material success are the primordial values of the western society. These values were included to our society artificially and they contradict to Russian mental, spiritual and family traditions now. They have led to the frustration, to the social anomy and also to the deformation of the family behavior.

Conclusions

The contradictions in the modern family and demographic situation in Russia lead to the unpredictability of the demographic development. The scientists have not yet realized and not predicted all consequences of modern family transformations and demographic changes. And consequences can be catastrophic for Russia.

In this connection, we note that recently some steps were made in Russia to improve the family situation. But in our opinion, these steps are still too small. Further various measures in all spheres of people life (economy, finance, moral, mass-media, medicine, education, support of children, culture, migration, etc.) have to be made to improve really and essentially the family and demography situation in Russia.

Panina Galina V., Moscow

Education in the Socialization of Young People

Today's sociology of education focuses on and generalizes the requirements that the times impose on the system of education; it emphasizes the necessity of keeping track of the tendencies in society that make it possible for education in Russia to provide the country's citizens with the knowledge and skills that are necessary for life in the modern world, to the benefit of themselves and society. These requirements include the following:

- The *integration* of all of society's educational structures in the framework of the system of continuous education for the purpose of providing the rising generation with appropriate upbringing and enabling the entire population to adapt to social realities that are constantly changing;
- The *humanization* of the educational process, focusing more intensive attention on methods of upbringing, the development of the individual and his interests, constant perfection of intellectual, moral and physical qualities;
- The *differentiation and individualization* of instruction and upbringing, focusing on the unique potential of each individual, the creation of the conditions necessary for each one to show what he can do;
- The *democratization* of the educational process that provides students and learners with equal opportunities to take part in the administration of educational structures, the development and improvement of such structures, by way of active interaction on all levels of the educational space [1, pp. 82-83].

There are a number of tendencies in Russian education that are bringing it up to the level of the requirements of the postindustrial society.

1. The activation of the principle of modular education, which makes it possible to designate precisely the set of abilities (competencies) necessary for the fulfillment of a particular category of tasks and to demonstrate its place in the immense domain of the system of continuous education.

2. A rise in the level of technical equipment of Russian education, the installation of computer technology everywhere, making it possible to take advantage of modern interactive and distance technologies that enable an elaborated system by which broad segments of the population can obtain knowledge and be involved in intellectual activity.

3. A transition away from primarily informational forms of the transmission of knowledge, in favor of active methods and forms of instruction that make it possible for every learner to input his own intellectual and creative potential into finding solutions to tasks and problems, the completion of individual assignments,

and the pursuit of his own educational trajectory. The use of computer systems makes it possible to have access to fundamentally new pedagogical technologies, to develop certified programs of instruction and educational technologies for individualized and maximally differentiated instruction that is oriented toward the accomplishment of specific social tasks, including measures to relieve sociocultural tension and resolve social conflicts whenever they arise in some particular region.

4. The transition away from an overly rigidly regulated and algorithmicized teaching and learning process in favor of one that is more flexible and developmental, one that enable learners to be more intensively and actively involved in ways to organize the teaching and upbringing process. Efforts are being made to develop game-playing forms of mastering the necessary competencies and to improve the psychological, pedagogical, and methodological support of instructional procedures.

5. The adoption of forms of the organization of the teaching and learning activity, in which the instructor and the student work together on new projects and solutions are found as a result of the active interaction and independent research activity in the process of the collective efforts of teacher and student.

It needs to be emphasized that youth extremism has not just one cause but a whole complex of causal factors that work in different ways depending on the situation. Educational structures that are flexible can react promptly to any negative manifestations or social tensions that arise. Of course, it is not possible to solve the problem of extremism solely by transforming educational structures. Also necessary are economic, political, and normative legal measures, to be implemented by the appropriate organizations. However, the system of education must serve as the fundamental environment to prepare the soil that will foster adoption of appropriate norms and rules and the formations of young people's independent behavior. According to our survey of second-year college students in a number of faculties at Moscow N.E. Bauman State Technical University in the spring of 2010, in response to a question about the directionality of extremist actions by young people 14 percent stated that the purpose of the actions had been to satisfy personal interests by antisocial means, 14 percent perceived such actions to be a demonstration of individualistic sentiments, and the overwhelming majority (72 percent) believed that extremism represents an attempt to solve acute and urgent social problems that affect young people, among others, by radical methods. It is obvious, therefore, that finding a root-cause solution to the problem of extremism must lie on the plane of bringing harmony to social relations, but young people's methods of struggle and forms of actions can be and must be refined and optimized by way of social experience in educational structures.

In the process of studying the basic directions of unlawful actions by young people, education bodies and the scientific and pedagogical community can focus upbringing efforts in the direction of discussing and solving relevant problems in collaboration with students. In the 2010 survey mentioned above, 58 percent of the second-year students surveyed made a direct connection between young people's extremist actions their negative assessment of the current economic and political

state of Russian society, as well as their lack of confidence in the possibility of positive change. Another 14 percent mentioned manifestations of social inequality in society, and 28 percent thought that the basic cause of extremism is the maximalism characteristic of youth along with lack of social experience. These data are in agreement with the findings of a survey of young college students conducted by scientists at Moscow State University in 2006, in which 66 percent of the young people ascribed flare-ups of extremist behavior to disillusionment with Russian's present situation and the impossibility of properly solving social problems [2, p. 40]. Students at Moscow State Technical University think that the most dangerous type of extremism consist of political manifestations (44 percent); 28 percent said that ethnic clashes are the ones that should be resolved; 14 percent said that the most dangerous manifestations of extremism are religious, social and economic actions.

Sociological surveys of actions by young people are extremely important for the purpose of organizing upbringing influence via educational structures. Such surveys make it possible to

focus the main efforts on areas of work with young people that have been designated as critical and requiring immediate attention. In their survey of youth extremism [2, pp. 44-45], scientists at Moscow State University singled out nine leading tendencies that, in our view, can be opposed only through the development of the educational environment. Very symptomatically, the crisis of present-day education and its main institutions is cited as the basic determinant of young extremism. First and foremost, only by overcoming the dysfunctions of the institution of education and creating modern educational structures that are open to innovation will it be possible to begin to solve the problem of youth extremism. The next causal factor named by the scientists is the crisis of the family and upbringing in the home. In today's rapidly developing high-technology society the family is not capable on its own to bring up the kind of individual who can measure up to the requirements of society. The institution of the family is undergoing changes, and it is through the system of education that these new tendencies must be discussed, interpreted, and sanctioned. The commercialization of the mass media in society is a reality that has to be reckoned with. But it is the job of the structures of education to react appropriately to the values propagandized by the mass media. The arts today are dehumanizing the image of the human being. By way of the system of education, esthetic training based on the sociocultural experience of generations and the traditions of this country's culture must be made available to the rising generation. In the opinion of the sociologists at Moscow State University, the lack of a unified system of humanities upbringing makes it very difficult to oppose manifestations of violence among young people. A system of continuous education and upbringing that focuses concerted efforts on goals and tasks whose purpose is the vigorous development of society will make it possible to involve the young and economically active population in enhancing Russia's intellectual potential and strengthening its human capital. The same path can lead to finding solutions to the problems of intensifying and reinvigorating the

state's youth policy, developing the appropriate kind of professional education and labor activity, constructive leisure, strengthened social relations, and enhanced civic involvement.

The problem of youth extremism arises in a situation of a society in transition, as it moves away from traditional and partially industrial forms of social interactions in favor of the information type of relationships, in which stable cultural values no longer have their former attractiveness and give way to anomie. The economic and political disharmonies and troubles that accompany this process are felt and experienced most keenly by the younger generation that is getting started in life and does not yet know how to express its dissatisfaction and unhappiness in forms that are socially constructive. Instead they choose extreme, impetuous forms of opposition that are not always appropriate. The system of education, which also finds itself in a world that is constantly changing and is not always well prepared to perform its functions, is called on to help young people adapt to the difficult social situation and the new social realities. The most important way to combat youth extremism consists of showing concern for the development of the social institution of education and perfecting its structural components.

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Pankratova, Lilia S.

Political Governing of Sexual Culture in Contemporary Russia

Sexuality as an issue of socio-political regulation became very significant during the 20 -21 centuries. Sexual behavior, norms and attitudes have always been the sphere of control and discussion of various social forces during the history of humanity. In present-day societies apart from religious organizations, scientific experts and national state governments other social institutions and actors take role in formation and defining sexual culture, such as market, mass media, social movements and etc. It is especially important for such countries as Russia which is still in the period of crucial social and cultural transformations searching for new models of effective organization of social life, where sexuality can be considered as a basic factor for identity formations, social solidarity and socio-political protest. After soviet era of strict control over sexuality and late soviet time of hypocritical official statements the flow of liberal ideas and tendencies led to the progress of sexual revolution in Russian society, both on behavioral and discourse levels. Nevertheless, it also highlighted the problems and conflicts in this sphere and others related to it (e.g. health care, reproduction system, citizenship rights, etc.). Though it became evident that there is no one possible sexual culture for all in the time of pluralism the national government still faced the necessity for defining and forming appropriate constraints and rules for normative sexual behavior, sexual culture that would not contradict the basements of the state and social structure and function. So, it seems important to investigate those national government practices and discourses which goal is the formation and implementation of certain norms of sexual culture which might be in contradiction to any other perceptions and discourses regarding the issue.

In this light the works on sexuality written by Michel Foucault, especially the first volume of "The History of Sexuality", contain important general theses that are helpful for more profound understanding of sexual politics of present-day state authorities. Sexuality is understood by him as a social construct, not an essential part of humans, though people strongly believe in the latter idea. Sexuality, which in Foucault's interpretation we may perceive as sexual culture, is a product of various social and political discourses and practices. What is meant by sexuality, its elements, values and norms of sexual relations, patterns of sexual behavior are prescribed, created in different discourses by specific actors (government, social movements, and scientists). It's a form of expression of power relations in society. Those who determine what can be talked about actually determine what could be known and then how we perceive ourselves and live according to this baggage of knowledge. So, formation and control of discourses is always a political question about power relations and their stability or transformation. This is defined as bio-power by Foucault – new form of political governing of society. Bio-power means

that the government proclaims its main concern over a life of each person in the state: their health, well-being and welfare. To reach the goal of happy and content human life it's necessary to organize in a specific way citizens believes and actions. Precisely it means the specific perception and normative prescriptions for humans' bodies and regulation of population lives. These norms and rules are worked out in special discourses about sexuality and other related issues forming our knowledge of appropriate and normal behavior and attitudes regarding questions of sexuality. If we follow them we may enjoy content life as they are socially justified in accordance to specifically created discourse. So, there is no wonder in constant struggle between different discourses on, for example sexuality, constructed by different social agents. To produce knowledge that really forms people's values and practices means govern them.

As it was previously written government discourses on sexuality are as well fields of production of social meanings that are to spread the power on a range of other aspects of people's lives. Foucault points out several aspects that are usually in focus of such discourses on sexual culture: children's sexuality (sexual socialization and education), women's sexuality (gender aspect of sexuality), married or unmarried sexual intercourse (legal and moral aspects) and sexual deviance (homosexuality, commercial sex, etc). The national states governing of sexuality is realized primarily through social policy in a wide sense which is exactly the product of this bio-power kind of political management. There are several mechanisms of intersection or connection between discourses on sexuality and discourses on social policy which work out the normative values and patterns of behavior in various specific situations and concerning different aspects of life (e.g.: healthcare system, the system of social help to specific categories of population, etc.) [1].

One of the illustrative cases of political governing of sexual culture in contemporary Russia is a situation around sexual education of children at schools and kindergartens on an obligatory basis (e.g.: compulsory lessons of sexual education about safe sex, psychological problems related to sexual intercourse, reproduction control, etc) that led to great discussions in society over this issue during the last 17 years. As it was mentioned above education of children is one of the key questions in building sexual culture of the citizens that could be done by state. In the early 1990-s under the influence of liberal tendencies in the majority of spheres of life there were suggested ideas of working out the system of sexual education for children and teenagers. This initiative was supported by Ministry of Education in 1994. The necessity of sexual education was considered as an important part of social policy that could lead to reduction and prevention of problems related to sexual behavior. For example, knowledge about safe sex might be a mean of prevention of sexually transmitted diseases. Moreover, according to sociological data there was a strong need and interest in questions regarding sex from the side of population. However, some social groups, primarily the Russian Orthodox Church and some of parents with the support of a number of political representatives were radically against sexual education in schools as it was

considered as seduction and depravation of youth. So, in 1997 sexual education was excluded from school programs and official politics took the side of anti-liberal, traditional values and norms of sexual culture [2]. Thus, under the influence of the part of civil society government turned from the liberal road back to traditional one ignoring the critical problems in the sphere of sexual health, reproductive sphere and etc. Recently, in 2009 this discussion raised up again around the situation of ratification of the European Social Charter, the eleventh paragraph of which was considered by some as a green light for introducing sexual education in Russian schools [5]. But political elite reassured that it would not happen: representatives of the ruling party in the country on the meeting with patriarch promised not to let such interpretation of the document to be spread. So, the ruling political elite once again demonstrated its course on traditional values and norms and agreed that sexual socialization is a sphere of parents or church competence, but not educational organizations which may influence in a bad way on children. As a result after ratification of the document in 2009 we still do not have any public system of sexual education.

Thus, the national states governments create their own discourse on sexuality through laws, official documents and expressive public speeches. Their positions could be influenced by other social groups and institutions. So, in contemporary Russia the unity of government elite with Orthodox Church led to specifically traditionally oriented discourse which prevents spreading of liberal ideas and other kinds of knowledge among youth, orienting them on sexual socialization by parents and church (often rather conservative agents). That could once again result in a huge gap between official discourses on sexuality and real practices and believes of citizens.

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Salakhutdinova Rezida Kh.

Theoretical Questions of Social Health Research

The problem of the health of the public, and society as a whole, is today probably one of the most pressing and problematic issues along with the economy and security. In terms of strategy development, survival, and the issue of future-quality state of the population - is the crucial issue associated with the definition "human potential" which the researchers introduced "to remove the plaque that consumer attitude to the person who carry the 'human capital' and 'human resource' ". According to the UN, based on a study of 192 countries, economic growth at this stage is determined by the availability of capital at 16%, natural resources - 20%, and human and social potential - by 64%. [1]

In 1990, in the international vocabulary and terminology of social workers, appeared a new definition - the human development index (HDI), which on-par with the level of real gross domestic product per capita, level of education became part of the indicator of the health and life expectancy. Social anthropologists have introduced the concept of "human potential" and "The Human Development Index ethnic group."

Relevance of the topic to Russia is defined by more advanced features than meets the eye. It is not only the current state of the physical, mental and spiritual health of the population, fertility decline, increase in mortality, which are usually paid attention at in the studies on this issue. It is well known the better the health of population, the stronger the state is. It is more able to provide security, to preserve itself. Welfare of the people of the country is a sort of immunity of the state.

Meanwhile, a narrow understanding of health that exists in the scientific literature, or its reduction to the level of medical terminology and understanding distracts from the need to research the concept of "health" as a social phenomenon, and hence determine the nature of social health, symptoms and factors determining it. The need for theoretical and methodological analysis of these concepts indicates the presence of other factors.

Firstly, the absence in scientific literature of one definition and common understanding of social health, its symptoms, conditions and criteria. The theme of health is primarily a part of medical research and medical sociology area. So this conception has a medical biological meaning where human's health is being studied. However, the medical literature itself does not give a clear explanation for health, but regulations of the World Health Organization (WHO) accepted in 1948 give the definition for health as "condition of wholly 1. physical (biological), 2. spiritual (psychical) and 3. social well-being".

Secondly, the social health is observed as the economic resource. Thirdly, all tries to study the social communities as the object of social health end up with the studies of health condition of a certain group of people. Thus, the absence of one

interdisciplinary approach in defining what social health is and in the understanding of its content makes difficult the finding of its characteristics and criteria. Medical explanation of “public health” makes us study it as the “social health”. [2]

In scientific literature in health research the following branches are to be outlined: medical, philosophical, anthropological, and sociological. Popov G.N., Shirenkova E.V., Serazetdinov O.Z. notice the existence of biomedical, biosocial and axiological-social model of health. [9]

Unlike philosophy, anthropology and sociology, which use the word “social” when they speak about health, medicine and similar to it other science take it as “public health’. So public health means here a medical demographical and social category (i.e. general meaning) which reflects the physical and social well-being of people fulfilling their life-sustaining activity within certain social communities. The authors of this approach refer to the etymology of the word “healthcare” which appeared in the Soviet times to mean care about health and is the part of medicine with its social function. And in this respect medicine is like system of science and practice which aim at strengthening, sustaining and prolonging life and health promotion. According to Lisitsyn Yu.P., healthcare service can be observed more narrow than care for health, as not all kinds of activities aimed for improving people’s health depend on medical and/or healthcare activities.

Speaking about two main categories of medicine – health and disease, general principles of their formation, treatment and health care the researchers use the general theory of medicine, healthcare service and population (medical demography) and figuratively outline 5 theory groups, every group has its own study area. 1. Theory of health dependence, sinology. 2. Naturalistic medical biological theories. 3. Theory of functional pathology and medicine. 4. Naturalistic theory of population and healthcare. 5. Synthetic, universal theories. [6] While studying health as a social phenomenon the most reasonable theory is the theory of the 1st group – health dependence, sinology. 1. Theory of health risk factor. 2. Theory of direct influence of lifestyle on health. 3. Theory of forming lifestyle, healthcare of the healthy, sinology. 4. Theory of common types (profiles) of health – pathology. 5. Theory of factors of vicious circle of poverty and illness. 6. Theory of civilization disease and social adaptation. All here represented theories allow us to treat social health as the one phenomenon, as the result of the affect of complex factors, emphasizing dependent alternates on the individual, group, community level and in general on governmental level. Factors concretizing can become the basis for collecting criteria, features of health condition on different levels of the society. In its turn every of these theories represents the independent research branch and offers own methodology and working out research methods.

The analysis of social health in sociology is mainly based on the use of medical statistics. This statistics was accepted in medicine for analyzing public health: demographical index (birth rate, death rate according to reasons and age, data about the scope and reasons for getting sick, index of physical development of different aged and sex groups, etc.), index of social well-being (educational and

cultural level, crime level, stress, alcoholism, drug addiction, homelessness level, etc.). While analyzing the social phenomenon medical approach limitation appears in the fact that factors which create the relevant index (positive – negative), social cultural factor of environment (advantageous – disadvantageous), valuation of life space of population are not observed. The balance of subjective factors (level of the individual) and objective conditions, defining social groups', people and the whole population's health are out of study of the researchers. In this respect, medicine is more successful in its theoretical and methodological studies.

In the sphere of humanitarian science there are two approaches to define the health concept: a philosophical approach to life and health as self-valuation and resource approach, when human's health is observed from the side of possible human's resource, his physical resources, mind and morality of the whole population on the Earth, separate ethnical groups and individuals.

In philosophical meaning, according to Khrustalev Yu. M., health is "the achievement of freedom on different levels of human's existence. On the first (physical) level – it is freedom from pain torture. On the second (spiritual) level – freedom from negative passion, all penetrating fear, that is achievement of some tranquil, unperturbed condition. On the third (mental) level - freedom from conscience excruciations because of showing your covetousness, selfishness or rude individualism. And on the philosophical (existential) level – it is freedom of arts, freedom of conscience, and freedom of every human being to be what he is. This is the private achievement of the sense of life as the highest valuation of self-being.[10]

Philosophical understanding of health is offered by Kanke V.Kh. and Kuzmin G.G. [5] as well. In the first case, health is observed by them as valuation. In the second case, it is valuation of the individual on the basis of "health".

In the first case, the treatment is to correct valuation-purposeful content of the individual, his feeling, thoughts, statements, actions content, to achieve the best combination of these to create acceptable life success. Valuation-based attitude of the patient to the world, to himself is realized through emotions, determination, motivation, ideal arts.

While appreciating an individual on the basis of "health" only two characteristics are used: "health" and "disease".

The authors of this approach differ between biological and anthropological health. Biological health is the organism condition, its dysfunction causing pain-feeling rating from discomfort to vehement pains. Here they are similar to medical biological explanation of health.

Anthropological health means values. Thus, value – is the sense of purposeful people's actions. Speaking about biological and anthropological health balance, anthropological health is outlined as the main form. Biological health is observed as depending on anthropological one and controllable as necessary part of the anthropological health for an individual. Thus, health from the point of view

of Kanke V.Kh. and Kuzmin G.G. this is an effective functional condition (biological health) plus effective valuable existence (anthropological health).

F. Nietzsche wrote: "The characteristic feature of health is not absence of torture and not moral purity. Only that is healthy indeed, who can be strong, not indulge weakness". [8]

In the eye of Tsaregortsev G.I. and Orekhov I.I. health – "is the appropriate level of individual's organism functioning, subjectively accepted as condition of inner comfort, which lets different human functions act in their best way".

From the view of normal physiology "healthy condition of a human is the appropriate co-work of physiological measure, industrial and social conditions which help him to achieve results, useful for him and the society. [11]

More deeply the meaning of health, as the one phenomenon, was studied in valeology. So, one of the first valeologists-tutors in Russia is Zaytsev T.K. defined health through its three components: physiological (working efficiency with normal functioning of all the organs and the organism in the whole), psychological (self-confidence based on skills to control his thoughts and feelings), moral (capacity to create his own well-being without bringing harm to well-being of other people). [12]

In the medical literature there are attempts of a comprehensive analysis of health. It is viewed as a socio-biological category and allocates:

- The level of public health,
- The level of the individual. The authors of this approach point out that public health is not simply the sum of - "health" of individuals. The role, importance and relationship of individual health to public expressed laconically in the definition by Venediktov. Health, from his point of view, this is a complex integrative characteristic, which on the one hand, reflects the degree of probability (no guarantee) for each of its members to maintain a high level of health and creative performance over the maximum extension of life, but on the other hand, determines the vitality of the whole population and its ability to self-defense, social-economic development, and maintenance of the ecological balance with nature. [13]

Dimov B.M. points out the existence of three-dimensional understanding of health as life quality, supposing dialectical interaction and interdependence between physical condition of an individual, his psychical display, emotional reactions and his social surrounding. These three components relay, as he writes, from the physical point of view to structure and normal functioning of the organism, and from the psychical and social points of view – to the behavior model of an individual.

Here he outlines behavior caused by self-saving consciousness and self-destructing consciousness. [2] Under self-saving is understood gnosis about a human, his nature, existence, physiological and psychical process, complete (more or less) concept of health. This self-cognition, self-analysis of his own health condition in accordance with his lifestyle, age, body constitution, temper, and so

on, which must end up with the meaningful conclusion, wish to behave in a self-saving way.

Dimov B.M. for the first time introduces the meaning "self-destructing behavior" of an individual, which is characterized as unwillingness to consider the norms of healthy lifestyle, eating habits, working regime and rest, health-improving recommendations of valeologists, medical prescription, sanitary and hygiene. Also there are types of individuals which, according to him, behave in a certain way because of difficult material conditions. People have to survive working in several places or working more than 6-8 hours a day, so destroying their normal lifestyle, regime without restoring consumed energy. Intellectual or psychological stress can cause illness, psychological destruction or deviation.

There are several other basics for health classification. For example, there are following levels: [7]

individual – determined by a biological social nature of a human being and represented by a "personal view of health".

population (ethnic, national) – represented in "ethnic group health", "nation's health", "health of population of the territory".

planetary level – "health of biosphere", "health of the Earth".

E. Gyuan and A. Dusser introduced the meaning "disease of civilization" and outlined their four categories: [4]

1. "disease caused by pollution" – the result of technogenic activity of industrial civilization – soil and air pollution;

2. "wasting disease" – result of physical and neuropsychic exhaustion;

3. "consuming disease" – destruction of regime and structure of eating unheathy food;

4. "disease of return inadaptation" – desynchronization of biological rhythms of a body life activities, action of new social-technical environment, debauchery, deviation behavior, drug addiction, alcoholism.

In the context of given definitions and levels of health according to the author of the article from the sociological point of view social health should be studied on the level of social groups, communities and the society in general. This allows to stress two approaches to understanding social health. In the first more narrow meaning, health – is a certain condition of parts of social system (society). In a wide meaning, health is a condition of the society as a social system, which can constantly produce its main positive functional qualities in their unity. The pointed levels are combined and interdependent.

The main element as a carrier of a certain state (health - illness) and as a factor affecting it is the people. Its value attitude to life, consciousness, culture, behavior become defined in the terms of the subjective factor of social health. However, these qualities of the person themselves are partly derivative, dependent. On the one hand, they are the result of socialization and depend on how one implemented socializing functions of social institutions. On the other hand, they are influenced by the sociocultural environment. In this regard, the most

significant for the study is the younger generation, young people. Social institutions are significant and have a leading role in ensuring the ability to consistently reproduce the main positive systemic quality of society. As the structural elements of society and society in general one may draw conclusions about the functions and dysfunctions of institutions.

In many articles attention is paid to the fact that human's health almost on half (50-52%) is determined by lifestyle, 1/5 (20-22%) – by a biological basis (genetic program), almost 1/5 (18-20%) – by environment, and depend on a medical service qualities (7-12%) and doctors' qualification. [3]

The aim of this research is not a detailed study of lifestyle, we will just take the given concept as one of the most important (important, but not the main) factors of saving and forming health. Lifestyle is a public category connected with character, behavior features of people in certain situation, society. There are four categories in lifestyle, every of these categories is to study more deeply in social investigations. 1. Economic category – “living standard”. 2. Social-psychological category – “lifestyle”. 3. Social-economic category – “life establishment”. Social category – “life quality”. Study of life quality has an important methodological meaning, as it can study cooperation of economic and social psychological phenomena as factors of society's and an individual's health. This leads to the fact that social health directly depends on a lifestyle. And in its turn, social health, which can be achieved in a healthy lifestyle, is connected not only with subjective wishes, but also with objective possibilities (or their absence) of a person (social group), and this must be taken in accordance.

The healthy lifestyle is important not only for an individual. Reproduction of system qualities of the society can be connected with the healthy lifestyle of the whole social groups. In particular: family reappearance, as the basis of any social institute; morality – as the basis for culture, creating physically and psychologically healthy generation, etc.

Many researches differentiate connection between health problems and morality. One of the first researchers, who spoke about morality problems, was an Austrian philosopher Otto Veinenger with his work “Sex and Character”. In philosophical encyclopedia morality is defined as one of methods to regulate human's actions in the society, special form of social consciousness and type of social relationships.

Study of health problems in context of ethic of responsibility is very popular nowadays. Responsibility ethic appeared as science relatively recently, about 20 years ago. At the basis of this science there was a book of a German-American philosopher Hans Jonas “Responsibility”. This approach is based on the acceptance of health as a valuable category with responsibility and morality. Thus, morality and responsibility can be studied as subjective factors, which determine human's health. So, harmful attitude towards health is not just irresponsibly, it is also immorally.

In relation with responsibility ethic, anthropological health is not just value, but also integral value of a human. And its aim is to supply valuable morality and long life.

Health as responsibility is the principle, quality, which has quantitative certainty. The more human achieved in morality, the more he is healthy. [10]

Socrates put the meaning of health into a deep understanding of existence and human's nature. He said "Temet nosce" ("Man, know yourself"). And philosophy, in contrary to other science, tries to reach the whole understanding of health through human's nature, his harmony with the word, his own body and spirit, it gives the concept of the world and health norms.

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Strigunenko, Julia V.

About a Deviation Origin in Behavior of the Person

To the greatest regret, there is no such harmonious society in which all its members would lead themselves according to general standard requirements. The term «a social deviation» means behavior of the individual or group which doesn't correspond to the standard social rates therefore these rates are broken by them. Social deviations can take different forms: criminals, eremites, ascetics, sacred, geniuses etc.

At all times the society tried to suppress, eliminate undesirable forms of human activities and their carriers. Methods and means were determined by social and economic relations, public consciousness, and interests of ruling elite. Problems of social «harm» always were of interest for scientists. One individual can have deviations in social behavior, another in the personal organization, the third - both in social sphere and in the personal organization. First of all sociologists are interested in cultural deviations, that is deviations of the given social generality from rates of culture. The special sociological theory - Sociology of Deviation Behavior (from Latin *deviatio* - evasion) has arisen and developed. The origin of this trend could be found in the works of a French scientist Emil Durkheim (1858-1917) - the founder of the French sociological school. He has developed an important concept of “social anomy”, having specified it as «a society condition when old rates and values don't correspond to real relations any more, and new ones haven't been worked out yet» [3, p. 23].

The institutionalization of the theory of deviating behavior as an independent scientific direction has been done in the works of R. Merton and A. Cohen. R. Merton analysed how the social structure induces some members of a society to inappropriate social behavior.

The American sociologist A. Cohen defines deviating behavior as such which runs against institutional expectations» [2, p. 520]. Englishman D. Uolsh, the representative of phenomenological sociology, asserts that «the social deviation is a substantially attributed status» [2, p. 521], that it is only a subjective designation, «label», instead of the objective phenomenon. In his opinion, the deviation is not an internal quality inherent in certain actions, it is not a result of social estimation and application of sanctions. It is obvious that similar characteristics of deviating behavior don't open its nature and objective antistandard properties completely. Wider treatment of the definition of deviation is given by G. Avanesov: «It is necessary to understand the actions as deviating behavior, not corresponding to the set society rates and types» [1, p. 257], that is it is a question of infringement of any social rates. Social deviations can occur in a sphere of individual behavior, they represent the acts of concrete people prohibited by public rates.

At the same time in each society there are many deviating subcultures which go against morals of a society. Such deviations are determined by groups. As the

professor of sociology of the Californian University Nejl Joseph Smelzer writes, deviation hardly gives in to determination that is connected with uncertainty and variety of behavioral expectations. Deviation leads behind itself isolation, treatment, correction or other punishment. Smelzer allocates three basic components of deviation: a) the person to whom the certain behavior is peculiar; b) the rate or the expectation which is a criterion of an estimation of behavior as deviating; c) the other group or the organization reacting to given behavior.

Thus, the deviation is determined in sociology as deviating behavior, activity of the person (group of people), not corresponding to the rates (patterns) which have developed in a given society of behavior, social expectations.

The sociology of deviating behavior concerns to «through» theories, that is specificity of its subject consists that the circle of the studied phenomena is historically changeable and depends on the social rates which have developed at present in a concrete society.

The deviating behavior always is estimated from the point of view of the culture accepted in the given society. This estimation results in the fact that some deviations are condemned, and others are approved. For example, the wandering monk in one society can be considered sacred, in the other - as the inutile idler. First of all we're interested in the reasons of negative deviating behavior. Recently the deviating behavior has acquired a mass character and has put problems of deviation and its origin in the center of attention of sociologists, social psychologists, physicians, criminologists. Along with the growth of positive (cultural approved) deviations (political activity, economic enterprise and etc.) amplify negative deviations such as violent and mercenary criminality, alcoholization and drug addiction of the population, immorality.

It became an essential task to explain the reasons, conditions and the factors generating these social phenomena. Its consideration assumes search of answers to a number of fundamental questions, among which the question on essence of a category «social rate» and about deviations from it. In stably functioning and developed society the answer to this question more or is less clear. In the sharpest form deviating acts as criminality, as an encroachment on sociopolitical and society moral principles, a personal security and well-being of its citizens. Today the growth of criminality poses the greatest threat of stability and safety of a society and the person. Destructive scales of deviation lead a society to a condition of a social anomy, the society loses the historical memory, devaluates the value system. There are objective bases to consider that the next years in Russia scales of deviating behavior may increase.

Considerable deterioration of the social conditions determines the character and scale of deviations, demands the development of the differentiated measures in regions and national groups. And these measures should be not only direct, direct influence on different categories of people, but also the mediated conduct of life of people connected with the improvement, the increase of their culture and social activity, the changes in values. Preventive measures of social deviations can be effective if in the center of undertaken measures there will be concrete people with

their cares, expectations, aspirations, strong and weak sides. Certainly, the development of effective system of measures for overcoming social deviation is possible only on the basis of specially organized social, social-psychological, criminological and other research.

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Talanov, Sergey L.

Assistance in Making up and Consolidation of Young Families: Birth Rate Stimulation

These days the demographic situation in Russia looks really complicated. To reproduce the population normally it is necessary to have 2.1 children per one childbearing aged woman. This rate appears to be 1.4 in Russia these days. But the problem seems to be not because of the low birth rate, but the high mortality rate and the high infant mortality rate as a part of it. It is necessary to assume the urgent measures to reduce the maternal and infant mortality rate and to work out the effective statements directed to stimulate the birth rate.

In 2009/2010 we made the sociological research on the territory of the Yaroslavl region. The object of the research - the youth at the age of 18-27 years old.

The empirical research base consists of:

- The depth interview data (n=76).
- Youth Q-data "Unregistered marriage youth attitude" (n=736, purposeful sampling). The interrogations were held in 2 cities: Yaroslavl and Rybinsk.
- The secondary analysis of the sociological researches devoted to the problems of the unregistered marriage

In 2009, we made the sociological research on the territory of the urban district of Rybinsk. The interrogation was held in the maternity home. The research object - pregnant women (n=62, quota sampling).

The main hypothesis: the considerable part of youth refers to the unregistered marriage as if it were a social norm. Let us sum up some reasons of this phenomenon:

- a) If young people of the age of 18-27 face the parents' disagreement in the question of the future husband or wife choice;
- b) If they try to be free and independent;
- c) If they are not sure in their choice;
- d) If they make a career;
- e) If they want to check their sexual compatibility.

Research working hypotheses:

- 1) The term "civil marriage (marriage de facto)" is interpreted by young generation as family relations that are not confirmed by church or state.
- 2) Many young people still adhere to the traditional family values.
- 3) The youth thinks about the cohabitation mostly in a positive way considering this kind of relations acceptable.
- 4) Unregistered marriage (cohabitation) - it is a "trial marriage", based on the same conditions as the official one with the exception of the "stamp in the passport".

5) The youth thinks that birth giving in the unregistered marriage status is possible.

6) Many young people think that that the unregistered marriage can grow into official when the partners would be sure in their feelings' strength.

Social researchers state that "family is a social institute, characterized by the special social requirements, authorizations, behavior samples, rights and duties regulating the relations between husband and wife, parents and children" [1].

Traditionally the six main family functions are as follows: sexual regulation; status function; economical function; protective function; reproductive function; socialization.

As it can be seen these functions can be realized outside the family. That is why some people partially consider that marriage as a temporary union of man and woman that does not last for long, for approximately five years. Whereas a couple going to register their marriage thinks that their union will last all their life long, but the statistics tell they are wrong. In Yaroslavl region like in whole Russia the number of divorces is really big (table 1).

Table 1

The scope of marriages and divorces per 1000 people of Yaroslavl region population [2]

	Years									
	1980	1990	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Marriages	9,9	8,1	6,9	7,1	6,9	7,6	7,7	8,6	8,1	8,2
Divorces	4,4	3,7	5,3	5,1	4,2	4,1	4,4	4,7	4,9	5,0

The situation is getting more complicated not only because the number of divorces increase, but also there are some other circumstances. So, the medical and demographical situation in the region can be characterized by the negative tendencies:

- Depopulation: with the low level of birth rate of 9,1 per mile (per 1000 inhabitants) with the high level of general mortality rate of 18,4 per mile (per 1000 inhabitants);
- Children, teen and childbearing aged women health impairment.

Depending on the region we can observe either more optimistic scene or more pessimistic. For example in the urban district of Rybinsk the number of practically healthy children is about 4% only. Each forth child under 1 year old has got some health problems.

In Yaroslavl region the main indexes of the pediatrician services activities stand sustained. The infant mortality level reduced and it is lower than the average level in Russia. It amounts 6,9 per 1000 babies being born alive. The level of under 1 year old children sickness rate continues to increase and became 14% in last 3 years. The highest rates of growth for the year could be observed in the following types of deviation: congenital malformations – raised up to 21%, digestive apparatus sickness – raised up to 21%, individual perinatal life conditions – raised up to 19%.

The data of the sociological research being held in Rybinsk maternity home showed that among 100% of women only 3,2% wanted to have this child, as they planned it (*"We were brought up this way"*, *"I always wanted to have a child"* etc). 6,5% wanted this child to prove their love to the partner. 90,3% - because *"it happened so"* (unwanted pregnancy), *"wanted to get state benefits"*, *"wanted to force the partner stay with me"* etc.

In the questionnaire research made among the young people of the age of 18-27 years old in Yaroslavl, 78% respondents were not married and 22% were in cohabitation. Among the people who were in cohabitation answering the question about the living place everyone marked the answer of living on their own or renting a flat. Answering the question about the taken status the opinions are various:

- 39% check if they are compatible in communal sphere;
- 27% check if they are compatible in sex;
- 23% think that unregistered marriage is *"a coercive measure"*;
- 11% don't think that marriage registration is necessary.

The crucial factor of marriage registration is the idea of getting a stable well-paid job. This data shows that the youth are faced with the financial problems. Despite it 76% of respondents mentioned that they planned to have children in next 3 years.

89% girls who cohabit with their boyfriends mentioned that the initiator of this kind of relationships was their partner. We can assume that the unregistered union of these people is not connected with their parents' guidelines because 89% of the respondents answered that their parents do not like the idea of cohabitation. Despite it cohabitating respondents stated that at their birth moment their parents were married officially.

As the result of our research we can state that the majority of young people in Yaroslavl perceive the cohabitation as a social norm and think it is quite natural as the first step of creating the family. It is supposed that getting married the partners take specific warranties about each other. That is why the unregistered marriage is so profitable for people who are tired of warranties or who are afraid of these warranties for some unknown reason. The advantages of the unregistered marriage due to the point of view of young people are connected with the relationship freedom.

Among the weak points of cohabitation students mostly (73%) mark the juridical risk because the unregistered marriage has got no property commitments.

The majority of girls think that it is not necessary to get married early. They commented their decision by the following answers:

- 34% *"it is necessary to grow up"* (to get the high education, to buy a flat etc.);
- 23% *"it is time to party"*;
- 12% *"it is necessary to check the feelings"*.

The secondary analysis of the sociological researches devoted to the problems of unregistered marriage demonstrates that the marriage age is delayed each year. Not long ago girls decided to get married usually in a year after graduation from the university or college, but now girls get married in 3 or 4 years after graduation.

There are a lot of reasons of it. It is also an impact of the economical crisis started at the end of 2008. It is also the girls' wish to have competitive ability at the labor-market. 67% of girls at the age of 23-27 mentioned that they were getting additional high education at that moment.

Thereby, all our working hypotheses were confirmed.

To increase the birth rate and to reduce the mortality and sickness of children in their babyhood it is advisable to realize following tasks:

1. To make the conditions helping the birth rate and supporting the families with children.
2. To enhance population health main indexes.
3. To stabilize the main indexes of maternal and infant mortality. To enhance abortion prevention, sterility treatment, to increase the service quality with pregnant women.
4. To periodically increase the professional training of medical staff, to make the conditions of recruiting new specialists. To give a flat to young specialists.
5. To research and to realize the measures directed on forming the healthy lifestyle of the population.
6. To make the family status in the society higher. To promote the family values using media.

The Yaroslavl region parliament (Duma) promptly prepared the appropriate normative basis, defining the conditions of family certificates system functioning. The Yaroslavl region administration continues its effort; a number of programs were created and a lot of resolutions defending motherhood and childhood were made in the period of last 5 years. [3]

The medical institutions of the region periodically take part in:

- 1) Federal programs:
 - "Additional medicine provision of the population";
 - "Vaccine prevention";
 - "Prior national project "Health";
 - "The complex of the events directed to prevent, diagnose and to cure people suffering from cardiovascular disease in Russia".
- 2) Regional programs:
 - "The prevention and treatment the social sicknesses and modernizing material and technical resources of state health institutions of Yaroslavl region in 2008-2009";
 - "Modernizing material and technical resources of state health institutions of Yaroslavl region in 2008-2009";

- “Free medicine provision of the population depending on the kind of the sickness, the children under 3 years old, the children of large families under 6 years old”;
- “Healthy child” in 2008-2009.

As a result of the internal and external analyze we can state, that by virtue of these programs and decisions in Yaroslavl region the following changes happened:

- the reduce of perinatal morbidity and infant mortality rate on 8-10%;
- the enhance of the health of pregnant women and increasing the first health group from 3,7% up to 5%;
- the reduce of the sicknesses among children under 1 year old with the problems of breast feeding on 10%.

From our point of view it is necessary to keep working in this direction. It is important to continue following events:

- 1) buying of the additional incubators for newly-born babies at the expense of the budget;
- 2) buying medicine for pregnant women;
- 3) provision by the milk formulas of the children from the group of social risk;
- 4) carrying out prophylactic medical examination of the children under 1 year old, orphans and children without parental custody;
- 5) medical examination of sterile marriage couples;
- 6) the school for pregnant women enhancement;
- 7) enhancement the medical staff qualification;
- 8) increasing the medical institutions financing;
- 9) building and using new kindergartens to sort out the problem connected with the lack of spare places in the existing kindergartens;
- 10) tax concessions inserting for organizations selling goods for pregnant women and children of low age;
- 11) increasing the pays and other forms of financial support of the families and children.

The natural loss of the population in some federal regions unfortunately continues. There are a lot of reasons of it: social, medical, cultural, educational and economic. Still we can see the positive tendencies. In his annual message to the Federal Assembly president D.A. Medvedev said: *“In comparison with 2005 the birth rate in Russia increased more than 21%. And I should mention it is one of the best indexes in the world. The infant mortality reduced by one forth. Last year, for the first time during last 15 years, we could see the population size growth. In most ways it is the result of working of the Maternal capital, national project “Health” and other forms of family social support”*. [4]

From our point of view it is necessary to keep on educating young people, particularly to insert a new school subject connected with the marriage preparation. It is necessary to revive family values and to increase motherhood and fatherhood

prestige. It is important to explain from the early childhood what means family, what are the family functions, what are the family roles etc.

We should not forget that young generation is not a common union neither in demographical or social relations. They have different conditions of lifestyle, different personal characteristics and features of the environment – that is why we can see different attitudes to the marriage as a whole and especially to some aspects of it. Therefore it is necessary to periodically make social research on studying of needs, values and interests of youth.

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Trotsuk, Irina V.

Russian students' values: significant regional differences

In 2008, the Sociological Laboratory of the Peoples' Friendship University of Russia started cooperation with the China Youth and Children Research Center (Beijing) developing a cross-cultural joint project to study the values of the Russian and the Chinese students of the metropolitan universities. The survey data (sample groups identical in terms of structure, size and criteria of representativeness were interviewed with the identical questionnaire) showed that there are no significant differences between the youth of our countries in their educational values, except for the Chinese respondents' greater focus on studying abroad and early employment after graduation; in estimating one's employment prospects after graduation, though the Russian students seem to be less optimistic and more pragmatic; in describing relationships with parents, friends and the broader social circle (the parents' family model is more acceptable for the Russian students, their Chinese counterparts hardly ever marry while studying, postponing marriage until they have achieved financial stability). The level of political interest and "optimism" is quite high in both countries, but the Chinese students characterize themselves in terms of patriotism more clearly, they evaluate the Western influence and the actions of the state administration bodies more positively, feel themselves more secure socially and demonstrate a high level of confidence in basic social institutions [2, 3].

After the Russian and Chinese research teams discussed the results of surveys in Beijing and Moscow, a predictable question arose: if the structure and the content of the values of Russian and Chinese students are so similar, will the situation be the same, if we conduct similar surveys to compare the values of metropolitan and regional university students in both countries? To answer this question in 2009 we conducted additional surveys of two representative samples in Guangzhou, China, and Maikop, Adygea (1000 respondents were interviewed in each town).

The results of the survey in Guangzhou, a major political, cultural and educational center of the country and the third city in China in terms of the socio-economic and demographic indicators, showed that the structure and the content of the values of metropolitan and regional university students are so similar that there is no point in discussing a few minor and quite predictable differences. Thus, Guangzhou students were expectedly more concerned about socio-economic and political events; their level of patriotism and trust in the public authorities and social institutions were slightly higher than in Beijing (the Chinese researchers attribute these differences to the latest mass disasters and global achievements of China); for Guangzhou respondents, a stable salary is twice as important as high wages; Guangzhou students showed a higher satisfaction with various aspects of life (food, living conditions, social integration) at the same level of wealth with

Beijing counterparts. These trends are quite understandable in the situation of “urbanization” decrease (and, consequently, rise in unemployment and reduction of one’s institutional chances of professional and social success) and growth of “communality”. No other significant differences were observed in the worldview of Chinese students in metropolitan and regional universities: all the respondents were proud of the achievements of Chinese society in cultural, historical, sport, industrial, military and social aspects, being concerned about the standards of living and educational system; they name health, family welfare and self-actualization as the basic criteria of life success, specifying that social achievements depend on one’s sociability, optimism, hard work, perseverance and honesty along with professional knowledge and skills; they look to the future calmly or optimistically, plan to continue their education, hope to find a job successfully, though not in one’s specialty, they accuse their generation of being irresponsible, lazy and addicted to bad habits.

We observe an entirely different picture when comparing the basic values of metropolitan and regional students in Russia. Both samples entered universities to obtain necessary skills for further life and become qualified professionals, but Moscow students more often name such reasons as merely obtaining a diploma (17% versus 9% in Maikop), avoiding military service (16% versus 7%) and getting an opportunity of successful marriage (5% versus 2%). These differences are difficult to interpret, but, apparently, one could speak of a more responsible attitude to higher education in Maikop, although Moscow students are more satisfied with the quality of education (53% versus 42% in Maikop wouldn’t want to change their university; every third Maikop and every sixth Moscow student would prefer to study somewhere else); 27% of Moscow students (17% in Maikop) plan to do graduate or postgraduate studies. Thus, the data show that Maikop respondents’ attitude to higher education is very serious, but these students are fully aware of the quality of education (not high enough with respect to the labor market requirements) and show the absence of need in postgraduate studies due to the high unemployment rate – employers are unlikely to allow for employee study absences, and parents can hardly “feed” their child a few more years, while he or she continues to study without working.

Assessing one’s chances for employment, 80% of both samples are confident that they will find a job right after graduation. Every third Maikop and every sixth Moscow student believes they will have to look for a job with their qualification for a long time, while one in four (every third in Moscow) thinks he/she will not experience any problems finding a job, though not in one’s specialty. At the time of the survey, every second Moscow and every fifth Maikop student was employed mostly by commercial companies (only a third and a quarter respectively worked in their specialty). The employment criteria in the two cities coincided: the ability to combine work with study was the primary requirement, salary and work in one’s specialty came second. Realizing the limitations of the regional labor market, Maikop students have some different requirements to their future work: like Moscow respondents, they consider a high salary (76%) and interesting work (74%)

to be the primary criteria of employment, however guarantees of career growth and the social significance of work are more important for them, while the prospects of self-actualization and the amount of free time, on the contrary, are less significant. On the one hand, we can speak of more pragmatic criteria of Maikop youth (the main thing is employment itself), on the other hand, we can suppose that there is an influence of traditional society behavior patterns which stress a person's position in the organizational hierarchy itself.

Interpretations of life success in the two cities are the same, but the accents are slightly different: for the young people in Maikop, success is a sum total of wealth, career and happy family (60%) supplemented by self-actualization (47%) and public recognition (24%); for the Moscow respondents, material prosperity is the basic measure of success (61%), in the second place stands a set of self-actualization, career and happy family (about 50%), public recognition is important for every third student. Among personal qualities that help to achieve success in life students name hard work and sense of purpose (60%), sociability and talent (50%), in the second place – optimism and prudence. The Moscow respondents more often mention pragmatism (18% versus 5% in Maikop), ambitions (35% versus 20%), manipulation skills (30% versus 22%) and even cynicism (7% versus 4%). Maikop youth, on the contrary, prefer the ability to keep one's mouth shut (29% versus 17%), honesty (32% versus 22%) and diligence (32% versus 24%). In general, there is an obvious dominance of "individualistic" orientation in Moscow and "collectivist" - in Maikop.

Very slight differences can be traced between the metropolitan and regional students in the field of interpersonal interaction. Thus, most of the youth grew up in two-parent families and at the moment of survey every second respondent lived with their parents. The students in both samples assess their relationships with the parents very positively, but the Maikop students more often describe them as a full understanding, while the Moscow students prefer to name them warm and friendly. About 70% approve of their families' model of raising children. In a difficult life situation most respondents would come to parents and other relatives for help (75% in Maikop and 66% in Moscow), about 60% – to friends. Most respondents feel personal responsibility for their family and friends; the number of "selfish" youth is predictably higher among the Moscow students – 43% (30% in Maikop) consider themselves responsible only for themselves.

4% of respondents do not want to have children, every tenth dreams about a big family with more than three children, 40% plan to have two children. Three desired children is the point of the two samples' mismatch: there are 13% of the Moscow students marking this answer versus 23% in Maikop (due to the reduced number of those who want to be a parent of one child or has not decided yet). 88% are not married and do not live as a couple: the so-called "common law marriage" is more frequent among the Moscow students (7% versus 4%), while an official marriage, on the contrary, is more frequent in the capital of Adygea (7% versus 5%). Probably, the attitude to the "common law marriage" is still rather cautious in Maikop that can be characterized by a more traditional view of marriage in general:

a third of respondents plan to get married right after graduation and employment (in Moscow - 22%), only every fifth respondent who has a loved one has never thought about marriage (every third in Moscow).

17% of the Maikop students feel responsibility for their people (in Moscow - only 6%) as well as for the country as a whole (14% in Maikop, 10% in Moscow). These figures are understandable in the light of the sociological studies of social identities coexisting in Adygea: the horizontal sub-ethnic (within Circassian group), ethnic (Russian or Adyg) and vertical civic [1]. In general, the Maikop students are more politically aware (interested in various aspects of social life) than their Moscow counterparts. Thus, 28% of respondents try to keep abreast of political events (21% in Moscow), the number of those not interested in politics in Maikop is 4% (9% in Moscow). The students explain indifference to politics by the lack of free time, belief that "politics is a dirty business" and a kill-time. Nevertheless, the majority participate in elections (28% in Moscow and 22% in Maikop do not, being confident of the impossibility to change anything through such civil actions). Both samples demonstrate the biggest differences in their political preferences: fewer Maikop respondents do not support any parties at all (29% versus 42%); there are more supporters of liberal democracy in Maikop (20% versus 12%); the Maikop students more often choose "ruling parties" as an object of political sympathies (52% versus 29%), which confirms the traditional society orientation to support and respect those who managed to climb high in the social hierarchy.

Every second respondent calls himself a patriot, while every third found it difficult to identify himself/herself as such, explaining the difficulty by the impossibility to qualify their feeling for the country as patriotism or by the fact that the notion of patriotism has lost its meaning in the contemporary globalized world. The objects of national pride are the same in both samples (Russian glorious history, natural resources, cultural heritage and sports victories), as well as the items of national discontent - the work of the state authorities, economic and social standards of living, failure to comply with civil rights and liberties. Rather contradictory are the assessments of scientific and technological achievements: the respondents divided into two groups with a slight dominance of those who are proud of Russian scientific and technological achievements. Significant differences between the two samples appeared in estimating the country's position on the international scene: the Moscow respondents almost unanimously see no reasons here for being proud (74%), 40% of the Maikop students believe that there are grounds to be proud.

The main institutional subject of trust for the youth is the Russian President (apparently, regardless of the particular individual) - 60%; slightly behind him comes the Church - 50%. Distrust leaders are as follows: on the one hand, the security forces, such as the police and law enforcement agencies (79% of Moscow and 69% of Maikop students do not trust them), the Army (67% and 51%) and the courts (about 60%); on the other hand, the political parties (63% of Maikop and 73% of Moscow students), Russian and international public organizations (about 50%). Such a total "distrust" may explain the political apathy of the youth (not willing to

support organizations they do not trust) and the growth of authoritarian tendencies in Russian society (if there is only one subject of national trust, he alone can legitimize most of social practices). It should be noted that in general the level of trust in basic social institutions among the Maikop students is about 10% higher than that among their Moscow counterparts. Thus, 46% of the Maikop students trust the Russian government (32% in Moscow), 33% - the State Duma (21%), 33% - the Federation Council (26%), 32% - the Public Chamber (23%), etc. But, despite such, generally speaking, pessimistic estimates of the current state of Russian society, the students look to the future with hope and optimism or calmly.

If we rank (rather conventionally) the students' answers to the questions about the most acute problems that the youth faces today, we see drug and alcohol addiction in the first place, smoking and moral degradation of society - in the second, health problems, crime rates, poverty and the lack of state support - in the third, the poor general economic situation in the country, which makes education unaffordable, limits recreational opportunities and causes corruption and the violation of civil rights - in the fourth. In other words, the Russian youth, regardless of region of residence, blame for their problems not only the existing social order but, above all, themselves for socially disapproved behavior. And there are obvious differences in opinions among the Moscow and Maikop students: the latter regard unemployment as their main problem (71% versus 25% in Moscow); the "traditionality" of Adyg society protects it from moral degradation (this problem was mentioned by 48% of the Moscow and 32% of Maikop respondents) and preserves warm and close relations within families (lack of understanding with parents worries 12% of the Moscow and 6% of Maikop students). Nevertheless, these differences do not increase the level of pessimism: there are only 3.5% of pessimists in every sample - the respondents tend to characterize themselves as optimists, realists or "situationalists".

We can also trace interesting differences between the metropolitan and regional youth in a number of non-essential indicators, such as the structure of free time: all the students prefer to spend it going out with friends, visiting various shows and music events, doing sports, reading newspapers, magazines and books (in Moscow, the number of students reading books on a daily basis is two times higher - 26% versus 12%), watching TV (every day - 61% of the Maikop and 50% of Moscow respondents), playing computer games. The Maikop youth are less likely to go to the movies (weekly or several times a month - 19% versus 60% in Moscow), theaters, exhibitions, concerts of classical music, clubs and discos (13% versus 26%). These differences, obviously, indicate greater possibilities of Moscow students in financial terms and in the very availability of the relevant leisure institutions. Thus, the Internet is an everyday leisure "venue" of 52% of the Moscow and 23% of Maikop students (respectively 5% and 21% never use the Internet).

In terms of basic values, students of metropolitan and regional universities expressed solidarity: they put Family in the first place in importance, Health and Friends - in the second, Education - in the third, Work - in the fourth-fifth, then come Wealth, Leisure, Religion, Political and Social activities. Of course, there are

slight variations in the distribution of the priorities between the two cities (for example, the Moscow respondents five times more often put Leisure in the first place and are twice as likely to assign Religion the last tenth position in the hierarchy), but they are not statistically significant.

Thus, the ambivalent nature of values of the Russian youth in the regional context becomes more complex and convex: on the one hand, the Maikop students adhere to exactly the same values as their Moscow (and, in general, Russian) counterparts; on the other hand, a number of their priorities are fundamentally different due to the influence of the traditional socio-cultural situation (for instance, wealth is one but not a primary criterion of life success) and fewer institutional opportunities in educational (they are often not satisfied with the quality of education), professional (they often cannot find work, particularly in their specialty) and socio-political (they possess a higher level of trust in basic social institutions) spheres.

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Zhukova, Olga I.

Gender's Equality Between International and National Legislation: What Application?

The position of the women in the world knew the huge transformations during the last years, and it is changing again. Now it is even possible to speak about a new phenomenon of "female silent revolution". The feminization of the society is first of all has the quantitative order: there are more women than men in the population, this distance becoming more significant with age. The feminization of the society is also has the qualitative order: the women are more and more present in the different domains of social life. But the large women participation in different spheres of society suggests the new problems on international and local level.

The internationalization of the question of the equality of sexes isn't new, on the contrary, it has began with stammering of feminine movements for suffrage all over the world from second part of the XIX th century. After 1945, the political transformations which result in the installation of international authorities, the development of the sphere of economic and social action of States-nations, and the emergence of an international vision on human rights radically changed the way of thinking of the women question. While before the question of the women was intimately linked to their place in the family and to their "difference", the new ideology of human rights, independent of citizenship and therefore of membership in a State, allows to make women a category holder of rights, and to incorporate women in all the domains of public life¹.

The context of globalization contributed to make thinkable and possible the appearance of a new conception of the equality between sexes not only as definite and formal equality but also like real equality. This dynamic process which implicates a game on vertical level, between total and local level, but also horizontal networks, of activists, of experts and of bureaucrats, took place in three main arenas, in the United Nations, in the European Community and in the Council of Europe where the idea of equality was manufactured according the various modalities. International genealogy manifests the emergence of a political culture of the equality of sexes in the globalization context and of the existence of transnational movements in favor of the rights of the women.

The institutionalization of new rules, constitutional changes are the result of long debates around the question of the women in politics. International context also played the crucial role in these changes of the institutional space of the country. In 1979 the UN Convention about the elimination of all forms of discrimination constituted a milestone mattering in the recognition of equality between women and men. Indeed, its adaptation "represents a true synthesis of the politics of three decades: it envisages the promotion of equality in human rights,

¹ Поленина М. Права женщин в системе прав человека: международный и национальный аспект, 2000.

civil, political, social, economic and of nationality, and envisages concrete commitments on behalf of the national governments to guarantee exercise. Articles 2, 3 and 4 of this Convention makes explicit not only the equality of the rights between men and women in the different domains of life of society, but it also lists the obligations which States promise to respect and to eliminate any forms of discrimination regarding the women.

Besides, this convention authorizes States to take positive measures in aid of the women. Since 1988, the real exercise of the right to the eligibility of the women is on the agenda of the Council of Europe. Seminar "Democracy of equality" took place in 1989 in Strasbourg. The parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe underlined again and again that equality between the women and the men a condition necessary for a true democracy.

In the comparison with the approach of the UN and the perspective of the Council of Europe focused on civil and political rights, the European Union limited itself to intervene in the right concerning professional life. The equality of treatment forbidden discriminations to the motive of sex and allows the person who feels herself categorized to invoke discrimination.

Balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision making is a matter of the full enjoyment of human rights, of social justice and a necessary condition for the better functioning of a democratic society. In spite of the existence of *de jure* equality, the distribution of power, responsibilities and access to economic, social and cultural resources between women and men is still very unequal due to the persistence of prevailing traditional gender roles¹.

There are five basic arguments for the justification of more active participation of women in government.

- Equality of sexes. Full realization of universality of human rights demands, that equality of sexes *de jure*, and *de facto* was considered as basic human rights. This right is recognized both in national, and in international legislations. Women constitute about half of population, and they should be proportionally presented at decision making level.
- Legitimization of a political system, observance of a principle of representative democracy, that is in the conditions of democracy carrying out of the constant analysis and the control over those who legitimately represents people is necessary and makes decisions from their name. The existing quasimonopoly of men in the politic sphere calls into question legitimacy of existing political structures.
- Distinctions in interests. Women as social group have specific interests because: historically women have been deprived for a long time (political) rights; there is a segregation of women in professional sphere at horizontal and vertical level; realization by women of a sense of responsibility for reproduction of labor power

¹ http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/equality/03themes/gender-equality/index_en.asp

- and education of children has led to gender division in a family.
- Effective utilization of human capital resources. Men and women have different experience, knowledge, intuition. Accounting of vision of those and others can lead to a formulation and carrying out of more balanced and educated state policy.
 - New view on the concept of determination of a policy, its focus. When women reach "critical mass" in political structures, how it is noticed, the understanding of a policy changes, the withdrawal from its traditional interpretation is observed, the culture of decision making changes.

Critical mass is an idea that has moved from sociology to political science and into popular usage over the last 30 years. As Drude Dahlerup notes the concept itself is borrowed from nuclear physics, where it refers to the quantity needed to start a chain reaction, an irreversible take-off into a new situation or process¹. Critical mass is based on the belief that the form of a public body will shape the processes and policies of that organization. In political science literature the concept of critical mass infers that the election of an adequate number of female politicians will result in governance more responsive to women. But the existing literature fails to provide specifics on how changing the proportions of men and women will alter power relations within the political arena. For the most part, discussions of critical mass involve speculation about what might happen if women won the necessary numbers in legislatures².

The origins of the critical mass proportions used in political science literature can be traced to the work of Rosabeth Moss Kanter³ (either directly or through the 1988 work of Drude Dahlerup), though the sociologist did not use the phrase critical mass. Kanter pointed to four sets of proportions in her 1976 exploration of the token behaviour in Fortune 500 company: *Uniform* groups have only one kind of person, one significant social type . . . *Skewed* groups are those in which there is a larger preponderance of one type over another, up to a ratio of perhaps 85:15. . .

Next, *titled* groups begin to move toward less extreme distributions and less exaggerated effects. In this situation, with a ratio of perhaps 65:35, dominants are just a majority and tokens a minority. . . . Finally, at a typological ratio of about 60:50 down to 50:50, the group becomes *balanced*. Women's proportion in a group influences the consideration of their interests. According to this approach, the progress in politics towards the women would thus depend on weight of the women in the authorities of decision.

¹ Dahlerup D. From a Small to a Large Minority: Women in Scandinavian Politics// Scandinavian Political Studies,1988, No. 4, 1988. pp. 275.

² Jacquette J. Women in Power: From Tokenism to Critical Mass//Foreign Policy, Fall,1997. p. 34.

³ Kanter R. M. Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life: Skewed Sex Ratios and Responses to Token Women// American Journal of Sociology,1976/5, p. 966.

The international organizations influence the national legislative level and particularly the question of women/ men equality in the society. But not all the countries show us the successful result. Why the country with such rich history and experience in the resolving of woman question can not propose the solution on gender equality in the politics?

In post communist Russia there are a lot of discussions concerning mechanisms of inclusion of women in the power, first of all, the quoting mechanism. It is paradoxical, but a method of quota, being for the first time applied in the Soviet Russia, has allowed to solve in short terms at once two problems: to receive to women the professional and higher education, and also to become the reliable tool of promotion in party and Soviet controls. But unlike other European countries which have used the Russian experience and apply this method, in our country the idea of quoting can't adapt in new Post-Soviet conditions in any way. For example, the law of parity in France presents the modified solution based on idea of quota mechanism. In Russia there are no institutional conditions of observance of gender parity at forming of elected bodies at appointment to the state posts.

Participation of Russia in the variety of international agreements accepted at the initiative of United Nations Organization, the Council of Europe, etc., from its part obliges the Russian state to pay special attention on problems of provision of gender equality. Among major of them it is necessary to name: the Convention on liquidation of all forms of discrimination concerning women (it is accepted in 1979); resulting documents of the World conference on human rights (Vienna, 1993); the World meeting in interests of social development (Copenhagen, 1995); the World Conference on position of women (Beijing, 1995), etc. All these documents aimed participants of the international agreements at accepting of special strategy of "positive discrimination".

This strategy has been urged to promote women in spheres of public administration by means of special standard "supports", including so-called gender quotas in party hierarchies and lists of candidates. However the state didn't hurry up to implement in practice the planned institutional approaches. Practically all accepted by the executive and legislative authorities documents had especially declarative character - they didn't provide neither financial, nor organizational resources for provision of those obligations which formally were taken by the Russian state. That fact is indicative, for example, the government budget weren't financed directly neither the first, nor the second "National plan on improvement of position of women"¹.

What has been made in practice? In development of the constitutional rate of gender equality in 90th years there is variety of legal documents. Among them - presidential decrees "About priorities of a state policy concerning women" (1993), "About increase of a role of women in system of federal organs of the government

¹ [<http://www.owl.ru/win/docum/rf/strategy/strategy.htm>]

and public authorities of subjects of the Russian Federation” (1996). And two National action plans on improvement of position of women and increase of their role in a society. The first one was made for the period 1996 - 2000, the second - for 2001-2005. In each of these documents the state declared necessity to expand possibility for inclusion of women in power structures. At the same time the legislature has been urged to bring the certain legal base under these documents - to develop the constitutional principle of gender equality in a series of the laws providing its observance in various spheres of public life, including a policy. The State Duma starts to be engaged in it, but as a result accepts not a series of laws, but only “the Concept of legislative activity on provision of equal rights and equal possibilities of men and women”. It is known that the concept isn't valid the law, but, nevertheless, imposes on legislators certain obligations, at least in respect of the further legislative activity. The question of new solutions of the genders equality between men and women stay open for Russian society.

The strategic task for Russia should be considered the implementation of complex approach to the problem of genders equality to state policy on the basis of international (first of all European) experience. Manufacture of structural realized action programmer is possible with long-term interaction of state structures, experts and the representatives of civil society.

Salikzhanov, Rinat S.

Social factors of decision-making by the kazakh youth

In the conditions of the multinational state the optimum decision of a difficult complex of the problems connected with development and functioning national languages and national cultures, preservation of their ethnic elements, a way of life and a life of people, developments of national crafts is required. Unfortunately, many of the traditions of the Kazakh people's education were neglected and not claimed pedagogical science and practice. As a result, significant deformation undergone the mentality of the Kazakh nation. In some of the young people formed social apathy, leveled ethnic consciousness that threatens people, loss of national identity [Zhakiyanov 2007, 74]. Therefore, to study the features of social processes in youth is an urgent task social science in Kazakhstan [Salikzhanov 2007, 35].

As part of mainstreaming the conference aimed at clarifying issues related to decision-making in all spheres of human activity in the light of political modernization, offer at your attention to their opinions on the characteristics of the decision-making representatives of the Kazakh people.

We have for several years conducted a study on theme «Characteristics of socio-cultural environment of young people of North-Eastern region of Kazakhstan. Students of Pavlodar, Semipalatinsk and Ust-Kamenogorsk on the time and about himself. Panel studies conducted in the period in 2004-2008 in order to clarify features of socio-cultural trends among young students. Questionnaire was covered in different years 560-653 respondents in determining the sample size into account profession, and course of language learning. In this paper, we propose to discuss the results of the survey related to the decision of students of Kazakh nationality.

During researches by us it is revealed that in overwhelming majority in this or that reality situation for young men of the Kazakh nationality decisions their parents, the senior relatives accept. So, for example, according to the advice of parents chose sports section 41 of % of young men and 87 % of girls. Accept the decision on this point in question of 55 % and 8 % of young men and girls accordingly.

In the course of studies, we found that the vast majority in any situation in life for young people of the Kazakh nationality, make the decisions their parents, older relatives. For example, on the advice of parents to choose the sports section of the 41% of boys and 87% of girls. Themselves decide on the issue of 55% and 8% of boys and girls respectively.

The rest either did not answer, or for them it was a joint decision. In our other study, respondents were also generally positive image of the sport and argued that the choice of sports sections, follow the advice of their parents [Eskaliev 2006, 80]. The life of a young people's career choices and a higher educational institution for

continuing education the most important period. The solution to what high school do to his son or daughter, modern parents Kazakhs as in most cases, accept yourself. As recognized by 46% choice of university and specialty was identified by parents. Almost one-quarter of the respondents in making decisions about future career take into account the views of older relatives, another 12% the views of friends, about 5% of comments and observations acquaintances, and only 12% of the respondents themselves decide their future (again, until the next 3-4 years).

As can be seen, respondents aged 16-18 rely more on the credibility and experience of adults. This behavior in some measure justified, but, in our view there is a danger of lack of initiative among youth and irresponsibility of its own destiny.

Practically the same alignment of respondents (with a small margin of choice questionnaires «Self-selection»), on the decision in the wardrobe and menu selection, the definition of a circle of friends in the yard. We tend to think that the economic levers of the organization of the modern family is fully owned by parents of current students, and therefore questions of everyday life are in the field of view of parents and addressed from the perspective of adults. With our solidarity and our colleagues, who argue that many elements of modern culture are controlled by senior generation of Kazakh society [Kaldybaeva 2006, 47].

2. As acknowledged by nearly one third of respondents, parents are advised, what should the husband or wife. As an important criterion, as noted by respondents, according to his father and mother in the choice of spouse is: nationality (about 48% of respondents indicated), geography (a native of the nearest territory - an area of the city and region: 32%), knowledge of the language, traditions and Practices - 28%, business performance - 23% and human qualities - 21%, social status - 8%, level of education - 7% and health - 5% (the sum of the responses of more than 100, so kick could choose no more than 3 possible answers).

In our view in determining the criteria for choosing a spouse for their child, most parents do not rashly draw attention to the health of the future son-in law, or (above mentioned, that only 5% of parents worried about the health of a possible future member of the family). According to the preliminary hypothesis, we have represented the item most sought-after answer, as the region in which conducted the study, is in the vicinity or in the former Semipalatinsk nuclear testing ground, where for 15 years to carry out ground and about 40 years underground nuclear explosions. But as shown by «Event-driven» memory of the older generation, most of peers nuclear test site does not store the horrors of nuclear explosions.

3. The study found that there is a small part of the parents who follow the customs, adhere to the ancient traditions of his people. For example, about 8% of respondents said that their parents, according to Kazakh tradition «Atastyru», he or she is betrothed to the children knew their parents or friends. Contents of the tradition «Atastyru» is that in early childhood parents of boy and girl agree to marry in the future of their children. The historical roots of this custom due to the fact that Kazakhs wanted to program future positive relationship with the family, tribal alliance, which now have good neighborly relations.

It seems to us, for the modern Kazakh custom of «Atastyru»; is a manifestation of friendship and respect each other, rather than the intention of compulsory marriage of their children. Unfortunately, the tools of research has been laid the question of ascertaining the extent possible in the future marital union on the basis of this custom. We tend to think that a small number of parents are now showing more knowledge of customs, and are not prepared in the future to realize their intention. Since the majority of respondents namely the choice of spouse consider himself his own destiny (87% boys, 76% girls).

4. Analyzing the results of the study, we concluded that the students (according to 56% of respondents) is the decision in choosing friends of friends in the student group and the group - 36% (science section, a social club). «Splash» activity, determination, due to the fact that in this period, which falls on stage professional socialization, the student is moving away from parental care, and most decisions are taken independently. Therefore, as we see, more than half of young people themselves are trying to determine the circle of acquaintances and friends. But when you consider that up to this line of conduct and action was dictated by their parents, we can assume that the model given by senior will fire a long time.

It is necessary to notice that we practically only in this question could see the independent initiative of students. At the same time we slopes to consider that a considerable part of representatives of young generation of Kazakhs, with the years begins decisions independently make. By a recognition about 38 % interrogated, in many cases in days of students they made the independent decision, relied on a private experience and intuition.

5. As a conclusion, we wish to determine the following points. The practice of making decisions for the younger members of families, and those in our study is a student at the university, was the result of copying the traditions of the Kazakh people, according to which, at the junior high without their permission can not make decisions. Moreover, younger without the permission of the senior can not even talk, engage in conversation with adults.

For today material and financial resources in the majority Kazakh families in hands of parents. Hence, students, without having reached the economic sovereignty, decisions connected with the expense of money cannot make. But it is possible to assume that as soon as to appear possibility of an independent choice and the decision (as in case of a choice of friends from among fellow students and partners - 92 %), young men will immediately show the increased possibilities.

Some respondents acknowledged that the decision-making parents refer to the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad (sallallahu galeykum wa Sallam) and the will of the Almighty God. As you can see, the older generation on a daily basis along with the national principles, guidelines and precepts of the Muslim religion. Our observations also show that in the practice of interaction between the generations appeal of both the national and Islamic is commonplace.

In general, we tend to believe that a significant proportion of the younger generation of Kazakhs, are beginning to take their own decisions, but freed from

parental care. Prior to joining the university and in the early years of the students, especially in the period of adaptation to new conditions of learning in high school, young people are in no hurry to exercise autonomy. According to our observations a large number of parents literally escorted a freshman during the first weeks of study.

We believe a positive presence in the education of young Kazakh elements of national ethics and pedagogy, the Muslim tradition. We believe in adult life, students will take the only right decision, based on the experience of the people and their faith.

Resume

The author of article on the basis of results of sociological researches analyzes socially-psihologicheskie the reasons of features of decision-making by the Kazakh youth. According to the author, modern Kazakh youth in many cases at decision-making is necessary on experience and will of adult members of a family that can be explained traditional installations of education in a family.

At the same time there are reality situations when young men make decisions independently, proceeding from a private experience and intuition.

Keywords

Education, formation, traditions, the decision, socialisation.

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Tangalycheva Rimma K.

Sociological Study of the Cultural Differences in Korean-Russian Mixed Marriages¹

In contemporary world in globalization context one can observe the processes of interaction and mixture of various cultures. Progress in communication and transport technologies made it possible to intensify the direct contacts between millions of people with different ethnic backgrounds. Globalization embraces intercultural interactions in various areas – business, politics, international relations, migration, tourism, scientific and educational exchange, marital relations and family life.

Under the term “mixed marriages” sociologists usually understand the marriages where partners belong to different ethnic (racial) or religious groups. In this paper under the mixed Korean-Russian marriage we will mean marriages between Russian women, born and socialized in Russia, and Korean men, born and living in South Korea.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in the beginning of the 1990s Russia experienced heavy economic and social crisis. Russian people faced the fall of living standards. Many Russian women in their dreams of better life wanted to marry foreigners and leave their native country. From economic and social points of view South Korea seemed them quite a prosperous society. In the same time not only survival needs pushed Russian women to look for the marriage spouses abroad. Although in modern Russia's demographic imbalance between the sexes and exceeding number of women over men in reproductive age has formed the steady stereotype of “lack of men of high quality who are able to provide the family and to bring up children adequately”, which was intensified by the phenomenon of single-parent families and fatherless children.

For Korean men marriage to foreign women can also be explained from the position of pragmatic approach. First, in a traditional Korean culture men (not women) should take responsibilities for family line and parents when they grow old. When modern technologies allowed to determine the sex of a child before s/he was born, this cultural tradition became the reason for many Korean women to give preference in birth for boys. Secondly, in 1980-1990 Korean society collided with the demographic skew and number of born boys exceeded the number of born girls. Thus, in some areas of South Korea the problem of “deficit of brides” appeared.

According to Korean statistics for 2006 in South Korean 90489 marriages between Koreans and foreigners were registered. Among them the lion share falls

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on marriages with the partner from North-East Asia (China, Taiwan, Japan and Mongolia) – 65139 marriages, and from South-East Asia (Vietnam, Cambodia, Philippines, Malaysia) – 17805 marriages. 1179 marriages were registered with immigrants from Central Asia. The USA became leaders among Western countries – 1794 marriages.¹ The share of marriages with Russians in 2006 was 835, among them 523 marriages between Russian women and Korean men and only 73 cases between Russian men and Korean women (1).

For the present study of the cultural differences in Korean-Russian mixed marriages the method of semi-structural interview was selected. This method gives a good opportunity to gather the necessary information and to interpret the object of research in details. The empirical research was conducted in Seoul, South Korea in 2010. Ten Russian women in the age from 19 to 31 years old, married the citizens of the Republic of Korea, participated in the study. All of them have got acquainted with the future spouses during their study at the university – in Russian or in Korea. In the course of the interview it was found out, that at the initial stage of dating communication took place either in the Russian language or, in those cases, when a man had a fairly bad level of the Russian language, in English. Currently, all Russian respondents a rather good command of the Korean language, and receive the second higher education in South Korea.

Since mixed Korean-Russian marriages can not be an exact copy of purely Korean marriages, let us turn to the specific features of this type of marriages. As the received data show, in the Korean-Russian marriages there is no clear hierarchical style of family life. With regard to allocation of responsibilities in the family, then we can say that there are families where the role of wife and husband are clearly set out, and there are families where there is no strict distribution of functions. Almost in all families spouses make everyday decisions together and husbands take part in cooking and cleaning. But the shopping for the family is always the obligation of wives.

According to respondents, the most difficult thing in family life in mixed Korean-Russian marriages - it is not even the difference in mentality with their husbands, but communication with husband's relatives, the obligation to visit them during the collective family holidays (Lunar new year, the harvest festival "Chusok") when crowds of relatives gather in parent's home. Russian women definitely emphasized the differences in celebrating holidays, family rituals and ceremonies of life cycle. In Korean culture of great importance attached to the traditional rituals and rites - the day of birth of the child, when he turns a year, the wedding and the 60-year anniversary of the parents. In the same time it was unusual for Russian women to realize the absence of popular Russian holidays in the Korean culture: the New Year, International Women's Day (March 8), the Day of birth. All the participants of research with an offense noted that their husbands

¹ The majority of marriages between citizens of the USA and Koreans were registered between American men and Korean women.

just forget the date of birth of their wives, as well as, however, their own. The matter is that in South Korea the day of birth is marked on the lunar calendar and doesn't fall on the same day from year to year date. New Year is also celebrated according to the lunar calendar in February-March in a circle of family, when all the relatives are in the parental home. It is important to note that the families, where husbands have lived for some time in Russia, celebrate the New Year on December 31, and congratulate women on March 8. Thus, the Korean-Russian families combine the traditions of the Russian and Korean culture.

In the course of the interview it was found out, that in the religious sphere of the Russian-Korean marriages specific conflicts do not arise. As respondent's answers have shown there are families where both husband and wife do not adhere to any religion and the family where two religions are combined. Such a situation has always amazed Europeans, accustomed to the other principles of the religious life. However, the religious syncretism of Korean society allows the Korean-Russian marriages to avoid conflicts on religious grounds.

Summing up the consideration of Korean-Russian marriages we can make the following conclusion. Cultural differences in such marriages are quite big due to specific scenarios of children's socialization in two societies. In the same time various actual differences in presented research were not found out because of the length of marriage of the respondents. Young Russian women and their Korean husbands who participated in the research were in their so called "honeymoon" period. It is also worth mentioning that the cultural context of ethnic relations and global trends change nowadays so rapidly that in several years Korean-Russian marriages will turn from somewhat exotic and unusual into ordinary and routine practice.

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Gurko, Tatyana A., Orlova, Natalya A.

The development of teenager's personality in different family types¹

One of the most obvious functional propositions is that family structure makes a difference for predicting child outcomes [1, p.23]. The theory posits that intact nuclear families have the requisite role structures to provide the most nurturing environment for children. For decades, researchers have included "family structure" as an important variable of child outcomes. This perspective on "complete" versus "incomplete" family role relationships permeated the study of the family in US and former USSR.

Family structure, income and child outcomes: USA results

In meta-analysis, based on sixty-seven studies conducted during the 1990s, P. Amato "again found that children with divorced parents, on average, scored significantly lower on various measures of wellbeing than did children with continuously married parents" [2, p. 77]. As before, the differences between the two groups were modest rather than large. Nevertheless, the more recent meta-analyses revealed that children with divorced parents continued to have lower average levels of cognitive, social, and emotional well-being, even in a decade in which divorce had become common and widely accepted.

Compared with children who grow up in stable, two parent families, children born outside marriage reach adulthood with less education, earn less income, have lower occupational status, are more likely to be idle (that is, not employed and not in school), are more likely to have a nonmarital birth (among daughters), have more troubled marriages, experience higher rates of divorce, and report more symptoms of depression [2, p. 78]. The risk of relationship dissolution also is substantially higher for cohabiting couples with children than for married couples with children. Adding a stepfather to the household stressed Amato usually improves children's standard of living. Moreover, in a stepfamily, two adults are available to monitor children's behavior, provide supervision, and assist children with everyday problems. For these reasons, one might assume that children generally are better off in stepfamilies than in single-parent households. Studies consistently indicate, however, that children in stepfamilies exhibit more problems than do children with continuously married parents and about the same number of problems as do children with single parents [2, p.80].

The other data was provided by other researchers. Biblarz and Gottainer use pooled cross-sectional data from the General Social Survey (GSS) from 1972-1987 to examine a number of dependent outcome variables, such as completing high

¹ The project was supported by Russian Scientific Humanitarian Foundation, grant № 11-33-00002a1

school, attending college, and finishing college, as well as general psychological well-being [3]. The results of their data analyses suggest that children from single-mother families created by divorce differ significantly from intact, two-biological-parent families on every outcome. These children had significantly poorer outcomes. On the other hand, children from widowed single-mother homes are not significantly different than those from two-biological-parent families on any of these dimensions, with the exception of having slightly lower odds of completing high school. The conclusion is that structure alone makes no difference.

Lansford et al. examined five different family structures for effects of family relationships, child well-being, and grades. The five structure types were adoptive, two-parent biological, single-mother biological, stepfather, and stepmother. Lansford and her colleagues used 799 cases from Wave 2 of the 1992-1994 National Survey of Families and Households. A simple univariate analysis of variance showed no effects of family structures on grades, spousal relationship, or child's sibling relationships [4].

White, Marshall, and Wood examined the effects for family structure on school engagement and social engagement and reported that once parenting processes were included, there was no effect for family structure on either outcome variable [1, p. 24]. Carlson and Corcoran report that "once income is controlled, the family structure effects primarily disappear for both behavioural and cognitive outcomes. Family income itself strongly predicts most cognitive and behavioural outcomes" [5]. Thus, the prevailing conclusion seems to be that when family structure is important as a variable, it is when income has not been controlled.

Family structure, material wellbeing of family and teenage outcomes: Russian results

The present diversity of structure of family institution in Russia is a result of common civilization tendency and coexistence of elements of preindustrial, industrial and postindustrial societies.

In accordance with census 2002 in Russia 52% of all households include children (younger than 18 years old). Among all "family nucleus" (parents with children) – 70% consisted both parents (including stepparents) with children, 27% – mothers with children, 3% – fathers with children [3, p.23].

In 1994-1995 was provided investigation of 980 teenagers 14-15 years old (last 9th grade of middle school) in four cities of Central Russia (Bryansk, Tambov, Vladimir and Moscow). The development of teenager's personality in three main structural types of families was analyzed [4]. The academic advancement, orientation to future graduate education, consumption of drug and alcohol, approval of sexual relations among peers, sympathy with socially vulnerable groups and psychological variables - locus of control (S. Nowicki, B.R. Strickland), self-esteem (M. Rosenberg), and neuroticism (G. Eysenck) were measured.

In accordance of data, boys and girls from mother-headed families were not distinguished from those, who live in intact families with the exception of boys

who smoked and proof sexual relations among peers statistically significant more often in mother-headed families. This fact was interpreted as wish of boys to be more “masculine” in accordance with cultural norms.

At the same time only girls from stepfamilies were less successful in comparison with boys and girls from other structural family types. They had more low marks, less often planed to get graduate education; more often smoked, and had more external locus of control and high level of neuroticism. Two hypotheses were drowning to explain this fact. In this time in Russia was the lack of norms which regulate relations in stepfamilies. According psychoanalysis girls are more successful with biological father.

In that time of economical transition in Russia it was difficult to measure the family income and professional status of parents because it was unstable. Only level of education of parents was analyzed (six groups include combination higher and under higher education one or both parents). It was founded that more successful boys and girls were growing up with both biological high educated parents, and more successful girls also lived with high educated “single” mother [4, p. 89].

Table 1

The samples of teenagers in four cities of
Central Russia (Bryansk, Tambov, Vladimir and Moscow)

	Teenagers from intact families	Teenagers from stepfamilies	Teenagers from mother/father headed families	Teenagers live without parents (mainly with grandparents)
1995 (n=980)	68%	8%	23%	1%
2011(n=1006)	62% (614)	14% (137)	22% (229)	2% (26)

In 2010-2011 the investigation was repeated on the similar sample (9th grades teenagers in same cities, 14-15 years old). Data were analyzed in the SPSS.

On the table 1 one can see the small dynamic of family structure. The group of stepfamilies included stepmother/stepfather who was “civil spouse” of mother or father of teenagers. The group of families “without parents” is very heterogeneous. Some parents of teenagers work in other cities, some of them are deprived of parental rights, one case: teenager live in foster family.

The comparison teenagers in 1995 (49% boys and 54% girls) with teenagers in 2011year shows that new generation plan to get a high education more often (78% and 86%).

Table 2

Educational resource of teenagers in different structural types of families (%)

Indicators	Families									
	Intact families		Stepfamilies		Mother/father headed		Without parents**		TOTAL	
	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls
Mainly bad marks in school	29	19	42	22	31	18	46	23	32	19
Additional courses *	54	70	50	64	53	65	53	61	53	68
Good computer skills *	37	19	32	16	35	14	15	23	35	17
Plan to continue an education in high school	70	72	67	63	67	74	39	62	68	71
Plan to get a high education	79	88	82	84	79	84	62	69	78	86

* New variables in 2011 research.

** This group of teenagers was not included in statistical analysis of differences because of this group is too small.

As one can see in table 2 only teenagers from families “without parents” have the worse *educational resource*. The more boys have “bad marks”; the fewer boys are: good computer’ users, plan to continue an education in high school and plan to get a high education. Also the fewer girls plan to get a high education.

It was not founded any statistically significant differences in relation to educational resource among teenagers in other three main types of families.

As one can see in table 3 only boys in families “without parents” not so often ready to help to old person and to defend weak person. They also will do nothing if other teenagers offend “weak person” (younger, aged, drunker and so on). Girls in families “without parents” are seldom socially active.

It was not founded any statistically significant differences on civil qualities among teenagers in three main types of families.

There are less girls in families “without parents” who “engage in sport often” and who evaluate their health as “good or very good” (see table 4).

In mother/father headed families more girls who evaluate their health as “good” (Pearson Chi-Square = 10,786, significance = 0,005).

Table 3

Civil qualities of teenagers in different structural types of families (%)

Indexes and indicators	Families									
	Intact families		Stepfamilies		Mother/father headed		Without parents		TOTAL	
	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls
Relation to socially vulnerable groups***										
disabled person	89	91	85	94	87	94	85	92	88	93
old person	87	93	87	94	88	96	77	100	87	94
crying child	66	82	57	86	64	77	54	69	65	81
homeless man	36	30	37	23	34	41	31	46	36	32
homeless dog	66	85	80	86	67	92	69	92	68	87
Reaction to injustice*:										
stop pilferer	85	85	85	81	84	86	77	77	84	84
defend weak person	88	85	83	86	87	87	92	85	87	85
<i>Index of altruism</i>	68	70	60	67	69	73	67	69	67	70
Social activities****	22	20	22	23	23	26	15	8	22	22

***«a pity and wish for help»

**** membership of informal group or social movement

Table 4

Health and sport activity of teenagers in different structural types of families (%)

Indicators	Families									
	Intact families		Stepfamilies		Mother/father headed		Without parents		TOTAL	
	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls
“good or very good” evaluation of own health*	83	72	78	71	74	56	77	54	80	68
engage in sport (often)*	73	56	80	54	64	56	62	30	72	55

Nowadays boys smoke a little bit less: in 1995 – 24%, in 2011 – 15%. The proportion of smoking girls did not change – 12%. Alcohol consumption among

boys increased due to beer – 16% of them drink beer “every day or one time a week” (and 7% of girls). Nowadays less number of boys proves sexual relations among peers – 72% in 1995 and 62% in 2011. As one can see in table 5, 35% of boys had sexual contacts (included «tried») and 17% of girls.

Table 5

Harmful habits and relation to sex of teenagers in different structural types of families (%)

Indicators	Families									
	Intact families		Stepfamilies		Mother/father headed		Without parents		TOTAL	
	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls
Harmful habits:										
smoke “often”	15	14	22	18	20	16	31	15	17	16
drink beer “often”	13	6	24	13	19	6	15	-	16	7
Sexual relations:										
prove sexual relations among peers	62	34	70	37	57	40	85	46	62	36
had sexual contacts (including «tried»)*	33	14	46	30	33	18	54	15	35	17

Table 6

Psychological wellbeing of teenagers in different types of families (%)

Indexes and indicators	Families									
	Intact families		Stepfamilies		Mother/father headed families		Without parents		TOTAL	
	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls
Locus of control (external)	25	24	34	25	28	25	47	44	27	25
Neuroticism (high)	13	34	17	34	13	29	8	46	13	33
Self-esteem (low)	24	25	22	27	22	23	15	46	23	25
Feeling of discomfort at home*	15	12	15	29	23	19	15	15	17	17

More teenagers in stepfamilies in comparison with ones in intact and one parent families drink beer “often” (P = 6,393, sign.= 0,010 for boys and P = 3,614,

sign.= 0,049 for girls) and more girls had sexual contacts ($P = 10,213$, sign.= 0,001). In table 5 and 6 one can see some peculiarities of teenagers in families “without parents”.

The stable difference among boys and girls in level of neuroticism since 1995 probably connected with more early sex maturation of girls [8].

In relation to main family structures much more girls in stepfamilies who feel “discomfort at home” ($P = 13,896$, sign.= 0,001).

So, according table 2-6 more unfavourable family type – “without parents”. There were not found any differences in development of boy’ personalities in one parent families (as it was in 1995 year). In such families only girls more seldom evaluate their health as “good”. Despite everyday stereotype teenagers in *intact families* and in *one parent families* statistically significant differ only on 1 of 23 of measured indicators. *Stepfamily* is more unfavourable for girls on 4 of 23 of measured indicators of teenage personality in comparison with other main three types of family (similar as in 1995 year).

In research 2011 also was tested hypothesis that *material well-being* of family more important for teenage well-being than structure of family. U. Bronfenbrenner stressed that economical conditions of families are important factor of child development [9]. Feminists’ researchers already in 1990-s showed that children from “single mother” families are more unsuccessful because of “feminization of poverty” [10].

The index of material well-being was constructed on the base of two indicators – subjective evaluation by teenager economical situation in family and objective indicator of housing conditions (own room in flat or house). In sample there are 17% of «rich» families, 32% – “middle level”, 30% – “low level” и 22% «pure».

In article are presented only most obvious statistically significant differences among teenagers in these four types.

Educational resource of teenagers is higher in families with higher material level. It is true for: “visiting additional courses” by boys ($P=7,736$, sign.=0,045), “good computer skills” ($P=14,825$, sign.=0,022 for boys and $P=17,058$, sign.=0,009 for girls), “planning to continue an education in high school” ($P=9,819$, sign.=0,037 for boys, $P=17,112$, sign.=0,008 for girls) and “planning to get a high education” ($P=7,637$, sign.=0,044 for girls).

It was not found any statistically significant differences on *civil qualities, harmful habits and relation to sex* among teenagers in families of different material well-being.

At the same time *evaluation of health and sport activity* of teenagers are higher in families with higher material level. For evaluation of health as “good or very good” it is true for girls ($P=9,305$, sign.=0,021), for “sport activity” it is true for boys ($P=8,957$, sign.=0,030).

The differences in *psychological sphere* are most obvious among teenagers in “reach” and “poor” families. Much more of them in reach families have: high self-esteem ($P=7,420$, sign.=0,024 for boys), low level of neuroticism ($P=8,213$,

sign.=0,016 for boys and $P=7,798$, sign.=0,020 for girls), internal locus of control ($P=12,189$, sign.=0,024 for girls).

In general teenagers in families of different material level differ in 9 of 23 of measured indicators. In comparison with *structure of families* the factor of *material wellbeing* is more important for development of teenager personality.

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Rozhkova, Lilya V.

Modernization orientations and values of college youngsters as the basis of Russian society consolidation

The problem of society consolidation is very important in Russia. It's connected with large-scale transformational "fracture" in social and economical spheres destabilizing the Russian society; formation of significant social inequities, influencing escalation of social contradictions; change of society governing system. That proves the importance of social factors in rallying the Russian society.

Crisis within the Russian society imprints on the consolidation of population in contemporary Russia and requires alteration of value system, formation of qualitatively new and diverse subjects of social bonds, substantial alteration of essence and character in system of operations and relations, development of new social choice model that meets self-identification requirements to Russia as contemporary, strong, democratic state. We associate the bailout perspective with modernization without which building civil society is an illusion. The right choice of modernization direction may become the ruling factor in consolidating the society.

Young people play most important role in modernization of any society. Formation of values and orientations for the young generation of Russians bears contradictory character that is expressed in the non-concurrence of mutual expectations of separate social subjects. Such tendency is affirmed by the fact that former norms and value orientations that were earlier predominant in public conscience do not meet life conditions, being formed by the market economy and political changes within the society. According to V.A. Yadov's opinion, "at favorable inner and outer circumstances the coming of new generations of Russians into the historic arena, who do not bear burden of former, Soviet behavior patterns and are better adapted to post-Soviet realities of market economy and democracy, may contribute to qualitative shift in establishment of functioning social institutes".

Revelation of system of values and orientations, that may become base of integration and consolidation processes in Russian multi-ethnic society, is evidently very important for civil society.

In Russian society traditionalist (paternalistic) and modernist orientations, based on ideas of personal responsibility, initiative and individual freedom, characteristic of modernism epoch, exist together. Young generation, having modernized conscience, is only beginning to form within Russian society - their conscience is to a large extent contradictory in valuations.

Sociological research (among students of higher education institutions in four regions: Penza region, republic of Mordovia, Ulyanovsk region, republic of Tatarstan, n=1254, year 2010) was done in order to study traditionalist and modernist orientations. Differentiation of polar world-view types was based on

development and differentiation of integral index, containing characteristics peculiar to contemporary personality.

Data, collected in the course of research, have shown that a group of people successively bearing mentality, characteristic of the epoch of modern, is not numerous – 26% of respondents; group of traditionalism followers – 9% from total selection. Educts show that in our research the majority of respondents belong to so-called mixed type (65%). Educts of our research are supported by materials of the research, conducted by the Sociology Institute of RAS: in 2007 among youngsters up to 25 years old there were 27% of modernists.

Educts of our research revealed the dependence of modernization orientations on practically all indices (conditions) under study – gender differences, type of settlement before entering higher education institution, type of family, specialty profile, and region.

Data of authorial research displayed that 24% of Russians, 36% of Tatars, 14% of Mordovians and 20% of other nationalities adhere to modernization orientations. Among the traditionalists there are 9% of Russians, 6% of Tatars, 16% of Mordovians and 14% of other nationalities. 67% of Russians, 57% of Tatars, 69% of Mordovians and 66% of other nationalities belong to mixed type. Thus among modernists the majority is Tatars and the Mordovians are the most numerous among the traditionalists. Among mixed type representatives Tatar nationality is the minority.

Men prevail among the modernists – 35% versus 19% (women); among mixed type: women – 71%, men – 57%. In full families there are more people, abiding modernization orientations (27% against 22%); also there're more modernists among students, whose parents have higher education: 30% of modernists have parents with higher education, 18% have parents without higher education. There're more modernists among students who have difficulties with their studies (30%); 24% modernists show average results at studies and only 18% study with good and excellent marks.

The majority of modernists are among second year students (32%) and the minority are freshmen (20%). Students studying technical subjects form the majority of modernists – 33%, modernists studying social and humanitarian subjects form the minority – 21%. These results may be explained by the fact that students technical subjects are more involved in innovational scientific, technical and technological development – this imprints on conscience of these students, stimulating them to look for new information, constantly transforming their viewpoint, values and norms according to new social and economical conditions. Students from Tatarstan have the most modernized conscience – 35%, Modernists from Mordovia are least numerous – 17%. Besides, most modernists are students who lived in megacities before entering higher education institutions – 43%. Research results reveal tendency that number of modernists decrease proportional to decrease of settlement size. 43% of modernists lived in megacities before entering higher educational institutions, 32% - in large cities, 26% - in big towns or towns of average size, 20% - in small towns, 18% - in villages and settlements (this may be

explained by the fact students from the countryside are more inclined to share old, traditional, paternalistic views). The number of students, adherent to traditional views, is 14% of those people, who came to study at the university from the countryside and 7% of those who brought up in megacities. Among students from megacities 50% represent mixed type, among students from the countryside - 68%.

According to the results of our research 46% of respondents are "distributed income oriented" and 50% "achievement oriented". 26% of our respondents chose "to have own business and to run it at their own risk", 25% - "to have moderate but steady salary and to be sure in their future", 23% - "to choose job according to their liking even if it's not profitable" and 20% - "to work and earn a lot without thinking about tomorrow". Only 2% of respondents chose the variant "to have small income but to have a lot of spare time". Thus, we may say that modern tendencies - initiative and enterprising - influence the young generation alongside with traditional, paternalistic orientations. Modernists are inclined to be active and enterprising, traditionalists are more intent to have job according to their liking and to be sure in their future.

Family is of major importance for respondents. Family was chosen as the principal value by 58% of respondents, 50% chose interaction and human life takes the third place. Traditional values (conformism, self-denial) are important for only 8 and 7% of respondents accordingly. Virtually for universal human values are significant for contemporary students (family, human life). Answering the question "What is the most important thing in your life?" respondents mentioned family as the major value (70%), health (50%) and material wealth (42%). Gender aspect in value orientation of students has a specific shade of meaning. Family is more valuable for women, health and interaction - for men. Work as a value is more important for women - this is to a large extent caused by shift of women's social role.

Family turned out to be of great value for 66% of respondents that tend to share modernization orientations. Value of family is lower among the traditionalists - 60%. 73% of representatives of mixed type acknowledge family value. For 57% of traditionalists it's important "to have good health" (46% of modernists). Value of material wealth is relatively equal for all types (43% of modernists, 44% of traditionalists, 41% of ambivalent type). Education is most valuable for traditionalists (33% against 26% of modernists), though statistically this difference is insignificant.. "Interesting job" and "prestigious job" were chosen by one third of respondents - 33% of modernists, 30% of traditionalists and 34% of mixed type would prefer to have an interesting job, 27% of modernists, 25% of traditionalists and 26% of mixed type would prefer prestigious job. This data are correlated with N.I. Lapin's work - in his research this idea was supported by 21% of modernists, 29% of traditionalists and 24% of intermediate (transitive) type.

However interesting results were achieved on hedonist orientations of students. 34% of modernists told that the most valuable for them is to get pleasure (only 15% of traditionalists share that opinion), 24% of representatives of mixed type distinguish this value as the most important.

One of important indices that influence value orientations of students is their resource potential (academic progress, education of parents, family composition and financial wealth). Collected data permitted to reveal the following: family composition does not seriously influence values. Students, whose parents have higher education, in contrast to students, whose parents don't have higher education, are more inclined towards having good health (56% against 47%) and enjoying their lives (29% against 20%). Besides, family as a value is more important for students, whose parents do not have higher education (63% against 56%). Students, displaying average academic success want to have an interesting job more than the others. Those students who have difficulties at studies are less striving to material wealth, family is also less valuable for them - 63% (among students, who are successful at studies, this index was 72%, among students with average academic results - 69%). Value of work for respondents with weak resources was not valuable.

Thus, the results of research conducted enable us to reveal the following tendencies. Contemporary human values are the most important ones for students (family, human life) Family turned out to be valuable for respondents, adherent to modernization orientations, such as creativity and entrepreneurship. Striving to reach success in their lives they rely on themselves only. Health is most valuable for traditionalists. Material wealth is desirable for half of the respondents, notwithstanding their social attitudes. Pleasure is most important for students, adherent to modernization orientations - traditionalists, striving for pleasure, are twice less numerous. Gender also influences value orientation of youngsters. Family, health and interaction are more valuable for women, freedom and pleasure - for men. Research data enabled to distinguish tendency that value of education is proportional to type of settlement where an individual had lived before entering institution of higher education - the smaller the settlement is, the more youngsters want to receive higher education. The more individual study, the less valuable education becomes for him but striving towards material wealth strengthens. Students with weak potential (those who have difficulties at studies) are less striving to reach material wealth. Family and work are also less valuable for them.

Pronina, Elena I.

Civil Education at School: Problems and New Tendencies [1]

In the late 20th - early 21st century in Russia against the background of social and economical crisis a spiritual one has burst out. It was strongly marked displayed in the sphere of patriotic feelings, purposes, civic self-consciousness and behavior formation of residents, especially young people of school age.

Trying to improve this situation, at the 18th of July 2005 the Government of the Russian Federation adopted the State Program «Patriotic education of residents of the RF in 2006-2010».

Researches of socialization problems note that, «today after some years of Russian reforms we have to state that the transition of country to new economical conditions is implemented without efficient conceptual program, which would ensure the synchronism of social changing in whole and its social institutes particularly» [3, p. 77].

Complex of specific problems, exposing during the process of socialization practice analysis, indicates that happened – namely, the dissolution of traditional values system and the transformation of established mechanism of generations' socialization and continuity between them.

Recent years researches show that modern schoolchild is notable for a high rationalism, adequate appreciation of his own efforts and gratuity, as well as an aspiration to make a future project of his own life as soon as possible. Rationalism of today's teenager influences on such fundamental concepts as civic consciousness and patriotism.

Civic formation of a schoolchild is conditioned by influence of such socialization institutes as family, school, mass media, peer groups, religion and real positioning and functioning of these institutes in society. Russian institutes of socialization and society in whole experienced the transition into a new quality not gradually, but by means of explosive phenomenon, thereby they found themselves in completely new socio-economic conditions. Zygmunt Bauman noted: “Where uncertainty reigns there is little time to concern about values, hovering over day-to-day cares” [3, p. 201].

However today, along with the negative consequences of established state of affairs, some trends indicating successful self-determination of the young people in the new historical circumstances, formation of civil consciousness and patriotic attitudes appeared. This is testified by the results of our research.

This article describes some of considerations about school socialization as a social problem in terms of subject, object, procedural and institutional aspects of socialization. Research was aimed to identify what knowledge, practices, purposes, values, patterns are transmitting and forming during the process of school

socialization; what are the conditions and methods of reproducing necessary patterns and values, and, in addition, by what formal and informal social institutes the process of civil and patriotic socialization occurs at school.

Schoolchild interprets one or another problem of society by using accessible sources, main of which are peer group, family, teachers, media and other agents of socialization. Today, these sources function in the way that almost a third part of schoolchildren do not realize the importance of patriotism discourse for our country. However, almost a half of the interviewed young people noted that the topic of patriotism is important as never before. Approximately every sixth respondent claimed that this topic was important before, but now it became old-fashioned. The perceptions of patriotism importance at the level of country and personally for schoolchild largely do not coincide. The theme of patriotism is important as never before for the country – believes half of the respondents, and just every fourth person confirmed this idea as important for them personally (half as great).

In general, schoolchildren demonstrated that the sense of patriotism for them is displayed in love of the Motherland, knowledge of history, readiness to protect the interests of country with arms in case of necessity. But in comparison to the immediate past, some changes occurred in this question. If earlier the Motherland was associated with a country respondent is currently living in, a small homeland, and a high readiness to protect it, now the attitude to the Motherland, native land, little by little becomes more neutral and rational.

It is well-known that in the process of young person socialization, a direct bearer of defined norms and values plays a great role. To understand what is the social environment of modern schoolchild in context of our analysis, there was a question about a presence of a person could be called patriot around the child. Almost 40 % of respondents answered to this question affirmatively. Every fifth teenager claimed there are no such people in his surroundings; more than a half had difficulties to answer this question.

Researches of socialization maintain that while the purposes of society are not formulated, there cannot be any clear social order to the institutes of socialization, including school. Being at the situation of uncertainty, school and some other social institutes limit their functions by the most needed; in case of school – by knowledge transmission. But our researches indicate that for the past few years there has been a return of the educational component back to school. Gradually, with difficulties, comprehension of civil education phenomenon in new social circumstances by all institutions occurs. The behavior of a young man identifying himself with the citizen depends on the model of civic consciousness accepted in the society. What are the features modern schoolchildren consider as a mandatory for a citizen? Patriotism and civic consciousness up to Russian schoolchild are interconnected notions, but not identical. Civic consciousness for up-to-date schoolchildren is associated with a formal belonging to the state, a sense of responsibility and duty. It is important to stress not only changes in mind of

senior pupil in a process of civic position formation, but also the general tendency: predominance of the normative approach to understanding the role of citizen. Main characteristics marked out by respondents, - observing a law, watchfulness, opposition to extremism, - are the core of formal, institutional specificity of a citizen. Characteristics defining socio-cultural content are located at the lower levels of rank ladder of civil features. Moreover, the importance of unselfishness as a civil characteristic reduces, that perhaps connects to the dissemination of pragmatic orientations at the youth environment [4, p.206].

As shown by research data of main actors of educational process (teachers, pupils and parents), school still use a standard set of means for educating a citizen and a patriot. Emotional attitude of pupils to the school patriotic events is an important criterion of an educational component. In different schools the attitude to the conducted events was a bit different, that tell about the quality of the event, professional skills of teachers, emotional involvement and conscientiousness of the organizers. The majority of schoolchildren noted that conducted event aroused positive feelings, such as respect, pride, love of the Motherland and gratitude. The fact that negative feelings and emotions were experienced by a very insignificant part of the interviewed shows that school conducts patriotic educational work rather correctly.

The main thing that was found out is that the majority of schoolchildren still have an interest to the Great Patriotic War (GPW). No special differences due to sex, age and place of living were established. The differences have rather individual-personal than socio-group character. Catastrophic frame of mood about "complete generation gap", disrespectful attitude of the modern youth and teenagers to the GPW were found overstating. There are reasons for worrying, though. As it was noted before, in recent years sociologists indicate the reduction of role of traditional institutes of socialization, including school and family. But as a guardian of memory family still plays a significant role, while school makes attempts to save and restore its role in the education of citizen and patriot.

Unfortunately the rising pragmatism of the youth is sensed, that supports by the media and other sources of official propaganda, which sometimes suggests estimating state holidays as "regular days-of", exactly as every fifth student estimated the Victory Day (research "The Russian students about the Great Patriotic War") in 2005. Senior school pupils' opinion poll, conducted in 2007, showed approximately the same results. However, we can look at them from the other side, so as 83.9 % of respondents regard the Victory Day (9th of May) and 56.9 % - the Day of the Motherland Protector (23rd of February) as their "personal holidays".

Despite the fact that some researches express the position that the whole generation of "Children of Ostankino" grew up, for whom the real history of a country is an empty sound, the opinion poll of students and schoolchildren indicates that it is not. It can be stated that imposing of one-sided view to the war is not succeed yet, and most likely it will not. Natural desire of young people for a

country, which won the greatest war in the human history, to look in appropriate way in peaceful life and provide deserved life to the winners, runs all through the research.

The fact attracts attention that in their wishes schoolchildren noted that at the same time with the celebrations of memory dates it is desirable to increase the quantity of the events, which will foster the sense of pride for today`s achievements of compatriots in sport, science and culture. As the research results shows, today school is obviously not enough active exactly in these directions of work. Indirect, but significant indicators of vacuum of timely patriotic senses is the uncertainty of patriotic behavior criterions. It can be indicated by the fact that almost half of the interviewed to the projective question (what they would do if they had a boundless opportunity to express themselves as patriots of Russia) answered "I do not know". It causes a certain alarm, because the ideology of patriotism in Russia almost does not develop and does not integrate new senses.

In the process of civic world-view formation its bearers, including school teachers, play a significant role. To understand what guides the teachers in their work we asked a question: "What is your attitude to the purposes our State declares today?" (Figure 1).

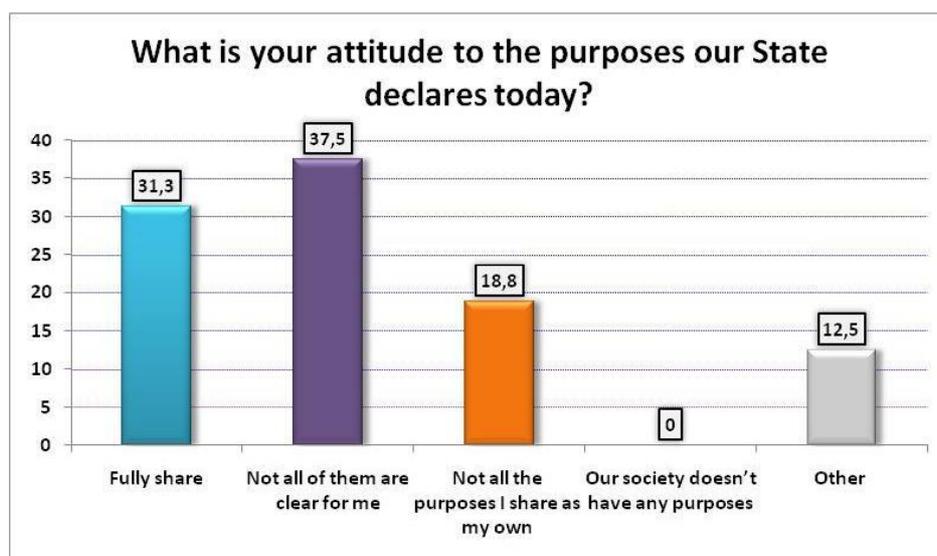


Figure 1. Answers of respondents to the question "What is your attitude to the purposes our State declares today?", %

There are 31.3 % of teachers, who completely shares the goals of the state; 18,8 % who shares, but not as their own; 37,5 % not regard all of them as clear ones. As we can see from derived data, just a third part of teachers shares purposes declared by the state. More than a half do not accept them as their own or regard them as incomprehensible. At the same time, no one of the interviewed marked the position "our society does not have any purposes at all", which is the evidence that teachers do not estimate the situation at the state level as a situation of chaos or out of control.

According to teachers, education of patriotism interferes with the idea of individualism, personal safety and well-being, as well as the fact that parents do not bring children up with the idea of patriotism. Moreover, in the opinion of teachers, in spite of the fact that the program provides such direction as patriotic education, some of them don't do it. The reasons that were marked out: there is no force remains (53,5%), don't know how (52,4%), no time (51,9%), do not consider it as their task (47,2%). Nevertheless, almost all the teachers claim that they are involved into the patriotic education, mostly "not very actively" though.

Studying the teachers' opinion of schoolchildren world-view, we asked them how important it is for teenagers to respect their country and be proud of it. The fact that major part of teachers had difficulties with the answer attracts attention. In general a third part of teachers did not think about it or believe that teenagers do not feel the necessity to respect their country and to be proud of it.

The young people are frequently seen today as not an object of influence, but as a subject of history. For carrying out the politics of state building and national safety on practice at the era of globalization the institutes of socialization must form a socially active and responsible young generation, whose activities are regulated by positive social norms and public interests. We have a very complicated task of combination traditional "military" core of patriotic education with completely new semantic codes reflecting promising postindustrial values and purposes.

Many scientists today talk about political indifference, lack of patriotism and civic consciousness of the young people. Research data declares that it is far not like this. In majority the schoolchildren have respect to the state and abidance of the law. How do the patriotic consciousness of the young people display specifically? More than a half of the interviewed do not want to be born and live in the other country, although every fifth would like to. To our mind, it is extremely significant, taking into account the fact that all the respondents were born in the first part of 1990`s and were bringing up at the period of the deepest crisis of almost all moral guiding lines, decline of functions of educational institutes and massive informational war in mass media, when the importance of Russian patriotism went through the large-scale attack. But in spite of it some hidden unexplored recourses and mechanisms of actualization of the main values of national survival snapped into action.

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Belova, Natalia I., Tsapko Miroslava S.

New Phenomena in the Social Behavior of Youth in Contemporary Russia

During the last decade, the Russian society has been experiencing deep socio-economic and political transformations that also impact the younger generation against the backdrop of the current tendency to an aging population. The chain of social experience transfer from parents to children is broken. The society is changing faster than the time that parents have to reinforce their social experience in order to pass it to the new generation.

The processes taking place among youth are quite controversial from the social point of view. On the one hand, young people have to accept existing objective conditions of the social and production life. On the other hand, youth inherent desire to work out their own stance (to construct their world) under the conditions when rapid social transformations cause the change of subjective attitudes in the minds of the younger generation.

Young people today are a non-homogeneous social group not adapted to the changing world of adults. At the same time, this is the most active part of the society with a large potential to innovation to change it. These are the factors that actualize studying of new phenomena in the social behavior of youth and especially students of contemporary Russia.

In early 2009, a team of experts from the Sociology Department of the Russian State University for the Humanities conducted a comprehensive study to identify new phenomena in the social behavior of the representatives of various groups of Russian students. The study was carried out by a combination of survey and contextual content-analysis of the press popular among the students. Besides, particular publications subjected to analysis were selected according to the survey results [1].

The studies suggest that today the Russian students are positively-minded young people who have enough intelligence, strength and desire for the life in a modern society, who appreciate the present and make big plans for the future. This generation cannot be called lost. They know exactly what they want, what they believe in and what they hope for. They are not afraid of the difficulties of the upcoming "adult life", although they would like to delay a bit this stage of their biography, hence, the desire to get maximum benefit and enjoyment during the period of the "lack of adult responsibilities" that come upon the college graduation or reaching a certain age, thirty as a rule, when one does not belong to the youth any more.

The social orientation of young people is also positive, in general. Life and professional trajectories are clearly defined and usually linked with the desire to succeed in the implementation of the education they received and to make a family

with several children. Statements by some media that modern youth do not need a family were not confirmed.

Social infantilism as an intentional non-adult behavior, as well as the deliberate neglect of the notion of social and civic responsibility did not appear sufficiently in the studied group. Today students understand and accept social and civic responsibility through the personal responsibility for themselves and their actions.

The student enter into adulthood with an objective delay by the time of the college graduation. "Late start in life" is typical for some students as a special life strategy. Perhaps, it is the result of uncertainty or disappointment in the chosen profession already before the graduation, often reinforced by the negative working experience. The study found that the "late start in life" claimed by adults in relation to all the youth suits most only those young people who share the discourse of "carefree life" and tend to shift the solution of inevitable social and personal problems on somebody else's shoulders.

It's an interesting fact that the secondary employment is becoming a constant companion for studying youth. One third of students permanently combine study with work, and one fifth of students do it on a case-to-case basis. Forms of this combination vary: from shift work to working from home, employment from a full time job to several hours a day. The main cause for students' secondary employment is their desire to be financially independent from their parents and to live with dignity. This again indirectly refutes the prevailing view of social infantilism of today's youth.

One of the main fears of the young Russians is the prospect to stay without tangible livelihood and the associated fear not to be able to find a job or to lose the existing one. Certainly, material well-being plays quite an important but not the main role in the life of a young person (not the basic value.) The study shows that material well-being is "very important" only for one third young person (35.2%) Almost half said "rather important" (49.3%) as an integral part of life (according to open-ended questions) and 11.7% of respondents said that it was of not much importance ("not important" - 4.4%; "rather not important" - 7.3%.) The experts also revealed a pattern that the issues of material well-being concern the older group of studying youth from 24 - 29 much more ("very important" - 36.9%; "rather important then not" - 53.1%) Financial independence from their parents is especially valuable for them.

The study shows that the significant part of young people make active efforts to solve the problems associated with material disadvantage. Practically every third (28.7%) constantly combines work with study, and every fourth (24.5%) works from time to time. The fifth part named the need of money as the reason to combine study with work. However, the main reason (46.1%) of combining study with work is to be financially independent from their parents.

Egalitarianism in the opportunity to implement one's fundamental rights and freedoms declared by politicians as the main achievement of modern democratic

society significantly contributed to the gender neutrality inside social groups. In young people's consumer and electoral behavior only minor gender differences are observed. Moreover, young women are interested in politics not less than young men, and the representatives of the "strong half of humanity" do not mind to go shopping at all.

The study shows that apolitism in its classical form as an unwillingness to know anything about politics is not a typical feature of studying youth. Most respondents declared their constant (or selective) interest to political events. The source of such interest is, first of all, the learning process. In addition to learning, a little more than half of surveyed youth discuss political problems with their friends. Besides, the finding show that fundamental political concepts, such as civism, duty, patriotism are not just a lip service for contemporary youth. The political apathy of youth is rather manifested in the unwillingness to implement existing political potential. The reasons of such unwillingness are varied. On the one hand, young people are far from the politics in their every day life. On the other hand, students' credit of trust to the current power is not big enough to support it unconditionally. Besides, one third of the respondents did not know anything about modern political parties and political youth organizations, one fifth cannot answer the question about the credibility to the current Parliament and government. More than half of respondents do not want to participate in political rallies and manifestations. The conditions of overcoming this type of political apathy may be the increase of the credit of trust to the youth on the side of the various actors of Russia's political life.

One of the main tasks of the modern system of education is upbringing and education of a citizen. The study shows that modern students' degree of civil maturity is insufficient for taking the responsibility for the fate of their country. The youth is ready to take personal responsibility for their words and deeds, however, they can sacrifice their interest for the sake of the country only in exceptional cases.

Half of the respondents do not link their patriotism with the support of the current government or buying the products of local manufacturers. The vast majority of respondents do not think that hostility to people of other nationalities is the manifestation of patriotism. This gave a basis to determine the threshold of tolerance among students as fairly high. The new form of patriotism among modern studying youth may be, for example, the patriotism of sport fans (not hooligans) feeling pride for their country during important world sport events.

Another interesting result of the study was the conclusion that modern studying youth are sure that healthy life style is trendy. Most respondents are aware that the preservation of health is not only the prerequisite of longevity but of maintaining of full and productive life. The study confirmed the beginning transition among the youth from the paternalistic model of shifting the responsibility for their health to others, for example, parents and the government, to the personal responsibility for their behavior. However, the transformation of young people's ideas about healthy life style is not fast enough that is why one

third of the respondents who believe that they lead healthy life style weekly drink beer or canned cocktails, and ten percent smoke.

The study shows that youth declares and behaves conformally every time the society and, first of all significant adults demonstrate understanding and consideration their views and interests. First all, it refers to the leisure practices of youth. When organizing their leisure studying youth often use traditional forms – reading newspapers, magazines; going to the cinema, theatres, exhibitions and concerts; sports, watching TV and video. And still the absolute leader among traditional leisure practices is meeting with friends, buddies. The youth also uses the new forms of the organization and spending their leisure time; among them is visiting the Internet resources, computer games, visiting clubs and bars, youth hang outs, shopping and celebrating holidays new for the Russian culture – St. Valentine’s Day, the Halloween, etc. In contacts with other social groups conformism for the youth is often expressed as non-conformism, not meaning that their opinion is changing under the peer pressure but that they prefer their opinion to the opinion originally shared with the group.

The social portrait of a young student is quite complicated, controversial, however, in general, it demonstrates the positive component comparing to other social groups and the society at large.

The attitude of the young students to themselves was revealed by the open-ended question “Who am I?” The answers like – “human being”, “personality”, “man/woman”, “character trait” are in the first positions. The youth is trying really hard to say to other groups and the society at large: “We are also people, personalities having a bright individuality expressed in certain character traits (5-th position), intellect (9-th position), appearance (13-th position), talents (15-th position.) We need to be taken seriously (“I am a serious man” (15-th position); we have the same civil rights as other citizens (“I am the citizen of the Russian federation”); we study (“I am a student (the 8-th position); we work (profession is the 10-th position); we live the interests of our family (“I am the member of my family” – the 11-th position); we are able to friends (“I am a friend – the 11-th position) and have our “life credo” (the 12-th position.) Youth believe that one can count on them; they are able to answer for their deeds and misdeeds.

If we talk about the youth attitude towards other social groups, we have to note that their world view is bipolar. There are us, the youth, and them, the adults, who oppose us, impose their opinion to be reckoned with “The public opinion” for young people should be understood as the view of adults. The opinion of young people in general is, as a rule, his or her own one (or the opinion contrary to the opinion of an adult with whom the young person fights). A young person believes that this he or she is the voice of the group opinion which uniqueness usually lies in its commonplace. The notorious “rebel spirit” is not so much peculiar of specific young people but is the norm for youth as the community, naturally, while maintaining an impressive series of conformity manifestations in the traditional form in respect to a specific youth group. Conformity in respect to the “public opinion” (i.e. adults’ opinion) is expressed in youth in the traditional form (the

change of the opinion under the pressure of the group in favor of thereof), unless the fathers and sons conflict of interests is declared.

The attitude of youth to the society as a whole can be reduced to the concept "young people do not chose the society they live in." And that is why clear answers are given to the question: "What does it mean for you to be a citizen?" - "to live with a passport in a certain state"; "to be a patriot"; "to be law abiding". The general loyalty and conformity in relation to society is obvious, however, the youth do not forget about their own interests.

Another fruit of the modern society is a specific socio cultural phenomenon - glamour. This is the latest fashion trend and the youth' life style and attitude to the life. Glamour is a certain type of the youth habitus. First of all, fashion is not the popularity of a certain type of habitus but of its specific carrier, the protagonist. To be fashionable for young people, to a large extent, means to be young. For example, more than half of the respondents 60.7% tend to follow fashion.

The concept of fashion is not limited to youth clothing; these are life practices as well. For example, to be a believer is fashionable, most young people (60.7%) consider themselves believers.

Glamour, as the general habitus of modern studying youth, identifies various ideal models of the behavior of a young person. For example, the model of pathos behavior among youth ("snobbery") or the model of antipathos behavior ("anti-snobbery") that in terms of glamour is an example of non-conformist personality behavior. In general, today anti-pathos is not typical for the youth unlike, for example, the Soviet youth of 1940-50s. Glamour, in modern society, stands for the synonym of care-free life - no unpleasant worries, the eternal rest. Even if it is work, it should fall under the general positive mood too, which creates or should create the events of the external life in the soul of a glamorous subject.

Habitus is reflected in a special discourse setting the frames of social communications for the personality. The positive acts as a norm of communication for young people. Within this approach all the information should be positive, any communication should be positive, everything should bring pleasure, and the personality should demonstrate not only physical but the psychologically comfortable state as well. Moreover, a specific young person can be psychologically unsatisfied with life, but in the society, in the eyes of other young people he or she should look like somebody who is looking for the positive in everything or has found it already, depending on the specific goals of the person or group.

To find a joke, to make others laugh or, even more important, to be able to laugh - these are the requirements to the norm of a positive young person. Such behavior will be more probably socially accepted then bringing in some "sad", "non-positive" note. For young people, it is important to know about the brands of clothing, cosmetics, technology and cars, it is important not to show oneself a know-nothing person. It is important merrily conquering the public by a positive image, profession and circle of contacts. Actually, young people value any even seemingly senseless experience let it be pathos. For example, the regular use of

expressions from a comics or a movie is much more appreciated than the skills to survive in the mountains or the expression of the physical strength.

The desire of young people to keep the status of external well-being has led to numerous publications containing psychological advice for all occasions in the magazines targeted at youth. This is mainly practical advice on primitive psychological manipulation and the psychological auto-training of the demonstration of an accretive behavior in different social situations. Instead of professional psychologists advisers may be members of the editorial staff, stars and other readers. There are 5.8% of publications with such advice in the analyzed magazine publications for 2008 (the seventh place in the general list of topics).

The main social orientations of the youth are in general positive. Life and professional trajectories are clearly defined and related, as a rule, with the desire to achieve success in the implementation of the education they received and to make a family and to have several children

For example, the most of young students (89.0%) see their future through the prism of the creation of their family, and more than a half (59.3%) of the respondents who may be attributed to the generation of single children plan to give birth to two (44.2%), three (11.7%) and more (3.4%) children.

A number of facts evidence that young people are oriented to the egalitarian type of the family. According to the half of respondents (54.1%), both spouses should contribute to the family budget equally; 65.5% of respondents consider that "decisions in the family are made jointly."

The family of one's own and a child for modern studying youth act as the markers of the adult life both by self-perception and deeds, hence the desire to delay the onset of adulthood by different means.

Statements by some media that youth of today do not need a family have not been confirmed. Moreover, the mass media, that prefer youth audience, do not give the model of a modern family and virtually do not discuss the problems of family life. According to the study, only 2.5% of the analyzed magazine publications deal with family issues and married sex and these are predominantly articles about how to get married. Publications on baby care, children are only 0.7% articles.

The study showed that counting on oneself, on one's own strength is an appealing feature for modern studying youth. Young people believe that in order to achieve prosperity and success in life they, first of all, need education (18.4%), abilities and talent (12.6%) as well as hard work, conscientious attitude to work (12.1%)

The study, the content analysis of the topics of publications and the qualitative analysis of the main semantic units ("values") in the magazines popular with the youth showed that instrumental, in the classic sense, values (success, satisfaction, appearance) are becoming terminal for some young people that is they acquire the self-worth. Two main groups of studying youth may be identified by individual value attitudes.

Thus, for one group, education is an instrumental value necessary to achieve a specific goal – to master a particular profession. For the other group, education has the terminal value since it is sort of a “protective mandate” from the future that is perceived more as a dream (the day after tomorrow) rather than reality. Graduation is expected by this group as “the end of the youth.” Today, the perpetual student theme is relevant to the part of studying youth who try to extend the cult of pleasure and positive ideology in regard to the current moment. Health is a basic rationally understood and openly declare (as opposed to pleasure) value for young people. However, its promotion is a tool for efficient and fruitful learning for one group of youth and for the other it is a self-worth mostly reduced to body care with different cosmetic products and fitness. Even beauty became an instrumental value. It is a tool for successful employment for some and for the others it is becoming terminal, the marker of youth. Besides, for young people, success is not only instrumental but also the terminal value. “Believe in yourself, be successful” is the life credo of the youth today.

The major youth subgroups typology based on terminal and instrumental values is a rather laborious and delicate process which can be continued in future studies. Thus, the investigation of the new phenomena in the social behavior of young students in contemporary Russia could be continued in the direction of exploring the new forms of the Russian youth social behavior, in general.

Comment

The survey was conducted in the seven RF regions and represented the students of vocational and technical schools and higher educational establishments of Moscow, Vladivostok, Novosibirsk, Yekaterinburg, Kazan, Nijniy Novgorod, Rostov on Don, using the cluster quota sampling (quotas by gender, age and the type of an educational establishment and clusters in the cities of seven subjects of the Russian Federation with the total sample of 1,500 respondents).