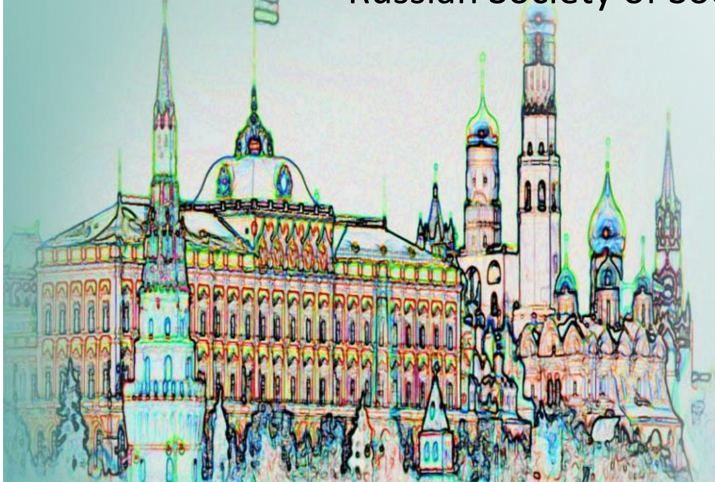
Russian Society of Sociologists



The Futures We Want: Global Sociology and the Struggles for a Better World. View from Russia

Papers of Russian Sociologists

for the The 3rd ISA Forum of Sociology

«The Futures We Want: Global Sociology and the Struggles for a Better World»

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Б 90 **The Futures We Want: Global Sociology and the Struggles for a Better World. View from Russia** [Electronic resource]: collected papers. The 3rd ISA Forum of Sociology «The Futures We Want: Global Sociology and the Struggles for a Better World» / Editor-in-Chief V.Mansurov. -electronic data- Moscow: RSS, 2016. – 378 P. 1 CD ROM; 12 sm - system requirements: Windows XP/Vista/7/10 - Title from disk label.

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“The Futures We Want: Global Sociology and the Struggles for a Better World. View from Russia” is a collection of more than 50 papers of Russian sociologists from different regions of the Russian Federation, from Austria and USA. The papers present achievements of the Regional Affiliations and Research Committees of the Russian Society of Sociologists, which are dealing with problems of social life under conditions of the processes of the transformation, modernization and the prospects of development of the Russian society. In the chapters the book considers the methodological problems of contemporary sociology; the problems of the youth, education and labor market; the important sociological aspects of Health and Ecology; the sociology of professions and professionalism; actual problems of the social communications and Internet opportunities, religion and so on are in a focus of theoretical discussions of the social sciences.

The book will be of interests for scholars, scientists, postgraduate students, students, lecturers and teachers and for the experts in the sphere of the social forecasting and analyzing.

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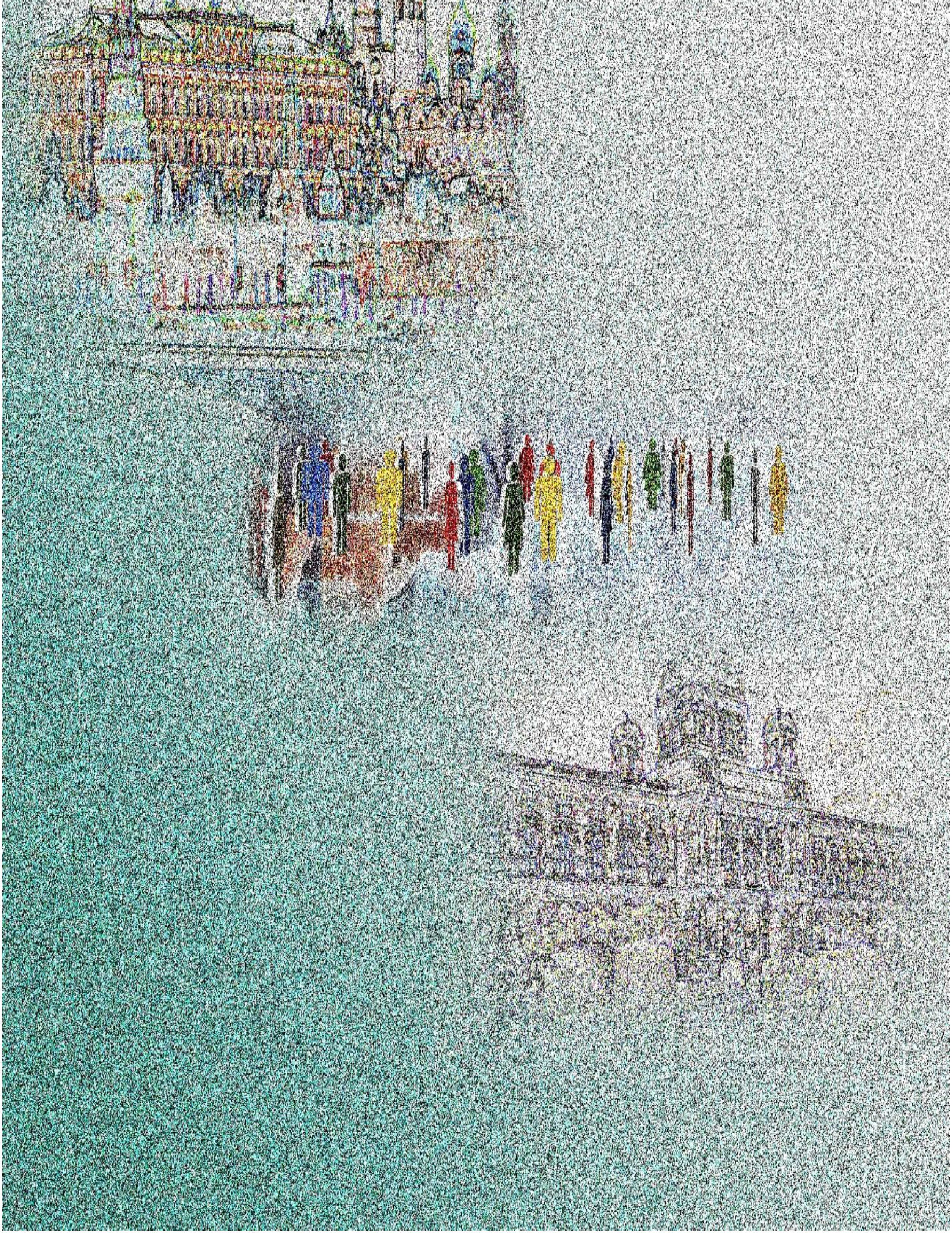
Part 1.

General Problems and Metodology



The Futures and the Past as Seen by the Russians

Andrei L. Andreev, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. The article is devoted to current changes in Russian mentality considered in the context of the problems raised in the course of Russian modernization. Using the data of different polls carried out by Russian sociologists, the author shows that in spite of frustrations caused by the failed reforms, the Russian society sustains a strong will to modernization. But, the mass opinion on what may be called *"true"* modernization diverge from the ideas of the political elites. In this context a special attention is paid to the changing relations of the Russians to the West.

Key words: modernization; model of development; identity; "the Russian way"; national conservatism

Within the last 5-6 centuries, history of Russia was a history of modernization. It was initiated by the late Middle Age Europe and should be studied in a broad European context as a part of multifaceted transformation of slowly - developing traditional communities into dynamic "modern" societies. The process was never smooth; it was accompanied by widespread sharp conflicts leading to powerful social explosions. Russia represents no exception, but in its case gradual degradation of the former living standards was especially erratic and painful and in the twentieth century it caused a chain of social disasters. Although Russian society demonstrated impressive results, which transformed Russia into one of the leading world countries, one cannot avoid describing Russian experience in modernization as controversial. The industrialization and transformation into a leading power demanded millions of lives and loss of cultural wealth. On the other hand, its position among the leading world powers appeared unstable. Regular frustrations of modernization and long retreats causing barbaric devastation of resources and diminishing of the achievements became one of the features of Russian history.

Nevertheless, Russian fully sustains the integral social and mental momentum, which can be defined as *will to modernization*. It is expressed not only in official reports and addresses of senior governmental officials and partisan publications, but also by a trend of the popular mind, which, by the way, has long been demonstrating visible independence from officially supplied instructions, up to and including full aversion.

This research along with others conducted previously allows to claim that the modernization is a national idea which is capable of uniting (and it does unite) the majority of Russians. Although the outcome of the social and economic development is modest, Russian people in general share optimism about prospects of the modernization. As it has been mentioned before, the vast majority of Russians subscribe to the viewpoint that modernization will take the country to a new and far higher (than it was in the past and present) level of development and prosperity and only 1 out of 5-6 polled does not believe in a positive outcome of the modernization or thinks than its effect will be visible no sooner than teenagers and young adults of the present will be of or close to the age or retirement.

How to modernize the country is a problem as well. This was not discussed in the traditional framework, in which it was believed to be a linear consistent process leading to some ideal result. However, a more detailed analysis shows that different approaches to it are possible. The modern world is far more complicated and diverse and unlike the age or early and "classical" capitalism, this diversity cannot be described by a simple classification of countries and nations into "civilized" and "not civilized". We will express no interest in theories of radical sense, which have enjoyed much public attentions, such as the idea of provincialization of Europe (Chakrabarti, 2000), but it is obvious that the postcolonial world of the twenty-first century will not be able to ignore essential diversity of civilizations, and it means that different approaches to modernization should be considered as well.

Given that fact, the concept of modernization cannot be treated as unambiguous. It is vitally important to understand in particular popular opinion on that matter and *what exactly* Russians will recognize as modernization. We will try to answer that question using the data of surveys and polls conducted by the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences and other research centers of Russia.

The analysis of the data shows that the attitude towards the modernization bears a vivid social coloring. In this respect, various views diverge from the neoliberal mentality of the political and economical elites which define the essence of the developmental processes using administrative and financial management as well as creating political discourses. Thus, the surveys conducted in the 2010s by the Institute of Sociology RAS shows that a new fetish of the present-day elite, an ambitious convergence of the so-called innovative economy and increasing governmental control was added to the list of the most important ideas concerning the modernization by less than a quarter of our respondents. This is only the fourth or fifth position in the total ranking of priorities. Western liberal concepts of democratic renovation, opportunities for free entrepreneurship and competition received even less support as well as everything that can be traditionally attributed to the set of values of the national-imperial mind (strengthening power of the government, restoration of traditional Russian values, etc.). The first positions on the list were given to much more down-to-earth demands, which can be met by Russian authorities with great difficulty despite the promises and high-profile campaigns for "doing things right". The first of these demands is real equality before the law. It was ranked first by more than 40 % of respondents. The second is fight against corruption, which was mentioned by 28 % of respondents. All this is an "elementary task" for a bourgeois-democratic modernization, which Europe and the USA struggled to carry out from the early XVII to the middle of the XX century. In Russia this is still a matter of future.

This priority list has remained stably unchanged for at least fifteen years. What is also important is that it is shared in almost all the social and demographic groups although, of course, the indexes and proportions differ. For example, the older people are, the more appreciation of social fairness they demonstrate, from 27 % among the youngest to almost 38 % among the 60+ group. Dependency of opinion on innovative economy is not that obvious: it reaches its maximum (30 % of respondents) in the age ranges of 31 – 40 and 41 – 50 years. These are people whose youth saw the transition to the market economy. After the age of 50 this number falls and after 60 decreases to 11 %. Also, it should be mentioned, that contrary to our expectation, the youngest respondents supported not the 30- or 40-year-olds, but rather 50-year-olds. But the most educated respondents showed strong support of an innovative economy. Among those who work in science or engineering and also among respondents with two academic degrees this index reached 35 %. Russians with a higher education are the only massive social group which considers innovative economy more important that social fairness (difference between subgroups can be twice or 2.5 times bigger). It is clear that the result is obvious but it is not that clear when it comes to the opinion picture of types of population. It may seem strange, but large cities with more that one million of population, including megacities, which are symbols of the modern for many Russians, are not among the main supporters of aspiration for modernization in its liberal sense, which dominates among politics and in the mass-media. For example, innovative economy and more opportunities for entrepreneurship and competition are valued here 1.5 times less than the average of the whole sample. These indices reach their maximum in medium-large industrial and college centers with population within 250,000 – 1,000,000.

As all the people in the world, Russians seek wealth, modern conveniences, higher living standards and prosperity. However, according to a number or researches, not only the end matters, but also the means, not just financial equivalent, but also what lies beyond it. In this respect their mindset cannot be considered purely economy-oriented, it also includes a notion of dignity based on values of achievement and education. That is the reason for many Russians to be concerned with the role of the country in the international division of labor. It includes not only financial benefits, but also the matter of their identity and is closely tied with a delicate issue of the whole national identity and the mental worldview. It in turn triggers the concern over the raw-material orientation, although it is the exports of hydrocarbons, timber and base metals that allow for living standards higher than in most post-Soviet republics. “True”, “successful” modernization, as many Russians think, will let the country earn not by exporting commodities or exploiting the infrastructure or geopolitics, but by creating intellectual products. That is what our respondents firmly insisted upon during the polls.

If we consider Russia one of the leading countries, what real prospects of developments do Russians see? In this respect Russians can hardly be charged with utopianism. The most popular answer is “an energy superpower”, which is the biggest supplier of resources to Europe, Asia and America. Almost 2/3 respondents think that Russia already has that status and as many as 1/3 think that it this status is achievable. In total this makes up more than 93 %. Around 85 % of respondents think that Russia is or can be a country of “high culture” where interesting and popular music works, books, plays and films are made. Almost the same number of respondents mentioned the unique nature and historical landmarks which can attract a lot of tourists. At the same time, Russian science and technology, industry and education, which are all attributes of a highly-developed country, are estimated on a modest level. The majority of respondents (from 1/5 to almost a third) consider modern Russia’s claim for leadership in these areas unreasonable, with college graduates giving more responses than the average level among all the respondents.

Table 1. **When discussing the future of Russia which may turn into a leading country, people express different views of its development. What version of Russia’s role do you consider most realistic? (one response for each row, %)**

	It is already a leading country	It may happen in the future	It is unlikely	It is unreal	No answer
1. Russia is a leading industrial power and successful competitor	19.7	49.5	25.0	5.5	0.3
2. Russia is an energy and commodity superpower supplying resources to other countries	62.8	30.5	5.7	0.6	0.3
3. Russia is a leading country in science, Russian scientists’ work and results are used all over the world	28.7	48.1	20.5	2.5	0.2
4. Russia is a country with a state-of-the-art education system and young people from around the world come to study here	18.6	43.4	31.4	6.1	0.4
5. Russian culture is unique, works of Russia writers, musicians and artists are popular in all other countries	44.6	39.7	13.0	2.5	0.3
6. Russia has a unique nature, history and is a tourist attraction	41.1	43.9	12.7	1.9	0.2

Given the data we may conclude that governmental initiatives to revive research and science-driven technology (close attention to the military industry, state corporations such as “Rosnanotechnologii”, etc,) are viewed with skepticism. What draws special attention is the fact that our respondents gave an extremely bad characteristic to the Russian education system and its competitive advantage which indirectly demonstrates concern for the latest reform in that area. Given by the data, this concern reaches its maximum in large cities with population over 1 million: total amount of negative responses (“unlikely” + “unreal”) exceeded half of the total number of respondents.

In fact, from the very beginning a way to modernization went through several complementary but at the same time alternative historical projects and the list of the project expanded on the course of time. On the list of projects Russia holds its special position which allows us to speak about its originality. But it has been noted that it should not be interpreted as uniqueness (Prussia, for example, developed in the similar way) or hermetic isolation. No modernization is real without constant critical comparison with “others“ and taking its first steps Russia tried the experience of other countries with rising interest. Starting from some moment in the past, the West in this or that version is its main source of objectives (it is Poland and Germany in the early XVII, Holland, Germany and Sweden under Peter the Great, then France and again Germany, and the USA in early years after the Russian Revolution). Russian relationships with Western countries were for a long time disproportional. Russia learned, borrowed, perceived, but its role in creating world cultural entities which could be considered aims of progress was small. However, it is important to mention that Russia kept its historical identity to the full. Although disproportion in the cross-cultural communication was obvious, Russian society was not just affected by numerous Western ideas, but acquired what was needed at every stage of development.

In the Soviet period the West was still seen as a source of authentic experience and a symbol of modernity, but this attitude was complicated by ideological matters. The Soviet mind was tuned to demonization of “western imperialism”, claims to be a vehicle of history and consumerism at the same time with consumerism holding a victory in the end. Attempts to change the Soviet system (Perestroika) followed by its dismantling in early 90s in the twenties century were considered a necessary condition of affinity with the West which had to be best expressed in “return to Europe”. Emotionally, Russians were ready for such a return and sought it. Many political figures and intellectuals of the West expected Russia to join the liberal-democratic model with no difficult and to be, as H. Timmerman said, ‘just like us’ [Timmerman, 2009:106].

But the outcome of that process turned out to be disappointing as too much hope was put into it. Russia responded with a wave of neoconservatism and its main idea was a breakaway from the western ideas which were popular during early days of Russian democracy. By the mid 90s the popular mind supports the idea that with all its advantages the western approach is inappropriate for Russia. In this context the Russian identity is interpreted not as a “curse”, but as an enduring core value. As our polls showed, today more than half of Russians (47 %, to be more precise) admit with no hesitation, that it is not liberalism, individualism and western democracy what Russia needs, but a sense of community, collectivism and toughly controlled state. Those who refuse to support that viewpoint are twice as few (a quarter of respondents). In fact, the majority of those who support the idea of Russia having a distinctive character appear only in certain age groups, starting from the age of 30; those who are younger, this position surrenders to “westerners”. For example, among the youngest the proportion is 31 to 41 %. To have a full picture we should point out that a lot of Russians have trouble deciding which side to choose and the share of those who have not decided reaches 28 %, and only in large cities it drops (roughly twofold). What about that 14 – 15 % of people living in megacities and cities with population exceeding a million, who join supporters of controversial views on approaches to development? Given by the opinion distribution, every third recognizes the western model as universal, and two out of three join their opponents.

So what separates Russia from the West and contributes to alienation from western experience and values? On the one hand, foreign policy played not so minor role (NATO expansion, military campaign against Serbia and Kosovo breakaway, the policy of sanctions, etc.), but on the other hand, Russians found that their view on modernization fundamentally differs from that of the West. Emphasis on problems of democracy, creating a “favorable” investment climate and nurturing NGO network loyal to the West gain no support or sympathy among the majority of people. They would like to have something quite different: cooperation in knowledge and technology development, but the western partners showed almost no interest in it. As a result, Russians started to hold a firm belief that Europe treats their eastern partner purely pragmatically in the most narrow and business-based sense. Few of our respondents believe that Europeans can be interested in Russian intellectual products, culture or its ability to counterbalance the world domination of the USA, but almost 60 % are sure that all that Europe needs is Russian natural resources.

Table 2. Russians on possible reasons for Russia-Western Europe cooperation, 2002 – 2009, %

Possible reasons	2002, %	2009, %
Western Europe is interested only in Russia’s natural resources	58.5	58.5
Western Europe sees Russia only as counterbalance to the USA	23.2	19.7
Western Europe is interested in cultural and intellectual resources of Russia	20.0	11.9
Western Europe is interested in equal cooperation with Russia	16.7	21.8
Western Europe is interested in promotion democracy and market reforms in Russia	14.0	10.1
Western Europe has no interest in cooperating with Russia	4.5	6.8
No answer	8.4	8.6

NB: Total percentage exceeds 100% because up to two options could be chosen in the poll.

According to the research of last several years, there are two models or Russian identity in the popular mind: 1) Russia is a part of Europe and it is Europe Russia will have the closest ties with in the future as it used to be and 2) Russia is not quite a European country but it represents a specific Eurasian civilization and in the future its political focus will shift to the East. These viewpoints both enjoy popularity, but if several years ago the first one still had 5-6 % more, today they are almost equal in number of supporters. The most important aspect affecting the choice of the identity model is, as it is in the integration with Europe, age. Respondents under the age of 35 tend to see Russia as a part of Europe, while older respondents hold the opposite belief.

Along with the growing popularity of Eurasian paradigm, "We" and "They" are also getting another interpretation in the international context and in respect to foreign-policy objectives. The relative shift of political orientation to Europe was caused not by deteriorating Russian opinion on Europe, but by progressing diversification of Russian interests and aspirations. Although in general affection for Europe remained the same (we do not take into consideration political climate here), other directions of foreign policy became more important. Numbers, showing emotional and sub-conscious response to political entities are illustrative: in 2002 59 % or respondents gave a positive response to "the European Union", while CIS received 25 % less (just 34 %). It is clear that the gap is wide, if not too wide, but twelve years later we see a different picture: both numbers showed some growth, but if the first number increased only by 6 %, the second surged more than twofold and not only caught up with the first, but exceeded it (72 against 65 %). Russian partners outside the European Unions, Europe and the West in general, are also in the ascendant. First, it is Belarus and other Collective Security Treaty Organization allies, and also new Asian political and economic giants: India, China, Republic of Korea, etc. It seems that new soaring skyscrapers push out "Grand Dame Europe" out of the mind [Gorshkov, Krumm, Petukhov, 2010: 50–73].

At the same time, speaking about prospects on Russia-West relations and the degree of mutual understanding, we should take into consideration not only politics and economy, but also "human" aspect of that matter. Whether Russia will join the West or take its own way, in the end, depends not on personal intentions of Russian reformers, but on how suitable western values and patterns for most Russians are. This, in turn, prompts scholars to think again about the uniqueness of national as well as all-Russian mind, how similar cultural and psychological profiles of Russia and the West are.

First, we will take a look at qualities which Russian consider most valuable and find in their nation. Table 3 presents opinion distribution on some character traits, which evaluate human capital in the context of modernization.

Table 3. What character traits Russians consider most valuable and what traits they personally have (Respondents were allowed to choose up to 7 answers and it caused the total number to increase 100%)

Valued most by, %	Character traits	You have it, %
70.1	Diligence	72.0
40.3	Entrepreneurial spirit. orientation to success	20.1
24.9	Abiding to law	35.4
38.6	Initiative. activeness	26.4
61.5	Honesty	62.8
38.6	Education	26.9
50.6	Professionalism	32.9
34.1	Sense of duty	42.7
30.4	Care	32.1
10.1	Self-sacrifice	10.3
23.0	Not prone to conflicts. tolerance	21.6
8.2	Submission. obedience	7.8
11.8	Rationalism. pragmatism	9.5
34.7	Dignity	40.3
18.0	Team spirit	13.3
38.1	Respect for others' rights	30.7
11.6	Ability to adapt	12.7
39.9	Readiness to be responsible for oneself and relatives	48.4
20.1	Practicality	19.3
12.5	Responsibility for country matters	3.0
0.4	No answer	0.6

According to the chart, Russians consider diligence, honesty and professionalism the most valuable character traits. They are on top of the list of 20 traits and leave others far behind. Diligence and honesty are not only the most valued traits of "an ideal person", but also the traits that our respondents in most cases consider personal. As for professionalism, the numbers are a little lower. If it was considered the most valued only by every second responded, it was acknowledged as personal only by every third. The average positions are taken by traits which together make up reliability: a sense of duty, responsibility for oneself and relatives, care, abiding to law. Here we can also find education, dignity and respect for rights of others. Our research does not confirm a popular myth about obedience and endless patience as attributes of Russian identity. These traits are named as values rarely and only 1 out of 12 consider them part of his personality. At the same time it should be mentioned that a number of traits responsible for interaction, cooperation, communication and adaptation are not seen by Russians as priorities and are rarely considered personal. Given by the numbers, in general Russians are not very practical, partly because they are not prone to pragmatic, rational thinking and behavior. Finally, an important trait such as entrepreneurial spirit should be mentioned. It belongs to the acknowledged societal values. It is definitely not the top priority, but still it was named among others by more than 40 % of respondents. However, only half of them named this trait as personal. The lack of it is the most highly-criticized by Russians and it allows us to conclude that in this respect Russians in general do not like this state of affairs. How fair that is is another issue. Obviously, we cannot know if self-esteem of each respondent is adequate, but one may think that if every forth or fifth out of those who think they posses entrepreneurial spirit had it for real, it would be enough to speak about "driver of self-development" in Russian society.

This hierarchy is also reflected in upbringing. Diligence is the first on the list of upbringing objectives. 88 % of respondents named it as the top priority – the highest number among large European (including Ukraine, our "relative"), Asian countries and the USA. Furthermore, as many as 80 % of respondents would like to teach their children responsibility, which is not bad, although the number slightly lower than that in Japan, Eastern Germany, Scandinavian countries and Italy, but higher than in the USA, Great Britain, France, and China. Resoluteness and tenacity as key traits for success were marked by almost half of Russian respondents and yet Russia is again behind Japan, Germany and Finland, but is followed by many other countries. It is hardly a surprise that Russians tend to consider tolerance and respect less important things to teach than Europeans or Americans, but their attitude to generosity is really not that evident. Unlike popular belief in "Russian soul", modern Russians are hardly altruists and only one out of five would like to teach it to his children, while in England, France and Japan it is more that 50 %, and in the USA, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Brazil and some other countries the number is within 30 – 40 % or slightly higher. Russian indifference to religious upbringing makes a contrast to a formal strengthening of positions of Orthodox traditionalism. According to a poll, in the USA, India, Brazil, Republic of South Africa and even countries of a post-Christian Europe religion plays a much bigger role.

Here we should recall a research conducted in 2000, which aimed at comparing Russia and the West using psychosemantic reconstruction of worldview. The West "was played" by Germany, where a similar research had been conducted a year ago. Later we applied the same method in different contexts, which enriched the comparison. One of the most interesting findings of this research is a strong motivation to value the mental area, including knowledge and education. It was expressed in emotional reactions to the whole semantic list of concepts from these areas. For example, "to learn" prompted a positive reaction of more than 96 % Russian respondents and only 75 % or German ones, while the word "science", correspondingly, 96.5 and 81 %, the word "intellectual" – 98 and 88 % [Andreev, 2008:280]. The number of reactions expressing positive feelings about the notion of soul is higher for Russians than Germans: 97 % against 78 %.

Today, a decade later, a statement can be made that Russians almost have not changed in this respect. For example, positive responses to the word “to learn” on 2010 were given by 91 %, “science” – by almost 93 %, and ”soul” – by more than 93 %. All the concepts from this semantic cluster induce much more positive reaction than notions connected with moneymaking and consuming (thus, the word “to save” provoked a positive response from only 65 %, and in 2010 – from 67 % of respondents). And yet popular mind is going through some changes in its mental content, but these changes affect not so much balance between material and spiritual values, rather than so-called “axiology of time”. As far back as in 2000 we discovered distinctive projectivity of the Russian mind: of the three main temporal modalities Russians chose the future as the most attractive (90 % positive responses), the present as the least attractive (74 %) and the past held intermediate position (84 %). For the sake of comparison it should be stated, that Germans were focused on the present and at the same time for them the present and the past looked better that the past, which received 43 % of positive responses. However, the Russian value system changed during the last decade. Although Russian society is still mainly future-oriented, the present came closer to the future in this respect: if the difference between the numbers for these notions was 16 % in 2000, now it reduced more than twofold and is 7 % (85 against 78 %). At the same time the image of the past has significantly faded, if compared not only with the future, but also with the present. These changes can be interpreted as a more realistic mindset and behavior, an indicator of attempts to succeed right now without postponing it until “a happy sunny tomorrow” comes and without seeking refuge in fruitless nostalgia for good old days that were allegedly missed.

While the political and some of intellectual elites sometimes tend to think about modernization for the sake of modernization, an “ordinary man” has a different mindset which sees it as a means of achievement of more fundamental values. So what benchmark do Russians want to use to settle their life? What is the “meaning” of that life and, consequently, what attributes that meaning to the modernization? For al least fifteen years we monitored life aims of our respondents, giving them carefully selected pairs of alternative statements on values, from which they had to choose just one.

First, we would like to bring into view statements which were discussed by the overwhelming majority of respondents. There were two such statements. One of them was “Family ties and friendship are the most important things” won support of 81.5 %, while the alternative “Public recognition and success are most important things” – just 18 %. The second was the following: “A man should try to have a clear conscience and live in harmony”. This was also supported by 80 % with 20 % of respondents challenging it. They found access to power and influence on others their major value. This number was significantly higher just in the youngest group or respondents (under

20), which can naturally be explained by lack of experience. A long fight between the personal and the collective seems to have ended with victory of the former over the latter. It shows that for Russians of the present day the focus of their life is their personal universe. The "outer" world should be comfortable enough to sustain peace of the "inner" one. Undoubtedly, modern Russians are individualists and to a greater extent than people in the West. But this is not individualism of market entities; it is rather a peculiar interpretation of freedom. In general, freedom is one of the core values: most of our respondents (more than 56 % among all and up to 2/3 in big cities) agree that life has no meaning without it and, therefore, they rank it higher than prosperity. There is no reason to doubt that the idea to realize freedom through political rights, which dominates the Western liberal culture, resonates with Russians as well. The poll shows that 40 % share this belief, although it is still a minority, but for 60 % of Russians freedom is close to what in the Russian language is denoted by the word *volya* and presumes no outer control and regulations, when one can be one's own master.

Given by what has been stated and also by some results of the research, it is clear to see that attempts to meet the objectives of another stage of modernization by integration wit the liberal West will not cause enthusiasm as it happened in the majority of Western Europe countries. Moreover, it can be foreseen with a share of confidence, that attempts to enforce that approach will cause psychological disturbance and, consequently, inner resistance (what forms it can take is another question). At early stages of modernization, when Russia lacked own necessary experience and socio-cultural resources, orientation to western models (adapted to some extent, of course) was inevitable, although it was met with discontent by a large part. However, at this point such resources have been collected and toady's situation is fundamentally different. Certainly, it is another discussion for another time, but some important points have been mentioned. Among other things it is working motivation, their inclination to complex work and what can be called labor loyalty.

It is difficult to deny that for some reasons getting closer to the West for Russians was disappointing, and too much hope had been pinned on it. Russian society responded with a wave of neoconservatism marked by a breakaway from democratic ideas of the initial stage. The mid 90s saw a fundamental change of values, notably not ideology-wise, but on the subconscious level and in the worldview. The uniqueness of the Russian mind, which used to be considered disadvantageous, is now a privilege. Our poll and the following study of the emotional responses reveal that today the popular mind consolidates around Russian values. And in this respect it first should be noted that the word "Russia" and "Russian", which is close related to it, have gained a greater emotional significance. The fact that it is perceived with greater warmth rather than "America", "Europe", "the European Union" or "Asia" can be taken for granted, but it is not so: as far back as in 2000 we pointed out that the word "Russia" prompted more positive responses among Russians than the word

"Germany" among Germans (94 and 85 % correspondingly). It is even more interesting, that the notion of "Russia" provokes slightly more positive responses than implicit personal values such as "Me" and "We" (in 2010 it was 96 % against 94.5 and 92 percent correspondingly). The word "Europe" is also surrounded by a trail of positive associations. However, in general they are less bright and consistent that those with the word "Russia". And, by the way, frequency has slightly dropped (from 83 to 76 %), if compared with the year 2000. Young respondents (up to 21 years old) are more favorable to Europe. In this group positive rate reached 90 % and almost reached the rate of positive associations with the notion of "Russia" (in contrast, in the over-sixty group the level of sympathy is did not manage to reach 2/3). But it can hardly categorically denote as a demonstration of a specific "pro-European" position. The youngest tend to demonstrate the greatest openness to the world. They also more frequently produced positive reactions to "Asia": the rate in the under-21 group exceeded the average by around 8 %. At the same time, the survey shows that it is the youngest population that reacts most negatively to the concept of "globalization".

Table 4. Which concepts on the list induce rather positive feelings, and which – negative, %

Concepts	Rather positive	Rather negative	No answer
1. Efficiency	91.3	8.1	0.6
2.Immigrants and visitors	38.6	60.9	0.5
3. Reasoning	81.2	18.1	0.7
4. The European Union	56.4	41.9	1.7
5. The past	74.6	24.9	0.5
6. Russia	95.7	4.1	0.2
7. Soul	95.3	4.4	0.3
8. The court	28.3	71.1	0.6
9. The West	48.1	51.3	0.6
10. We	92.1	7.5	0.3
11. Asia	43.7	55.6	0.7
12. The present	77.9	21.8	0.3
13. Europe	76.5	22.9	0.6
14. Tempo	78.3	21.1	0.6
15. Modernization	74.5	24.9	0.6
16. Differences	56.5	43.1	0.4
17. The future	85.1	14.6	0.3
18. Me	94.5	5.2	0.3
19. Risk	51.9	47.7	0.4
20. Russian	95.0	4.6	.4
21. Globalization	42.8	55.4	1.8
22. Indiviualism	60.9	37.9	1.1
23. Patriotism	90.5	9.0	0.5
24. To save up	67.1	32.5	0.3
25. Science	92.9	6.7	0.4

Continuation Tab. 4.

Concepts	Rather positive	Rather negative	No answer
26. Democracy	74.5	25.0	0.5
27. To study	91.1	8.6	0.3
28. the USSR	74.2	25.3	0.5

Dominant social ideas and images of a “good society” spread among the Russians are integrally reflected in mass perceptions of different periods of Russian history. Not long ago a group of scientists working at the Institute of Sociology, RAS carried out a special study on what may be called "the Russian dream". Empirically it was based on the results of nationwide opinion poll (1,750 respondents, the sample is representative in respect to socio-demographic structure of the population). According to the data received [Gorshkov, Krumm et all., 2013], a recently strong emotional adherence to “Brezhnev’s era” is gradually weakening. Only 14% of respondents agreed that it is an embodiment of the "Russian Dream". Noteworthy is a shift in the balance of assessments of past and present. Back in 2000, only 6% of Russians believed that most good life began in a market economy, and in 2013 almost one-third of the surveyed respondents shared the opinion that the "Russian Dream" is being most fully embodied in the modern period of Russian history – in "Putin's era". Of course, a third - this is not the majority (by the way, almost the same number of respondents - 31% - refuse to consider any particular historical period as a time of actual implementation of "Russian Dreams"). But still now on the side of the "Putin era" is the largest segment of the sample. If 10 - 15 years ago the Russians have 3 times more often preferred the "golden autumn" of Soviet power than “the market and democracy”, then now they have 2.5 times more likely to choose the present. As for the "perestroika" and the reforms of the 1990s, the attitude towards them is consistently negative - they see the embodiment of the national dream no more than 3 - 4 percent of respondents.

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Measuring of a Passive Vocabulary by Means of Internet

Leonid A. Ashkinazi, Moscow, Russia
Gregory V. Golovin, Nebraska-Lincoln, USA

Abstract. We present a method of measuring receptive vocabulary by means of a web-based test. We examine the sample of the population we obtained, and study how vocabulary size depends on respondent's age, education, upbringing, reading habits, TV and internet usage.

Key words: vocabulary; internet; reading; upbringing

Introduction

Passive and active vocabulary are the basis of human communication capabilities. It determines the possibility of a person`s inclusion into a society. It is a "fingerprint" of a society on a person, and it is what we use to identify the social strata to which the person belongs to, and to define the method of further communication with him or her. Therefore, passive vocabulary affects the ability to communicate, and in general determines the possibility of acculturation, such as books reading.

The Internet is a suitable way for many kinds of sociological research, for example, for studying a society`s "footprints" (i.e. texts and images) and structure (i.e. particular communities and relations); finally, it is used for traditional public opinion polls. In all these cases it is necessary to take into account the peculiar issues associated with the Internet as a source of information: for example, online versions of publications are different from paper ones – as by the texts, so by their availability. It is easy to obtain data when conducting polls via the Internet, but the distinctions of the Internet audience from the regular one are usually limited to age and sex (which decrease over time) and, in the best case, to the differences of regional structure.

However, these are not the main differences – the main difference is that the easiness of answering questions via the Internet does not mean that everyone who sees the survey will respond to it. For example, on the web-site lib.ru (the largest Russian-language web library) less than 1 out of 1 000 readers assesses texts - even though it takes just two clicks, which is a few seconds. Some web sites make attempts to force the audience: for example, the results of a "test" taken by a user are reported to him only after completing a questionnaire or making a payment. However, it is unclear how it affects the percentage of the responses - the effect may be opposite, and uneven across the sample. Thus, at the polls conducting via the Internet, the main thing is to understand who responds to our questions, and how we can characterize this real sample.

Methodology

We studied the relations of passive vocabulary of Russian-speaking Internet users with a variety of their characteristics. Parameters of the sample are listed below, but its main feature is that these are the people who are interested in their vocabulary. Therefore, the respondents` demographic parameters are interesting not for the attempts to build a representative sample, but, on the contrary, to answer the question of which people are interested in their vocabulary. As there were no any special advertisements, in fact, the sample was composed by the people to some extent interested in this issue; further, the information was distributed in a common way for the Internet. Then people by themselves were selected, who were ready to spend about 5 minutes to pass the test, and the same amount of time - to complete the questionnaire. There was no force applied to get the answers, and as a result 85% of respondents, who passed the test, completed the questionnaire as well; this value can be regarded as a criterion of the interest level.

Data for the study were obtained from the web site myvocab.info, where the first adaptive test for Russian language vocabulary is implemented. Detailed description of the methodology is also published there. The test used several word-traps – which do not exist, but look similar to the real ones. In our analysis, we used data from respondents who did not make any false detection, which means that they were stricter to themselves. Inclusion of people who made one mistake into statistics would have increased the sample by 16%, but would have led to the overestimation of the results by 2% on average.

Results

At the preliminary stage (123 000 respondents) we asked questions on sex, age and education of respondents, and obtained the following results.

- Vocabulary grows with a substantially constant speed till the age of about 20 years, after which the speed of its collection decreases, coming to naught at the age of 45 years. After this age vocabulary mostly does not change.
- During studying at school a teenager learns 10 words per day.
- At the time of graduation from school a teenager knows 51 000 words on average.
- After graduating from school and before middle age a person learns 3 new words per day on average.
- After the age of 55 years (which approximately coincides with the retirement age in Russia - 55 for women and 60 for men).vocabulary is slightly reducing. It should be noted that people who read continue doing this after the age of 45-55 years, and perhaps read even more after the

retirement. It is possible that in this age the range of reading becomes stabilized, and therefore the completion of the dictionary stops.

To define the effect of education, we separately analyzed the results for the group older than 30 years (65 000 respondents). The following results were obtained for this group.

- Respondents who have graduated from school know on average 2 000 – 3 000 words more than people who haven't graduated.
- Vocabularies of people who got secondary or specialized secondary education almost do not differ and form 75 000 words on average.
- People studied at universities and institutes (but not necessarily graduated from them) know 81 000 words on average.
- PhD`s – Candidates and Doctors of Sciences - know 86 000 words on average.
- The dispersion within each group with the same education level is significantly greater than the difference between the mean values for the different groups. For example, 20% of respondents with incomplete secondary education, showing the best result for their group, have the vocabulary exceeding the vocabulary of the half of the respondents with a scientific degree. It seems that they read more and get information from more diversified sources, and they are interested in a lot of areas.

The resulting values of passive vocabulary and the speed of its completion seem to be exaggerated. This is due to the fact that in the test all derivatives words were counted separately (for example, "the work" and "to work", or "the city" and "city" [in the meaning of "urban"]). In addition, as it is noted above, our sample is formed from active Internet users with high level of education, and those who are interested in their vocabulary.

At the next stage of the research there were two questionnaires placed on the web site in series, which were completed by more than 10 000 and 20 000 respondents, respectively. Let us start with the description of the sample, i.e. the analysis of the characteristics of people interested in their vocabulary.

- Differences by education: the level of education of 75% of Russians is not above the secondary one, but in our sample there are only 20% of such respondents; 23% of Russians have higher education, and there are 65% of such respondents in our sample; for the alternative "incomplete higher education" the difference is 10 times – 1.5% and 15%. It seems like the interest to vocabulary is a particular characteristic of students.
- Differences by reading: 50% of Russians read less than one book per month, but in our sample there are only 5% of such respondents; 10% of Russians read more than two books per month, and we have 95% of such people in our sample.

- Differences by the presence of books at home: 63% of Russian population have no more than 100 books at home, and we have only 37% of these people; 37% of Russians have more than 100 books at home, and there are 63% of such people in the sample; only 6% have more than 500 books, while we have 23% of respondents with such characteristic.
- Differences by the TV usage: 2% of Russian population do not watch TV at all, and we have 20 times more of such people - 43%; 18% of Russians watch it up to an hour per day, while in our sample there are 31% of them; 45% - watch it 1-3 hours per day, and in our sample there are 12% of such respondents; 34% watch it more than 3 hours per day, in comparison to 14% in our sample.
- Differences by the Internet usage: there are substantially more Internet users in our sample – about 38% of Russians use it 2 hours per day or more on average, while in our sample there are 84-88% of such respondents, and, what is characteristically, this level is almost the same in all the age groups.

Thus, our respondents are active users of the Internet, people who have already got or who is getting higher education, who have books at home and read them, who do not use TV at all or use it very little. This is a portrait of people who are interested in their vocabulary. Especially interesting and unexpected is a tenfold increase of the proportion of students, 20 times increased number of people who do not use TV and a doubling number of active Internet users.

We will continue the consideration of the characteristics of people “interested in their vocabulary”.

In general, the proportion of Internet users aged 0-12, 13-18, 19-35 and 56-120 years is respectively 10% -10% - 45% - 30% -5%, but in our study it is 0,5% - 9% - 58% - 25% - 8%. It seems like the interest to the vocabulary awakes after high school, and the increased proportion of the oldest groups is a preserved tradition of respect for the culture of the word.

The proportion of women in the Internet is about 40%, and in our study - from 50% to 63% in different age groups, and about 55% on average.

The memories of the number of books in the parents` home are important for the respondents – 2/3 of the respondents or even a bit more in all the groups *remember that there were a lot of books in their parents` home*. Accordingly, the parents` attitude to reading was the following - more than a third part of respondents answered that parents *have encouraged them strongly*, and the same part answered that they *have encouraged them moderately*, and only about 5% *were advised to protect the eyesight*. The attitude to reading was expressed in the fact that respondents` parents *read to them at night as they were children always, almost always* or *quite often* in half of the cases or even more in all the groups.

The attitude to reading, however, varies considerably with the generations – positive answers to the question *"Did you love to read in your childhood?"* are given by different proportions of respondents in different age groups, and the younger the group, the less this percentage is. For the groups aged 13-18, 19-35, 36-55, and 56-120 years it is respectively 32% - 42% - 66% - 69%. Similarly, with generations the interest in school studying changes - though for most of the respondents studying at school was interesting, this interest decreases over time: for the same age groups the proportion of those who were interested changes as follows: 28% - 32% - 35% - 48%, and the ratio of *interesting* to *boring* is 1.6 – 1.6 – 2 – 4. While the latest change can be partially attributed to the evolution of the educational system, the attitude to reading is more personal characteristic.

It is possible that - at least in this social group - the place of books and school is partly occupied by parents and the Internet. In particular, to the question *"Did you often talk to your parents on the "abstract topics", "about life in general", "about different difficult topics", etc. in your youth?"* in the above mentioned age groups answers "*often"* or *"regularly"* are typical for 31% - 26% - 20% - 18% of women and 23% - 16% - 13% - 11% of men. That is, parents tend to talk more with girls, and with time such communication slightly increases – in the youngest age group the larger proportion of respondents declares regular communication with parents. The answer *"from time to time"* is given by 41% - 47% of respondents in all the groups without any observable regularity.

Now let us proceed to the analysis of the effects on the passive vocabulary.

The size of home library increases passive vocabulary monotonically without saturation: in the range of *<50 books* to *>1000 books* dictionary increases by 24-27% in all the groups.

Reading *(of paper and electronic books)* increases the vocabulary monotonically with saturation: in the range of *≤ 1 books per week* to *5-10 books per week* dictionary grows in all the groups by 18-20%, and at the last stage of *5-10 books per week* to *> 10 books per week* dictionary is no longer increases.

Reading and the size of home library affect the vocabulary independently, but, naturally, they are correlated: with the amount of *< 50 books* the highest number of respondents reads *≤ 1 book per week*, and for all other library sizes the largest number of respondents reads *2, 3, 4 books per week.*

Education increases vocabulary evenly over its levels: from *unfinished secondary* to *secondary education* dictionary increases by 14%, then to *incomplete higher education* – by 16%, then to *higher education* – by 12%, and to *scientific degree* – by additional 12%.

TV decreases dictionary monotonously without saturation: in the range from *"do not watch TV"* up to *"5-10 hours per day"* the dictionary decreases in the age group "more than 30 years old" by 10%, in the group "18-30 years old" by 17%, and in the group "less than 18 years old" by 26% - which means that a growing person is more vulnerable.

Communication *("How many hours per day do you communicate with other people?")*, Internet usage *("How many hours per day do you use the Internet not for work?")* and gender of respondent do not affect his or her vocabulary appreciably. As the Internet, like television, takes time, it is possible to think that TV and Internet have different linguistic content and / or assimilation of new words takes place with different efficiency while listening and reading.

A library at home partly protects from the TV influence on vocabulary – with a library of *200-500 books and more* a reduction in vocabulary with increasing time of TV usage disappears. However, it is possible that library owners watch TV content with different dictionary.

Surprisingly, reading does not protect from TV impact on dictionary. We can make a hypothesis that people who have library at home have a tradition of reading - in parents' families and in general; at the same time, reading without library at home and without family tradition of reading might be just "chewing gum for the eyes", because it does not add anything to the dictionary.

The fact that *there were a lot of books at home the respondent has grown up in* (scale - *I remember a lot - probably yes, but I cannot answer properly - it seems a little*) has a significant influence on vocabulary. The effect diminishes with age, but remains for the whole life - a change from *many* to *few* reduces dictionary in the age group "less than 18 years old" by 20%, but also by 10% in all other groups.

The *attitude to reading of people who have brought the respondent up* (scale: *encouraged me strongly - encouraged me moderately - neutral - advised me to protect the eyesight*) weakly affects dictionary - for all the age groups transition from *encouraged me strongly* to *advised to protect the eyesight* reduces dictionary by 5 %. The hypothesis we can make is that it is the example and opportunity which teach people, rather than preachments.

The *respondent`s love to reading in the childhood* (scale: *yes, I preferred it – rather yes than no - rather no than yes - there were other interesting things*) strongly affects dictionary. Although the effect is becoming weaker with age, it remains for the whole life - changes from *preferred it* to *had more interesting things* reduces dictionary in the age group "less than 18 years old" by 30%, but also by 20% in all other groups.

The fact that *the people who have brought the respondent up were reading to him or her at night in the childhood* (scale - *always or almost always - often - rarely or never*) weakly affects dictionary - for all the age groups the transition from *always or nearly always* to *rarely or never* reduces dictionary by 5%.

Communication with parents, namely, *"Did you often talk to your parents on the "abstract topics", "about life in general", "about different difficult topics", etc. in your youth?"* (scale: *often, regularly – from time to time, it happened - rarely or never*), influences dictionary significantly -

moving from *rare* to *often* reduces dictionary in the group "less than 18 years old" by 10%, and by 5% in all other groups.

The extent to which *it was interesting for the respondent to study at school* (scale: *rather interesting – sometimes interesting, sometimes boring - rather boring*) affects vocabulary as well. The transition from *rather interesting* to *rather boring* does not affect dictionary in the age group "over 56 years old', reduces it by 5% in the group "18-55 years old" and by 10% in the group "less than 18 years old".

The proximity of the above mentioned effects of *the attitude to reading of people who have brought respondent up* and *their practice of reading to him or her at night* and the weakness of these effects (though 5% of more than 10 000 respondents sample are quite real) can help us to conclude that this may be an artifact - those people whose dictionary is larger are more inclined to attribute this to the influence of their childhood. However, other effects are real. The reality of the library size impact is supported by the formality of this parameter, and the reality of impact of love to reading and interest to studying – by the fact that these effects decrease with age (artifact would be growing).

Conclusions

We can conclude that own vocabulary is more interesting for the active Internet users with higher education and students, people having a lot of books at home, who read and do not use TV. Most of these people remember that there were a lot of books in their parents` homes, that in childhood they were encouraged to read, that parents read to them and they liked to read by themselves, and that it was interesting for them to study at school.

The main factors determining vocabulary size (for our sample - those respondents who are interested in it) are age and education. In addition, vocabulary increases with the library size at home where the respondent has grown up in and the home library the respondent currently has, with reading in childhood and in present time; it reduces with TV usage and it is not dependent on the Internet usage.

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Consumer Culture in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia: from Planned Economy Distribution to the Free Market

Karen Avanesyan, Vienna, Austria

Abstract. This article raises the issues how culture of consumption was formed in the Soviet and post-Soviet Russia, beginning from the 40's of the XX century till description of the current condition.

Key words: consumer culture; USSR; Russia; planned economy; market economy

Introduction

Consumption in modern societies appears to be a more important social practice than it ever was before, insofar as it visualizes social differences and boundaries. *It is especially applicable to the developing societies where social structure is still in transition and people use consumed goods to indicate their position in social hierarchy. In this light, the Russian case worth to consider, particularly taking into account history of consumer culture and a dramatic change that this country faced during a socio-economic transition of the 80's and 90's. As a qualitative study by Oushakine revealed, the Russians associate two contradictive political regimes first of all in the light of different consumer patterns [Oushakine, 2000]. A crucial question emerging in this context is why people who once lived in materially ascetic state are so famous all over the world for their oligarchs and conspicuous consumers nowadays.

This article addresses the issues how consumer culture in Russia has changed since Soviet times, when it existed under a strong pressure of a planned economy, and how it regulates consumer behavior of Russians in the current condition of a free market. The above-mentioned contrast between two types of economies and their coexistence within one social space, which both quickly and intensively shifts from one to another during a short time period, determines current consumer *habitus* of the Russians. Based on a comparative approach, this article explores the Russian consumer culture in historical retrospective.

Consumer Culture in the USSR

Consumer culture in the USSR was based on the principles of material ascetics. The official ideology considered consumption as a prerogative of bourgeoisie and a way of social elevation over the working class. This approach allowed the Communist Party to eliminate people's dissatisfaction regarding the deficit of goods in a consumer market: the people were indoctrinated that they simply did not need these goods. Ilyin [Ilyin, 2005] states that this perspective of consumer society negation could be clearly identified in the economic policy (development of mass production), propaganda (intense promotion of family values), and social policy (the aim was to overcome social inequality and build an equal society).

Analyzing a consumer culture on the dawn of the Soviet era, Demidov [Demidov, 2015] singles out the following characteristics:

- a low level of consumption, sometimes close to famine;
- constant deficit of goods;
- no freedom of market choice;
- a narrow supply and poor quality of supplied goods;
- social and geographic inequality in the distribution of goods;
- a long queuing for accessing goods;
- periodical permission of free trade elements.

The first chapter of the Soviet Constitution accepted in 1936 was finished by the famous phrase "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work" adapted from a Blanc's slogan,[1] which was later popularized by Marx.[2] Nothing but labor was the idea that united people together to serve their state. However, labor remunerations were very low, compelling people to work more in order to overcome mass hunger. A complicated international situation that escalated into the Second World War also stimulated people to work and follow the utopian slogans of the party. Consequently, consumption was minimized to the lowest level: it is impossible to assume anything about a consumer culture or consumer patterns when hunger and a constant struggle are the primary motivators of human behavior.

Therefore, the Soviet consumer culture started to form after the war, when the country was rebuilt and people returned to their ordinary lives. However, the years of mass hunger after the First World War, two revolutions and Civil War, supported by the anti-consumer policy of the Communist Party, determined the consumer *habitus* and the culture of the Soviet people. Once the country overcame famine, people started to plan their mode of life, and the first consumer ideals came into play. These ideals and values reflected class division in Soviet society and the people's aspiration to possess the goods which only the party elite had: an apartment, a country house and a car. This triad of items was the first symbol of accumulated wealth and social status in the Russian society. In most cases, the state awarded it to certain people for their outstanding achievements. Thus, Russian

[1]Slogan, firstly used by French socialist Louis Blanc in 1851.
[2]Marx adapted and popularized it in his "Critique of the Gotha Programme" in 1875.

cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin, for his journey into outer space, received an apartment, a country house and a car as a present.

However, consumer ideals of the Soviet people were quite far from their financial opportunities. The average Soviet citizen could buy neither a car nor an apartment with his own money; he could only receive it as a state award. Theoretically, it was possible to buy a car and a country house on the black market for the highest prices, but all apartments belonged to the state that gave it free of charge to everyone. Those few who saved money for years and wanted to buy a car might wait around 7 years: the price of a car was twice or triple higher than the price of an apartment. Possession of a car was either a sign of belonging to the party elite, or the indicator of a so-called “non-labor income”.

Real estate regulation was based on the other principles: the majority of the working class families received flats without paying rent from the state with the possibility to pass it on as an inheritance to children. Nonetheless, good networking and personal informal ties decided a lot during the distribution of real estate. Namely, the closer to the party elite, the better that an apartment is guaranteed to be. In spite of all the difficulties in realization, by 1989 the state provided apartments for 80% of all families.

The support of the state regarding living space could not significantly affect the structure of consumption: people still spent the highest amount of money on the satisfaction of their basic needs. Table 1 shows the structure of consumer spending in the USSR in 1940-1948. Food spending occupied the first place and accounted for more than half of total consumer spending. Moreover, spending on culture, hygiene and health were united into one category and accounted for only 9,6% in 1948.

Table 1. Structure of consumer spending of working class (mean per one family member, in Soviet Rubles)

	1940	1947	1948
Total consumer spending	184.7	463.7	398.5
Including			
Food spending	106.1	291.3	209.1
In % of total consumer spending	57.4	62.8	52.5
Spending on manufactured goods, cultural goods,furniture	27.6	59.4	74.2
In % of total consumer spending	14.9	12.8	18.6
Spending on wine and tobacco	7.1	13.0	11.4
In % of total consumer spending	3.8	2.8	2.9
Non-goods spending on culture, education, health, hygiene, cosmetics, etc.	5.9	8.5	9.6
In % of total consumer spending	3.2	1.8	2.4
Spending on utilities	6.0	8.6	10.0
In % of total consumer spending	3.3	1.9	2.5

Source: Central Statistic Department USSR, 1949.

As Demidov [Demidov, 2015] mentions, the principles of austerity and distribution dominated in the Soviet state consumer system by the end of the Stalin era. The distribution was established on the geographical criterion: inhabitants of Moscow and Leningrad received consumer goods first. Next, the capitals of Soviet republics such as Kiev and Minsk and industrial centers of Central Russia received a share of the goods. Towns and villages occupied the last place in this program. People in these rural areas lived their lives in constant deficit of the goods.

At the end of the 50s and 60s, the needs of the Soviet citizens started to play a more important role for the state. Demidov assumes that despite distribution policy still existing, in the times of the Khrushchev Thaw, also known as *Ottepel,* the government attenuated and liberalized this approach. The Cold War not only influenced the nuclear arms race but also started discussions on which system can better satisfy people's needs. No one but Khrushchev in 1957 formulated the utopian goal "to catch up and overcome America" during 3 years in the aspect of economic development. Ilyin assumes that at this period the Soviet government made a crucial mistake by placing an unreachable goal, namely, to satisfy an increasing demand of consumer goods. In 1961, the party accepted the third program of communism development toward a future society as a paradise where the state satisfies all the consumer needs of people free of charge.

In light of this, Quartz & Asp give an example of a "kitchen debate" between Nixon and Khrushchev in 1959. Nixon displayed a typical American house, equipped with modern conveniences such as a washing machine, a dishwasher, a lawn mower, a TV, and more. Khrushchev responded aggressively that all these items are part of capitalist luxury, which is not useful for Soviet people and an ordinary lifestyle.

During this period of time, a shadow economy starts to develop in the USSR. Later it will be the focus of American economist and sociologist Gregory Grossman, who published a seminal paper titled "The Second Economy of the USSR" [Grossman, 1977]. According to Grossman, a second economy "consisted of all production and exchange undertaken directly for private gain, knowingly illegal in some substantial way". There were three main parts of the second economy in the USSR. The first was theft of state property. The second was corruption. Since the state provided free apartments, cars, and country houses, the Communist Party elites had everything of the best quality and without any queues. Insofar as the party elites controlled the mechanism of goods distribution in a society of social justice, they had a lifestyle completely different from the working class.

Finally, the third aspect of second economy in the USSR was speculation ("*fartsovka*", in Russian slang) which means illegal business occupation acquiring goods from foreigners for resale.

After the end of the Stalin era, the USSR faced a growth of personal incomes supported by the new consumer-oriented state program. Romanov &Yarskaya-Smirnova [Romanov &Yarskaya-Smirnova, 2005] argue that increase in the production of mass goods in the 60s reached its peak and relatively saturated the consumer market. In this regard, the party aimed at "providing people's prosperity and wealth", unnaturally trying to increase the lowest incomes to the average level. However, the state and planned economy could not satisfy people's demand for quality goods. The market did not provide a wide supply of goods and reacted on the growth of incomes too slowly. Therefore, the first significant change of the Soviet consumer market occurred when the iron curtain was slightly opened for foreign tourists. Thus, a new social influx of speculators came into play. Speculators bought goods belonging to foreign tourists in order to receive personal profit and resell it to Soviet people obsessed by western quality. Therefore, "fartsovka" was more widespread in big cities such as Moscow and Leningrad, as well as port towns and touristic centers in the USSR. All these factors rendered the demand for fashionable foreign jeans, hats, shoes, shirts, suits, audio and video technics, etc. Nevertheless, shops did not provide these goods, and people could find it only on the black market in the big cities for expensive prices.

Romanov and Suvorova [Romanov P. &Suvorova M., 2003] assume that Brezhnev's period started with progressive reforms that took place in the end of the 60s, when the government started to experiment with the creation of quasi-market economy. During the 70s, the quality of life continued to grow, status consumption occurred, mass stereotypes were changing, but the Soviet industry and trade were still not able to satisfy the growing wishes and expectations of the population [Vishnevskiy, 1998]. Probably, the legalization and regulation of some commercial activities that were prohibited before was the most adequate and reasonable decision of the Soviet government in these years. Zarubina [Zarubina, 2004] mentions that a new space which appeared as a result of the reforms was filled by those who were already there illegally. Hence, *fartsovka*and a speculator movement reached its peak in the 70s, when the government allowed international tourism to socialist states such as Cuba, Syria, and Eastern Europe.

As Gurova [Gurova, 2005] refers to the sociological studies during Soviet times. In the 60s people did not have ascetic attitude to consumer goods at all. It meant that the cornerstone of the Soviet ideology was destroyed.People enjoyed to possess and consume. The study by Zhilina&Frolova [Zhilina&Frolova, 1969] revealed that only 17 out of 1740 respondents expressed disregard to the goods and consumption. Gurova mentions that 79,4% of teachers and 89,1% of working class respondents wanted to possess more consumer goods than they had. A car, a fridge and furniture were among the more desired goods. Interestingly, aspiration "to be not worth more than others" was the main motive of the Soviet people to consume: among the respondents, from 80,7%

of wealthy engineers to 89,4 % of poorly paid working class take this idea into account while choosing consumer goods. In contrast, aspiration to declare personal distinction was relevant only for 19% respondents among working class.

The beginning of the 80s did not bring anything new into the Soviet consumer culture. The existing tendencies continued their development: the shadow economy was growing and the deficit of consumer goods increased proportionally to the growth of income and quality of life in the country. During those years the USSR faced another “consumer boom”: the Russians were literally obsessed by the Adidas sportswear, especially sneakers. The brand owed its fame to the 1980 Summer Olympic Games in Moscow, when Adidas equipped Soviet athletes, since there was no local producer to satisfy this need and provide the participants with sportswear of high quality. Before the 80s, people also had no idea about such shoes as sneakers: the cult of sport in the USSR was accompanied by a total absence of sportswear and equipment. A three-leaf logo became a symbol of the Soviet national team triumph; people associated it with their victories. People all over the country were “adidasomaniacs” wearing Adidas sneakers everywhere: on the walk, on the work, in theatres, museums and restaurants. Although there were several factories of Adidas across the USSR (in Moscow, Kiev, Yerevan and Tbilisi), demand exceeded supply, and even the black market could not compensate for the deficit of the sneakers. Moreover, the Adidas costed so much that people were willing to purchase them second-hand: the price could exceed the average monthly salary in the country twice. All these factors contributed to the development of the production of low quality counterfeit sneakers, stamped by the prominent three-leaf logo. Adidas sneakers became one of the most important elements of the youth subculture and lifestyle: everybody wanted them, but no one could buy them.

In 1985, the state leader M. Gorbachev proclaimed Perestroika. The state continued to increase the incomes of the population, but people were not able to convert their savings into consumer goods. Consequently, deficit on the market grew up in parallel with the growth of a household income. Civil officers understood the necessity for market saturation and therefore had to legalize private market trade. That was how a new social movement of shuttle trade occurred and the *fartsovka* movement was over. Shuttle trade, or *chelnoks* in Russian, referred to the activity in which individual entrepreneurs bought goods abroad and imported them for resale in street markets or small shops. Often the goods were imported without full declaration in order to avoid import duties [OECD, 2001].Ilyin argued that the late Perestroika was the first step to the formation of a consumer society in Russia, especially in the light of the recently opened borders for consumption. The Soviet people finally could visit foreign countries, but this freedom was corrected by the size of wallet.

The country entered a new phase of development: the crash of the communist ideology and the formation of a free market. Having once been forced to be equal by the state ideology, people were now free to earn and spend money as they wanted. That was the rise of Russian consumerism.

Rise of Consumerism

Socioeconomic reforms in Russia in the 1980s-1990s led to the formation of social groups such as the oligarchs and "new Russians",[3]that did not need to limit their consumption of goods and were able to 'indulge' in conspicuous consumption. The concept introduced by Veblen [Veblen, 1994] described the consumer pattern of the nouveau riche, a social class that emerged in the 19th century and put their wealth on public display. As Veblen explains, "in order to effectually mend the consumer's good fame it must be an expenditure of superfluities. In order to be reputable it must be wasteful. No merit would accrue from the consumption of the bare necessaries of life, except by comparison with the abjectly poor who fall short even of the subsistence minimum" [Veblen 1994: 45]. The main idea of this concept is that for certain social classes consumption becomes a means to signal status and position in the social hierarchy. Schor argues correspondingly: "the theory of conspicuous consumption also explains a pattern of consumer spending. It predicts that people will tend to spend heavily on socially visible goods, in contrast to products that are used in private" [Schor, 2007].

The class of "new Russians" originally emerged in such metropolises as Moscow and St. Petersburg and gradually arised in other larger Russian cities as well. In order to compensate the material minimalism of the Soviet era under the conditions of free market, this class heavily used goods as indicators of social distinction. Mercedes-Benz S600 car, a red jacket, sharp-nosed shoes, massive gold chain were symbolic codes, signaling people the social status and place in hierarchy of their owners. As Doody mentions, "high-end Western luxury items have been for their owners the sign of the power and prestige they've accumulated along with their wealth", they have become "both uniform and symbol for a new class" [Doody, 2009], dividing "new Russians" from the poor majority of the Russian society. Since then conspicuous practices in consumption have become and still remain a significant element of the Russian social reality.

Nonetheless, the majority of Russian society lived in totally different conditions. The first years of political pluralism, free market and capitalist economy did not bring positive feelings to people; this time was marked rather by price increase and economic crisis. Liberalization of the economy during the Gaidar reforms provided elimination of the deficit for goods. However, while

[3]This is a parallel to the emergence of the "nouveau riches" in Europe during the bourgeois revolutions of the 19th century. In Russia, many people became rich in a short period of time in the course of the transition from a command economy to the free market.

the post party elite became super-rich after the privatization of the state property, ordinary people had to face financial loss and suffered from impoverishment.

During the socio-economic transition and reforms the food expenditure took the biggest share of the total household expenditure. It exceeded noon-food products in 1992 and reached its peak at 50% of total consumer expenditure in 1995. The figure 1 illustrates the dynamics of expenditures in Russia from 1980 till 2002.

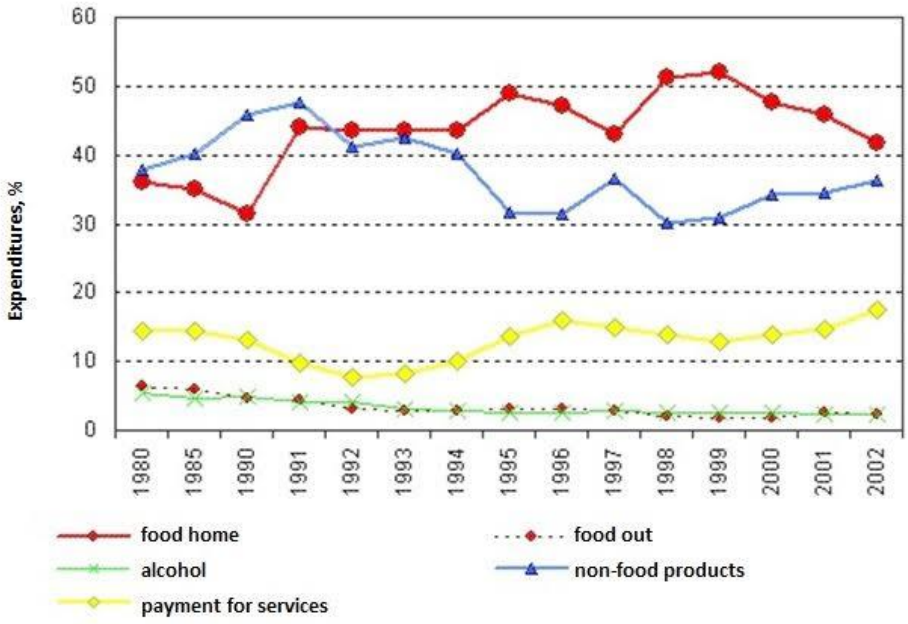


Fig.1. Dynamics of expenditures in Russia, 1980-2002

Source: Demoscop basing on Rosstat data

According to the survey by GfKRus held in 1992 [Demidov, 2015], 80% of respondents mentioned a sharp change in the nutrition system and 75% stated that they spent all their income on food. New shops were full of products which were unavailable before, but people did not have money to buy it. Answering the question “what feelings do you experience while visiting expensive shops with quality goods?,” 16% answered “negative”, 25% “positive”, 17% “contradictive”, and 28% stated that they avoid visiting such shops.

New shops and supermarkets became something like museums: people came there just to spend time and looking at the goods that they could not purchase like a museum exhibition. The new culture of consumption was formed in the conditions of a wide supply but lack of opportunities and financial resources to satisfy basic needs. The situation was completely opposite to the one in the USSR when people had money but there was no way to spend them. These factors in Russia in the 90s contributed to the emergence of a societal type designated as “a second hand consumer society” [Ilyin, 2005]. This concept reflects the increased demand for second hand foreign goods with a cheap price. In order to give an example, Ilyin refers to the car trade. Since the borders were opened, the old and spoiled cars from the Western Europe, the USA and Japan came on the Russian market. All the goods assigned to recycling were imported to Russia where people willingly bought it just for the sake of the luxury logos of Mercedes or BMW. Table 2 illustrates how amount of the cars in a private property in Russia, Moscow and Saint-Petersburg changed from 1970 till 2000. The annual growth was sustainable as well. Thus, the item that was classified as a luxury during the Soviet times became an item of mass consumption.

Table 2. The number of private cars on 1000 people

	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Russia	0.5	5.3	0.2	4.5	8.6	3.3	02.8	13.7	22.0	28.1
Moscow	4.3	2.8	7.2	3.0	0.6	53.5	73.8	88.8	00.4	12.9
Saint-Petersburg	0.4	7.8	0.3	0.9	6.2	19.3	46.6	47.9	67.8	57.4

Source: Rosstat

The same situation was observed in the field of clothes consumption. Owing to shuttle trade, clothes from Turkey and China came to the Russian market. These clothes, sold for cheaper prices, copied the style of the West, sometimes having a logo of famous fashion brands. Thus, production imitating western brands was available for the cheapest prices. Ilyin concludes that people could camouflage their low social status through the clothes they wore: "In the crowd on the street, or in the underground, it was complicated to distinguish a rich man from the one who barely lived his life but had a sense of taste and aspiration to look fashionable" [Ilyin, 2005:21].

Changing social inequality and consumption patterns in today's Russia

Empirical studies have revealed that social inequality in consumption and the contradictions between rich and poor still remain the key problems for a majority (44.4%) of the Russian population [Petukhov, 2004]. Credit Suisse [Credit Suisse, 2013] experts estimate that "Russia has the highest level of wealth inequality in the world, apart from small Caribbean nations". However, the growth of the country's GDP per capita after the turn of the millennium lead to increase of the incomes among the population of the large Russian cities. In Moscow as well as in other Russian cities, it was accompanied by gradual reduction of social inequality (testified both by a declining Gini coefficient and a shrinking decile dispersion ratio). Nevertheless, the inequality of income is still relative high. Thus, the population of Moscow is characterized both by the highest incomes and inequality rates among Russian cities. Just for comparison: the Gini Coefficient and Decile Dispersion Ratio in 2013 in Moscow counted 0.487 and 27.3, in Saint Petersburg they were 0.447 and 20.2 correspondently.

Therefore, accumulated wealth was distributed in Moscow and other large Russian cities unevenly and concentrated mostly within the top 10% of the social hierarchy. This is the main reason why inequality measures have remained relative high even after the economic growth of the years after the year 2000. The data is presented in the Table 3.

Table 3. Income and inequality dynamics (in US$ 2013)

	2000	2005	2009	2013
Moscow				
Decile Dispersion Ratio (income)	6.3	7.1	30.8	27.8
Gini Coefficient (income)	0.595	0.561	0.514	0.78
Average money income per capita in US$	251.2	783.9	1258.5	23.3
Saint Petersburg				
Decile Dispersion Ratio (income)	9.4	18	19.2	20.2
Gini Coefficient (income)	0.341	0.432	0.441	0.447
Average money income per capita in US$	80.3	385.2	676.9	986.4
Russia				
Decile Dispersion Ratio (income)	13.9	15.2	16.6	16.2
Gini Coefficient (income)	0.395	0.409	0.421	0.418
Average money income per capita in US$	71.6	254.8	530.6	814.3

Source: author's calculations basing on Rosstat data

Even though income inequality is still very high, especially in comparison to many European societies, the growth of the GDP and the population's income in large cities have stimulated an intensive development of a Russian consumer market. From the year 2000 until 2013, it increased by 9 times. According to household final consumption expenditure, the Russian consumer market is the 10th largest in the world and the 5th largest consumer market in Europe. In total, household consumption accounts for 55% of the country's GDP.[4]

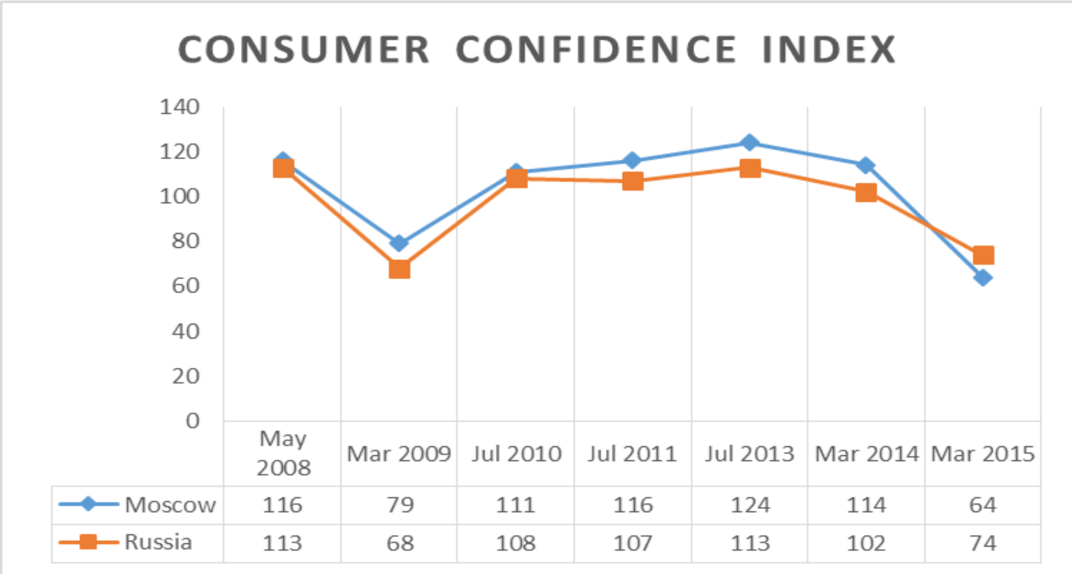
Table 4. Consumer markets of the world by household final consumption expenditure (at current prices in Mio US$)

	Austria	Germany	Poland	Russia	USA
2000	106 050	1 112 588	109 089	119 926	6 792 390
2005	170 222	1 650 805	191 612	381 560	8 794 110
2009	213 784	1 956 574	269 202	668 011	9 846 970
2013	230 782	2 086 558	320 195	1 089 143	11 484 340

[4]The world's biggest consumer market is the USA, followed by Germany. The Russian consumer market concedes only to Germany, the US, Great Britain, France and Italy, advancing the welfare states of Northern Europe and the post-socialist European countries.

Source: United Nations Statistics Division.

However, the growth of the Russian consumer market was slowed down due to the current economic crisis. Russians had to face labor reductions, price increase and national currency devaluation. A poll conducted by the Levada Survey Center in January 2015 has revealed that 54% of the Russian population considers price increases and growing impoverishment as the main menaces to social stability in Russia. According to the data of GfKRus [GfKRus, 2015], the Consumer Confidence Index (CCI) has fallen constantly over the last years, hitting an all-time low in March 2015 (see Figure 2).



	May 2008	Mar 2009	Jul 2010	Jul 2011	Jul 2013	Mar 2014	Mar 2015
Moscow	116	79	111	116	124	114	64
Russia	113	68	108	107	113	102	74

Fig. 2. CCI level in Moscow and Russia

Source: GfK Rus.

To sum it up, current Russian society is characterized by high income inequality and a recent relatively harsh slowdown after a phase of intensive economic growth. In this context Ordabayeva&Chandon stress that social inequality increases tendency to conspicuous consumption, because consumers are trying to “keep up with Joneses”,[5] i.e., they tend to “spend a larger proportion of their income on status-conferring consumption in order to reduce the dissatisfaction they feel with their current level of possessions due to the widening gap between what they have and what others have” [Ordabayeva&Chandon, 2010:27]. Memushi [Memushi, 2014] also suggests that extreme inequalities in income and the nouveaux riches’ showing off lead to high levels of conspicuous consumption in developing post-communistic countries. It seems that both these statements suit to current Russian reality well.

[5] English idiom, defined by Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary & Thesaurus as “to always want to own the same expensive objects and do the same things as your friends or neighbours, because you are worried about seeming less important socially than they are”.

Conclusions

Russia became a consumer society much later than the European counties and the USA. The emergence of a new rich class that took place in developed countries on the dawn of capitalism occurred in Russian only in the 90s of the XX century. For almost a hundred years of the Soviet era, the society existed under the pressure of the communist ideology that limited possibilities for consumption. Accessing a free market in the last decade of the XX century, the new Russian rich class put their accumulated wealth on public display in order to signal status and demonstrate position in the social hierarchy. Even though today the new Russians as a class does not exist and it is rather a nostalgic reminiscence on the 90s era, the patterns of consumption are still of a higher importance in the current Russian society. This is determined by the following factors. First of all, social structure of Russia is still in transition. On the one hand, there is a small but powerful elite group, as well as the upper class. On the other hand, there is a middle class that is still in formation and there are poverty rates that depend on the socio-economic situation in the country. Consequently, as long as the social structure is forming, the groups need certain criteria to demarcate their position in the hierarchy. In this light, consumption appears to be the easiest way for status signaling. Second, personal wealth is still the core criterion of the stratification in Russia. As long as such attributes as education level and profession are out of play in the determination of the social position, the consumed goods will be the markers of class boundaries and the way to confirm one's status in the changing society.

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Causes of Forbid/allow Asymmetry in Answers to Survey Questions

Nikolay S. Babich, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. The article offers a summary of the study dealing with the problem of forbid/allow asymmetry in public opinion polls. The author argues in favor of insufficiency of the most common approaches to solving this problem and suggests an alternative assumption – the one dealing with active information retrieval from the wording of questions by respondents. Two empirical studies that partially confirm the said assumption are described.

Key words: public opinion polls; question wording; forbid/allow asymmetry; effect of question wording on the answers by respondents

Introduction

"Forbid" or "allow" represents one of the most important binary oppositions of public discourse. A substantial part of all political decisions, as well as of all decisions made in any organization, comes down to the choice between these two actions. As is commonly assumed, this is a choice between two opposites, while words "forbid" and "allow" are viewed as rather strict antonyms. Consequently, the answers to questions with forbid/allow wording should be opposite: the frequency of "no" answers in case of forbid question wording should be equal (within the tolerable error limits) to the one of "yes" answers in case of allow wording. However, from the history of public opinion surveys we have known for about 70 years that dissent from forbiddance is by no means always equal to consent to allowance, and vice versa. This effect is known as "forbid/allow asymmetry."

The first case of asymmetry was described in 1941 by D. Rugg, who discovered this effect in the survey conducted by E. Roper [Rugg, 1941:92]. He used two independent samples in his research. In one of them, 62% of respondents took a *stand against allowing public antidemocratic speeches*, while in the second one only 46% of respondents *agreed to forbidding such speeches*. In his publication, Rugg did not try to explain the effect discovered, yet his article laid the foundation for subsequent scholarly works describing some empirical studies that confirmed the existence of such asymmetry in different *cultures and contexts*, [Hippler & Schwarz, 1986; Bishop, Hippler, Schwarz & Strack, 1988; Loosveldt, 1997; Holleman, 2000; Olsen, 2002; Reuband, 2003; Babich & Vlasova-Yagodina, 2014], as well the assumption as to what causes this effect. The present article will offer the summary of the said scholarly works to show that the common explanations we have today are not enough. Then we will suggest a simpler alternative hypothesis and describe two methodological experiments that confirm our assumption.

Key Explanations of the Asymmetry

A detailed research of the effect discovered by Rugg and Roper in 1941 was undertaken three and a half decades later by H. Schuman and S. Presser. They found stable reproducibility of this asymmetry (on the same as in 1941 wording, in 1974 and 1976) and came fore with several possible explanations of the effect [Schuman & Presser, 1981:280-281], which laid a foundation for further studies in this field.

The first hypothesized cause of the asymmetry is related to connotations, inherent in the antonyms discussed. The verb "forbid" sounds harsher and therefore harder to accept, while the verb "allow" in some cases may be perceived as encouraging deviant behavior and rejected on this very basis. Hereinafter, we will refer to this hypothesis as the "semantic" one. The major weakness of this assumption lies in being vague and too generalized. Any notion would always lead to a lot of connotations, their set depending upon the context to a larger extent, so the hypothesis can be neither proved nor refuted in the form it has been formulated. Schuman and Presser did not verify it independently, while the later studies offered semantic explanation in a narrower form.

The second possible cause lies in the fact that the antonyms used in a wording may give rise to various grammatical situations making it hard to perceive the notions. For instance, it is not at all obvious that the respondents who are to support *banning speeches against* the democracy will successfully cope with the task. "Forbidding" antidemocratic statements may be confused with "banning" democracy itself. This "grammatical" hypothesis was verified by Schuman and Presser by way of replacing the word combination "against democracy" with the one "in support of communism," which led to the fact that the said asymmetry turned to be less pronounced, yet still valid. The difference between the shares of those who answered "no, it should not be allowed" and the ones who opted for "yes, it should be forbidden" amounted to 16%. Thus the grammatical hypothesis was refuted in general.

The third cause, according to Schuman and Presser, may lie in the level of question's topic being abstract. Their experiments found positive dependence between the asymmetry value and the share of the respondents who were undecided, as well as relation between the poor level of education and propensity for asymmetrical answers, which was later confirmed by independent studies [Narayan & Krosnick, 1996; Reuband, 2003]. These facts support the assumption that the asymmetry is found in answers to questions devoted to abstract topics, like "speeches against democracy," yet is not to appear in surveys devoted to the topics that the respondents understand better and take to their heart, like banning pornography or cigarette advertising on television. In answers to questions devoted to latter topics that Schuman and Presser asked the asymmetry amounted to 5.4% and 4.3% respectively, and these values can be considered as being within the limits of a tolerable error.

The comprehensive research by Dutch scientists [Waterplas, Billiet & Loosveldt, 1988] used both “abstract” (about racist statements) and specific (about distributing and playing back adult movies, as well as separate education for children of national minorities) questions. The results showed that the asymmetry exists in both cases, yet the weakest effect was observed in answers to “abstract” questions. The cross-cultural (conducted in the US and Germany) methodological experiment by D. Bishop and colleagues [Bishop, Hippler, Schwarz & Strack, 1988: 334-335] found sufficient asymmetry in answers to a “specific” question dealing with smoking in public places. In German sample those who opted for smoking ban were 20.3% fewer in number than those who refused to allow smoking. However, the US sample featured the *opposite* asymmetry. Those who backed smoking ban outnumbered the others by 14.3%.

The quoted results apparently counter the “abstraction hypothesis.” However, it is too far to believe it being reliably refuted. This assumption should be rather considered unsatisfactory in terms of wording strictness. Neither Schuman and Presser nor the scientists who followed them managed to offer an accurate criterion of “abstractedness-specificity,” so in all three studies the variable playing the role of independent factor was likely to be identified intuitively. Why indeed should the ban for racist statements be considered a problem less relevant for the life of respondents than pornography ban? If the society is sufficiently concerned with xenophobia and largely recognizes sexual freedom, the real relationship as to the question devoted to the aforementioned topics being abstract may be opposite to the one offered by the said authors. Consequently, the quoted empirical results neither prove nor refute the abstraction hypothesis, as it can just be neither falsified nor verified. Verifying it may be linked to looking for a more accurate articulation that allows one to find unambiguous empirical indicators.

The problem statement offered by H.-J. Hippler and N. Schwarz in their frequently cited article [Hippler & Schwarz, 1986] may serve as one of the variants promoting better clarity. Their assumption lay in the fact that the respondents indifferent to the topic of survey are “to blame” for the asymmetry. Such respondents give negative answers to both variants of the question, because they want neither to forbid nor to allow anything. As a result, in both cases we find an additional share of those opting for “no” answer, as the indifferent respondents account for it. It is this very share that causes asymmetry. Hippler and Schwarz confirmed their hypothesis experimentally (there was no asymmetry, when the respondents unable to demonstrate a pronounced attitude towards the topic of survey were removed from the sample). Besides, their assumption complied well with the data obtained by Schuman and Presser. Indeed, while asking more (intuitively) abstract questions, it is logical to expect a higher share of indifferent respondents, who may correlate with those being undecided. The suggestion saying that indifferent respondents will account for a higher share among those with low level of education looks plausible (though it has not been proved).

The most serious conceptual problem of indifference hypothesis lies in the fact that the assumption dealing with existence of some latent variable is put forward as an explanation. In other words, one unknown is explained through another unknown. I mean the indicator that fits the "attitude strength." Intuitively, it is clear that such a variable may exist, yet it is hardly possible to measure it directly, while indirect measurements do not always allow confirmation of the indifference hypothesis. For instance, the studies by J. Krosnick and H. Schuman [Krosnick & Schuman, 1988] used the questions dealing with "certainty" in one's opinion and "intensity" of attitude, and they did not allow the elimination of forbid/allow asymmetry. The same negative result was obtained by B. Holleman [Holleman, 2000]. Thus, the "attitude strength" introduced in Hippler-Schwarz hypothesis turned to be poorly related to the variables that can be considered as indirect measures for this strength. Thus a natural question arises – whether we should consider the hypothesis as related to "attitude strength" or postulate the existence of some other variable with yet unclear nature.

The empirical problem of "indifference hypothesis" lies in the fact that counterexamples are available. One was observed in the US sample experiment that revealed opposite asymmetry [Bishop, Hippler, Schwarz & Strack, 1988: 334-335]. Opposite asymmetry was found also in our study based on the Russian sample [Babich & Vlasova-Yagodina, 2014]. Hippler-Schwarz hypothesis forecasts the unidirectional nature of asymmetry, as it is linked to the invariable principles of data processing by humans. If the forbid/allow effect occurs due to the respondents who want neither to forbid nor to allow anything, these respondents should have no such desires irrespective of the question. However, in some cases [Rise & Halkjelsvik, 2015], the asymmetry was not observed at all.

Recently, the forbid/allow asymmetry was studied in detail by B. Holleman, who tried to elaborate the semantic explanation (she prefers to call it "connotations hypothesis" in her works), and devoted a number of publications to this topic [Holleman, 1999(a); Holleman, 1999(b); Holleman, 2000; Holleman, 2006; Chessa & Holleman, 2007; Kamoen, Holleman & van den Bergh, 2013]. These works extend the idea of both wordings measuring one and the same attitude that is reflected on "yes-no" scale differently. It was confirmed by the analysis of survey data using modeling by structural equations [Holleman, 1999(a)]. Later, using the methods, including separate analysis of question understanding time and answer time, it was shown that the asymmetry is caused by the processes that take place at the second stage, instead of the first one [Chessa & Holleman, 2007]. Moreover, the authors managed to find a plausible explanation for this fact, having suggested the model of reflecting the attitude on a scale that requires more time in case of "forbiddance" than in case of "allowance." Thus, it is assumed that the share of respondents willing to approve the ban is lower due to this cognitive action being more complex compared to refusing permission. Yet, the Holleman's version of semantic hypothesis faces the same problems that are typical of the indifference hypothesis. These are the problems of trying to explain one unknown through another unknown and unidirectional nature of asymmetry that finds no endorsement in empirical studies. On the other hand, the semantic hypothesis is confirmed by the data of a wider antonyms choice than just "forbid/allow" [Kamoen, 2012].

Alternative Hypothesis

We have suggested an explanation that seems simpler than the aforementioned assumptions and at the same time complies with all of the facts available [Babich, 2012]. To accept it, one should refuse from perceiving the respondent as a passive object of measurement, which is typical of many studies. The communication that the questionnaire serves as a tool of is not unilateral, and the researcher, while asking questions, often communicates to the respondent as much information, as he/she can obtain from the respondent's answer. This survey attribute is considered undesirable and in the most complicated cases is called "suggestive questions." The situation dealing with forbid/allow asymmetry looks not so obvious, yet it can be explained on the basis of the same logic. Indeed, if the researcher asks whether antidemocratic speeches should be *forbidden,* he/she implies that such speeches are *allowed*. The respondent having no accurate knowledge of the respective laws will retrieve this very information from the question wording. And vice versa, the respondent, if asked, whether antidemocratic speeches should be *allowed*, is likely to think that such speeches are already *forbidden*. In this case the distribution of answers will be influenced by a more general attitude towards tightening or relaxing legislation in this field.

Thus, the alternative hypothesis says that asymmetry is caused not by the respondents indifferent to the topic of survey, but by the ones that have no respective information. Therefore the respondents retrieve the information they lack from the very wording, which leads to asymmetry.

The suggested hypothesis is based on rather simple and directly measurable variables and complies well with a whole number of empirical study results. First, it does not require unidirectional asymmetry and therefore is compatible with the data obtained in [Bishop, Hippler, Schwarz & Strack, 1988]. At the same time, it is not in conflict with the summarized results of other studies as well. The fact that the respondents preferred rejecting allowance to backing forbiddance may just represent a feature of legal awareness typical for western societies, their perception of questions that tend to be formulated using forbid/allow opposition. In other words, the participants to aforementioned surveys were willing to come against the legalization of some variations from social norms (like euthanasia, pornography, etc.), yet they did not want to curb freedoms, if they thought that such freedoms had already been given to them. In such cases, the asymmetry, opposite to the one that is considered a methodological standard in studies by western authors, will prevail in the countries with conservative political culture.

Second, the hypothesis of active information retrieval complies with the data showing that the asymmetry disappears in case of asking the extended versions of questions, explicitly using both variants of action. The questions with wording “allow or not to allow” are in this sense equivalent to questions with wording “allow or forbid” [Reuband, 2003]. The absence of asymmetry can be explained by the fact that the question with both variants of wording stops playing the role of a prompt.

Third, the asymmetry may turn weaker in phone surveys if compared to the ones, when the respondents fill-in questionnaire forms independently [Bishop, Hippler, Schwarz & Strack, 1988], as during phone interviews the respondents have less time for retrieval of information from the wording.

Fourth, as Holleman’s meta-analysis showed, the most powerful factor making impact on the forbid/allow asymmetry value is the “complexity” of the subject in combination with its “abstractedness” [Holleman, 1999(b)], i.e., the variable that can be easily linked to the awareness of respondents.

Fifth, in case of questions that the population is well aware off the asymmetry may disappear. [Rise & Halkjelsvik, 2015].

Experimental Studies

The first methodological experiment aimed at checking the information retrieval hypothesis [Babich & Vlasova-Yagodina, 2014] was carried out within the framework of street survey devoted to labor relationship. The poll was conducted by the Institute of Innovative Forecasting LLC in Moscow between October 1 and 10, 2010 using the method of personal formalized interviews with the Russian citizens of 18+ years old living in Moscow for 1 year minimum. The interviewers worked in the total of 176 places of population conurbation using quota sample representative of Moscow population in terms of gender, age and education.

The sample amounting in size to 1,500 people was divided into three equal groups using random selection of questionnaire forms and assigning their numbers (from 1 to 1,500) to one of the said groups. Each group received its own variant of the questionnaire form.

The questionnaire form given to Group 1 contained among other questions the following ones:

a1) Do you think that the state should **forbid** Russian companies to employ immigrants on the jobs that are **different** from the professions of those people?

1. Yes, it should forbid.

2. No, it should not forbid.

99. DO NOT READ OUT. Respondent found it hard to say.

b) I will read to you the list of immigrants' rights. Please tell me for every item whether the immigrants have these rights in Russia or not.

Rights	Yes	No	Don't know
1. The right for citizenship after 10 years of living in Russia.	1	2	99
2. The right for free medical care on the same basis with Russian citizens.	1	2	99
3. The right for a job **different** from one's specialty.	1	2	99
4. The right for free education on the same basis with Russian citizens.	1	2	99

Question "a" performed the function of experimental variable. Each of the groups had a different wording of it, while the wording of question "b" was the same for all three of them. Only the third position of the latter question was of interest, as it enabled the researcher to check the impact of question "a" on the respondent's knowledge.

Wording of the first question for Group 2 read:

a2) Do you think that the state should **allow** Russian companies to employ immigrants on the jobs that are **different** from the professions of those people?

1. Yes, it should allow.

2. No, it should not allow.

99. DO NOT READ OUT. Respondent found it hard to say.

Wording of the first question for Group 3 read:

a3) Do you think that the state should **forbid or allow** Russian companies to employ immigrants on the jobs that are **different** from the professions of those people?

1. It should allow.

2. It should forbid.

99. DO NOT READ OUT. Respondent found it hard to say.

The interviewers were instructed as to the different variants of questionnaire forms being used. Giving the definition of term "immigrant" was permitted to them, if necessary. Yet communicating information to the respondents about whether the respective employment of immigrants is permitted by the law at present was strictly forbidden.

Table 1. Distribution of answers in three subsamples, % of subsample

Question "a" wording varies by groups					
Group 1 ("forbid")		Group 2 ("allow")		Group 3 ("allow or forbid")	
Should forbid	78.6	Should not allow	68.8	Should forbid	75.4
Should not forbid	16.0	Should allow	26.4	Should allow	18.6
Hard to say	5.4	Hard to say	4.8	Hard to say	6.0
Question "b." I will read the list of immigrants' rights. Please tell me for each item whether the immigrants have these rights in Russia or not. 3. The right for a job **different** from one's specialty.					
Yes, they do	63.4	Yes, they do	50.4	Yes, they do	60.8
No, they don't	22.4	No, they don't	34.2	No, they don't	26.2
Don't know	14.2	Don't know	15.4	Don't know	13.0

The results obtained enable us to come to the conclusion about the presence of forbid/allow asymmetry in the question offered to the respondents. The value of this asymmetry achieves 10.4%, which is slightly lower that the average, observed in the studies by western authors (it amounted to 14% [Holleman, 1999(b)]), yet the difference looks rather significant.

It is telling that the direction of asymmetry is opposite to the one that has been most often observed before. This fact is in conflict with both indifferent respondent hypothesis and semantic hypothesis, as both of them forecast universal orientation towards negative answers. At the same time, it does not contradict to our hypothesis of active information retrieval. As Russian political culture can be viewed as a more conservative one if compared to the western culture, it is quite natural that the respondents prefer to introduce a ban in the fields, where they believe it to be missing.

Significant differences in answers to question "b" among the three groups lend direct evidence to the hypothesis of active information retrieval. Table 1 clearly shows that in case the question wording was about forbiddance, many respondents acquired the knowledge about the respective permit being available. And vice versa, when we started talking about granting immigrants the right for a job different from one's specialty, the respondents started thinking that there are certain bans in this field. Using both antonyms in the question wording produced a somewhat medium result.

The third group (with wording "allow or forbid") features systematic clearly oriented differences from both the second ("allow") and the first ("forbid") groups. Yet, the differences with the second group always seem to be significant on acceptable level, while the significant differences are missing between the third and the first groups. It may be caused by the fact that the first variant of wording offers the data, which is sufficiently less biased. This result is probably coherent with the conclusion by B. Holleman about a higher reliability of “forbid” questions [Holleman, 2006]. However, the main thing is that it is in line with common sense, as the wording using the term “allow” alone implicates some situation that in reality does not exist. If the respondents had some opinion on the question asked, the questionnaire variant used by the second group misinformed and misled them. In other words, it distorted the information perceived.

The second experiment was carried out using the same question wording variants and methods. The street survey was conducted by the Institute of Innovative Forecasting LLC in Moscow between April 1 and 10, 2016 using the method of personal formalized interviews with the Russian citizens of 18+ years old living in Moscow for 1 year minimum. The interviewers worked in the total of 50 places of population conurbation using a quota sample representative of Moscow population in terms of gender, age and education. The sample amounting in size to 900 people was divided into three equal groups using random selection of questionnaire forms and assigning their numbers (from 1 to 900) to one of the said groups. Each group received its own variant of questionnaire form. The wording and location of questions in the form repeated the conditions of the first experiment. However, the following question was asked to those replying to question “b,” who answered “yes” in the first group, “no” in the second group and “yes” or “no” in the third group:

c) Could you tell me, please, where you have learned about whether the immigrants in Russia enjoy the right for a job different from one’s specialty?

1. From the media.
2. From friends, acquaintances and relatives.
3. From the official documents.
4. I have guessed during the poll.
5. Other source.

99. DO NOT READ OUT. Respondent found it hard to say.

Table 2. Distribution of answers in three subsamples, % of subsample

Question “a” wording varies by groups					
Group 1 (“forbid”)		Group 2 (“allow”)		Group 3 (“allow or forbid”)	
Should forbid	84.3	Should not allow	63.3	Should forbid	80.0
Should not forbid	11.7	Should allow	29.3	Should allow	16.7
Hard to say	4.0	Hard to say	7.3	Hard to say	3.3

Question "b." I will read the list of immigrants' rights. Please tell me for each item whether the immigrants have these rights in Russia or not. 3. The right for a job **different** from one's specialty.					
Yes, they do	66.0	Yes, they do	46.7	Yes, they do	63.3
No, they don't	21.7	No, they don't	33.3	No, they don't	21.0
Don't know	12.3	Don't know	20.0	Don't know	15.7
Question "c." Could you tell me, please, where you have learned about whether the immigrants in Russia enjoy the right for a job different from one's specialty?					
I have guessed during the poll.	12.7	I have guessed during the poll.	8.0	I have guessed during the poll.	3.0

As we can see in Table 2, the results of second experiment repeat the ones of the first survey in general, though some differences still exist. The asymmetry looks more pronounced, as well as the "forbid" attitude in Groups 1 and 3. It is probably caused by the fact that the migrant topic has become more relevant in public consciousness due to the refugee crisis in the EU.

Unfortunately, the changes in wording during both experiments had no coordinated effect on the share of those who were undecided while answering Question "a" and opted for answer "Don't know" while replying to Question "b." This fact does not exactly fit into the hypothesis of active information retrieval. It forecasts a higher share of those who are undecided and "don't know" in case of using both antonyms, as such a wording offers less information to the respondents. It is probably caused by the fact that refusal from answering or choosing the variant "don't know" reflects the attitude different from the one measured by the question itself, namely the set for a certain style of cooperation with the interviewer, the attitude towards one's own image in the eyes of other people, etc.

On the other hand, Question "c" vividly illustrates that the wording really plays a role in informing respondents. Only 3% of them guessed about the immigrants' rights in the third group, against 12.7% and 8% in the first and second groups respectively. It cannot go unnoticed that the total number of those who took advantage of the situation to form their opinion in the first and second groups (20.7%) almost fully covers the differences between them as to answering both Question "a" (17.6%-21.0%) and Question "b" (11.6%-19.3%). Thus, the hypothesis of active information retrieval finds substantial endorsement in the empirical data.

Conclusions

The forbid/allow asymmetry seems to be a very important effect arising under the influence of question wording. Its value may be very substantial, while the question's content may look very important from the viewpoint of decision making. That is why potentially negative consequences of this effect are rather serious and deserve closer attention on the part of researchers. Unfortunately the hypothetic explanations of asymmetry suggested before suffer from a whole number of shortcomings. We can hope that the alternative hypothesis – the one of "active information retrieval" – highlighted in the present article will enable us to lift some of these drawbacks, partially or fully. The quoted results of methodological experiments confirm its validity, proving that the respondents use the question wording as a source of knowledge about the issues they are not experts in. It may serve as a cause of forbid/allow asymmetry. Besides, the direction of asymmetry revealed in our study refutes the assumptions by Hippler-Schwarz and Holleman, which suggest stable bias in distribution of answers.

Nevertheless, the final resolution of the issue on what causes asymmetry is still ahead. First, to be reliable the results obtained during our survey should be repeated during the surveys conducted in different conditions. Second, we need a more carefully planned experiment, which will enable us to show not only the contingency between retrieving information from questions and asymmetry, but causal dependence between them as well. In case these two conditions are successfully met, one can talk about solving the problem of forbid/allow asymmetry in sociological methodology.

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Russia – the West or the East? Mathematical Models and Humanitarian Analysis

Yury I. Brodsky, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. For the analysis of cultural code, which defines the type of behavior (a way of standard responses to standard inquiries of the environment in various cultures); the results of cross-cultural interaction mathematical modeling, with attraction of results from area of the description and synthesis of complex multicomponent systems models, and models of collective behavior are applied. The civilization choice of Prince Alexander Nevsky is the center motive for the “Glass Bead Game”of this work.

Key words: mathematical modelling, cross-cultural interactions, cultural code, complex system behavior, civilization choice

Introduction

The situation in which there is Russia in the XXI century, reminds very much the XIII one. There is the same question: where to go, to the West, or to the East?

In the XIII century, Alexander Nevsky resolved this problem, and he chose the East: “It is necessary to fix defense in the West, and to look for friends in the East”. Not all then thought just as Grand Prince Alexander. For example, his brother Prince Andrey, and “king of Ruthenia” Daniel of Galicia – also famous warrior of that time – both wanted to be on friendly terms with the West against the East [Solov’ev, 1988]. Moreover, in our days the civilization choice of Alexander Nevsky has different estimations: positive from traditionalists [Ikim, 2007] and negative from liberals [Yanin, 2010]. The sense of negative estimates is approximately the following: “If Prince Alexander chose the West, we would already be the Europe”.

The Seduction by Europe

We know the Ancient Greek myth about the Abduction of Europa. Sometimes (in the Ancient Rome) it was called “The Seduction of Europa” and sometimes even more rough – “The Rape of Europa” (e.g., Titian’s painting). Of course, the seduction can be enjoyable (if experienced seducer), while the abduction and especially the rape scares. Russian philosopher A.S. Panarin, starting out as a dissident in Soviet period, and becoming a patriot after the Soviet Union collapse, wrote in the 90'sthe article “The Abduction of Russia” about the exclusion of the Russian culture by the European one [Panarin, 1997].Below we will talk about the exclusion of one culture by another, when something enjoyable in the foreign culture may prove to be deadly for native one, and vice versa, something at the first glance terrible in the foreign culture, may be harmless.

We cut through a “window to Europe” during the last 300 years, where nobody wants us, judging by the negotiations on a visa-free regime throughout the last quarter of a century. As the West attracted us – so, and even more scarecrows was the East. A steppe was The Wild Field, the Horde Empire – The Yoke, the children still recently were frightened by Tatars, and now by – Chechens. We always were at war with Turkey, until for a short timeit became All-Russian health resort.In addition, how disturbs the neighborhood with more than billion China!

If we look through the old historical books, for example, Mauro Orbini (Mavar Orbin) [Orbini, 1601], Mikhail Lomonosov [Lomonosov, 2009] and even popular scientific editions, e.g. [Zadornov, 2012], we will find out the memory that sometimes Slavs lived in the West at least to Elba, if not to Rhine. Modern archeological excavations in Germany show the same also. It appears, that at “long times”, the Slavs do not survive in the West. In spite of their aspiration to Europe, starting from Prince Sviatoslav Igorevich, who transferred his capital from Kiev to Pereyaslavets on the Danube, contrary to his mother's entreaties.

What does it mean this aspiration? – Something would be pleasant for Slavs in Europe, and on the contrary, in the East – something frightening.

However, under the Horde, we survived at the very least, and under Turkey the southern Slavs did, though as we either they, still have very unpleasant memoirs about these History periods in folklore. There is an opposite point of view [Gumilyov, 2002] that these bad memoirs are exaggerated a bit. However, “no word of a song can be dropped”, as the saying goes.

Despite the irresistible appeal of Europe to Slavs, in its territory they either vanished, or became Europeans (losing their identity), or gape for the latter.

How can it be, that something so attractive occursmortal indeed, and on the contrary, something being quite unpleasant –at least not fatal?

Modeling of cross-cultural interaction by means of the competition equations [Brodsky, 2011], [Brodsky, 2013] illustrates a possibility of such a situation. The matter is that qualitatively the behavior of the solution of the competition equations depends first of all on the ratios among the inner competition in the culture to its competition with the foreign one, called in [Brodsky, 2011] intolerance factors. It would also be possible to call these coefficients by double standards factors – they show in how many times the competition in the culture more or less than its competition with the foreign one. Thus, one of the most important results of the work [Brodsky, 2011] is the statement that it is incorrect to measure one culture by the gauge of another – such a measurement is not valid. The only true yardstick for the culture is this culture itself, i.e. the competitive pressure of a foreign culture is to be compared with its own internal competition, but by no means with the internal competition of the native culture.

Nevertheless, we are constantly engaged in the latter comparison. It is easy to understand why – the competitive pressure of the foreign culture is given to us by our feelings, the internal competition of our culture is what is instilled in us from the childhood, but the internal competition of the foreign culture – is a subject of studying (not always successful) for a narrow circle of experts. It is especially difficult if the principle of rational expectations (for the first time offered by the American economist John Fraser Muth in 1961 [Muth, 1961]), is applied. These coefficients become the controls for the positional differential game [Brodsky, 2014a] players, and are changed at the "short times" (we see that the double standards –are the favorite controls in the modern interstate relations).

Thus, the West can attract us by the lower integral competitive pressure, at the same time its intolerance factor may be greater than one, what constitutes a real danger.

At the same time the East, frightening by the brutality (an absolute value of the competitive pressure is bigger than the habitual) can have intolerance factor lesser than one, what makes it harmless, though unpleasant of cause. It may be reached by some indulgence to the strangers – something like: "well, what can we demand from them?!" How it can be so? – Let's cite the current press about Chechens: "Chechens are difficult people, but they are able to forgive – strangers, not their own. The people will not allow forgiving their own, will constantly tease: you firstly deal with your enemies, and then open your mouth". – Vladimir Kashlyunov, Terek Cossack, head of the Naursky region of Chechnya [Aslamova, 2014].

Therefore, we may explain the mystery of the "Seduction by Europe". However, the next question arises. Why this European to Slavs intolerance factor is greater than one? Perhaps, Europe is afraid of us, in the way as we – of the East.

Behavior, Language and Modelling

Now let us try to explain why nobody wants us in Europe. The relations between the cultures interest us, where the culture is treated as a way of behavior – an ability of standard reactions on the standard requests of the environment. In the previous paragraph, we considered only two aspects of the behavior: competition with compatriots and competition with strangers. Further, we will consider much more complicated behaviors. Therefore, the models offered and conclusions from their analysis will be rather relative – at the level of hypotheses. The experience of complex multicomponent systems modeling [Brodsky, 2015c], suggests looking behind the separate actions changing in the system for a certain invariant structure (for example, a species of structure in N. Bourbaki's sense) which actually defines its behavior.

We will consider the language of the culture as a complex system. Why the language? – We would refer to the classical works about language influence on the behavior,[Vygotsky, 2012], [Piaget, 1959], [Leontyev, 1969].However, instead of this we first cite the known saying: “The language shapes the thinking; the thinking produces actions; the actions form the life” and secondly let us look at the language from the complex systems modeling positions. The language contains the very first and the most important model of the world around (especially it is emphasized in the works [Bulanenko, 2013], [Hansen, 1991], devoted to the culture of China).More often than we realize, we interact with the world through our language models. Moreover, when the real world becomes uncomfortable for us, we escape into the language models, as into the virtual reality (for example, well-known phenomenon of enemies’ dehumanization during wars).

From the structuralism point of view [Blackburn, 2008], the words of the language are a basic set, and relations between them define the structure. The task to reveal this structure – is a very difficult one, perhaps excessive, but we will try to open a small part of it.

Well, P.A. Florensky in the second chapter of his work [Florensky, 2004], analyzes the sense of the word “truth” in Hebrew, Ancient Greek, Latin and Russian languages. The works [Bulanenko, 2013], [Hansen; 1991], [Harbsmeier, 1991] are considerably devoted to the concept of the “truth” in Classical Chinese (文言– Wenyan). It is possible to see that these works open to us the structures, which differ from each other. We will not apply here to establish the cause – effect relation in a way like: the listed above five cultures differently understand the word “truth”, and therefore have different cultural behavior. Let us tell more carefully: different understanding of the word “truth” in various cultures indicates structural distinctions in their language models of the world, which rather strongly (that it is possible to illustrate on a number of concrete examples) correlate with the distinctions of the behavior in these cultures. Let us stop on these distinctions.

P.A. Florensky writes that in Hebrew the truth –אמת– is that, on what the representative of this culture can rely upon. In Ancient Greek – άλήθεια– that, what will not sink into oblivion – Λήθη (Lethe– the river of oblivion in the Ancient Greek mythology).In Latin – veritas – has the expressed legal shade – what is established as a result of an objective trial (in court, in difference, for example, from positions of the parties).In Russian the truth – истина – is that, what is – the actualization of being and at the same time the appeal to its essence.

In Classical Chinese [Bulanenko, 2013], [Hansen, 1991], [Harbsmeier, 1991], it is possible to find analogies to the Russian understanding of the truth, but this concept is not so important for the Chinese philosophy – prior for it is the concept of Tao – 道 – a way to the truth. If we use an analogy with the XX century mathematics directions, it is possible to say that the Chinese are constructivists (that is very noticeable from the works [Bulanenko, 2013], [Hansen; 1991], having obvious shadow of the Computer Science), whereas the Russians – actualists. The Russian actualism means not the knowledge of the truth (during the XX century Russian idea of the truth twice was considerably changed, and the third time is possible), but a conviction in its existence, aspiration to face it, perhaps going thus on the serious victims.

As a result of a philosophical discourse, P.A. Florensky concludes that somewhere in the highest spheres, Hebrew, Ancient Greek, Russian – but not Ancient Roman – understandings of the truth lead to the same unique concept. We will simply take this into account, as this work applies for consideration of much more simple level of the culture – household behavior only. However it is possible to give an analogy from the area of modeling of complex multicomponent systems [Brodsky; 2014c], having asked a question what is a truth in Hebrew, Ancient Greek, Ancient Rome and Russian senses on the set of the models of such systems.

We will see that, as on what it is possible to rely upon; either what will not sink into oblivion; either what true is (but not only just sometimes happens) is the structure (in N. Bourbaki sense) of the model .In the case of the Ancient Roman definition, we can reach the structure of the model only in the case where the council, committing a verdict about the truth, includes all the agents of the model (if not – it is always possible to find a counterexample [Brodsky; 2014b]), what is impossible and usually undesirable in practice. Thus, our simple analogy yields the same results, as the work [Florensky, 2004] for the culture of the West – the successor of the Ancient Rome – its key characteristic is the relativism, what is reflected as in the well-known Pilate's question: "Quid est veritas?" (What is truth?), either in the events of our days.

The analysis relying on works [Florensky, 2004], [Bulanenko, 2013], [Hansen, 1991], [Harbsmeier, 1991], shows that for the West culture – successor of the Rome – relativism, atomism and aspiration to local optimization are characteristic features. In this regard the works devoted to collective behavior were carried out in V.A. Trapeznikov Institute of Control Sciences of RAS from the Soviet period [Borzenko et al, 2006], [Chebotaryov et al, 2009], which claim that exactly such a type of behavior is the least protected from manipulations at certain democratic procedures. For the Russian culture the aspiration to the actualized truth [Florensky, 2004], and for the Chinese [Bulanenko, 2013], [Hansen, 1991], [Harbsmeier, 1991] – to the constructive truth (Tao) – are important, this fact defines a bigger collectivism of the last two cultures and smaller susceptibility to manipulations.

As it was shown in [Brodsky, 2009], the ideas of the actualized truth form steady structure of society which in combination with the collectivism, rather strongly disturb the local optimization for which atomism and relativism are suitable most of all. This cause irritation and opposition of the Western culture against the Russian one – the right to optimize (in a legal field) is one of the fundamentals of the West culture.

As for the East – we do not see here any irresistible contradictions. On the contrary, perhaps, constructive Chinese approach would help us not to take the next mirage for the actualized truth, and to Chinese – sometimes light up their infinite way-Tao with the shine of that truth.

Summary

In any case, if the author was the Author of that simulation model in which all of us are together, he surely would provide some scenarios of a meeting of Russia with China – they are in many respects intended for such a meeting – their cultures could fill up each other successfully. If only this meeting was not too painful!

Thus, we approach rather close to some conclusions of L.N. Gumilyov's works, e.g, [Gumilyov, 2002], but from the quite different position.

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An emerging society and sociological discourse in Russia

Mikhail F.Chernysh, Moscow, Russia.

Abstract. The collapse of the Soviet Union initiated a change of discourse in the Russian sociology. It became obvious that classic Marxist maps had very little or no relevance for the changing society. The Russian sociologists started to experiment to look for a better fit to map out the emerging institutions and structures. The attempts to use the stratification theory proved to be ineffective. The stratification reflected the new inequalities, but could not provide an explanation for them. The failure of economic reforms and weakness of the Russian democracy pushed some of the Russian sociologists to look for an explanation of the current state of the society in Russia in culture. Another strategy consisted in looking for agency that formed groups of interests shaping the contemporary Russian society. In general the Russian sociology has been increasingly critical of the emerging social order, however its critical stance was not tantamount to critical sociology. It is only now that a group of sociologists have been trying to build a concept of emerging capitalism as a way to explain new structures, cultural leanings and agency in Russia.

Key words: social theory; social change; social stratification; cultural theory; social and economic reforms

Vagaries of Marxist thought in a transition society

After the collapse the Russian sociology became heir to the Soviet sociology and its various schools. The Soviet sociology spoke the language of Marxist sociological theory, but many Soviet sociologists themselves were keenly aware of its inadequacy for the description of Soviet society. The Marxist discourse stressed the class struggle and called for the weakening of state interference in the lives of ordinary citizens. Guided the Hegelian logic it called for a search of contradictions in every realm of societal life. It also spoke the language of liberation, cessation of domination and alienation. Meanwhile the tendencies unfolding in the Soviet society clearly indicated that it was moving in the direction of greater social tension and conflict. Early sociological studies clearly showed that Soviet society was becoming increasingly individualistic, the Russian citizens were turning into avid consumers with their consumer dreams largely unsatisfied by the centralized economy tuned up to the production of military hardware. The rise in the living standards in the 60s and 70s led to a closer acquaintance of Soviet citizens with the artifacts manufactured in the West. The West and its institutions came to be idealized by the Soviet intelligentsia, many Soviet sociologists included. The contradiction between the frame of mind of the Soviet social scientists and their desire for change was nowhere more obvious than in the works of the architect of the Russian reforms – Egor Gaidar.[Gaidar, 1995]. He is now regarded as a committed liberal, but the language with which he described the future of the Russian market was unmistakably Marxist. His proclaimed a necessity to build in Russia a class-based society. He insisted that the new Russian society could only be secure from sliding back into socialism if it was governed by the capitalist ruling class - a class of owners who would be willing to assume responsibility for the country's many resources and exploit them in the truly effective manner. The class that was to take over the Russian society would be far from perfect, however the period of primary accumulation would end with the next generation of owners. The sons and daughters of the new bourgeoisie would be well educated, intelligent, freedom-loving, rational and patriotic. They would set the Russian economy on the course of economic growth and ultimately create in Russia a prospering capitalist economy. The Soviet citizens had only to be patient and wait if the age cycle permitted it for the passing the most painful phase of the transition to the market.

A search for the language of description

In Russia the 90-s turned to be different from the predictions of the early liberal thinkers. Even Jeffrey Sachs, one of the key advisers of Egor Gaidar [Sachs, 2012], is now quite critical of the way the reforms were implemented in the Russian society. The dynamic capitalism that Egor Gaidar predicted in his early works remained a dream that did not come in fruition. Instead the speedy "shock reforms" led to what was later defined by political science in the West as Russian "crony capitalism" and by Russian social scientists as "wild capitalism". The political and economic reforms led to the creation of the new class of owners and in the same breath opened the Russian society to a massive influx of goods from the West. The unwieldy Russian economy was unprepared for the competition with seasoned foreign producers and slumped into a deep crisis that later resulted in the closure of many local enterprises. Contrary to early predictions, the Russian economy lost some of its most modern and progressive industries – civil aircraft manufacturing, shipbuilding, sophisticated electronics. Some of these industries fell to competition from more advanced products imported from other countries, others were put to death by competitors who deemed them too advanced and too dangerous. The crisis of manufacturing against the drop of massive privatization led to massive unemployment, loss of skills, a rapidly widening gap between the rich and the poor. The next generation of Russian entrepreneurs turned to be no better than the first one. The result was that the Russian sociologists needed to develop a language that would be adequately informed to reflect on new reality. They first looked for a strategy to describe the emergent inequality. The stratification model formerly described as a bourgeois invention was widely used to growing inequality. The model appeared to be positively oriented and served the purposes of describing the existing forms of inequality. However it was not particularly successful as an explanatory model. It was hard to accept the transition society as a system that automatically generated the existing forms of inequality through the maintenance of certain organizational forms. The organization of life was too weak to play a significant role in the process of change. It was obvious that the language of structural functionalism, though modernized, ran counter to the existing forms of largely disorganized society. The activist approach came to be used owing to a number of old school of Russian sociologists (professor V.A.Yadov) [Yadov, 2006]. They claimed that the conditions of transition formed fertile ground for all kind of activism, both positive and activist. The exemplified their argument with the case of the so-called “shuttle traders”. When the reforms started and their consequences became evident, a large part of the educated class made their own personal transition into the group of small-scale traders. They travelled to China, Turkey or Poland, purchased a certain quantity of goods in demand back home and sold them to the impoverished Russian citizens. All in all it is assumed that over 5 million Russians made their ends meet owing to this kind of survival strategy. They acted rather than waited for the state to come in and solve their problems. They were also willing to sacrifice their former status in order to maintain decent living standards, feed their families and provide opportunity for their children. The ability to make ad hoc trade-offs and win advantages in an unstable situation could be qualified as activism that morphed into social structure and could result in a new middle class.

The newly arising activism that could describe the changing Russian society was also manifest in civic life. The Soviet public life was subject to strict regulation. In the changing Russian society it became possible to engage in civic activity, create political and other forms of organizations and new media. The new Russian class of owners displayed no interest in civil society apart from manipulating decision-making process at the very top. It was the grass roots that came up with initiatives to act in society where the power of the state was waning. The civil society studies gave an impulse to research of nationalism that was becoming increasingly active not only in the national republics of Russia, but also in the neighboring republics of the former Soviet Union. The factor of nationalism is still an important part of the Russian sociological agenda. However, it appeared that hopes related to Russian civic activism were largely exaggerated. For most part the Russian civic organizations could only function if they received adequate financing from Western sources. The structure of finance contributed to a large extent to the formation of Russian civil society agenda. Western activism embodied in financing led to the rise in Russia of numerous organizations that advocated human rights or environmental issues. In some cases the agenda was particularly relevant for Russian conditions. In a society where close to three fourth of the population teetered on the verge of poverty, the disputation of gender could not last without incoming subsidies. After western sponsors became fatigued of the Russian feminist organizations and ceased to provide funds, the discussion subsided and gender-related organizations drifted towards the periphery of Russian public life.

Culture or structure

As the Russian society progressed to a more stable condition, it became obvious that the activist and constructivist paradigm could not serve as explanatory models of the unfolding tendencies. The reappearance of certain political practices and forms of distribution prompted some Russian sociologists to embrace the cultural program of research. In the early aughts Svetlana Kirdina came up with a theory of institutional matrices. [Kirdina, 2002] According to it there are two basic institutional matrices that reiterate themselves across history – matrix X and matrix Y. Matrix X refers to institutions, economic and political that characterize political life in the West – decentralized political rule, horizontal economic ties, civil society with an ability to influence the process of decision-making. Matrix Y sustains itself through centralized political rule and the distributive economy. The persistent character of institutions does not imply that society does not change. However whatever changes it goes through, it always returns to the path that originally determined the nature of its institutions. According to Kirdina, the October revolution was not a breakthrough towards a new kind of society, but a return to the old matrix of centralized rule after a period of reforms that seemed to run counter to the basic values of the Russian society. A similar theory came up in the works by Ovsey Shkaratan. He insists that the social structure of emergent societies is unique because it reproduces a particular age-old set of relations between basic institutions of power and ownership. In Russia the two institutions had always been closely connected, therefore the new period in Russia's development brought about a reshaping of the old institutional setup, but in the new market forms. Mr. Simon Kordonsky came up with his own reading of the social structure of Russian society claiming that it was in fact based on a relationship between estates [Kordonsky, 2008]. The ruling class of Russia was an estate as well as other groups that rapidly acquire the distinct cultural characteristics of estates.

The "cultural" trend came up against the growing popularity of Marxist thought. There are ideas of Marx that are no longer popular such as the idea of a global revolution, but there are concepts that can be instrumental in building a theoretical vision of contemporary Russian society. Since contemporary Russian society was constructed as class-based, it is but natural that it should be analyzed as a class society. It class nature reveals in its economic policy that clearly gives preference to the wealthy stratum, in its neoliberal social policy that aims to reduce the existing welfare and widen the scope of commercial service in education and medicare. The gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots" has been growing in in spite of all egalitarian public rhetoric by state officials. The class analysis strategy emphasizes domination practices that are now used to control the workers' movement and other non-government organizations. The idea behind the new Russian left, is not to commit themselves to a new revolution, but to contain the negative effects of the neo-liberal project implemented in Russia by the ruling class.

The critical trend

It is obvious that contemporary Russian sociology shares critical attitudes and calls for a more moderate and more social approach. In its desire for a more social approach it follows the long-standing sociological tradition not only on Marxian, but on Durheimean perception of society as an entity that establishes an equilibrium vis-à-vis the economic trends wasteful of human resources. Critical sociology whatever its origin calls for a closer look at policies that matter a lot for society's present and the future. At present the critical trend develops in two directions. The first one concentrates on effects of existing policies by citing negative social trends initiated by them. N.Tikhonova singles out the poor as a group in which these effects are most obvious. [Mareeva, 2016] The second direction, as was said above, levels its criticism at the Russian culture and its political traditions that prevent society from sustaining viable social institutions. The population is described as passive and unwilling to act in order to enforce the necessity of democracy and equality in a divided society. The cultural trend shifts the blame for the failure of Russian reforms from acting politicians and their neoliberal policies towards the population that fails to put a resistance to them. The cultural stance seems to be contradictory from the very beginning. On the one hand, the population is accused of being indifferent to politics and power games, on the other hand, the population and its political culture is branded as immature and not ready for such action. The latest developments seem to point towards a birth of a new critical approach which is more in line with the standard left viewpoint. Capitalism and political regimes that stem from it are studied as a possible factor of the Russian stalemate. The criticism of capitalism is bolstered by similar attacks on by the social-democratic wing of the Western political forces. There is also an attempt to combine the critical stance with the cultural approach. In the study dedicated to civic culture the Soviet past emerges as a factor that largely shapes contemporary political practices in Russian, but the owner class and bureaucracy come out as social agents most interested in its continuity. The Soviet political frame is enhance by contemporary political forces to prevent an emergence of viable left-wing opposition.

It is obvious that the Russian society in its transitory state is in need of a deeper theoretical foundation for the study of the effects of the past and present reforms. The place of culture, structure and agency should be better defined before a new language capable of describing the path of Russian change emerges.

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Conceiving Trans-Mobilities: Normative Dimension of a New Social Practice[6]

Ilya V. Katerny, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. Through the Ages, varied human communities have been equally constrained by structural and normative differentiation of the paramount ascribed statuses – those which resist any intentional transformation. By contrast, recent decades have seen extraordinary 'ontological turn'- emerging different practices of 'morphological freedom' that features elimination sacral prohibitions and taboos to restrain such paramount binaries as (racial) black-white, (gender and sexual) male-female, as well as (specific) human-subhuman, (generic) animate-inanimate, and (dimensional) physical-nonphysical. Effectively, it gives rise to the new brand social domain of strange and hybrid statuses and identities with transgressive properties. Given that, 'transgression' refers to a mechanism of normative morphogenesis in the reflexively modernized society by developing deascriptivized 'paramount reality'. Transgression operates due to particular practice of trans-mobilities (short for transgressive mobilities) involving not only individual and autonomous endogenous transitions from the previous ascribed position to a new transitive one but also exogenous transpositions outerly-driven by symbolic and normative transformation of identities and statuses inherent in both individual actors and whole groups of subjects and objects. Accordingly, three major kinds of trans-mobilities can be drawn: 1) 'visceral trans-mobility', aimed at altering normative prescriptions associated with corporeal ascriptions (e.g. reassignment of sex, gender, race); 2) 'conversional trans-mobility', removing the boundaries between physical and nonphysical ontology in various practices (from desaparecidos to bitcoins to clones); 3) 'prosopopoeian trans-mobility', including the practices of exogenously transposing fundamentally nonsocial substances into actively enacted social facts (from animals to robots). The main question in the article is how contemporary transgression, as a normative morphogenesis, interplays with social order's constraints. It is concluded that trans-mobility both challenges social norms on the recognition level and reinforce social order on the deeper level by enacting 'morphotaxic' i.e. restrictive socio-psychological constraints.

Key words: paramount ascribed statuses; transgression; trans-mobilities; mixed communication; normative morphogenesis; morphotaxis; recognition

The society's reflexive modernization features the deep transformation of the binary allocated status couplings which are historically considered as an indispensable part of the conventional 'paramount reality' (Alfred Schütz's term). Normative identities, roles and expectations inherent to agents of social action are conventionally attached to their positions within the social space divided into two opposing registers consisting of the *achieved* and *ascribed* social statuses. The latter, as is known, include structurally important positions inherited by an individual and resistant to arbitrary changes. In view of this, caste, ethnic, gender and other ascriptive differentiations have always been acknowledged as 'paramount', i.e. substantial, taken for granted, and stratifying any society. In the past, developments in the normative substance of ascriptiveness due to the expansion of its

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'opportunity structures' (Robert Merton's term) in the majority of cases (except slavery) did not result into the exclusion of the most ascribed statuses and dependent social stratification, which is perfectly explicable. The symbolic and structural distinction between the rigid paramount ascriptiveness and the domain of 'loose' statuses was not previously disputed in view of a certain historical, or rather evolutionary, rigidity of (racial) black-white, (gender and sexual) male-female, as well as (specific) human-subhuman, (generic) animate-inanimate, and (dimensional) physical-nonphysical status distinctions. These sociocultural binaries with clear-cut assigned boundaries and restrictions to confuse have always been specific for common grounds in both traditional and modern communities. But what recent decades have seen is an unconventional 'ontological turn', that is the emergence of the 'morphological freedom' to deascriptivize those binaries and to develop previously nonexistent social domain of *strange* and *hybrid* statuses and identities. We will delineate such phenomena by applying the concepts of 'transgression', 'mixed communications' and 'transgressive mobilities' (or simply 'trans-mobilities').

The classic definition of social mobility, offered in 1922 by Pitirim Sorokin, dwells on the relocation of people and objects (ideas, cars, fashion) within the social space in the symbolic (rank) and geographical dimensions[7]. However, soon thereafter, the founder of the Chicago School of sociology Robert E. Park made an insightful discovery when he assumed that the modern individual aspires not only "to move freely and untrammeled over the surface of the mundane thing", but also "to live, like pure spirit, in his mind and in his imagination alone" [Park, 1967: 156], i.e. such individual aspires to do his/her best to overcome the ingrained connections with the local and temporal landscapes and thus cease to be a 'social plant'. It is the ability to move individually and autonomously that distinguishes the modern society, according to Park. In the twenty-first century, John Urry elaborates on these ideas in the context of scientific and technological progress. He suggests distinguishing five basic and interdependent 'mobilities' that produce social life and form (and re-form) its contours [Urry, 2007: 47]: (1) The *corporeal travel* of people (from daily commuting to once-in-a-lifetime exile); (2) The *physical movement* of objects (from goods to postal items); (3) The *imaginative travel* effected through talk, but also the images of places and peoples appearing on and moving across multiple print and visual media (e.g. magazines or television programmes on travelling); (4) *Virtual travel* based on live broadcast technologies or immersion into interactive digital space; (5) *Communicative travel* through text, photograph and multimedia message exchange via telephone, fax, computer, mobile phone and other gadgets (e.g. 'Instragram').

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[7] "By social mobility is understood any endogenous transition of an individual or social object or value – anything that has been created by modified by human activity – from one social position to another" [Sorokin, 1964: 133].

The mobility practices in question, at the same time, exist in line with the 'paramount reality' and its normative division of all possible social positions, which do or do not allow endogenous transition between them, into ascriptive (ascribed) and veniral (achieved). Within the framework of such reality, everyone has their own identities (individual and social), expectations, consistency of actions, and roles. Certain new performative interventions related to the overlap of material and human flows do not overall jeopardize the structures of social differences and indentifications. In John Urry's favorite example featuring a moving car with an active navigation system, a working radio and a mobile phone connection, the diffusion of differentiations does occur but temporarily, inconsistently and superficially. Various aspects of a more profound disturbance in the paramount social and normative duality have been reported in the social sciences through the concepts of 'marginality' (Robert E. Park), 'stigma' (Erving Goffman), 'liminality' (Victor Turner). The common leitmotif here is the idea of 'foreignness', 'transitivity', 'shamefulness', 'deprivation' of those who happen to be undergoing social uncertainty. In this case, the affected individuals feel the necessity to search for and realize strategies of exit into the normative normality domain or to create new social norms. Meanwhile, Robert K. Merton in the late version of his social deviations theory studied two basic mechanisms of developing and modifying legitimate norms through deviant behavior [Merton, 1971] – principled deviance and expedient deviance. The first type is associated with public manifestation of new ideas and values for the sake of social changes (nonconformity), while the latter concerns a clandestine practice of violating existing norms for personal ends (aberration). The two differ by five main characteristics: publicity/privacy; recognition/rejection of dominating norms; avoidance/acceptance of sanctions; interest/disinterest; high-principled/situation- and role-based presupposition. Either case, however, deals with normative morphogenesis within available 'opportunity structures' that can be expanded in one way or another. To this extent, the entire modernization process can be considered as successive with legitimization and institutionalization of social deviations, i.e. by reducing the legal and social discrimination, by expanding the 'normality' area through destigmatization of 'spoiled identities' and by demarginalizing of the deprived groups and their empowerment with social and moral rights. The abolition of slavery, the enfranchisement of women, racial desegregation, the recognition of sexual minorities' rights were the most significant milestones in this process throughout the history of mankind.

The 'ontological turn' that we refer to in the beginning raises the question of whether there exist normative restrictions to 'opportunity structures' in the form of 'opposition structures'. It was the ascriptive social 'pillars' that were the last outpost of restrictive normalization in the modern era. Therefore, according to Robert K. Merton, ascriptive distribution within the social space remains intact. Class, racial, ethnic, gender, and other stratifications are implicitly considered as consolidating the norm and preserving access to ‘opportunity structures’. However, the social changes that the world is experiencing nowadays do undertake major normative interventions into the domain of paramount ascriptive reality. It forges not only new social positions in the society, but also a *new paramount reality* where traditional ascriptive distinctions no longer act as primary constants of individuals' at-hand knowledge and the society's normative structures in general. There emerges a whole range of hybrid and/or strange statuses and identities having either features of both nonconformity and aberration deviations or neither of those (e.g. beyond the framework of strictly human action). Thus arises the apparent necessity to introduce and define another normative morphogenesis pattern along with nonconformity and aberration that would elucidate transformation of various evolutionary ascriptions and their mobilization into the field of non-ascriptive identities.

In this regard, it is worth referring to one of the most significant postmodernist categories, (normative) transgression, put forward in the 1930's-1950's by the founders of Le Collège de Sociologie in Paris Roger Caillois [Caillois, 2001] and Georges Bataille [Bataille, 1986]. Initially, the term ‘transgression’ (literally, ‘exceeding the limits’) concerned practices aimed to overcome sacral prohibitions/taboos in the traditional society related, first and foremost, to the killing of a totem (chieftain) and sexual restrictions (e.g. the so-called ‘totem meal’ or the Dionysian Mysteries). At the same time, transgression was supposed to contribute to socialization process because a temporary removal of normative constraints led to the reinforcement of the social order rather than the opposite. Bataille never failed to clarify that “organised transgression together with the taboo make social life what it is. The frequency and the regularity of transgressions do not affect the intangible stability of the prohibition since they are its expected complement – just as the diastolic movement completes a systolic one, or just as explosion follows upon compression” [Bataille, 1986: 65]. We are, however, interested in another, more fundamental, form of ‘limit-experience’ (Maurice Blanchot’s term) manifesting itself in practices that enact subjects and objects with deeply transformed ascriptive status.

Transgression of an individual's, animal's or an inanimate object's innate ascriptive status, its social assignment and recognition have always had a special ritual nature and vivid emotional connotations in the traditional society. The perfect example thereof is communication with the realm of the dead. Death in and of itself regardless of the causes has at all times been the most fierce manifestation of ascriptive transgression, i.e. of a sudden transformation of the living into the dead (“an impossibility which *suddenly* becomes a reality”, Goethe wrote). The social status of the deceased could only be normalized through symbolic and mythological mentality, which required that relationship with them as ‘representatives’ of the forbidden world be abruptly restricted and ritualized. At the same time, every sacral system had an underlying possibility to overcome such restriction. Communication with the realm of the dead in shamanic, magic, religious and spiritual practices was due to the fact that the departed were perceived as capable of transgressing into the world of the living through certain transits: they can speak, appear, be incarnated, reincarnated and deified. The reason why spirits, totems, golems, voodoo zombies and gods instil fear and reverence in equal measure is that they exist and act on the edge between being and nonbeing. Suffice it to say that Christianity as a religion emerges at the moment of Christ's resurrection but not death, i.e. at the moment of recognizing his new ascriptive status as transgressive or strange one: he is neither dead like a deceased nor living like ‘ordinary’ people.

To sum up, traditional mentality sees transgressive limit-experience, ascriptive transgression included, as the basis for sacral practices and the inherent part of the normative order, which makes it a realm of festivity, fantasy and rituals. Transgression (excessiveness) is made possible by a subject's particular sovereignty state, i.e. the recognition (at least, temporary) of his/her right to remove the prohibitions, acquire incredible power and unusual freedom of action. However, even in its most striking forms transgression remains subject to rules as much as prohibition. Therefore, transgression supplements the secular world and goes against it without destroying it. The sphere of prohibitions and taboos requires the one of anti-norms: a prohibition repels, while enchantment with it leads to transgression that gives rise to normative morphogenesis.

From transgression to trans-mobility

The concept of transgression was subsequently developed in order to analyze the postmodernity featuring the case of superfluous ‘excessiveness and sovereignty’. Multifarious forms of exit into the area of the impossible and the unthinkable, altering prohibitions, moral regulations and norms in public life in conflict with the ‘principle of utility’ (Jean Baudrillard’s term) intrinsic to modernity, form the transgressive nature of political, economical, sexual and art spheres, which made it possible for Jean Baudrillard to label them the transpolitical, the transeconomical, the transsexual and the transaesthetic respectively[8]. The transgressive nature of mixed communications also

[8] Baudrillard assumes that the postmodernity is defined by social norms and disciplines “losing their specificity and partaking of a process of confusion and contagion”, which results in ‘total metonymy’, i.e. game of renaming social categories, genre confusion, expansion of ‘radical otherness’ and, consequently, transgression: “When everything is sexual, nothing is sexual any more, and sex loses its determinants. When everything is aesthetic, nothing is beautiful or ugly any more, and art itself disappears. This paradoxical state of affairs, which is simultaneously the complete actualization of an idea, the perfect realization of the whole tendency of modernity, and the negation of that idea and that tendency, their annihilation by virtue of their very success, by virtue of their extension beyond their own bounds - this state of affairs is epitomized by a single figure: the transpolitical, the transsexual, the transaesthetic” [Baudrillard, 1993: 9-10].

manifests itself in creating new social categories and practices due to ‘enablement’ of the four paramount dualities: (1) human and subhuman (e.g. embryos' rights); (2) cultural and natural (e.g. transracial passing); (3) animate and inanimate (e.g. social enactment of humanoid robots), and (4) physical and nonphysical (e.g. postmortal existence in virtual profiles). Mixed communications give rise to an entire variety of *strange* and *hybrid* statuses with identities of transgressive nature. Transgression's social mechanism in mixed communications is a particular (strange or hybrid) passing or *trans-mobility* (short for transgressive mobility) that implies not only individual and autonomous endogenous *transitions* from the previous ascribed position to a new transitive one but also exogenous *transpositions* outerly-driven by another agents with symbolic and normative transformation of identities and statuses inherent in both individual actors and whole groups of subjects and objects.

In view of the above, three major kinds of trans-mobilities can be drawn: 1) *‘visceral’*, aimed at altering normative prescriptions associated with corporeal ascriptions (e.g. reassignment of sex, gender, race); 2) *‘conversional’*, removing the boundaries between physical and nonphysical ontology in various practices (from desaparecidos to bitcoins and clones); 3) *‘prosopopoeian’*, including the practices of exogenously transposing fundamentally nonsocial substances into actively enacted social facts (from animals to robots).

The main question in this context is – how is normative morphogenesis within transgression incorporated into the normative order? In other terms, is there a normativity preservation and maintenance mechanism (i.e. normative morphotaxis mechanism) in the framework of the morphological freedom to change ascriptive identities?

Visceral trans-mobility

This trans-mobility comprises metamorphoses pertaining to the deascriptivization of *corporality*.

Experiencing performative identity transfomation through the body and its gestures is among the major clusters of the contemporary practice of trans-mobility. It is customary to assume that the attributes introducing our bodies into all social situations make it possible to identify us categorially and individually without fail. Such attributes as gender, race and even social class feature an easily recognizable corporal ascriptiveness and indicate not only one's social status but also the so-called ‘social identity’ (beauty, honesty, level of culture, etc.). Meanwhile, the body, which is marked by imperfection, makes its owner ‘tainted and discounted’ (Erving Goffman’s term) by imposing its stigma onto both his/her status and identity in a comprehensive and inevitable manner. This was the case of the past. And it was the result of an explicit or implicit differentiation between the ‘ego’ and the body, which did not conform to the common standards of its application as labor power in the industrialization period or as an object of ‘enjoyment and hedonistic profitability’ (Jean Baudrillard’s term) in the consumerism period. Today, we are witnessing the social capitalization of the individual body's 'viscera', with gender, age and even racial distinctions fading and giving way to transitive identity. Such identity suggests cohesion of personality and body, as well as rejection of social identity norms in favor of transgressive *individuation* based on corporal practices.

Initially, the second-wave feminism theory (Luce Irigaray, et al.) would explicate the 'visceral' as a unique material realization of the feminine subjectivity in the society, especially in the role of a mother. However, these days, the term has broadened its meaning to include the display of an individual's great inner forces, intentions, emotions and instincts, as well as the symbolic representation of unique corporeity and a subject's unique corporeal location. Therefore, visceral transmobility concerns those transgressive endogenous transitions that are related to the change of attitude towards the body and the changes of the body itself removing gender, sexual, racial, age and other 'natural' ascriptions. And from this perspective, transgenders, transraces (transracials), pansexuals, androgynes, cyborgs, extreme bodmods and body-hackers make up a vast *visceral trans-mobility community*.

The most sophisticated area of visceral transmobility in the modern society is, undoubtedly, that of gender and sexual (endogenous) transitions. In the past, when traditional dichotomized heteronormativity required that gender display be in strict conformity with the biological sex, such transitions, if any, were sanctioned by authorities and almost enforced. For example, in some North American tribes gender ascriptiveness transgression was associated with a mystical experience: whenever a young Native American received a sign of blessing from the Moon spirit during the fast, he was obliged to 'put on a skirt' and 'turn into' a woman. The blessing, among all, endued one with a power to foresee the future and to surpass anyone in performing women's duties. Such people ('berdaches') were highly respected and treated as shamans. Conversely, if a man showed himself coward during a fight, he could be forced to assume the role of a woman under penalty of death. Those men were not declared berdaches and treated with disdain [Dieterle]. In general, in line with the transgression principle, all transgender and transsexual deviations in the traditional society ever since the myths about hermaphrodites have either been in the sacral, consecrated realm outside the secular reality or had people with such deviations stigmatized into a separate caste (eunuchs, castratos, etc.). According to the noted gender studies by Harold Garfinkel and Erwing Goffman, heteronormativity of the paramount reality has been ironclad until recently. However, the legitimation of gender and sexual performativity established in the queer theory (Judith Butler, et al.) went beyond the academic discourse framework completely in 2014 when the Facebook global network provided its users in the Great Britain with 70 options to choose from when asked to indicate their gender identity, from asexual and androgyne to two-spirit and cisgender. One could also select the right address pronoun: ‘he’, ‘she’ or ‘they/we’. Apparently, in the face of social changes heteronormativity has once and for all given way to comprehensive personal autonomy of body and imagination. However, studies show that the legitimization of a sovereign public gender even in developed societies does not cover sexual norms as being of a more rigid nature. For example, American scholars Kristen Schilt and Laurel Westbrook conclude from a series of interviews and crime chronicles analysis that patterns of mixed communications with open transgenders in a public contact environment give ample opportunity to overlook the individual's gender and construct his/her gender identity in a strictly performative way (through gender display). But as soon as a transgender is included in the sexual partners pool of a cisgender (gender normal), the ascription of a status and role position triggers and enables the ‘good old fashioned’ heteronormativity: “when a transgender person is not a potential sexual partner, biological credentials (the ‘right’ genitalia) are not required to claim membership in a gender category. By contrast, when the transgender person is in theory part of a potential pool of sexual partners, the criteria for gender membership becomes much more strict – cultural genitals are no longer enough and biological genitals are a necessity”, i.e. you have either a penis or a vagina [Schilt & Westbrook, 2009: 461]. Violating the norms of sexual ascriptiveness can be dramatically severe: 56% of murders of transgenders in the USA over the period from 1990 to 2005 were caused by that feeling of deceit that the murderers got from the victims [Ibid.: 452]. Thus, the morphogenesis of polynormativity within gender transmobility deals with paramount reality reframing on a deeper norms level as regeneration (morphotaxis) of heteronormative sexual norms is found. Effectively, transgression exhibits the hierarchy of normative structures and reveals a compensatory mechanism if new norms affect fundamentals of conventional paramount reality. This naturally raises the necessity to define primordial (in this context sexual) and secondary (in this context gender) ascriptiveness norms in the society.

In this regard, a telling example is the sensational case of Rachel Dolezal, an American civil rights activist and an ex-president of an NAACP chapter in Spokane, Washington. She was posing as an African American for 20 years although biologically she was not one. When her parents, whom she practically abandoned, revealed the truth in 2015, she had to publicly admit that she was a ‘trans-racial’ and that one's race and ethnicity were not predetermined by his/her DNA. She claims to have ‘felt and identified black’ all those years and to that end, she dedicated her life to the fight against racial segregation. In order to be accepted into the relevant reference group, she would change her appearance though cosmetic procedures (hair perming, intense tanning), married an African-American man and adopted a ‘black’ child. Soon after, she was literally showered with accusations of deceit and fraud by ‘natural’ African-Americans and even transgenders, who insisted that, unlike her, they were not ‘pretending’. From the legal point of view, though, she did not violate a single law because race is a legally optional choice in America. In terms of morality, nobody could catch her in insincerity either. Along with gender transitions, Rachel Dolezal's case confirms the socially constructed nature of racial identity. English journalist Chris Maume comments on the subject, “Dolezal might want to call Walter White in her defence. Leader of the NAACP from 1931 until 1955, he wrote, “I am a Negro. My skin is white, my eyes are blue, my hair is blond. The traits of my race are nowhere visible upon me.”” [Maume, 2015]. Thus, after the imposed exposure Dolezal had a kind of a ‘racial coming-out’ by claiming her strange status and unwilling to reject her own identity. Concealing the facts of her previous biography and creating a new biographic situation was driven by the expectation of an intolerant reaction in the reference community, i.e. was an enforced way of normalizing own strange position to avoid public stigmatization, which finally occurred anyway. In this case, as well as with gender identification norms, ascriptive transgression faces a fundamental rejection of an opportunity to move beyond paramount norms: one can be African-American on paper and in the mirror, but one cannot be like the ‘authentic’ African-Americans. The morphotaxis of primordial norms compensates the active secondary morphogenesis of the normative superstructure.

Conversional trans-mobility

This kind of transmobility engages the various forms of our relationship with life and death.

Mortal transmobility (endogenous transitions/exogenous transpositions into the world of the dead) and, particularly, inversive postmortal transmobility (endogenous transitions/exogenous transpositions from the realm of the dead into that of the living) described above as examples of ascriptive transgression in the traditional society remain fascinatingly relevant to this day. They feature a *conversional* nature, i.e. passings between the physical and nonphysical reality performed by the subjects and objects of action. In this respect, death in and of itself is a *strange* passing (trans-mobility), but due to the institutional filters of postmortal recognition with symbols and rituals, this strangeness is always socially normalized: the status and identity of the deceased and his/her body are returned into the social domain. Gravestones, monuments, photographs, memories, biographies, mummies, carnivals (like Día de Muertos in Mexico) and even posthumous marriage practices (like with the Ancient Incas) make up a normal social life of converted actors (agentives) in their postmortal state. Therefore, mortal transmobility always implies inversion, which developed societies either never (or almost never) problematize or mythologize as part of an important normative morphogenesis process (the figure of Christ in Christianity). But this is not always the case. For example, displaying a mummified body of Lenin at the mausoleum in the twenty-first century in Russia raises questions because contemporary secular norms as well as traditional (Christian) values do not see such mortal trans-mobility as normal but consider it as entirely *strange*, thus creating and maintaining the sluggish *cultural trauma* in the society. This is obviously a case of violating an important social prohibition (concerning treatment of the deceased) but the accomplished transgression here became a normal (habitualized and institutionalized) abnormality. The situation whereby 'the significant Others' *lose their bodies* deserves special mention. This situation also results in a social trauma and often involves special complicated rituals ('Tomb of the Unknown Soldier') and even social conflicts, which is proved by, e.g., the legitimation of the term 'desaparecido' ('gone missing under unclear circumstances') initially coined in Argentina after the military junta period of the 1970's and then included in the international vocabulary to legally define the status of missing people.

However, it is reproductive cloning that is becoming the most attractive yet risky practice of getting the lost significant Others back into the world of the living. In 1996, English embryologist Ian Wilmut had to fail 276 times before he finally delivered the first of a kind cloned mammal (Dolly the sheep). Now, twenty years later, we have the right technologies to create an almost unlimited amount of cloned generations of a prototype; in 2016, China is planning to open the world's biggest cloning factory to annually create hundreds of thousands of cattle, dog and primate clones. From the biological viewpoint, death for these creatures does not exist, and their postmortal transmobility in the form of infinite generations of clones is another – ultra-technological – way of realizing the humanity's long-nurtured dream of immortality. The human ambition to conquer death as the epitome of the evil, chaotic and unknown has persisted all throughout the history of culture, from the ancient Hindu ideas of reincarnation, to the Christian dream about the resurrection of the deceased and the modern reproductive genetics. Therefore, cloning can be considered as one of religious practices, i.e. as a practice of controlled sacral transgression. Meanwhile, as soon as it concerns a human, the issues of cloning (controlled postmortal trans-mobility) and euthanasia (controlled mortal trans-mobility) reveal the predominance of religious fear over sacral norms. Control of a person's life and death places one at the very core of the sacral world where gods (or God) have always been. In this case, the unrestricted transgression eliminates the sacral as such and thus, the overall normative order. It is manifested in the form of more stringent prohibitions on human euthanasia and cloning on the institutional level, and new special psychiatric disorders related to the cloned human phenomenon phobia on the subconscious level[9].

Furthermore, the development of information technologies brought about another, truly problematic, means of a mortal individual's uncontrolled exogenous transposition – dormant accounts of the deceased users (or just 'dead accounts') in electronic social networks. There are no accurate statistics on that front but according to different estimates, there are around 30 mln dead accounts on

[9] Bionalism is a psychiatric disorder, fear of cloned humans and their potential physical, moral and intellectual superiority.

Facebook alone. And with other popular social networks, taken into consideration, this number increases to hundreds of millions. The ceaseless growth and uncontrolled activity of postmortal personal accounts became more than a purely technical problem a long time ago. At some point, such ‘users’ will inevitably outnumber the living ones. Not only does the strange postmortal status of an actor in the virtual space produce a social trauma for the friends and family, who often can do nothing about it, but it also raises a lot of yet unresolved issues to the society: should dead accounts be accessible to all? Should strangers be allowed to interact with the accounts of deceased users? On which friend lists should they feature? Should there be comments on memorial pages? How should trolling and vandalism be treated? What should remain confidential? Should family be granted access to the electronic mail? What should be done with fake accounts of the deceased?

‘Informational society’ (Manuel Castells' term) revolving around the electronic integration of all types of communication sees conversional trans-mobility into the nonphysical ‘virtual’ reality as an existential requirement for every individual involved in any meaningful social interactions. Marshall McLuhan, when talking about television, already mentioned that it ‘completes the cycle of the human sensorium’ turning a human into a ‘vanishing point’ in the torrent of synesthetic experience images that are ‘wrapping’ him/her [McLuhan, 1967: 125]. And when a person submerges him-/herself into the Internet, he/she not only vanishes by going deeper into the narrative of another person's imagination in his/her sensual ecstasy, but reappears in a new state whereby his/her own imaginary becomes a real and socially valuable creation. This is why, according to Manuel Castells, total digitalization features the development of ‘real virtuality’ rather than ‘virtual reality’ [Castells, 2010].

Digital trans-mobility (as a variation of the conversional one) that transgressively eliminates the boundaries between the physical and nonphysical ontology may have much more valuable and far-reaching consequences. As we know, social mobility concerns various objects of social space as well as people. Therefore, certain things and structures that suddenly change their nature from physical to nonphysical become very strange objects that are hard to define and control. Back in 1971, when American president Richard Nixon unequivocally suspended the convertibility of the dollar into gold overseas, it marked the beginning of a new financial era that implied that institutional money stopped being *(materially) determined* and turned into freely floating exchange rates, i.e. price ratings set by the financial market. Both prices and foreign exchange and stock markets together with their instruments are covered by the notion of the so-called ‘epistemic objects’, i.e. objects of nonphysical nature, because their performance depends directly on the content of the market players' information and knowledge. Foreign exchange market as a pure ‘object-on-screen’ is interpreted as an independent dematerialized ‘life form’ that is not tied to some objective reality and is constantly changing own purely symbolic substance. Developing virtual markets expectedly resulted in electronic (crypto)currencies, with the so-called ‘bitcoins’ as their pioneer. Bitcoins were introduced in 2009 by an anonymous developer to facilitate direct exchange deals between Internet users. As of now, such e-currencies number in thousands and are used in various user networks. Virtual money is nothing more than unique (one-off) cryptographic (mathematical) code but it is what that ensures its transaction security and transparency. The value of this currency is determined solely by the demand and supply balance rather than liquidity. The moment the bitcoin has entered the market, its value is determined exclusively by the degree of trust in the system. The more people trust, the more bitcoins they buy and the more actual dollars they invest therein and, as a result, the more the bitcoin's value increases. Contributing the normative morphogenesis, cryptocurrency may have been around for a short while but is the case: it has gone all the way from penal sanctions on the part of conventional financial institutions to current full legalization and active involvement in stock exchange speculation. These days (in 2016), bitcoin has accomplished inversive trans-mobility into the material world and either is recognized as an exchange commodity along with gold and oil or has already become a legal means of payment in many countries along with the local currency[10]. This is how the trans-mobility of modern money evolved from the invention of noncash money in the end of 1950's to the virtual currency of 2000's. Interestingly enough, it is not these new kinds of money that are now becoming *strange* but, for example, the long-standing one hundred-dollar bills, which have almost passed out of common use in America and turned into a sort of a relic that is quickly fading out. New norms of mutual settlements, accumulation and investment in the digital space that are breaking traditional financial and economic bounds make paper money of large denominations redundant.

However, invisible electronic money is an interesting yet isolated case of social objects' dematerialization. Letters, photographs, videos, music, literature in the web – they all exist primarily in the ontological region of electronic ‘limbus’, a digital state inaccessible to sight, hearing and touch without special devices, and about which we know nothing for sure. Moreover, the digitalization of physical space tends to have some social institutions deconstructed in their conventional state. The electromagnetic environment draws in flows of commodities, information and events. Power, wealth

[10] In January 2015, the bitcoin for the first time in the USA history challenged the dollar's monopoly as a legal currency and obtained the ‘alternative currency’ status in California. In late November 2015, a debit bitcoin card with the same functionality as a regular Visa card was introduced in the USA. The EU took it a step further: in October 2015, Swedish entrepreneur David Hedqvist, who had opened a bitcoin/euro exchange office, won the case in the European Court of Justice, which acknowledged his right to handle transactions without having to pay VAT. In Europe, currency exchange transactions are exempt from VAT, but the local authorities had not initially qualified Hedqvist's business as such and compelled him to pay the tax, having classified bitcoins as goods and not a means of payment. The fact that the European Court of Justice ruled in Hedqvist's favor goes far beyond the scope of a separate businessman's relationship with authorities. This judicial decision practically equated digital currency to the traditional one. The situation in Russia, on the other hand, is controversial: financial regulators look favorably on the institutionalization of virtual curriencies, while power structures see them as a threat to the state and demand that criminal responsibility for using ‘quasi-money’ be introduced.

and property are defined by network – not material – opportunities and their distribution in terms of exchange and reallocation of bits – and not atoms. The parallel virtual universe, which we have long been scrutinizing through special 'windows', is becoming a basic architecture of the ubiquitous network sociality. The metaphor of the virtual, i.e. 'non-actual', 'nongenuine', is quickly becoming obsolete in the face of the unique *mixed reality* in terms of which digital content is just as 'objective', 'extrovert' and 'compulsory' as any physical thing. According to Emile Durkheim's classical definition, it is these features that render collective representations (epistemic objects) real. Engineers now claim that we will soon be able to touch electronic lions in a nursery like in the famous short story by American science fiction author Ray Bradbury[11] – 'The Veldt Effect' will become a promise of a new social realism, which Durkheim could not even conceive.

Prosopopoeian[12] trans-mobility

This one is accompanied with attainment of social agency by inherently nonsocial objects and subjects.

The aforementioned types of trans-mobility have one very important feature – all of them somehow concern *socialized* subjects and objects that are either agentives (human performers of action) or instrumentals (enacted inanimate tools of action) in communication. Passing from one ontological position to another owing to changes in the paramount ascriptiveness has an excessive nature here (named *social hypermetamorphosis*), i.e. from one (known) socially valued status to another, then maybe to a third one or back to the first one but always within the framework of the sociality as, above all else, a sphere of *people's* interaction and association, a sphere where *people's* comprehensive interdependence is explicit. For a long time it was only a conventional (human) actor who could be able to act in a normatively recognized way. But the list of recognized (human) actors grew longer over the centuries but in the end, it led all the way through the atrocities of slavery, xenophobia and segregation to the universality of the human rights conception. In terms of sociology, this conception establishes the 'natural' rights of every member of the 'social community' endowed with personhood as an ability to act, rationality as an ability to meet certain social expectations, and (communicative) competence as an ability to come to an understanding. As for physical objects,

[11] Ray Bradbury's short story 'The Veldt' deals with a hi-tech room able to reproduce someone's fantasies. In the end, the characters die inside the room killed by the pounce of much too real lions from the African veldt [Bradbury, 1987].

[12] Prosopopoiea (Greek: '*prosopon'* – face and '*poiea'* – making) is a widely known literary device (trope) in which inanimate objects, animals and natural events are accredited human abilities and traits.

according to Emile Durkheim's competent judgment, they can affect social processes but only with the 'vital forces' of the (human) society itself, which is the sole source of any activity[13].

Meanwhile, current cultural and technological changes urge to define one more type of trans-mobility related to the structural widening of the social as such. It is distinguished by its primary or generative nature (named *social protomorphosis*) because it occurs at a point when inherently nonsocial subjects and objects, i.e. those that do not act (as humans) and are not normatively enacted, undergo social personification. This is the essence of prosopopoeian trans-mobility: transitions and transpositions from the nonsocial universe into the social one. In other words, it is the emergence of *neo-social* and *neo-morphic* creatures enacted in a social communication *on an equal footing* to humans in line with the *als ob* principle: they are enacted *as if* they were humans. Their list includes all subhuman organisms (from embryos to animals), as well as inanimate creatures and neomorphs (from 'smart devices' to robots) – together making up a cluster of social co-agentives[14], i.e. subjects and objects performing social actions along with humans.

The most recognizable advances in the field of neo-social relationship are made, of course, by socializing animals and pets. The animal rights movement extends back a few centuries. The first animal protection laws were passed in the seventeenth century when acts of violence and cruelty towards domestic animals (e.g. pulling wool off sheep, attaching ploughs to horses' tails, etc.) were prohibited first in Ireland and then in New England. In the twentieth century, writings of such prominent ecologists as Aldo Leopold, Peter Singer, Arne Naess et al. encouraged consistent recognition of the animal moral and legal rights in human community. However, discussions on the matter are still ongoing, and the issue of the *extent* to which animals can be considered human-like persons (with all that it implies) remains on the agenda. The more we learn about it, the more questions we have about where this divide lies. For example, 'strong' nonanthropocentrism requiring total involvement of animals into a social community may have far-reaching consequences both for humans and animals.

One hot July morning of 2013, Rene Castro, the Costa Rican minister of the environment, decided to fly his pet parrot, which had spent many years by his side, in the garden. Mr. Castro took the bird out of the cage and went outside in the yard. At that very moment, a flock of wild parrots was flying by, and as soon as the pet had the chance, it joined them without hesitation. "It made a big

[13] Durkheim states, "Material objects <…> are the matter to which the vital forces of society are applied, but they do not themselves release any vital forces. Thus the specifically human environment remains as the active factor" [Durkheim, 1985:136]

[14] Borrowing certain terms (agentives, co-agentives, instrumentals) from the case grammar theory, which analyzes underlying role structures of a language (Charles J. Fillmore et al.), is deliberate and driven by the fact that it provides very sophisticated codifications of various statuses and role transformations of actors in any event proposition expressed through the semantics of predicative expressions. The authors of the well known 'actor-network theory' (Bruno Latour et al.) were the first to discover it by attaching an important sociological meaning to the notion of an 'actant', which is fundamental in terms of this theory and borrowed, in its turn, from French linguist Lucien Tesnière.

impression on me because I thought that we were taking good care of her. We fed her with food and affection...all these things that we as humans thought she liked. And when she had the chance, she left," the minister said afterwards [Williams, 2013]. This episode had an unexpected social impact: shortly after, the Costa Rican authorities decided to close all municipal zoos for good and release all the animals kept therein. Thus, the moral qualification of subhuman objects' interests was for the first time put before common social norms and enshrined in law by an unprecedented political decision. This is a perfect example of the way knowledge in the process of reflexive modernization can lead to 'non-knowledge' (Ulrich Beck's term) and at that create a situation of cognitive ambiguity around transgressive practices. Power structures can then take advantage of the value and normative lacunas that follow, which also legitimates transpositioning. Another demostration in this context is the legal involvement of human embryos. According to a special investigation, from 1973 to 2005, a few hundreds of pregnant women in the USA were arrested, subjected to involuntary treatment and even delivered of their babies (by caesarean section) when authorities judged the mother's 'risky' behavior to be a potential threat to the life of the future citizen [Paltrow, 2013]. It could be drug or alcohol abuse or just certain religious beliefs. Back in 1981, the Supreme Court of Georgia in the USA adopted an unprecedented decision whereby a pregnant woman refusing from any medical treatment for religious reasons was compelled to undergo a caesarean section to save the life of her fetus. The court concluded that the state's interest in protecting a viable fetus outweighed the principle of parental autonomy and the right of every citizen to the freedom of religion. In such a manner, the 'natural' rights of an embryo as a *potential* citizen were recognized as not just morally justified but also legally valid. This case known as 'Jefferson v. Griffin' significantly contributed to the development of prenatal justice. Applying the 'personhood measures' also requires appointing counsel for an unborn child and, as a result, interpreting its rights as those of a 'separate' person and a full citizen.

However, the most impressive examples of social protomorphosis as a practice of implementing 'non-humans' into the society not only as an object or instrumental but also as a co-agentive of social action can be found today in the field of technological development, and robotics in particular.

Owners of Roomba vacuum cleaning robots around the globe find their little automated helpers adorable and give them names like pets, thus, establishing an emotional connection with them and entertaining the self-suggested relationship in place. It is really evident that we are witnessing the beginning of a total robotization era but from the sociological point of view, robots, especially the humanoid ones, might be claiming the status of *synthetic persons* being the incarnation of a material thing and epistemic object and the visceral amalgam. Materiality accounts for a robot's functionality (utility), epistemity suggests a communicative interface, a quasi-visceral forms the image of a social 'Other' and (re)constructs the pattern of sociality. That the robot has a 'face' resembling a human one dramatically changes the communicative situation by investing it with traits of a public contact with all the normative, social and psychological consequences that ensue. Given the high individualization of the world today with a deficit of attention from 'Others', the human brain picks out situations implying signals from living creatures. In terms of interaction with humanoid robots, the brain is not capable of always staying focused on the fact that their signals are of inanimate and can be ignored. The 'humanness' of such objects creates a fundamental environment of *social expectation*, so sooner or later a person starts to treat humanoid machines in the same manner as people. When Terry Burnham and Brian Hare, researchers from Harvard University, asked the participants of their experiment to play a game where they were to donate money, a mere eye contact with a robot named Kismet having human-like eyes increased donations by 30%. The researchers concluded that it was a result of co-agency effect with the conventional demand to be or seem more generous and kind towards a vis-à-vis partner [Burnham, 2007]. We have long been communicating with personal computers and laptops but we usually perceive them as nothing more than materialities to utilize. However, as soon as a computer becomes more 'animate', attitude changes. In terms of another study, the experiment participants were supposed to play a game of cards with a computer, having its own virtual 'avatar' ('identity'), in order to establish a real person's verbal responses to the offered virtual image. For the purpose of the experiment, the researchers created two types of avatars identical in appearance but different in behavior. One would perfectly imitate human facial expressions, smile, raise eyebrows and was able to establish a non-verbal contact. The other was more 'mechanical' and incapable of accurate facial expressions. While interacting with the more 'living' avatar, the participants of the experiment tended to psychologically see it as human. The analysis of recorded verbal acts on the grammatical level showed that a 'human-computer' dialogue is completely on par with a 'human-human' dialogue in terms of language [Heyselaar et al., 2015].

Not so long ago, computers and robots used to be soulless mechanical machines existing in their own inanimate world. Today, they successfully pass Alan Turing tests, work as sales assistants, get married between themselves, replace humans as sexual partners and adequately act on stage. One actress put it plainly after an experimental performance with an android, "Working with robots is in no way different from working with real people". With the introduction of chatbots like 'Siri', artificial intelligence is becoming an integral part of daily communication and for the first time making paramount reality fully available to *neo-morphic* creatures. The trans-mobility of 'smart' mechanisms into the field of human interaction not only removes the ontological distinction between the animate and inanimate but also hurdles the impassable barrier between the social and nonsocial.

There emerges and develops a special type of communication – *hybrid relationship* – distinguished by the fact that “it appears unclear whether, for individuals, other persons are indeed the most fascinating part of their environment - the part we are most responsive to and devote most attention to” [Knorr Cetina & Bruegger, 2000: 142]. Social enactment of robots has irreversible normative consequences. The process is gaining particular momentum in Japan, as is known. And this has, at least, two fundamental reasons – cultural and the social one. From the cultural viewpoint, the commonplace interest in robotics is in line with the traditional Shinto ideas, according to which the spirit of Buddha lives in all things including the mechanical ones. While the West is trying to frighten with its malicious and soulless ‘Terminator’, in Japan a robot in its ‘spiritual’ essence does not differ from a living person, which is why emotional attachment to a domestic robot can come near to friendship with a real person, and burying in due form a dear Aibo robotic dog, which suddenly broke down, would not be considered as a deviation from the norm. On top of that, high life span together with low birth rate and almost zero immigration rate necessitate the development of the industry producing large amounts of emotional robotic nurses for the senior Japanese. However, back in the 1970's, Japanese engineer Masahiro Mori discovered that when a robot starts resembling a human *too much* it can lead to the psychological effect of rejection (Fig.1).

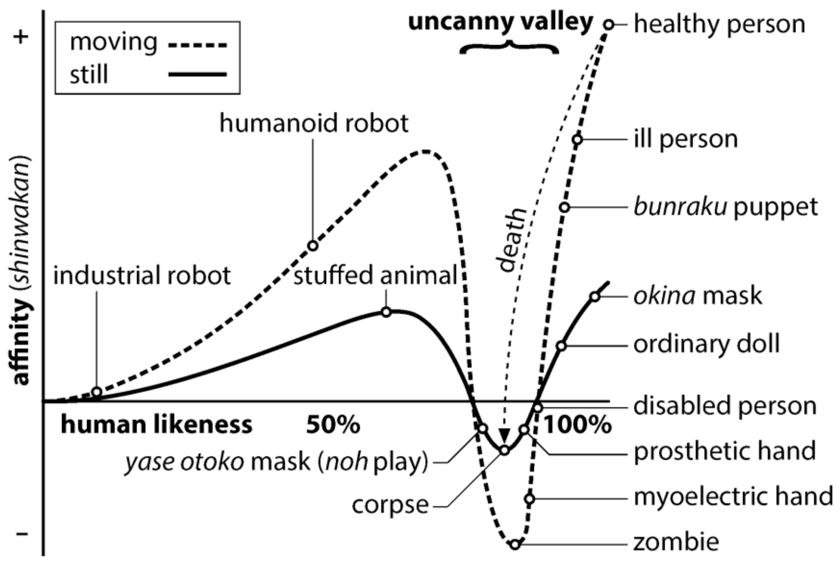

Fig. 1. Uncanny valley effect

The graph depicts the uncanny valley, the proposed relation between the human likeness of an entity, and the perceiver’s affinity for it. The presence of movement steepens the slopes of the uncanny valley. The arrow’s path represents the sudden death of a healthy person. [Note: *Bunraku* is a traditional Japanese form of musical puppet theater dating to the 17th century. The puppets range in size but are typically a meter in height, dressed in elaborate costumes, and controlled by three puppeteers obscured only by their black robes. *Noh* is a traditional Japanese form of musical theater dating to the 14th century in which actors commonly wear masks. The yase otoko mask bears the face of an emaciated man and represents a ghost from hell. The okina mask represents an old man.]. Source: [Mori, 2012].

It turns out that the more a robot resembles a human, the more likeness it encourages but only up to a certain extent beyond which there comes an abrupt decline named the ‘uncanny valley’. Minor details in a humanoid robot's behavior can incite fear and terrify because they *suddenly* remind one that it is not human but ‘something alien’. The same feelings may appear at the sight of wax dolls, zombies, the deceased, the possessed and even people in the middle of an epileptic attack. Such emotional rejection originates from the deeply normative and archetypical perception of death as the ‘otherworldly’, ‘alien’ and ‘forbidden’ inherent in the human nature. Fear of death and its manifestations is fundamental for transgression as such. Therefore, no matter how ‘natural’ death may be, it is considered as a ‘sinister’ and ‘uncanny’ event, which can even ‘infect’ us with illnesses, evil spirits and ultimately death. Sigmund Freud in the essay “The Uncanny” (1919) and George Bataille in the “Erotism” (1957) already brought it up long before Mori. It is not without reason that Japanese horror films particularly tend to emphasize the transgression of death (into the world of the living) in the form of ghosts, spirits and the undead wishing to inflict harm to people. To sum up, normative morphogenesis related to the active involvement of robots and computers into a social community is challenged by rigid morphotaxic (oppositon) structures of the deeper normative order. Robots have to find a clearly defined place on either side of the line between life and death in order to be recognized as equal to humans in the same way as transgenders have to ascribe themselves to either sexual status in a sexual relationship without any third option: a robot is either a simple smart toy or a (quasi) ‘normal’ person – no third option available.

Conclusions

Dichotomized sexual and mortal statuses, appropriate norms and expectations are at the core of social paramount reality. Transitions and transpositions among them are prohibited by religious (in Durkheim's sense of the word) taboos. Therefore, every deviation from the norm seeks recognition of the normal social community. Trans-mobility and mixed communications with neo-social strangers and neo-morphic hybrids are no exception, which is why their various manifestations exist on different stages of social recognition and normalization. The transgender community that is granted all the civil rights and an institutionalized social practice on the one hand stands in contrast to the cloned human with its concept and relevant practice under absolute prohibition on all levels of normative structure – on the other. Meanwhile, in the middle is the grey area of ambiguity with risks of incorrect decisions and abuse. Discussions on animal rights are still ongoing, the issue of euthanasia, i.e. controlled mortal transmobility, has not been resolved either. The development of electronic death registration systems makes it possible to ‘kill’ a human without physical violence – simply by entering his/her records into one data base and deleting them from other. As for intellectual systems, such prominent scientists as Stephen Hawking and others openly oppose the development of artificial intelligence, the evolution of which might go out of our control at some point, thus appeared to be our ‘final invention’ (James Barrat’s term). The individualization of lifestyle together with technological advances green-lights the power of imagination, when the ontological impossible ceases to exist. In our world, imaginary everything or almost everything is somehow possible; there are no ontological limits to the fulfillment of desires in the real world and the cyberspace alike. Given the ontological inconsistency and unpredictability, the demand for maintaining the normative order becomes as relevant as ever. The search and rationale for the *constant*, *common* and *good* normative criteria are the basis for any social solidarity. They ensure the survival of a community and provide an answer to the main question, What unites us and protects us from self-destruction? While in the traditional society, the role of social integration normative structures belonged to religious ideas, the society of the modernity transfers this role to the ideas of authenticity and autonomy. However, the first were eliminated by the process of rationalization (secularization) and the latter – by the irrationalization manifested either through the schizophrenia of postmodern sensitivity or through the paranoia of religious bigotry and extremism. Therefore, neither of them explicates the fundamental level of intersubjective normative grammar. In this respect, the society's security and survival both in the infancy of mankind and in the current *trans-sociality* depends on the efficiency of primordial solidarity protection mechanisms based at all times on the aspiration for reciprocal recognition. This fundamental need in the structure of communal life makes three normative requirements universal: *(1)* emotional recognition or love, *(2)* legal recognition or entitlement, and *(3)* recognition for contribution to the community or social value [Honneth; 1995]. In other words, being socially ‘normal’ means being recognized by all three involvement criteria. It concerns both humans and all the different subjects and objects of social communication, even if they do not meet the requirements of ‘sensibility’. Therefore, all cases of trans-mobility and mixed communications destroying paramount ascriptive reality only reinforce the more fundamental opposition of social normativity – the opposition between recognition and non-recognition. In spite of the whole individualization and transgressiveness of current social experience, the need for reciprocal care, respect and honor remains ontologically inherent. Consequently, the area of normality and order only exists where there are institutional mechanisms to maintain (reciprocal) love, freedom and dignity. Everything that meets the recognition staples can be considered as acceptable and justified. So, it is no surprising that transraces (transracials), human clones and artificial intelligence are not recognized that way – we can not love, respect and value what offend our normality constrained by paramount ascriptions. At least, social order will proceed until 'normal' man is able to differ (sexual) male from female and (generic) living from the necro.

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Social Infrastructure of Terrorism: Financial Institutions

Khokhlov Igor.I, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. In this article I would like to focus attention on what would seem an obvious fact but is nevertheless covered insufficiently in scientific literature; it is the fact that terrorist «social life» is based on quite efficient infrastructure the very existence of which in the global world is difficult to imagine without interaction with official institutions. I examine terrorist financial institutions and how globalization, modern technologies and desire to make profit "at any cost" on the part of official institutions have created "favorable" environment for the realization of the criminal aims of terrorists including as a result of drug trafficking.

Key words: terrorism; social infrastructure; financial institutions; bank system, hawala; labor migration

In the late 20th – early 21st century, the governments of world's major countries suddenly realized that a considerable part of international financial flows was passing by supervising bodies. Particularly, the informal financial-settlement system which is wide-spread among Muslims ("hawala"), the bases of which were laid down in the Middle Ages[1]. This system was formed in the epoch of early Middle Ages in Hindustan, the first mentioning of hawala can be found in legal documents dated 8th century AD. Merchants who were for obvious reasons not eager to carry significant sums of money used a system of clearing, which was as a matter of fact little different from modern systems of clearing settlements based on multilateral offset of mutual counter-obligations of all the participants. Systems similar to hawala operated in many regions of the world: fei chieng (China), padala (Philippines), hudge (Pakistan), hui kuan (Hong Kong), xa-vilaad (Somalia), fei kwan (Thailand) etc.

Hawala has a number of serious advantages compared to the ordinary bank system. Firstly, it is based on trust and close ties between the members of the same ethnic community. Hawaladars – the financial operators of hawala are members of one ethnic group, so the basic problem existing in any business, which is the responsibility for infringement of conditions of the contract, is thus removed. By virtue of the fact that all bargains are based on trust, hawala can function in conditions of legal vacuum, as against bank system in which precise legislatively fixed "rules of the game" are required.

Secondly, the revival of hawala was promoted by smuggling of gold in the 1960s-1970s from South Asia to Dubai and Abu-Dhabi serving as the largest centers of jeweler trade. Hawala turned out to be the fastest, safest, and, most importantly, invisible to national and international services of financial monitoring way of reception of payment for the goods delivered.

Thirdly, with the growth of labor migration in the second half of the 20th century – only according to the official data during the last year over 200 million people, or 3 percent of the world population, lived outside of their country of origin – there arose a need for an effective and cheap system of transfer of incomes from labor migrants to their families back home. Millions of Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Hindus working abroad send the money they earn to their families with the help of hawala. Only in Spain more than 100 thousand Muslims from South Asia and the Middle East send home about 300 million euros annually using the channels. By the way, it is for this particular reason that hawala is widespread in the countries of the Gulf where there work several millions of people coming from of India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and Afghanistan.

This ushered in a new life for the old system which not only allowed to escape paying taxes and the commission for the performance of transactions, but also enabled the hawaladars to benefit as well by converting currency. This is because in a western country a Gastarbeiter hands them the sum in dollars or euros, whereas at destination, in the native village, his relatives receive the transfer in local currency. There are such "offices" in each village and their population is closely involved and interested in an uninterrupted functioning of this infrastructure. To struggle with this "peoples'", and in a certain sense socially justified infrastructure, and to separate the financial flows financing terrorism is difficult enough. If before 1960s, hawala was operating mainly in the Arabian Peninsula, South and East Asia, India and Pakistan, starting from the second half of the 1970s this system became global. Interest in the spread of hawala is manifested not only by common population. An important role in the spread of hawala in the countries of the West was played by the readiness of western companies to cooperate with Islamic financial institutions in the development of petroleum deposits and extraction of oil, development of new branches of manufacturing and in the sphere of agriculture. By virtue of the specific nature of socioeconomic relations, working with local financial institutions in Islamic countries means inevitable cooperation with hawala. Hawala is a highly competitive mechanism indeed, since it offers "high quality" services at a the low price: the commission raised by the hawaladars for carrying out financial operations is 1-2 orders lower compared to transferring money through Western Union or in the framework of similar legal banking system. While within official institutions the commission amounts to 10-15 percent of the transferred sum, the hawaladars take only 1or 2 percent. In so doing, the transfer of significant sums turns out to be even cheaper – one tenth of a percent. By the way, in many regions with an undeveloped bank network and hence no competition on the market, the commission imposed by official banks may be over 50 percent of the transferred sum. While official banks are burdened with the necessity to report, pay taxes and maintain large staff, offices, a pool of motor-vehicle etc., for hawaladars there is practically no overhead charge; the necessary "bank" equipment is limited to a table in a subsidiary room in a grocery or flower shop, a laptop connected to the Internet and a cell phone. The hawaladars do not pay taxes or custom duties; and in case of sending money and not gold they avoid bribes when crossing the border. Besides, for the majority of hawala brokers money remittances are not the main service provided but rather a collateral source of income, because through the system of family connections they also carry out monetary operations in the interests of their own business. The spread of hawala is also facilitated by the fact that many countrymen simply have no experience of using the banking system, or are plain illiterate. The ever-extending Muslim community in the advanced countries of the West faced this problem in the previous decade, when the spread of hawala began there. Besides we shall not overlook the fact that a part of migrants works abroad illegally, and therefore it is difficult for them to transfer money via official channels. Technically it is very simply carried out. [Find out more in Khokhlov, 2015:19-28; Khokhlov, 2015]

Hawala has no uniform structure: every community of countrymen (Baluchi, Sikh, Pashtun and so on) has a structure of its own. In traditional societies, where reputation has a very big value, and businessman set on a swindle will be doomed for ruin on the spot as social networks here are very strong being built upon the next of kin ties and since the information spreads instantly. There is century-old authority behind this system, hawala is a tradition. It is quite remarkable, that transfers are nominated in gold. "Gold standard " gives those who resort to services of the system an additional feeling of confidence and participation in the tradition. There are cases when gold physically moves across borders. The most known operation of such sort, but far from being the largest, was the shipment of the assets of the international Salafite terrorist network from Afghanistan to Dubai via the Pakistan port of Karachi right after the beginning of the international counter-terrorist operation led by USA, Great Britain and their allies on October 7, 2001. Assets in the form of cash and ingots of gold were sent with thousand couriers – one of them the consul general of the government of the Taliban in Karachi Khakhasada who forwarded some 600 thousand dollars at the end of November, 2001. The Karachi port authorities traced from 2 to 3 million dollars which were passing through port daily during the second half of autumn and in winter of 2001.

However, taking into account the secrecy of couriers and their number, it is possible to assume, that these sums were a very insignificant share of the total amount of transactions made during that period. From Karachi values were forwarded by sea to Dubai where they were placed with reliable banks. In so doing gold was placed in its natural form. As to cash, gold was bought for it and placed in banks because in the Arabian East gold has not lost the monetary functions and still is a base unit of account.

Shadow flows also include the money received from trade in opium drugs. During the last several years, in connection with the events in Afghanistan, the production of heroin has soared. Despite of an inevitable fall in its price, many billions of dollars obtained from the sale of "the white death" in the West are sent annually to the countries of the "Golden Crescent". It is necessary to point out that there is no exact method to estimate the amount of means which are pumped over by means of hawala. There are isolated indications, as for example, those messages that found their way into the foreign press that only in Spain about 200 branches of hawala are in operation, serving mostly the Pakistanis. And in Pakistan itself there are over 1.5 thousand hawala shops making remittances from the Pakistanis working abroad. As a whole the sums involved amount to many tens of billions of dollars. Some researchers speak about at least 150-200 billion annually (and even up to 500 billion).

Islamic banks do not take active measures to involve the money sent through hawala because finally all of them will find their way to the banks' vaults – without any efforts on the part of the bankers. And from them to the legal western financial institutions. For instance, in Afghanistan ruined by war practically all largest western banks opened their branches. What sort of financial flows do they serve there? Directly from hands of drug dealers they, certainly, will not take money, but if that is done through intermediaries on behalf of banks of the Muslim countries, then why not? Hawala is closely connected to official banking structures. Extremely liberal credit and financial system of the United Arab Emirates, which gives full freedom to banks in conditions of practical absence of a system of bank reporting, allows international terrorist organizations, dealers in jewels and metals (i.e. actual smugglers) and drug cartels the freedom to enjoy all the advantages of official bank institutions, without leaving traces and not risking the invested means. The banks of the United Arab Emirates serve as a bridge connecting hawala with the official bank system. The geography with the United Arab Emirates situated at the crossroads of the Middle East commercial and monetary flows made it an international hawala financial settlements center. Other important hawala centers include London and a number of cities on the East coast of the USA, for example, Philadelphia. Effective struggle against sources of some global threats, such as international terrorism and drug trafficking, is impossible without effective control over financial illegal component in particular spheres. And whereas control over legal financial institutions as a whole is in place in the overwhelming majority of countries, informal payments systems dealing in comparable sums, until recently were outside of the field of vision of financial monitoring bodies and special services. Such factors as cultural traditions of the population, business climate and large amounts of payments in cash are significant. By the way, many countries have some experience of struggle against hawala. For instance, on the territory of India the system was seriously weakened by Indira Gandhi during the state of emergency introduced in 1975. However, India's nationals still play a key role in the activity of the illegal international network. In Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Philippines hawala was once also exposed to persecution on the part of the state, though not to such a degree as in India. Attempts to force hawala out of the shadow completely will inevitably encounter resistance on the part of local residents who lean not only on centuries-old cultural traditions but also on reasons of commercial benefit. For a significant part of the population of poor countries transfers from the relatives working in the rich West is the only source of income. It is obvious that the legalization of hawala will make it more expensive, which will have a negative effect on the position of the poorest inhabitants of the planet. Besides, state structures, strangely enough, are interested in hawala as well. For example, the Central Bank of Pakistan requiring dollars for maintaining the local currency, has purchased dollars from the hawaladars twice – in May and in June of 2001. While in May only the hawaladars from Islamabad were involved in the operations, in June dollars were bought up in their exchange offices all over Pakistan. It is also known that special services of Pakistan use the hawala for rendering financial support to Islamic terrorist groups working in territory of the state of Kashmir. In 1980s, the system was used by the US special services for financing Afghani mujahids. Later, in the so-called period of field commanders (warlord period – after the fall of Najibullah on April 28, 1992, and before the advent of the Taliban to power in Kabul in September, 1996) various non-governmental organizations used the system for remittances for the financing of their programs of humanitarian aid. It is difficult to combat hawala, and doing so only the level of the western society will probably lead to nothing. Migrant communities of those coming from the Islamic East to the western states not too willingly let outside observers into their internal life. From the point of view of the majority of members of a particular community, there is nothing reprehensible about such transactions. In addition, it has to be noted once again that the described system has no uniform center which could be abolished.

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Subject of Work and Postmodernity: Ethical and Pre-Rational Approaches

Vyacheslav Yu. Kombarov, Novosibirsk, Russia

Abstract: In this brief article I try to find out the link between Russian philosophical and sociological tradition and Western postmodernist theory on the basis of ethical and pre-rational concepts of subjectivity. I do find this link possible and perspective in the context of modern discourses in Russian academical society on the right way of conceptualizing the social processes in Russia in the frames of only national or foreign sociological terms. They are not separated so hugely. Than I try to show that postmodernists theories are not so “ugly and heartless” as they represented often in researchers minds. So follow the subject that follows the ethical values and desire, desire, desire.

Key words: subject; work; becoming; postmodernity; ethics

Link between Russian classical thought and Westen postmodermism

At first sight ideological link between Russian classical social and philosophical tradition, on the one hand, and post-modernist thought, with another, can seem unexpected. However more detailed analysis shows that there are enough points of intersection. First of all, these two directions are united by ideological opposition to rationalism in questions of genesis of the subject. Both the Russian philosophy and the western postmodernism reject "flat" «impersonal» interpretation of the rationalism reducing the subject to thing level. Overcoming the rationalism, both directions divided, nevertheless, by temporary and ideological barriers return to the subject sensuality, belief, desire and freedom – all what the human person is. And the human person, as we know, is in many respects irrational. Vladimir Ern wrote: "Impersonalizm, as domination category of a thing, inevitably leads to strictly and comprehensively deterministic point of view. The concept of freedom is absorbed by concept of the universal need subordinating certainly all processes of reality" [Ern, 1912:7].

The similar objectification of the personality has been rejected also by Nikolay Berdyaev who developed the existentialist concept of the subject, believing that the person is not only part (object) of life which can be learned only through objective ir subjective experience, but also the creator of being. Process of knowledge and transformation of life includes pre-rational layers of the human person, including beliefs, values and of course ideals. In this sense, being a spiritual successor of existential philosophy of Dostoyevsky, Berdyaev, proclaims domination of freedom (even if through suffering) before "full (rich)" but slave rationality [Berdyaev, 1995].

In postmodernism similar ideas articulated in the pre-rational discourse, the central denotations which are the "desire" and "becoming". Man is the machine producing the desire, which is to defend their autonomy in the face of the social machinery that transforms the subjects into the collective herd [Deleuze, Guattari, 2010].

In contrast to classical theory of the subject, the present state of its theory and concept can be described more from standpoint of activity and processual approach, rather than a "statical" viewpoint: becoming subject is more important than to be subject; to resist, to elude from standardized practices, social procedures, symbolic signification by social institutions – an indispensable condition in attempt to become the subject: «Run Lola Run». Huge role in this process of subjectivation plays phenomenon of "becoming" – a key concept of late post-modernism. In classical theory of formation of subject we are talking about stages and phases that an individual passes to become himself or to become just function of any social organization. Today, "becoming" becomes meaningful in itself as a process of subjectivation. Becoming is valuable in itself and not these species of status and existence which it binds. Goals of becoming contained in itself. Being the subject – is constantly being on the «line of flight».

Ethical subjectivation and the new subject

But how is possible an infinite becoming the subject? Well, in situations when individual is open to "event" (Badiou). Event always occurs suddenly and often is opposed to historically legitimized social practices and discourses. To respond to an event means to abandon familiar and historically legitimized forms of interpretation and action, it means to oppose to them. Separating yourself from old, pronouncing new – is condition of subjectivation. Therefore, the subject, following event, in the process of formation of a new himself, invents new arguments in discourses and new types of social action. To pronounce his own discourse, to act in unexpected direction, to try to make a new and non-standard, to rebel against symbolic and powerful.

As an example of a subject that produces its own discourse and practice of the truth at pre-rational basis, Alain Badiou brings the Apostle Paul [Badiou, 1999]. The figure of the Apostle is to Badiou example of radical autonomy of thought, which, however, appeals to universality: to all nations on the basis of a single gospel. At the same time distinctions in languages, cultures and sexes in the course of aspiration to idea purpose, uniform for all, aren't rejected, but also don't unite. The belief is practice of resistance for heterogeneous set of believers. Pavel separates his own discourse from Judaic and Greek discourses: Jews look for signs and demand miracles, and Greeks look for wisdom and question, whereas Christians preach. To demand, to question, to preach – are three models of subjectivation. The one who demands signs – the slave to the one who doesn't stint them. The one who looks for wisdom – the slave to the one who can answer the questions. But the one who preaches without guarantee of predictions and miracles without arguments and proofs, doesn't fit into logic of lord (father). Declaring doesn't suffer a shortage something and therefore he takes the place of the son, but not father (lord). The son is the one who doesn't suffer of anything a shortage as he only the beginning: "As you anymore not the slave, but son; and if son, then and God's successor". The son is the one who is exempted by an event from the law. Badiou writes that Paul shows us how to separate any process of truth from cultural historicity in which the opinion intends to disseminate it.

Subject of work as ethical rebel

A case study we've made in 2009-2010 on the wave of the discourse about modernization of the national economy covered such a highly specialized part of the industrial workers as engineers of Russian military-industrial complex. In questionnaire case study participated 305 engineers of four large Novosibirsk (“Capital” of Siberia) plants with an average of 1,300 employees.

Applying cluster analysis, we were able to distinguish three types of respondents, which can be correlated with three different types of subjectivity (subjects). Hypothetical assumption that the structure of the subjects of labor in industry is heterogeneous, reflected in the classification of engineers. Machine data clustering was performed on the basis of answers to the questions contained in tabular form, and designed to uncover the greatest or the smallest commitment of engineers about various social benefits, values (foundation for the construction of the subject in Foucault's work is precisely the ethical component). Three class of subjects were found: “*Cartesian rational subject”; “postmodernist conformist subject“and “new ethical subject of late postmodernism”.* In this short article I focus on last one as it describes very well my thesis of that in today postmodernist social conditions the ethical subject is possible.

This cluster (171 engineers) united men and women with higher and secondary special education. Distinguishes this group predominance, although to a lesser extent, the proportion of women. Activity of this type of respondents in protest practices is not so high as in the group of "Cartesians", but more intensive that in the cluster of “Conformists”. Unlike cluster "materialists", these rebels pushed "to the barricades" by not material, but rather by ethical aspect of the work: among the reasons that forced them to take part in strikes, they point out in particular those as ignoring the interests of employees by the company management, *solidarity with the comrades*, desire to *protest against existing enterprise orders*. And this stratum engineers characterizes negative relationship to the answer "fear of harassment and threats" to the question of “What factors may hinder their participation in the protests?”. For these fearless "Don Quixote" is extremely important freedom and independence of existence in life, as well as the freedom to express their views and opinions. As well as for their colleagues "Cartesians" high value for this type of workers is opportunity to self-realization in work. While negative sides of their labor sphere it is not enough high monetary reward and not fully present the opportunity to realize the professional interests and abilities. Among their positive skills are capacity to working hard, but among their negative skills that sometimes leading to failure are *excessive credulity, honesty and decency*. They believe that implementing their own plans they should take into account equally *not only their but also the interests of other*s. They note that at the moment they are faced with the task of training and continuing education, improving professional skills (continuing work on yourself, taking care of yourself). With rebellious religious worldview of Lev Tolstoy they have in common is that they look at the world as a place dominated by goodness, believe in God, the Absolute (but does not include themselves to a church): it allows them to *keep hope for justice and gives strength to endure adversity*. If "Cartesians" justify the use of physical violence in order to protect life, then this cluster of engineers-idealists opposes violence in principle, tells that it cannot be justified by nothing. It is noteworthy that the perception of the world (consciousness largeness) in this group extends to the cosmic scale (universe); predominates in the gastronomic predilections (to a greater extent than in other clusters) interest in a vegetarian diet; unlike cluster "materialists", among which favored the AngloSaxon literature, "idealists" are generally more committed to the Spanish literary tradition (after Russian); life motto of subjects of labor of the late postmodernism is "Hope for the best" [Kombarov, 2015].

As once told Alain Badiou: “to believe it does not mean to expect miracles or justice - it means to carry out a daily struggle and to provide a resistance of own subjectivity”.

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The Issues of Trust in Scientific Knowledge Under the Conditions of Becoming of Global Risks[15]

Sergey A. Kravchenko, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. In article analyzes the some problems of trust in scientific knowledge.

Key words: global risk; social group; society; humanism

The problems of trust in scientific knowledge about risks are largely due to the nature of the risk-reflection of all social groups, especially those of representatives of science. The scientists rely on a particular critical approach in the form of organized skepticism, founded by R. Merton, through which Sociology can realize the limits of its knowledge. The relative trust in scientific knowledge has stimulated the transition from one to another more valid paradigm. Yet, this process including both evolutionary and revolutionary periods in the development of knowledge has kept the general trust in it which in a concentrated form expresses the statement "Knowledge means force" rooted in Enlightenment. Today, as a result of accelerating and increasingly complex social and cultural dynamics there have appeared more complex risks of new generation.

A significant challenge to trust in scientific knowledge is associated with the emergence of “Risk society” (U. Beck). For the analysis of its realities the theoretical and methodological tools of one science is not enough, and the researchers turned to the achievements of other sciences, arguing for their synthesis - that, in fact, has formed a *riskological turn*. It is based on integrated approaches to risks covering the context of human relations, society and nature. And most importantly the lost of trust in the old methodologies is due to their theoretical monism. U. Beck tries to restore the trust in scientific knowledge about the risks using the concept of *risks as knowledge,* involving the synthesis of different approaches to it into one "integrated sociological paradigm" that presupposes interpretations of risks in the context of the dynamics of knowledge about them. According to him there are significant flaws in the existing knowledge in the form of "organized irresponsibility" that reflects the following paradox: the more there is a process of natural degradation, respectively, there appear new laws concerning the environment and at the same time, neither individuals nor institutions are not responsible for what is happening.

New challenges to the trust in knowledge about risks are associated with the development of “World at risk” (U. Beck). According to him, the emergence of a new theory of "World at risk" is due to which World at Risk goes beyond the thesis of Risk Society that is reduced to a formula: «global risk is the staging of reality [Realitatsinszenierung] of global risk ... To exaggerate somewhat:

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it is not the terrorist act, but the global staging of the act and the political anticipations, actions and reactions in response to the staging which are destroying the Western institutions of freedom and democracy. The restrictions on individual liberties discernible at many levels – from the increase in surveillance cameras to restrictions on immigration – are not simply effects of actual catastrophes (for example, acts of terrorist violence). They are a result of such experiences and their globalized anticipation» [Beck, 2010:10].

In my opinion, the new theory of risks as knowledge proposed by U. Beck is scientifically and socially productive. But still I believe that its humanistic orientation should be strengthened that is important not only for getting valid knowledge of risks, but also for finding a proper humane way of coexistence in modern and future society. For more valid interpretation of new complex risks and especially for minimization of their consequences the synthesis of natural, social and humane sciences is required. On the one hand, that in integration of scientific knowledge would give an opportunity to take into consideration the complexity of social and cultural dynamics so as to understand the nature of complex new risks, and on the other hand, to search for and adopt *new forms of humanism*, including a scientific and social *humanistic orientation*. I am not arguing for a return to the trust in the scientific knowledge in the traditional sense as far as opposition of truth and lie is concerned but for a becoming of a complex trust in all types of scientific and social knowledge.

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Orthodox Communities in Social Networks Space: Audience Characteristics

Vasiliy G. Pisarevskiy, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. The relevance of researches of online communities in social networks is shown in the article. Such researches are conducted in the framework of new scientific field - digital sociology, which is presented in the works of D. Lupton, M. Carrigan and K. Orton-Johnson.

Social-demographic as well as value oriented characteristics of orthodox communities in VKontakte social network are brought in the article. Values of orthodox online communities members were identified by means of research method of digital sociology. These values coincide with traditional Russian moral and spiritual values.

Keywords: orthodox internet communities; digital sociology; social networks

Currently, one of the most interesting and least studied objects in sociology are online communities in social networks. This applies, primarily, to the fastest growing social network in the Russian-speaking internet space – VKontakte (www.vk.com), the daily audience of which is more than 50 million people.

The relevance of the study stems from the fact that the communities in social networks are points of tension in the existing social reality in Russia, since they constitute an ideal environment for the dissemination of any ideas.

Orthodox communities VKontakte were analyzed on the basis of methodology of a new scientific direction – digital sociology. As noted by the co-founder of digital sociology – Mark Kerrigan, today the process of information transfer stands on a par with such phenomena as the impact on society [Carrigan M., 2013:1] . "Digital dualism" is overcome with the help of methods of digital sociology, i.e. the separation of online and offline social reality is being carried out.Other reaearchers who described this phenomenon are Debora Lupton (Sydney university) [Lupton, D., 2012:2] and K. Orton-Johnson [Orton-Johnson K.,2013:3] This new scientific field is significant and the empirical study of a larger transition to digital technology, and are influenced by any similar tools, and transformed the nature of social science.

Sampling of the research amounted to 499,125 people, members of 25 Orthodox communities. The composition of the sample consists of men and women living in all countries, belonging to 16-45 age group.

Research method is: analysis of user profiles, they filled in the registration VKontakte. This data includes: age, gender, country and city of the user having a higher education, marital status, profession, life priorities. This information was obtained by targeted advertising service VKontakte.

Consider the main characteristics of the audience of the Orthodox community VKontakte. In our sample, 64.54% women and 35.46% men. Now a closer look at the age distribution. The most numerous age groups (core audience) - is 21-25 years (10% men and 16% of women from across the whole sample) and 26-30 (8% of men and 18% of women from across the whole sample) which a total of more than half of the active audience.

The leader in the number of users is Russia - 74.15%, followed by a large margin by Ukraine - 18.11% and Belarus - 3.49%. Most of the respondents who report their profession, belongs to a group of business specialties middle managers (ie employees of various departments, the heads of the working groups, etc.) - 29.3%, followed by the category of pedagogical specialties - 15.4% the third - Art - 12.5%.

Thus, representatives of the core audience of the Orthodox community VKontakte (groups 21-25 and 26-30 years) occupy stable social situation, which is seen by criteria such as the presence of higher education (about a third of the audience), living in the cities (35 5% of the audience) and belonging to the profession of mental work (92.9% of the audience). It should be noted that the criteria considered by the representatives of our sample show higher rates than in Russia as a whole.

The analysis was carried out on the basis of three criteria provided by the social network itself. They are:

– attitude to life (the user shall answer the question “What is the most important thing for you in your life”) by choosing one of eight answer options: family and children, career and money, entertainments and recreation, science and arts, words and influence);

– attitude to people (the user shall answer the question “What is the most important thing for you in people” by choosing one of six answer options: mind and creativity, kindness and honesty, beauty and health, power and wealth, courage and perseverance, humor and love of life).

In orthodox communities among men under the attitude to life criterion family and children takes the first place (from 55 to 60% in different age groups), the second one goes to self-development – from 21 to 33% (it is interesting that the importance of self-development rises with increase of respondents’ age, as self-development is understood, first of all, as spiritual personality development), the third one goes to world perfection (which is also understood as mission and transfer of orthodox values to society) – from 4 to 11%. As far as women are concerned, the first two places are the same.

The second criteria is attitude to people. The first place as in our selection is occupied by the family and children value both with men (from 50% to 58% in different age groups) and with women (from 60.5% to 77.5%). It can be considered that under the family and children value the orthodox internet communities audience coincides in numbers with the whole VKontakte audience. The second place as in the case of the orthodox internet communities audience goes to the self-development value both with men (from 16% to 20% in different age groups) and with women (from 15.3% to 20%) that is significantly lower than in orthodox communities audience.

Following the main findings of the empirical research are presented.

Firstly, the Internet research in the social networks represents a significant scientific interest, which may be implemented using a methodological apparatus of digital sociology, where the actual content of novelty is determined primarily by the digital technologies.

Secondly, in the framework of empirical research it was revealed that the value orientation of members of Orthodox communities VKontakte fully comply with traditional Russian spiritual and moral values. With regard to life, among them are families and children, self-development (understood as a spiritual development of personality) and improving of the world. In respect to people – kindness and honesty.

Third, Orthodox Internet communities in social networks, due to their relevance and specificity in informational and post-secular society feature the most intensive, integrated, cohesive social relationships. This cohesion can be only reached through the spiritual kinship of community members that can be implemented only in the religious community.

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Habitulization of Innovation: the Conceptualization of Concepts

Anna V. Rostova, Togliatti, Russia
Eugene V. Zhelnina, Togliatti, Russia

Abstract. The paper conceptualized the concept of «habitulization of innovation». Using social field concept Bourdieu, structural-functional, phenomenological, sociocultural, and axiological approaches leads to the conclusion about the existence of an innovative field. Innovatively open population is in these innovative field. The article is a conceptual scheme of the innovation field, accumulating a proper innovation. Specified define innovative openness / isolation of the population. It also allows to speak about degree of a habitulization of innovations in society. The publication is prepared within the supported RNF the scientific project No. 16-13-63003.

Key words: habitulization; habitulization of innovation; innovative field; innovative-open population; innovative-closed population

The term innovation, firmly ensconced in the academic community, often viewed from the perspective of economic, technological or managerial approaches. So is treated as a something new, designed to increase the profitability of the enterprise, reduce the cost or improve the manufacturing process, to ensure competent management of innovation. Undeniable urgency referred them to in this day and innovative development of our country. However, in our opinion, they are excluded from the analysis of mind is very important aspect in the studying, implementation, management and evaluation of innovation - namely, man as a consumer and user of innovation.

It cannot but rejoice that today there are works that address the problem of man in the context of innovation: the attitude to innovation, evaluation of innovations, innovative human capital, commitment to innovation [Bun'kovskij, 2015; Il'inyh, 2015; Karpova, 2004; Lapin, 2008: Nasibullin, 2014; Potencial, 2012]. However, it should be noted that not enough attention is paid to the phenomenon of habitulization of innovation (HI). There is no attempts to theoretical understanding of this phenomenon. In this regard, the purpose of this article is the initial conceptualization of the concept of HI from the standpoint of sociological approaches and concepts.

Relevance of the work due to the following. First, the success of innovation both in manufacturing and in the whole of society will be a success not only on the reasonableness, timeliness innovation itself, but also on the willingness and openness of the employee or the general population. In the event of unavailability or unwillingness of subjects innovation it can be taken by root with great difficulty or be boycotted. Secondly, the lack of theoretical and methodological framework, a clear conceptual apparatus complicates a deep and comprehensive analysis of the problem. It does not provide a correct prediction and formulation of recommendations to create an enabling environment for innovation. These factors dictate the need for conceptualizing the concept of HI.

Theoretical and methodological basis for the conceptualization of the notion claimed the whole set of approaches. First and foremost it is worth noting structuralist constructivism Bourdieu. These approach allows us to look at the process of innovation entering the daily lives of people with different points of view. On the one hand, innovations and the process of their implementation are presented as objective structures, which are independent of consciousness agents and dictate various actions. On the other hand – the actions of agents selected strategy of behavior in relation to innovation, due to the experiences acquired in the socialization, i.e. habit.

As we know, the concept of «habitus» Bourdieu treats as «mental structures through which agents perceive the social world are essentially the product of internalization of the structures of the social world» [Burd'e, 2007:74] In other words, the concept of habitus in the study process habitulization of innovation. This process allows to open an implicit unconscious mechanisms, which unifying «in the choice of a single ensemble of people, goods and practices» [Shmatko, 1998:60].

It is equally important to us to define the social space by Bourdieu on which, in his opinion, it is «abstract space constituted ensemble subspace or fields (the economic field, the intellectual field and others)» [Burd'e, 2007:53]. Social space consists of several fields: the field of economics, the field of politics, culture, field, etc. Any field Bourdieu defines as «a closed and relatively autonomous subsystem of social relations» [Shmatko, 2003:115] in which agents follow to the habit, operate by certain rules. This idea allows us to define the so-called innovative field.

One more approach used by us for conceptualization of the declared concept is a structural functionalism. He allows to consider HI from a position of system. This system has a certain structure and mechanisms of interaction of structural elements. And, each element carries out a certain function (dysfunction) [Merton, 1996].

The phenomenological approach in general, and the idea of social construction of reality, in particular, the shift in the study of problems on the subjective level. People order the objective social world. It leads to the fact that the social reality is interpreted by individuals. She has for them the importance as the integral world. In the center of reality from a position of phenomenological approach there is a reality of everyday life. She is perceived by individuals as not problematic as the habitual course of everyday life isn't interrupted [Berger, 1995: 42].

As is well known, P. Berger and T. Lukman identify several ways of constructing reality. Among them habitulizatsiya and typification: «Any action that is often repeated, becomes a model, then it can be played with the savings efforts and ipso facto recognized as a sample of his executor. Furthermore, habitualization means that the action in question may be made again in the future in the same manner and with the same practical force» [Berger, 1995:212]. Typification also organizes everyday life as a set of typical situations in which the individual acts specified (typical) way.

The sociocultural approach used by us in research of a HI allows to reveal her extra institutional bases, pays attention to the cultural aspects determining features of acceptance of innovations by agents. This approach gives the answer to an important question: a question – why, despite creation of all necessary conditions for acceptance and use of innovations, agents boycott or resist them. As P. A. Sorokin fairly notes, «change of practice, life, in particular, of ways and instruments of production, and similarly and all the legal and political organization comes only after corresponding change in mentality, in ideas, in knowledge and beliefs and without preliminary mental change it can't come» [Sorokin, 1992:531]. In other words, certain beliefs, stereotypes and patterns of behavior are created at the cultural level. They also leave a mark on acceptance of innovations.

It is important to note that the socio-cultural approach developed many modern Russian scientists in their research innovations. So, A.L. Marshak says that culture from the perspective of a systematic approach consists of «large and complex systems, parts of which have common features, the so-called universals» [Marshak, 2013:81]. An important thesis for the study of culture as a factor habitulizatsii innovation is that there is a «continuous improvement elements of culture» [Marshak, 2013:81]. In our opinion, this process sets rates and an orientation to changes of social and economic system. These "improvement" are cultural innovation. Analyzing culture in terms of its relationship to innovation and process innovation habitulizatsii, we can also detect the mutual interference of these phenomena. Firstly, improving culture awakens, stimulates innovation processes within itself as a system, and outside himself– ina large system, society. Secondly, stimulate innovations update culture and its elements.

Using of axiological approach gives us the chance to reveal and study values which leave a mark on process of acceptance of innovations. It is known that E. Hagen has entered the concept «innovative personality», and also has described its characteristics: inquisitive relation to the world, support of innovations, creative spirit, aspiration to novelty [Shtompka, 1996: 302]. Values are one of the most important factors determining process of embedding of innovations in daily occurrence of modern society.

When considering the adoption of innovation on the part of the population should reveal the concept of HI, which is understood as the process of integration of new practices in the everyday life of society. HI has its own structure, which includes the following elements:

1. Attitude to innovation - emotional and cognitive assessment of actors not only innovation in general, but also specific innovations.

2. Understanding innovation – understandingthe value of innovation in the everyday life of society.

3. Readiness to innovate – theability / inability of actors to the use of innovations in everyday life.

Thus, the innovative field (further IF) we define as a set of institutional structures and relationships between agents within which relationships are realized by embedding innovation in everyday life agents.

Within the boundaries of IF, we can find the action of two processes. On the one hand, the field sets to agents of the rule of conduct. On the other hand – agents transform the field the daily practicians. Thus they create new rules. Figure 1 shows the basic structure of the innovation field.

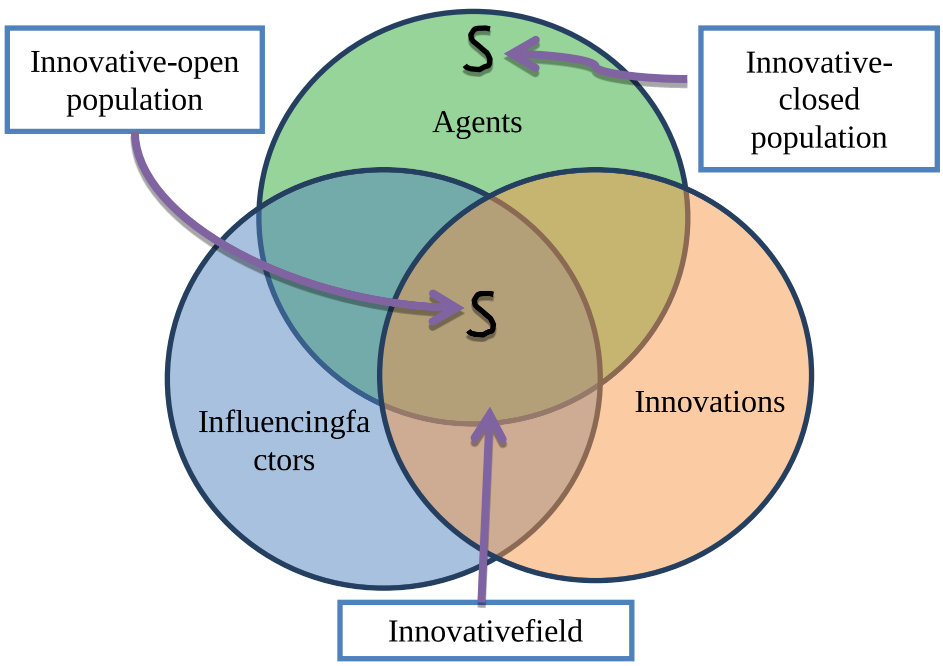

Fig. 1. The structure of the field of innovation

The innovative field is formed by three components: innovations, the influencing factors, actors of innovations – the population.

Innovation in this case refers to an extremely broad and include all the variety of available innovations in society (technological, social, organizational, etc.).

Factors are understood as the whole set of the conditions determining process of acceptance of innovations in everyday life. It is possible to divide factors into levels: macro- meso- and microfactors.

Innovation actors (population) should be considered in more detail. In many respects they define degree of success of introduction and functioning of an innovation.

Using the concept of «subject» is highly conditional. In the future, we will use the term «agent», as it involves not only the impact of social structures on the individual's behavior, but also its own activity. It should be noted, an agent of the innovative field is exclusively innovatively open population.

Innovative openness of the population is a characteristic of the population as agent of the innovative field. It is expressed in readiness and ability of the agent:

- it is adequate to estimate innovations;

- to understand need for innovations;

- to include the innovations in daily activity determined by factors of a social and psychological and sociocultural order.

There is an innovative-closed population outside the innovative field. Innovative-closed population characterizes as a population that is:

- outside the field of innovation;

- reflected in the willingness and ability of the agent consciously and reasonably reject innovation

- the desire to adhere to the known and familiar patterns of social action in everyday life.

Formation of innovative opening / closing of the population consists of two interrelated processes – internalizationand externalization. The simplest scheme of this process is shown in Figure 2.

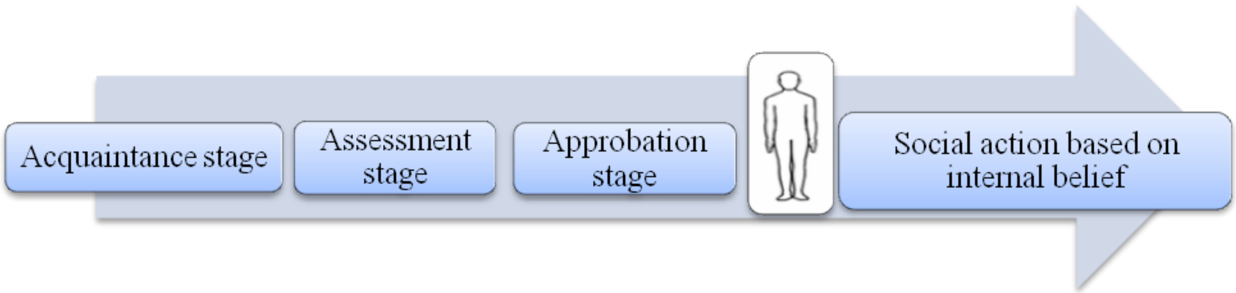

Fig. 2. The process of formation of an innovative openness / closeness

Innovation appear in society and act as something external in relation to the agent of innovations. In this case the innovation passes the following stages:

• acquaintance stage; obtaining information on an innovation;

• innovation assessment stage; the assessment of an innovation is carried out by an extensive range of criteria (availability, ease in application, relevance, etc.);

• an approbation stage, that is test of an innovation in the everyday life.

In case of successful completion of this process there is an interiorization of innovations. It is shown in inclusion of an innovation in an inner world of the agent. Further inside innovation turns into social action. Now she becomes outside. In case of failure of one of the specified stages of an assimilation of an innovation doesn't occur. The agent comes back to actions, habitual for him.

It is particularly important to dwell on one particular field of innovation – balancingof two opposing trends identified by W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki: the desire of new experiences and desire stability [Tomas, 2006:18]. In the case of the predominance of stable habit to talk about how to embed innovation in daily life is not necessary, as the conservatives prevail among the population. Otherwise - with the prevalence of habit, focused on getting a new experience – wecan talk about an open society, a high degree of social mobility, but at the same time, the process of the loss of the cultural society and (or) national identity.

Thus, summing up the result of the aforesaid, it should be noted that the habitulization of innovations is represented to us important category for the analysis and studying of problems of introduction of innovations in everyday life of society. It using allows to open such implicit aspect as the mental structures of agents of innovations braking or, on the contrary, stimulating acceptance by the population of innovations.

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Spread of Christianity and Islam in the aspect of Globalization

Azamat R. Sharipov, Ufa, Russia
Zinira F. Abrarova, Ufa, Russia

Abstract: This article is devoted to the analysis of separate aspects of origin and development of Christianity and Islam, their unity in works of outstanding thinkers of past and present. It also views the correlation of religious and national identity, as well as the influence of religious ethics on the life of a religious person.

Key words: globalization; identity; ethnicity; world confessions; Christianity, Islam, national; religious; self-consciousness

Consider the influence of world religions of Christianity and Islam in the history of human civilization in the aspect of the globalization process.

Religious identity - the same reality, as well as national, on this basis, add up new facets of xenophobia, we can speak of a "one-ordinal" phenomena of racial, cultural, linguistic and religious nationalism, identity-forming and self-awareness.

European medieval history, especially the period of the emergence of Protestantism, had a crucial influence on the history of the world. With the advent of Protestantism world has changed. Reformation awakened the national consciousness of several European nations has arisen because of the rejection of Vatican policy, alien to the Germans of the Italian clergy, with an incomprehensible to the population of Germany the Bible in Latin. A remarkable figure in this process is Martin Luther, which he contributed to the "awakening", he translated the Bible into German, thus making it understandable to ordinary parishioners. Translations of the Bible into German, contributed to its widespread deployment. The Reformation spread to other European countries.

Much of that can be attributed to Christianity, it is applicable to Islam, which appeared in the Arabian Peninsula in the VII century BC Islam as a religion formed on the same basis as that of Christianity, that is, Judaism, and is the third Abrahamic denomination in the world.

Thus, we can conclude the following: becoming the world's religions, Christianity and Islam are different trends and tendencies, were the first to experience the ideological globalization, that is spread all over the world, creating a common ground on standardized religious views Abrahamic monotheism. Modern diversity in Christianity and Islam, many currents, sects, often conflicting with each other, the differences of political and economic interests, are unavoidable costs of cultural and ethnic diversity.

Russia-2050: Population, Education, Culture, Production

Eugene V. Zhelnina, Togliatti, Russia

Abstract. In article maintenance and development of the concepts «social portrait», «social image» reveals. A main objective of article is on the basis of data of complex sociological research formation of an image of Russia-2050. Relevance of a problem consists in need of development of the sphere of the applied sociological knowledge intended for improvement of practice of social innovative public administration on the basis of complex studying of social reality. In article the sociological technique of formation of a generalized character of Russia-2050 is described. This image will find application in creation of model of innovative strategy of public administration. The publication is prepared within the supported RGNF of the scientific project No. 16-13-63003.

Key words: social portrait; social image; social forecast; Russia-2050

Today interest in a perspective of formation of strategic development of Russia is very high. Rapid development of researches in this direction leads to belief that the dispersed separate economic, political, social, financial examples of creation of strategy of development don't give a complete and objective picture. Methodological approaches and methodical developments there is a set. Each of them is intended for definite scientific purposes, for example, for comparison of strategy of development of various countries. However the key element of strategy – an image of future condition of the state which would form the application basis in practice of formation of innovative strategy of management in Russia isn't rather developed today. Thus, in modern practice of the public strategic administration need of carrying out complex sociological research for formation of an image of Russia-2050 as fundamentals of the state innovative policy has ripened.

In the theory and practice of strategic management it is claimed that development of strategy of development of the state has to begin with definition of mission and vision of what it aspires to. The Russian Federation – the huge country with the population of 146 270 033 people including 89 territorial subjects of the federation, 7 federal districts, a set of big and small settlements. Practically each of this number of the elements included in structure of the state represents an own picture of the future of Russia. Whatever effective and quick was management, it is important that all looked in one direction. Unfortunately, today the accurate, concrete image of Russia, even on the near-term outlook, doesn't exist. Investigating experience of other states, we can see that Kazakhstan has already created own strategy. This strategy is based on vision of future socio-economic indexes [Kazahstan – 2050…]. On the basis of this strategy and in strict accordance with it medium-term and short-term plans for achievement of the planned results are developed. Besides, today Russia adjusts with various states (China, Brazaliya, Venezuela) long-term partnership. It is important to construct them on the strong base which cornerstone strategy of a stable, sustainable development of the partner states has to be. «China-Russia 2050 can serve as an example: Strategy sorazvitiya». There is a realistic plan of cooperation of two large states till 2050, but there is no vision of a condition of the Russian state in this prospect.

The subject of formation of a social image is rather widespread perspective of applied sociological researches today. It is important to notice that the concepts «sociological portrait» and «social portrait» actively meet in domestic sociology from the second half of the 20th century. Then development of sociological portraits of representatives of various social communities and groups was considered popular and perspective. It is possible to give «a social portrait of the Soviet worker» as an example. Today researchers quite often are engaged in drawing up sociological portraits. In modern scientific publications it is possible to find and analyse rather easily:

- «sociological portrait of the average American» (F. Golov, L. Gudkov, B. Dubin);
- «sociological portrait of students» (T. Suyarkov);
- «sociological portrait of youth of Russia» (M. K. Gorshkov, F. E. Sheregi);
- «social and economic portrait of the Republic of Khakassia» (L. I. Serbay).

All similar portraits represent some sociological description which basis average data have been. These data are obtained during various sociological researches. They exclude creation of detection of any regularities. The category «sociological portrait» is widely used in a sociological discourse. However she is quite indistinct, differently defined within each separate research. Therefore first of all it is necessary to give accurate definition of the concept "sociological portrait" and to develop methodology of drawing up sociological portraits of various social objects in general and regions in particular. A great job over this problem was done by staff of Institute of philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences within the «Sociocultural Evolution of Russia and Its Regions» program. This collective has developed the most complete definition, treatment of the concept «sociological portrait». So, the sociological portrait is «the complete description of social essence of object (social group, a community, the organization and so forth) including the system characteristic of all components making him, and also social processes and the relations, with him connected» [Beljaeva, 2006].

Process of creation of a sociological portrait of any social object (whether it be a certain social group, the territory, the city, the region or the state) needs to be accompanied with observance of several basic principles. It is necessary to include preservation of balance between integrity of the created portrait, his uniqueness and the requirement of his universality which is dictated by his practical importance for the public in number of obligatory.

It is necessary to tell that today the researches devoted to a problem of formation of a social portrait are carried out mainly in economic and demographic aspects. The emphasis is placed on demographic and statistical data, financial performance, increase of level of competitiveness. The lack of the sociological analysis of this problem from a position of complex research is felt. Similar research would allow to unite economic, political, social, demographic, cultural and spiritual aspects. The state is not only political institute, but also as A. A. Meshkov fairly notes, «complex sociocultural process and a social and psychological phenomenon».

Having analysed the available works in the studied area, once again we will emphasize existence of deficiency of sociological researches of a problem of a strategirovaniye of the Russian state from a position of vision of prospects by his citizens. The complex sociological analysis of an image of Russia-2050 will allow to reveal expectations, fears, confidence and intention of citizens concerning distant prospect of development of Russia.

Main objective of article is formation of an actual image of Russia-2050 on the basis of data of complex sociological research. Measurement of the factors connected with an assessment of social and economic conditions for formation of priorities of future development and effective achievement of goals is of great importance for innovative strategic management. The huge number of various factors therefore their identification, the objective and reliable assessment, in our opinion, is necessary exerts impact on the state.

Relevance of a problem consists in need of development of the sphere of the applied sociological knowledge intended for improvement of practice of social innovative public administration on the basis of complex studying of social reality.

In April, 2015 under the leadership of Zhelnina E. V., the associate professor «Sociology» of the Tolyatti state university the sociological research «Russia-2050» has been conducted. 783 respondents have taken part in questioning. The calculated reliability indicators (99 %) and selection errors (± 5 %) allow to consider selection representative, and the received results valid. Research was carried out according to the following methodological principles:

1) system principle; he has allowed to consider object of research as the complete object having the internal and external relations, components;

2) principle of objectivity; he assumes a support on the facts and consideration of the social phenomenon interesting us from a position of objective regularities;

3) principle of a determinism; it is realized in studying of the declared problem taking into account its causal conditionality by the previous social processes proceeding in the country; among

them it is possible to note the Soviet heritage (both his positive side, and negative aspects), crisis of economy of the end of the 20th century, economic recessions of the 2000th, etc.;

4) principle of development; he has allowed to consider a problem in the course of her change, emergence and permission of internal contradictions;

5) principle of objectivity; it is based on studying of exclusively social facts (but not their interpretations by other scientists and researchers) and the accounting of all set of the facts defining the studied perspective;

6) principle of information security of research; scientific work relies on reliable statistical base (Federal State Statistics Service, Samarastat), for synthesis of the obtained primary sociological information the professional program of statistical information processing SPSS-2.0 is used;

So, before representation of results it is necessary to define structure of respondents. Ratio of men and women: 46 % and 54 %. It corresponds to statistical data on Tolyatti. As for financial position, I will pay attention to great volume of a middle-class (about 84 %). It is a buffer between rich and poor representatives of the Russian community. In 2050 respondents have distinguished from the most important spheres of activity of the Russian society:

1. Economy (18 %).
2. Family (17 %).
3. Human and citizen right (12 %).
4. Education (12 %).
5. Foreign policy (11 %).
6. Domestic policy (10 %).
7. Ecology (9 %).
8. Socialvalues (9 %).
9. Religion (8 %).

Naturally, it is impossible to allocate any one sphere categorically. In this case we will gain defective development, it is essential warped. All spheres are important for the state. Here the rating of their importance is shown.

The question of future population of Russia in 2050 has been asked one of the first. More than a half of respondents have specified that she will grow (with various share of intensity) – (raise) 47 % and 13 % (grow considerably). Respondents have distinguished from the reasons which will promote growth of population of the country in 2050 equally increase of birth rate and strengthening of migration (36 % and 38 % respectively). But, running a little forward, I will tell that answers of respondents to the subsequent questions don't allow to count on birth rate increase fully. Therefore, proceeding from cumulative result, it is possible to count only on migration in case the state doesn't concentrate the efforts on population policy.

From the analysis of answers of respondents to the question «What Place for the Russian in 2050 Will Be Taken by Group, Collective?» we have revealed rather obvious tendency to individualization.

It is important to tell that overwhelming number of respondents have noted enduring importance of institute of a family and in 2050 (95,81 %). Exclusive importance of a family is shown in spite of the fact that the tendency to individualization, separation of the individual from collective was shown. More number of respondents (88 %) have supported full families – the father, mother, 1-2 children. Both childless couples, and families with one parent were mentioned as incomplete families. Were as well answers in which it was said about what is considered the real family now and that where all together live parents with children, grandmothers grandfathers will be considered in 2050. So, summing up the result, one may say, that in 2050 the union of the man and woman in which was born two children will be considered as a usual family. The family lives in separately from relatives in sufficient material welfare. In a family traditional division of roles is accepted: the getter and the defender the husband, the woman – the keeper of a home. Butin a family both spouses work.

On a question of the number of children in a family, we have received the following results. The arithmetic average makes 2,08. For improvement of demographic indicators it is necessary to realize these coefficient in 2,19. In other words, it is 3 children on a family. Median value 2 children have turned out. Thus, it is possible, at least, on stability of population of Russia in 2050.

It was interesting to learn how affairs with the higher education in Russia of 2050 will be. The average indicator of representation of workers with the higher education will make 58%. This slightly more than a half of workers. In principle, quite good indicator. There is no tendency to latent need of obtaining the diploma for receiving work.

Respondents called more than 100 professions which, in their opinion, will be prestigious in 2050. We have dared to unite them in groups (a mention on extent of decrease of popularity): 1. Engineer. 2. Doctor. 3. Programmer. 4. Teacher. 5. Lawyer. 6. Economist. 7. Manager. 8. Ecologist. 9. Scientist. 10. Builder.

Will be important for the Russian in 2050 (a mention on extent of decrease of popularity): 1. Family. 2. Prosperity. 3. Work. 4. Personal growth. 5. Money. 6. Health. 7. Education. 8. World peace. 9. Stability. 10. Rights and freedoms of the citizen.

Among fears which will disturb citizens of Russia in 2050 the obtained data I allow to create the following rating (a mention on extent of decrease of popularity): 1. Ecology. 2. Income.

3. Unemployment. 4. Foreign policy. 5. Health. 6. Economy. 7. External aggression. 8. Domestic policy. 9. Inflation. 10. Housing economy.

From spheres which will please Russians in 2050 were distinguished (a mention on extent of decrease of popularity): 1. Good income. 2. Progress. 3. Family. 4. Children. 5. Social policy. 6. Industry of leisure. 7. Patriotism. 8. Personal success. 9. Internal political stability.

The scientific importance of the project consists in development of interdisciplinary approach to such spheres of sociological knowledge as the sociology of management, sociology of public sector and the theory of the public and municipal administration Research expands prospect of studying of process of the state strategy from a position of phenomenological, behaviour approaches. Research deepens studying of process of elaboration of long-term strategy of public administration. Results give an idea of opinion of citizens of the state of the future of their country (distant prospect – 2050), will allow to correct a federal, regional municipal policy for the purpose of optimization of programs of development of innovative processes in society and the state.

The received results of research can be used:

1. at the level of the state, municipal and regional authority when developing federal, regional and city programs of strategic development;

2. for expansion of prospect of the sociological analysis of a problem of a strategy in the region and modern Russian society in general;

3. as the statistical material significantly enriching sociology of innovation and the theory and practice of the public and municipal administration;

4. for improvement of educational programs, training courses and methodical grants in the field of the theory and practice of the public and municipal administration, sociology of innovation, economic sociology, the theory of social processes, sociology of the city and city development, sociology of management;

5. materials of researches can find application in cultural and educational work with youth; by preparation of student's scientific works.

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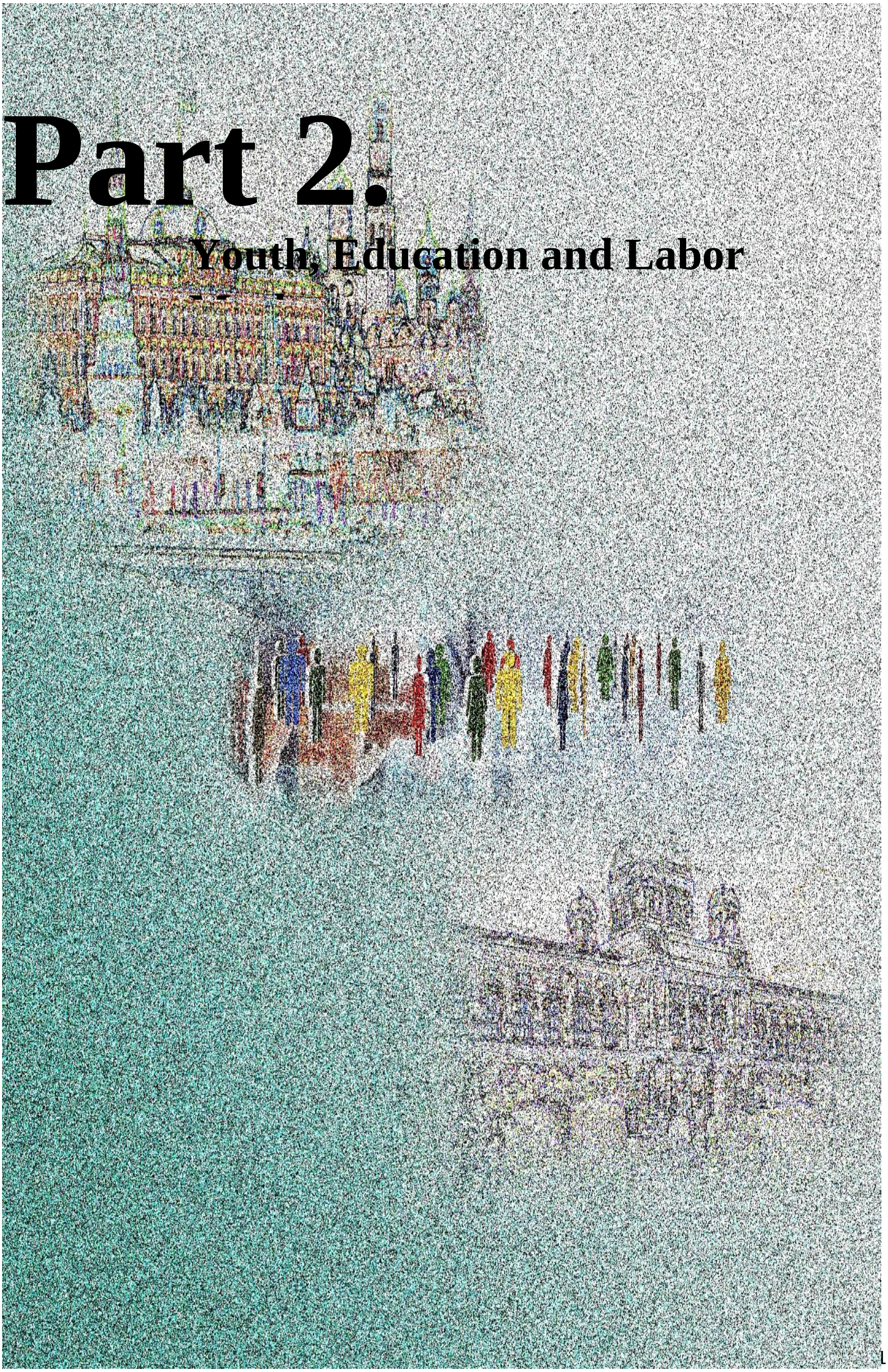
Part 2.

Youth, Education and Labor



Problems of Inequality in Higher Education in the Context of the Interaction between Education and the Labor Market

Margarita D. Bershadskaya, Moscow, Russia
Marina V. Artamonova, Moscow, Russia
Alexandra V. Serova, Moscow, Russia

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Abstract. Based on the data of comparative educational statistics, the international university ranking results (Webometrics) and the analysis of the problems of updating the educational standards of the Russian Federation, the three main aspects of inequality in Russian higher education consider revising: student elitism; the low quality of mass higher education; weak interaction of higher education and the labor market. Improving the quality of mass higher education - a prerequisite reducing elitism student masses.The real way to improve the quality of mass higher education – is strengthening of the interaction between higher education and the labor market.

Keywords:accessibility; social equality; mass higher education; professional standard; federal educational standard; labor market

Indicators of access to higher education

Inequality in access to education is one of the global problems of higher education.

Among the fundamental research on the accessibility of higher education in the countries of the world are the works of Alex Usher and other Canadian researchers [Usher& Cervenan, 2005; Usher& Medow, 2010] who provide a comparison of a number of national educational systems on the basis ofquantitative indicators.However, the number of countries considered by the authors is limited due to the lack of statistical data. The rough estimation of Russia's place in the global rankings, although it proved to be very laborintensive, has led us to the important results of applied character [Bershadskaya M., Karpenko O., 2015]The main results of the assessment of inequality in Russian higher education: Russia refers to one of the least successful countries with the low ranking of the accessibility of higher education (social aspect) and with a relatively good indicator in the ranking of affordability of higher education (financial aspect) - Fig.1.

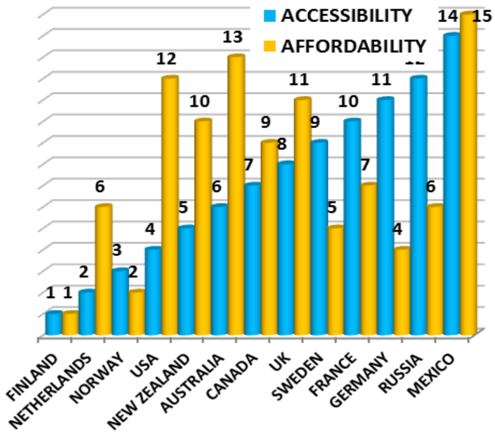

Fig.1. Position of countries in the rankings Accessibility and Affordability (the higher the bar, the worse the result)

As a general indicator for comparative assessment of the socio-demographic characteristics of the students of different countries there was introduced the «educational equity index » (EEI), specially designed for this purpose by the institute for educational policy. EEI is measured as the percentage of university students whose father attained a university degree and the percentage of degree holders in the male population at age 45-65

In the ranking of accessibility (social aspect) Russia occupies one of the last places due to the low rate of social equality in education, which has the maximum weight of the four indicators - Fig.2.

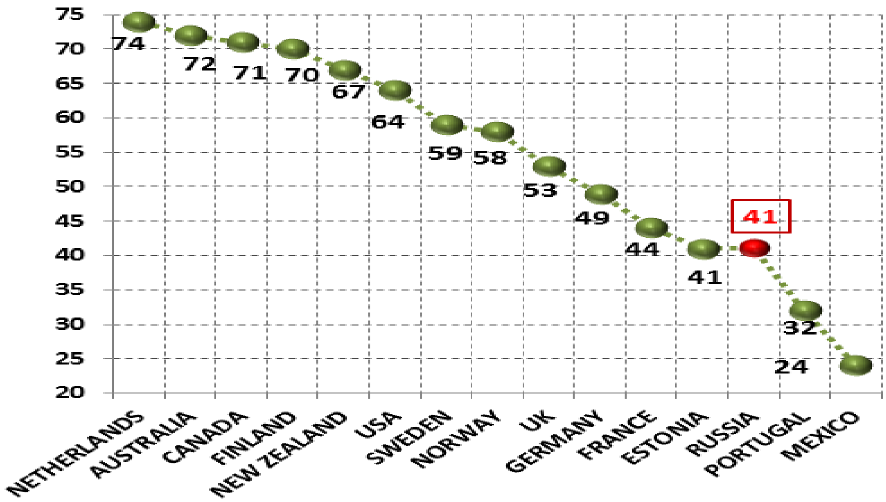

Fig. 2. Educational equity index in higher education

Indicators of the Quality of Mass Higher Education

Mass higher education is not solve the problem of access to quality higher education due to the low quality of education in mass universities. Analysis of the results of the international Webometrics ranking of universities shows that even in the United States more than 60% of universities are not included in the top 5000. The assessment of the quality of mass higher education is made on a conditional parameter that indirectly characterizes the quality of mass education in a country / region: the share of ranked universities included in top 5000 (N_{5000}) in the total number of ranked universities among 20 000 (N_{20000}): N_{5000}/N_{20000}. Russia, a member of the top five countries in the number of universities in the top 20000 (all Russian universities are part of N_{2000}), shows very low values N_{5000}/N_{20000} (lower than that in India and Brazil) - fig. 3

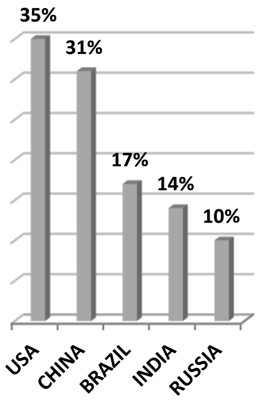

Fig.3.Share of N_{5000} in N_{20000} (July 2015)

Improving the quality of public education in Russia by eliminating a large number of mass universities can hardly be considered an effective way to the development of mass education in the country with a vast territory, with uneven population density and with the growing social stratification.

Experience the interaction of education and labor market

The real way to improve the quality of mass higher education, we see, first of all, in strengthening of the interaction between higher education and the labor market. Our experience of such cooperation in the joint development of professional standards in sociology made us possible to identify major competences of bachelors and masters, which must be taken into account in the updating of the federal educational standards of Russia in the subject "Sociology". The formulation of competences in the language of employers ensures the effectiveness of the labor market participation in the assessment of competencies of graduates. This approach is particularly important in the conditions of uniform nationwide educational standards, as is the case in Russia. It is the involvement of employers in the development of technology for assessment of competencies of graduates will lead, ultimately, to improve the quality of mass higher education and, as a consequence, to reduction of social inequality between graduates of elite and mass universities.

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Professional Standard as the basis for the Interaction of Education and Labor Market

Margarita D. Bershadskaya, Moscow, Russia
Marina V. Artamonova, Moscow, Russia
Andrey A. Kozhanov, Moscow, Russia
Olga V. Rybakova, Moscow, Russia
Natalia N. Sedova, Moscow, Russia
Irina V. Vorobyova, Moscow, Russia
Miroslava S. Tsapko, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. As a result of collaboration the problem zones of interaction of education and labor market in the field of sociology are revealed: the lack of an agreed and settled vocabulary, the insufficiency of the regulatory framework, the lack of a common understanding of “the structure and content”. Based on the study of these problem areas there was developed a functional map of activity for organizing and conducting the sociological research with a detailed examination of labor functions , as well as the knowledge and skills to implement them. There was developed the draft of the professional standard for this type of activity.

Key words: sociological research; labor market; Professional Standard, competences; knowledge and skills

The interaction of Russian education and the labor market, not easy at all times, is currently complicated by a large number of agencies and companies seeking to receive a specialist from the university according to their own ideas about the required competencies of the graduate.

Settlement of the relationship between education and the labor market in Russia is particularly important for relatively young kinds of activity such as the organization and carrying out sociological research.

In Russia, the establishment of common requirements is achieved by the development of professional standards as a basis for the interaction of vocational education and labor in order to increase the competitiveness of Russian specialists in the domestic and international labor markets.

Do the representatives of education sector have to participate in the development of the professional standard? The expediency and even the necessity of participation of educational organizations in the development of common requirements for professional activity is confirmed by the experience of our team of developers of the professional standard "Specialist in the organization and carrying out sociological research." The group consists of both - employers and university representatives including the developers of state educational standards in sociology.

As a result of collaboration the problem zones of interaction of education and labor market in the field of sociology are revealed: the lack of an agreed and settled vocabulary, the insufficiency of the regulatory framework, the lack of a common understanding of “the structure and content”. Based on the study of these problem areas there was developed a functional map of activity for organizing and conducting the sociological research with a detailed examination of labor functions , as well as the knowledge and skills. The draft of the professional standard for this kind of activity is developed. Taking into account an expert assessment of the project there were prepared recommendations for updating of educational standards of the higher sociological education. Forms of participation in similar developments of university graduates have been also offered.

The functional map proposed for the development of professional standard in the organization and carrying out sociological research includes five generalized labor functions (A, B, C, D, E) – fig.1. The order of an arrangement of functions from A to E corresponds to the increase of requirements for the qualification of performers – from undergraduate to doctorate.

Fig.1. The functional map of activity for organizing and conducting the sociological research: the generalized labor functions

The description of the generalized functions is presented in tab. 1 by lists of the corresponding labor functions and requirements to education.

Table 1. The functional map of activity for organizing and conducting the sociological research: the description of generalized labor functions

Generalized labor functions	The description of generalized labor functions			
A. Organization of work on data collection of sociological research	**A.01** Preparation of sociological data collection	**A.02**. Data collection from primary and secondary sources	**A.03.** Control of collected data for the subsequent primary processing	**A.04.** Establishment of rules of archiving and storage of personal data
B Design of sociological research	**B.01.** Preparation of project proposals for the implementation of basic or applied sociological research	**B.02.**Development of program and methodological documents of sociological research	**B.03.** Coordination of documentation regulating interaction of the customer and the contractor	
C. Description, explanation, forecasting of the social phenomena and processes on the basis of results of sociological research	**C.01.** Analysis, interpretation of the data of sociological research	**C.02.** Preparation and execution of final project documents	**C.03.** Presentation of the results of research to different audiences	
D. Theoretical and methodological work to improve the practice of carrying out sociological research	**D.**01Development of models and methods of the description and explanation of the social phenomena and processes	**D.02.** Improvement and development of data collection and analysis of sociological and marketing research		
E Sociological expert examination and consulting on the basis of results of sociological research	**E.01.** Conducting sociological examination of strategies, activities; the quality of research;	**E.02.** Advising on the application of the results of sociological and marketing research		

Labor functions are described by the corresponding labor actions and lists of skills and knowledge required to perform labor activities. An example of such a description is shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Example of the description of labor function

Labor function	Description of labor function		
	Labor actions	**Required skills**	**Required knowledge**
A.01. Preparation of sociological data collection	Coordination of organizational and methodical issues of collecting information with the project manager Detail of the method of collecting sociological information in relation to conditions of research and features of the chosen methodological strategy Preparation of methodical documents for training of staff on data collection: interviewers, coders, observers	- To use knowledge of social sciences to study social institutions and processes; - To analyze the possibility of using those or other sociological methods to a specific project; - To work with technical documentation; - To interpret professional terms and concepts; - To use network technologies, to create Internet resources, to edit them, to use remote resources; - To formulate research tasks for the solution of an administrative problem.	-Theoretical foundations of sociology, methodology and methods of sociological knowledge; - The main methods of sociological and marketing research; - Methods of selection of respondents and documentary sources for the quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection; - Fundamentals of psychology and pedagogy, basics of management, human resources management; - Fundamentals of the economy, administrative and financial accounting; - Fundamentals of business etiquette and professional interaction

As we can see, a functional diagram of the professional activity, developed as a result of the joint work of representatives of the education sector and the labor market, is a good basis for updating educational standards of higher education.The labor functions will be taken into account in the formation of professional competencies of bachelors and masters in sociology.Formulations of labor actions are important for the development of the system of estimation of competences.

It should be noted that the process of developing of a functional diagram was accompanied by its repeatedly correcting, based on peer review by representatives of the labor market and public discussion. Eventually despite the heated debate in the development team, there came a mutual understanding between the representatives of universities and the labor market, necessary for the successful formation of the professional competencies of university graduates.

The proposed functional scheme is documentary issued in the draft of the professional standard "Specialist in the organization and carrying out sociological and marketing research".The developed professional standard in sociology is a basis for further interaction of education and labor market especially important at estimation of competences of students.

Thus, the main results of our research and development are as follows:

- There were developed professional requirements for the organization and carrying out sociological research;

- There was created the basis for updating the standards of higher education in the field of sociology in accordance with labor market requirements;

- There was proposed the draft of the state professional standard "Specialist in the organization and carrying out sociological and marketing research"; the expert assessment and public discussion of the developed standard was carried out;

There was shown the urgency of further cooperation between education and labor market in the formation and evaluation of professional competences of bachelors and masters on the basis of the developed professional standard.

Webometrics Ranking in the Context of Accessibility of Higher Education

Margarita D. Bershadskaya, Moscow,Russia
Yulia A. Voznesenskaya, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. The purpose of this study is a comparative assessment of the development of mass higher education in the regions and countries on the basis of the results of Webometrics. Main tasks: Comparison of national educational systems in terms of the scale of mass higher education; assessment of the quality of mass higher education; study of the growth of the network activity of Russian universities (2007-2015) in Federal districts. The methodology is based on the comparison of the number of universities in the country/region included in several thousands of best universities in the world (6 indicators: N_{2000}, N_{3000}, N_{4000}, N_{5000}, N_{10000}, N_{20000}). Evaluation of the quality of mass higher education is made on a conditional parameter - the share of ranked universities in the country/region included in top 5000 (N_{5000}) in the total number of ranked universities among 20000 (N_{20000}). Originality of research: new aspects of leadership of countries and regions in the Webometrics ranking, their quantitative expression.

Key words:accessibility; webometrics; mass higher education; network activity; world rankings

Introduction

Inequality in access to education is one of the global problems of higher education. For developing countries, especially for Asian countries with a growing population and increasing demand for higher education, this issue is particularly relevant.

Among the fundamental research on the accessibility of higher education in the countries of the world are the works of Alex Usher and other Canadian researchers [Usher, A. & Cervenan, A.,2005; 2. Usher, A.& Medow, J., 2010] who provide a comparison of a number of national educational systems on the basis of quantitative indicators. However, the number of countries considered by the authors is limited due to the lack of statistical data. The rough estimation of Russia's place in the global rankings, although it proved to be very labor-intensive, has led us to the important results of applied character [Karpenko, O. & Bershadskaya, M., 2014]. Comprehensive information on mass higher education in the BRIC countries is given in the joint work of researchers from England, India, China and Russia [Carnoy, M., Loyalka, P. and others,2013] The data on the enrolment of young people in higher education programs in these countries, the ratio of elite and mass higher education and the issues of quality of mass higher education are considered in detail.

In general, the problem of the global comparison of the world countries by accessibility and affordability of higher education, by the level of development of mass higher education remains open and requires the elaboration of simple and dynamic approaches to its solution.

In this context it seems important to analyze the results of Webometrics ranking of world universities – the only one of the global rankings of universities, stimulating the development of not only the elite but also of mass higher education.

However, publications devoted to the analysis of the Webometrics ranking mostly consider the reliability of ranking indicators [Aguillo, I. F. and other, 2010; Aguillo, I. F., 2008; Artyushina, I. & Shutilin, V., 2009] and the results of the individual countries and universities. Authors are limited to the selection of university- leaders, not taking the advantage to examine many thousands of universities for the characteristics of mass higher education. Being adherents of mass higher education, we carry out regular multidisciplinary analysis of the results of Webometrics ranking since 2007 and on the basis of summarizing of the analytical data have come to the possibility of obtaining evaluation indicators for comparison of higher education systems in terms of the development of mass higher education, taking into account the scale factor.

The purpose of this study is a comparative assessment of the development of mass higher education in the countries and regions of the world on the basis of the analysis of the results of Webometrics ranking.

It should be emphasized that when performing research we were focused on simplicity and dynamics of comparison taking into account the fact that the results of the comparative assessment may change with each next version of Webometrics ranking. So we are talking only about estimates indirectly characterizing the scale and quality of mass higher education without taking into account such important factors as the country's population, the share of enrolment of young people in higher education and others. The introduction of appropriate correction factors for a more rigorous quantitative assessment of the level of mass education is a subject of separate study that goes beyond the scope of this work.

Materials and Methods

Webometrics Ranking: Main Ideas, the Dynamics of Development

Four recognized global university rankings - the Shanghai Academic Ranking of World Universities, QS World University Rankings (Quacquarelli Symonds), The Times Higher Education World University Ranking and National Taiwan University Ranking - are aimed at the selection of leading universities, thus stimulating the elite education in the world.

The main feature of Webometrics ranking is wide coverage of universities - more than 20 thousand ranked universities compared to 200 - 800 in other rankings. It provides a unique opportunity to compare national systems of higher education not only by individual universities-leaders, but also by the entire set of universities that make up the system. Number of national universities in several thousands of the best universities in the world is becoming an important indicator of the magnitude of the higher education system in the country, its willingness to accept new technologies.

The ranking results including the position of universities by all indicators are published twice a year. Almost any University in the world gets the opportunity to constantly analyze its strengths and weaknesses and on the basis of such analysis not only regulate the web policy of the university, but also assess the competitiveness of its educational and research activities. Thereby the development of not only the elite, but also of mass higher education is stimulating, both in individual countries and globally.

Webometrics ranking has been held since 2004. Universities are evaluated by their presence in the Internet on the basis of the analysis of University Web sites. The main ideas, originally laid down by the authors of the ranking include the solution of such important problems as

- growth of online publications,
- increased communication between scientists and teachers,
- formation of new connections,
- efficiency, and simplicity of information exchange.

At the same time, it should be emphasized that the indicators of Webometrics ranking evaluate not only the openness of information, but also the quality of scientific research. The methodology of the ranking is developing precisely in this direction in the last few years.

Currently more than 20 thousand world universities are being ranked. Such a scale of research was presented for the first time in January 2012.

The increase in the number of ranked universities from 12 to 20 thousand in January 2012 was accompanied by methodological failures, violation of the transparency of the results [Bershadskaya, M., 2013]. In July 2013 there were published the changes in the methodology of the ranking.

Analysis of the Results of the Ranking: Objectives, Methodological Foundations

Analysis of the results of the ranking with thousands of university coverage is made in three main aspects: Comparison of national educational systems in terms of the scale of mass higher education; Assessment of the quality of mass higher education in the region/country; Study of the growth of the network activity of Russian universities (2007-2015).

Performing of each of these tasks contributes to a comparative assessment of the development of mass higher education in the regions and countries of the world.

Methodological framework for the comparative assessment of magnitude of mass higher education is based on a synthesis of the results of countries by the number of national universities included in several thousands of the best world universities [Bershadskaya, M., 2013; Karpenko, O.

& Bershadskaya, M., 2013;Karpenko, O., Bershadskaya, M., Voznesenskaya, Yu., 2014; Karpenko, O., Bershadskaya, M., Voznesenskaya, Yu, 2015].

Unlike most authors, considering the performance of the country in top 100, 200, 500, 1000 (N_{100}, N_{200}, N_{500}, N_{1000}), and thereby characterizing the elite education in the country, we determine the number of national universities starting with 1000 best universities in the world and up to 20000. The comparison is made by 6 main indicators: N_{2000}, N_{3000}, N_{4000}, N_{5000}, N_{10000}, N_{20000}. This is a new aspect of leadership that we came in 2007 when we discovered that Russia entered the top ten countries in terms of N_{5000}. With the increase in selection of the best universities we can see among the leaders the developing countries from different regions. By the same performance indicators N_{2000}, N_{3000}, N_{4000}, N_{5000}, N_{10000}, N_{20000} we carried out an appropriate assessment of magnitude of mass higher education in the regions (Asia, America, Africa and Europe).

The assessment of the quality of mass higher education is made on a conditional parameter that indirectly characterizes the quality of mass education in a country / region: the share of ranked universities included in top 5000 (N_{5000}) in the total number of ranked universities among 20 000 (N_{20000}): N_{5000}/N_{20000}. The observation of the drafters of Webometrics ranking made in January 2013, saying that even in the United States more than 2000 universities occupy places after the top 5000, has led the authors of this paper to the idea to use this index - N_{5000}. The development of mass higher education in Russia was estimated by indicators N3000, N5000, N20000 characterizing the network activity of Russian universities.

Finding Results

The number of ranked universities in each of the 6 rankings 2012-2015 was about 20 000. Of 215 countries considered in these rankings only 22 countries have more than 200 national universities among all ranked universities (top 23 800) and only 19 countries in the top 20000 - Fig. 1.

In January 2015 the number of ranked Chinese universities has more than doubled compared with the previous ranking of July 2014. In other countries a significant increase was noted only in Russia (over 37%) - Fig. 2.

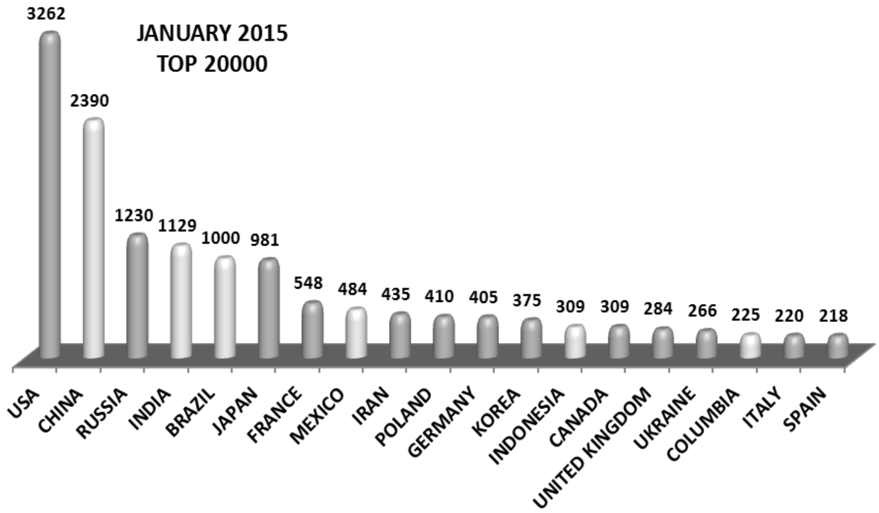


Fig.1.Countries with a number of national universities more than 200 in the top 20 000: dark bars - economically developed countries; light bars - developing countries

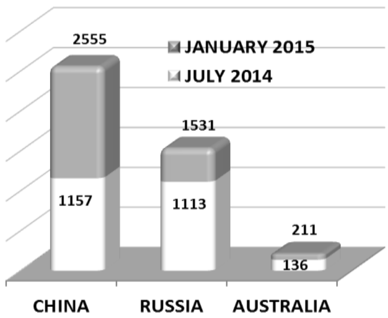


Fig.2. The increase in the number of national universities in the top 20 000 (indicator N_{20000}) for the period January 2014 - January 2015

Comparative Evaluation of the Development of Mass Higher Education in the World

Comparison of regions in terms of N_{20000} (Fig.1) shows that 95, 6% in the top 20000 are in Asia, America and Europe, with the noticeable advantage of Asia (Fig.3a). For indicators N_{10000} and N_{5000} (Fig.3b) Asia is leading. In the top 4000 and 3000 Asian leadership is also evident. In the top 2000 (indicator N_{2000}) Asia and America noticeably lag behind Europe.

As we can see (Fig.4) , the ratio of the number of Asian, American and European universities in the top 5000 to the number in the top 20000 of corresponding area varies in the range 25-27%: 25% (Asia), 27% (USA) and 26% (Europe).

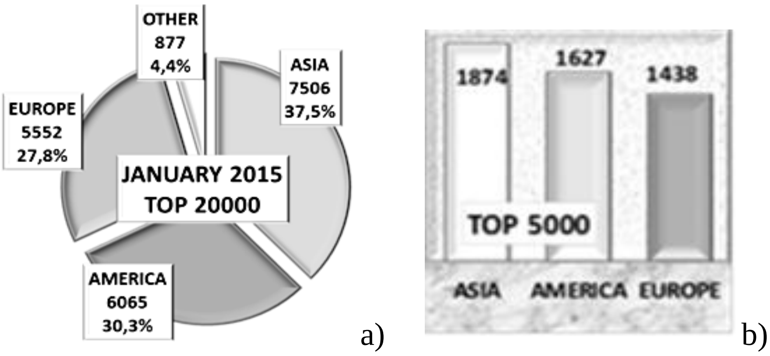


Fig.3. The increase in the number of national universities in the top 20 000 (indicator N_{20000}) for the period January 2014 - January 2015

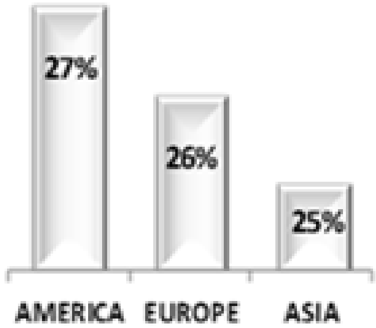


Fig. 4. The ratio of the number of Asian, American and European universities in the top 5000 to the number in the top 20000

Comparison of National Educational Systems in Terms of the Scale of Mass Higher Education

The results of the top 20 000 (comparison of countries in terms of N_{20000} - Fig. 1) is a clear evidence of the magnitude of mass higher education in developing countries: 7 developing countries of Asia, Africa and America (China, India, Brazil, Mexico, Iran, Indonesia, Colombia) count total 7072 universities in the top 20 000 (more than 35% of N_{20000}). The first five of these countries are in the top ten countries in terms of N_{20000} and three of them are in the top 5.

Table 1 presents seven indicators for 19 countries with large-scale system of higher education (N_{20000} more than 200 countries). In each column of the table the top ten indicators are marked in gray. The countries in the top ten by all seven indicators are also grayed out. Of nineteen countries only four countries are not among the top ten by these indicators.

According to table 1 and fig. 5 we can see how the composition of ten leading countries in the number of national universities is changing depending on the sampling of the best world universities. Five countries – the United States, China, Japan, Brazil and France – are leaders by all major indicators. Two more countries - Germany, the United Kingdom - are among the top ten countries by five main indicators. Russia and Taiwan are leading by four indicators. Mexico, Iran and Poland are among the leading countries only by the number of ranked universities.

Table 1. Indicators of magnitude of mass higher education

Country	N_{20000}	N_{10000}	N_{5000}	N_{4000}	N_{3000}	N_{2000}
USA	3262	2295	1092	870	666	456
China	2390	1710	817	628	432	253
Russia	1230	441	172	115	61	26
India	1129	305	111	72	41	16
Brazil	1000	342	184	140	98	63
Japan	981	513	245	203	152	99
France	548	265	157	138	119	91
Mexico	474	97	55	39	30	20
Iran	435	147	85	68	43	21
Poland	410	163	74	67	53	27
Germany	405	275	153	124	96	77
Korea	375	184	94	74	64	43
Indonesia	309	142	72	55	41	16
Canada	309	153	79	61	60	49
UK	284	188	143	137	118	99
Taiwan	*160*	*151*	109	94	77	61
Ukraine	266	127	43	25	13	8
Columbia	225	99	50	32	22	13
Italy	220	107	74	62	67	57
Spain	218	111	76	72	67	57

Fig. 5 shows the distribution of national universities of ten leading countries in each sample - top 20000 (N_{20000}), top 10000 (N_{10000}), top 5000 (N_{5000}), top 4000 (N_{4000}), top 3000 (N_{3000}), top 2000 (N_{2000}). As we can see the first three places in all samples, except for the top 20000, belong to the United States, China and Japan. India, the fourth in the top 20000 is among the top ten in 10000 and top 5000 and then falls out from among the leaders. Russia and Brazil (the third and fifth places in the top 20000) have similar results in samples 10000 and 5000 Russia lags behind Brazil in the top 4000 and is not included in the 10 leading countries, starting with the top 3000. Brazil takes fourth place in the top 5000 and 4000, sixth place in the top 3000, seventh – in the top 2000. Germany, France, Great Britain is the seventh-ninth place in the top 10000, six to eight - in the top 5000, fifth to seventh - in the top 4000, fourth , fifth, seventh in the top 3000 and top 2000.

The absolute leader in the magnitude of higher education (the first aspect of leadership) is the United States, occupying the first place in all six indicators far ahead of other countries. Second place takes China, third – Japan; France is on the fourth, followed by Brazil and Russia.

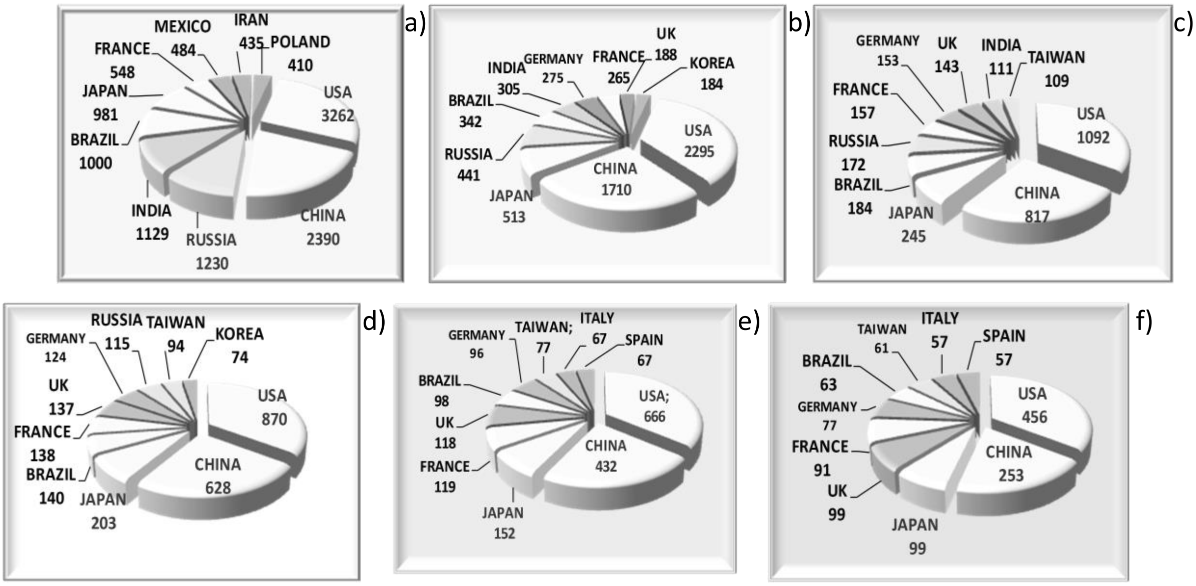


Fig.5. The top ten countries by number of national universities in different samples of the best universities in the world

a) top 20000 (N_{20000}), b) top 10000 (N_{10000}), c) top 5000 (N_{5000}), d) top 4000 (N_{4000}), e) top 3000 (N_{3000}), f) top 2000 (N_{2000})

Indicators of the Quality of Mass Higher Education

The use of the ratio of national universities in the top 5000 and top 20000 as a conditional indicator of the quality of mass universities leads to an unexpected result - the undoubted superiority of China in July 2014.

American universities, seemingly inaccessible by the results of all recognized rankings in all samples of the best universities in the world, for the first time gave way to the championship. Among the countries with the large-scale system of higher education China is leading. In July 2014 over 60% of ranked universities of China entered 5000 best universities in the world [Karpenko, O., Bershadskaya, M., Voznesenskaya, Yu., 2014]. In January 2015 China's position by this indicator has deteriorated significantly. There is an obvious link with the sharp increase in the number of ranked Chinese universities and, respectively, a doubling of N_{20000}. Among the countries with large-scale systems of higher education China remains on top in January 2015 (dark bars in Fig.6), but in July 2015 is already noticeably inferior to the U.S. (Fig.7).

In January 2015 the first place among 19 countries by this index belongs to the UK -50%, Germany (second place) –38%, Spain (third place) and only on the fourth place is China at 35%. On the fourth – sixth place are the U.S. and Italy at 34%. Next are four countries (France, Canada, Korea, Japan,) with 25-29% which is no lower than the average level of the respective regions ranging, as shown above, from 25 to 27%. The following six countries presented in fig. 6, have scores from 16-23%, significantly below the average of the respective regions. And very low rates (from 10 to 14%) are in Russia, India, Mexico.

There is every reason to believe that China, which ranks second by all indicators of the magnitude (table 1, fig. 5) and the first place on the calculated quality score among the countries with the most large-scale systems, is a leader in the development of mass universities in the world countries.

As we saw earlier the index of the quality of mass higher education based on the ratio of the number of national universities in the top 5000 and top 20 000 was chosen conditionally. Choosing the top 5000 as the basis for determining the quality indicator is caused mainly by the accumulation of large amounts of data in this sample, which for several years was the maximum (see Fig. 1).Taking into account the conditionality of such choice we made comparison between similar parameters for different samples of the best universities in the world. In general, the comparison showed that the selected indicator based on the analysis of the top 5000 is suitable for comparing the quality of mass higher education in countries with different levels of development of educational systems. Indicators based on smaller samples are mainly suitable for advanced systems. For comparison of systems with low quality of mass higher education it is convenient to use an indicator based on the analysis of the top 10000.

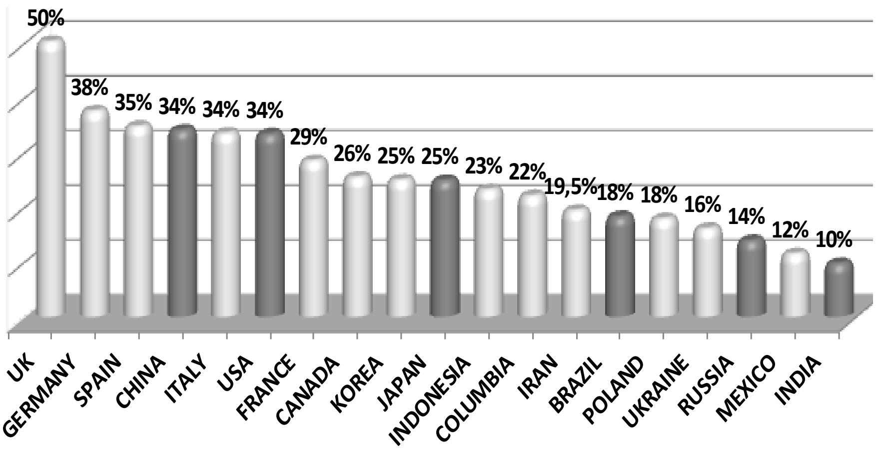


Fig. 6.Share of N_{5000} in N_{20000} – a) July 2014, b) January 2015; dark bars– countries with large-scale systems (N_{20000} более 1000)

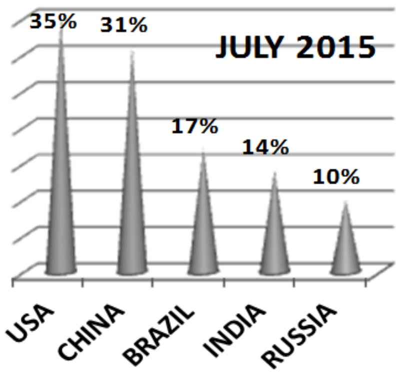


Fig.7. Share of N_{5000} in N_{22000} (July 2015)

Analysis of the Results of Russian Universities in Webometrics

Transparency of information on developments in the educational and research activities of universities is of particular importance in view of the financial constraints associated with the economic crisis. The growth of online publications, increased communication between scientists and teachers, the formation of new relationships, efficiency and simplicity of information sharing - these are the basic ideas initially laid down in the Webometrics ranking (2004), have led to tangible results, which are recorded by us in the analysis of the dynamics of network activity of Russian universities.

We have been analyzing the results of Russian universities in "Webometrics" since July 2007.

We dare to hope that the publications of our research group have contributed to the popularity that the "Webometrics" has in Russia. After publication of each ranking, you can see on many university websites the discussion in identifying the strengths and weaknesses of the University that, ultimately, contributes to its development.

The growth of network activity

During the period under review (16 rankings: 2007-2015) there was a positive dynamics of development of Russian universities.

Only five of nineteen countries have increased the indicator N_{20000} compared with January 2012 ranking, when the number of ranked universities in the world for the first time reached 20000. The greatest increase in network activity is in China (over 100%) - Fig. 8

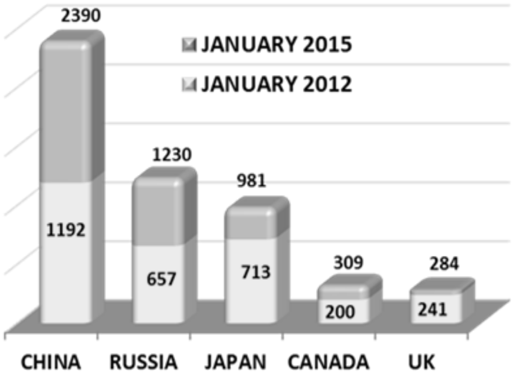


Fig.8. The increase in the number of national universities in the top 20 000: January 2012 - January 2015

Fig. 9 shows the change in indicators N_{5000} in 16 rankings 2007-2015. In general, the dynamics is positive, despite the fluctuations in the values from ranking to ranking – fig.9. The best results are of three rankings: January 2012, July 2012 and January 2013. It should be noted, that none of the countries traditionally included in the top ten in the top 5000, has such a significant improvement of the position as Russia, which in January 2012 for the first time ranked fourth compared to the seventh-tenth places in the rankings of previous years (2007 - 2010) [Bershadskaya, M., 2013]. In four of the six subsequent rankings, including July 2014, Russia has maintained its fourth place; in July 2013, January 2014 и January 2015 - took the sixth place - see fig.5.

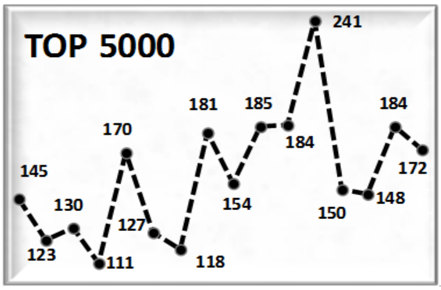


Fig. 9. Change in the number of Russian universities in 16 rankings (July 2007 – January 2015) - indicators N_{5000}

Federal Districts of Russia in the world educational space

As in previous rankings (2007-2015), universities of different regions of the country (federal districts) are among the best universities of Russia.

In the July 2014 ranking, starting with the sample of top 4000, the universities of all seven Federal districts are among the world best universities (Fig.10). In several previous rankings representation of all districts started with the top 3000.

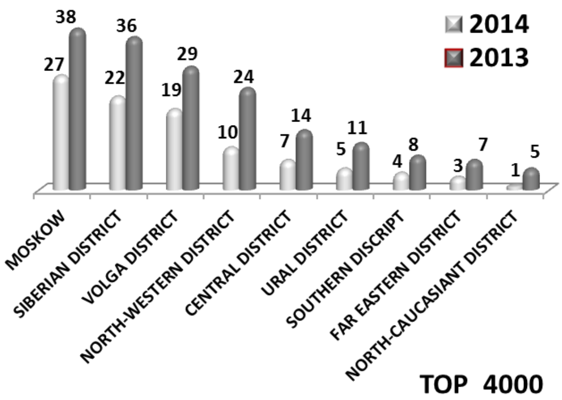
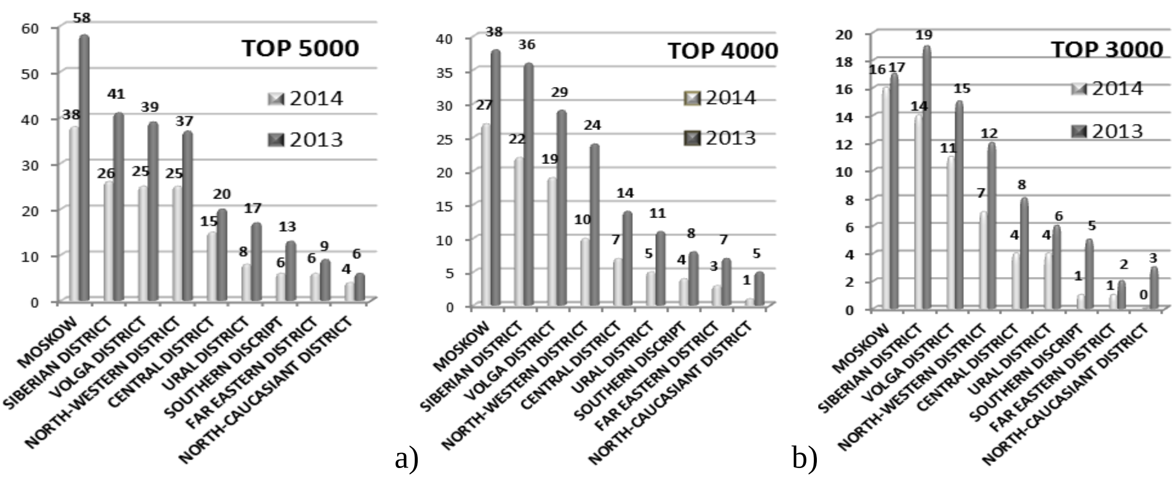


Fig. 10. Distribution of Russian universities by federal districts in the sample of top 4000 world universities

Analysis of the dynamics of changes in the positions of Russia, with regard to the distribution of the best Russian universities by federal districts shows the contribution of each of the eight federal districts of the Russian Federation into the deterioration or improvement of the overall result. So, a sharp deterioration in the position of Russia, compared with the record results of January 2013 ranking, is due to a significant worsening of the results in each district – Fig. 11.



a) b)

c)

Fig. 11. Number of universities in the federal districts of the Russian Federation among the best world universities in the rankings January -2013 and January -2014 (a – top 5000, b – top 4000, c – top 5000)

Thus, in accordance with the data presented, the promotion of Russia in the Webometrics ranking requires the development of universities from all regions of Russia.

Conclusions

A simple and dynamic methodology of comparing countries and regions on the magnitude and quality of mass higher education allows us to trace the dynamics of changes from ranking to ranking. The accumulation of estimates will later continue to develop more accurate indicators of the level of development of mass education in the country (region), taking into account the population size and the enrollment of young people in higher education.

However, even now ,without the introduction of appropriate correction coefficients, the generalization of the results of Webometrics ranking leads to interesting conclusions of direct relevance to the problems of mass education.

Estimates of the magnitude of mass higher education systems adopted for this study include only those universities that are among the best universities in the world. This means that each indicator, in contrast to the educational data statistics, includes qualitative aspect, which naturally increases with decreasing sample of top universities. The USA conceding by the number of students of India and China is in the lead by these indicators

At the same time the use of the ratio of national universities in the top 5000 and top 20000 (the ratio of N_{5000} to N_{20000}) as a conditional indicator of the quality of mass universities leads to an unexpected result - the undoubted superiority of China in 2014. The changing of the position of China in 2015 (decrease of N_{5000} / N_{20000}, – due to doubling the number of Chinese universities among the top 20,000 universities in the world) – is a clear evidence of the conditionality of a quality indicator N_{5000} / N^{20000}, because the increase of N20000 itself is an important feature of improving the quality of mass universities.

Assessment of the development of mass education in the regions showed:

- the leadership of Asia by number of universities among the world's best universities in samples from 3000 to 5000. In top 2000 the leader is Europe far ahead of Asia and America;
- similar indicators of quality of mass universities - from 25% to 27% (America - 27%, Asia - 25%, Europe -26%).

Leading countries in terms of the scale of mass higher education:

- The United States, China, Japan, Brazil and France (by all major indicators);
- Germany, United Kingdom (by five major indicators);
- Russia (by four indicators).

Among the countries, far exceeding the average level of the respective regions in terms of the conditional quality of mass universities are China, UK, Germany, USA, Spain, Italy, France. Korea, Japan, Canada differ slightly from the average level of the regions they belong to.

In assessing the position of Russia it must be kept in mind that this is one of the few countries where all universities are among the top 20000 world universities. Naturally, only a small part of them is in the top 5000.

It should be emphasized that the regular analysis of the results of Webometrics rankingprovides important conclusions about the quantity and quality of mass universities in the regions and world countries and draws much attention to the regulation of national education policy.

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Educational Trajectories of Youth: Researches and Main Results

Galina A. Cherednichenko, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. The main results of thee quantitative and qualitative researches of educational and professional trajectories of youth are shown. The impact of initial educational recourse – the type of graduated secondary school – on further educational achievements, including the situation 10 years after the release from secondary school, as the impact of the starting secondary education to the occupied now social and professional positions are found. The close interrelation is being established between the intensity of investments into education while a work and the starting secondary education which had been received 10 years ego. The relationship between the accumulated educational and professional resources and the demand in the labor market is brought to light.

Key words: Educational trajectories of youth; graduates from high school; secondary specialized college; vocational school; higher education, social and professional status; careers

The main objective of the investigation of educational trajectories is study of the educational transitions after compulsory schooling and entry into the labor market. Large-scale quantitative and qualitative changes occurring in the world today, lead to the fact that the traditional model of education is left in the past, the link of the education system and the labor market is modified, the stratification of society and the nature of mobility are changing. Moreover, all changes take place very quickly. This in particular leads to a revision of the age role models. So, Professor J. Clark University Arnett has developed the concept "emerging adulthood" [Arnett J.J. Suffering, 2001]. Its essence lies in the fact that in today's world, the transition from adolescence to adult stage is increasingly stretched for more than 10 years and therefore is no longer possible to be describes as a "transition". The rapid change in behavior in the field of education, professionalizing and growing has led to the fact that they are conceptualized and studied now as educational and professional trajectories. During last decades their study has been carried out to the extent of large national cohort longitudinal researches. Review of the international experience of their conduct iscompiled by German researchers before National Educational Panel Study (NEPS) [Kristen C., Müller W., Kalter F. ,2005]. Let's list only a few: Youth Cohort Study (YCS), Longitudinal Study of Young People in England (LSYPE), National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988 (NELS:88,1988–2000), Education Longitudinal Study of 2002 (ELS:2002, 2002–2012), High School Longitudinal Study of 2009 (HSLS:09, 2009 –), Russian Longitudinal Monitoring Survey (RLMS).

Methodologically, I rely on the work of D. Kurakin, the Head of the Russian Longitudinal Panel Study of Educational and Occupational Trajectories which started in 2011. The concept of trajectory is in fact vague and underdetermined. By common sense it is often seen as a sequence of more or less important events (relevant from a certain perspective) of personal or group pathways. A person could speak of his or her pathway, such as changing schools, graduation, entering a university and so on, as an individual educational trajectory. First of all, trajectory vision means that a pathway is seen as a unity, and every event on the pathway can be theoretically implied from the logic or general principle of the trajectory. Secondly, the trajectory must be seen as a unity not only by the researcher, but also by the actor himself. The only way for a researcher to reconstruct trajectory’s meaning is to explore a longer temporal perspective, which includes previous and further choices, other decisions and events, and their meanings. The major theoretical resource to reflect this vision of trajectory as unity is the conception of the narrative identity Thus, narration of life and pathways becomes a primary mechanism of forming personal and collective identity. People's decisions and the events of their life course can be understood and characterized by means of basic narratives and cultural structures, which provide meanings for singular events, choices, and the accounts people build about their lives. Therefore the study of educational trajectory strives for a methodology that combines traditional quantitative analysis with the analytical means of interpretive perspective. So an informational base of the study should be composed by sociological survey and complimented with in-depth interviews [Kurakin, 2014].

This study is based on the regional surveys

1. The regional longitudinal research in 1998-2008 of graduates from the same 1998 of three types of secondary schools: senior high schools (HS), specialized secondary colleges (SSC), vocational schools with compulsory secondary education (VSS). The sequence of three surveys and interviews of 50 people was carried out in 1998, 2003, 2008.

2. The survey of young workers at industrial enterprises in 13 regions of the European part and Siberia of Russia was carried out in 2009 (questioning) and 2010 (interviewing).

3. Interviewing (22 respondents 22-32 years old) about the educational and professional careers of those who received education abroad and returned later to their homeland.

Explanation of educational system

The country` s existing system of school education offers young persons of the same age two stages for a choice of their further educational and vocational training: after 9-year junior high school (graduates of basic education) and after 11-year senior high school (graduates of secondary education).

1. Those who receive the basic education can enroll in: a) specialized secondary colleges (SSC), which provide a specialty and secondary education; b) vocational schools which provide

worker's profession and compulsory secondary education (VSS); c) vocational schools which provide only worker's profession (VS).

Graduates of SSC and VSS can enter the labor market and have an opportunity to enroll in higher education.

2. Those who receive the secondary education in senior high school (HS) can enroll in higher education, SSC, VSS, VS.

Key features and trends that have been discovered

1. Inertia effect of the differences in type of secondary school on successive trajectory's positions are pronounced.

The data of research N 1 has discovered: the starting educational resource (the type of secondary school, which was the youth initially graduated from) significantly differentiates not only the first choice, but all further accumulation of educational capital; so it is manifested in long, clearly and latent in emerging educational and professional trajectories of young people. This determining effect is due, on the one hand, to different amounts of cultural capital and the different levels of professional qualifications (acquired separately in high school, SSC, VSS), on the other hand – to social stratification of students of these three types of secondary schools. In high school there are predominate descendants from leading cadres, professionals, public servants and employees; in VSS – dominate young people from working-class families; in SSC - mixed (diverse) social origin of graduates.

Let's compare the situation in educational system of different groups of youth in the year of their graduation from secondary school (stage 1) and the positions which they have reached 10 years later (stage 2) - Fig. 1. Most of those who had started from the HS in the 1'st stage had become students of higher education (65,8%), 10 years later a larger number of young people in this group has got higher education (73,2%); the number of those who had been receiving/have got education in SSC has decreased (22,4% – 14,3%). The youth starting from SSC had received a specialty and could enter the labor market (56,6% in the stage 1), but large part of them had begun a study in higher education: in the 1st stage 38,5% had entered the universities and 10 years later 50,8% have received a higher education. The latter use SSC not to get a specialty of

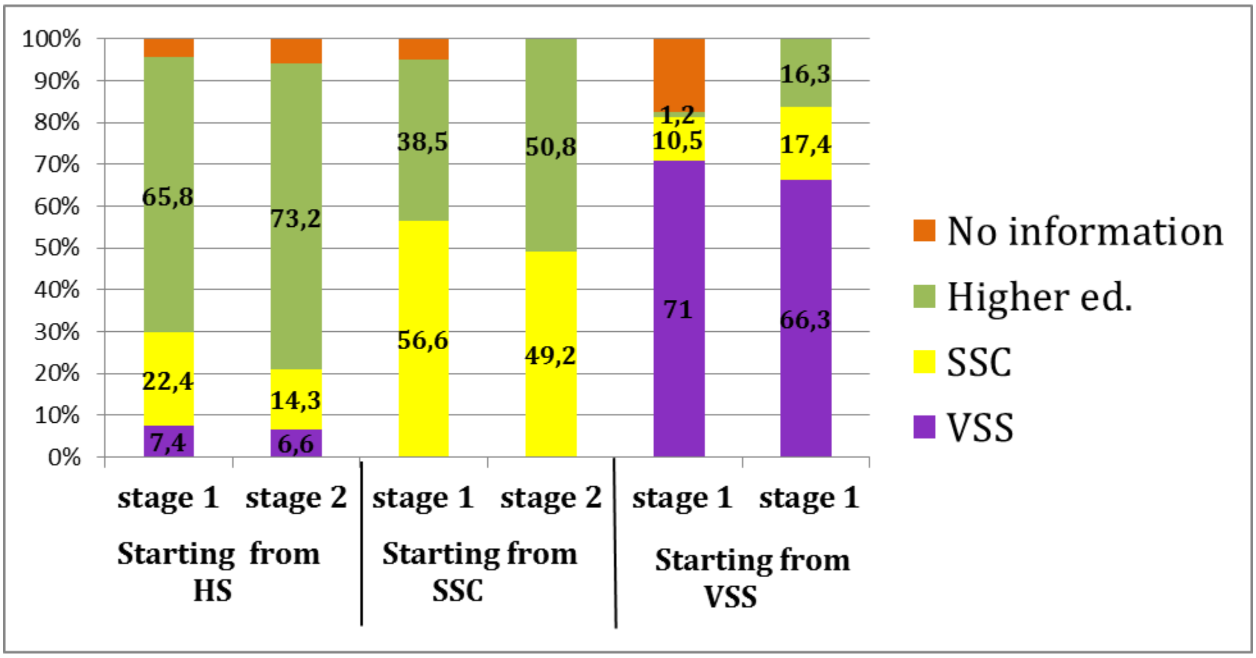

Fig 1.The level of education that they receive in the year of secondary school's graduation (stage 1) and the level of education achieved ten years latter (stage 2)

second level, but as an alternative way of access to higher education. Those who had stated from VSS have been mostly keeping their original training – 77% in the 1st stage and 66,3% 10 years later. Meanwhile, a part of this group of young people improved their education: in the 1st year 10,5% had been studying in SSC and after 10 years 17,4% have got the degree of this level of education. Respectively 1,2% had been obtaining and 16,3% have received higher education.

2. The close interrelation is being established between the intensity of investments into education while a work and the starting secondary education which had been received 10 years ego.

During the 10 years after secondary school the young people being at work often received additional education in its different forms - on professional and short courses, trainings, business games, in the system of training and retraining, distance learning, learning through the Internet. The youth as more often received such a training, as higher was the quality of its starting secondary education (47.1% of those who had launched from HS, 35.2% - from SSC and 29.1% - from VSS). At the same time, within these three groups, the proportion of accessing additional education is growing in direct proportion to the achieved to now educational level. You can see it in the Fig. 2. Among starters from HS the proportion of those who have received additional training increases from graduates of VSS (22,2%), to graduates of SSC (35,9%), to actual

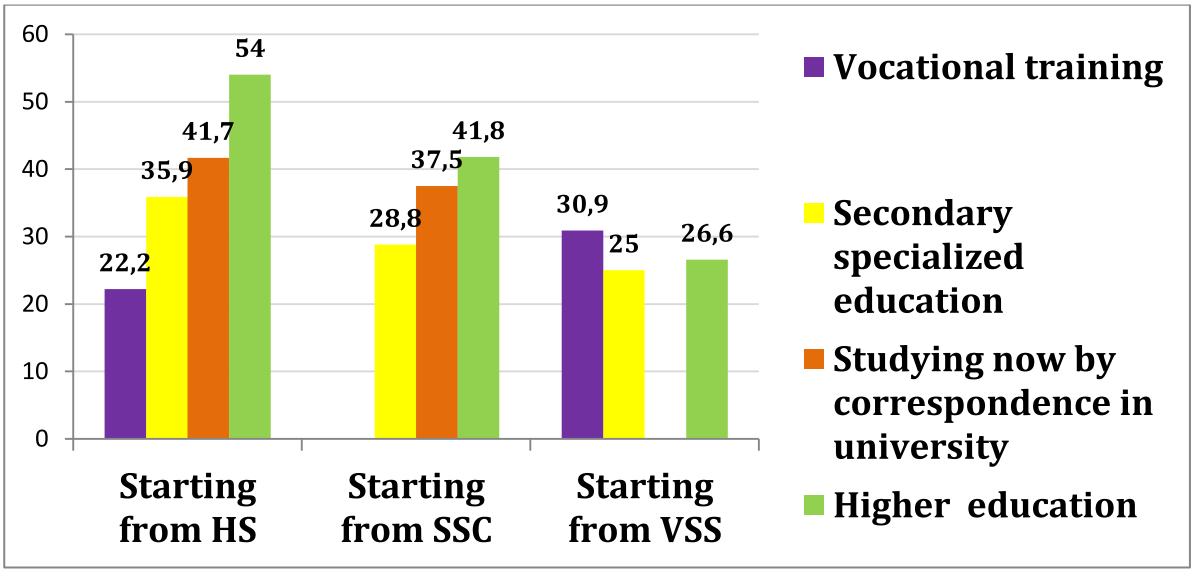

Fig.2 The percentage of those who have received additional training, depending on what kind of education they have reached to now and what kind of secondary school (HS, SSC, VSS) they had graduated from.

students by correspondence of higher education (41,7%), to graduates of universities (54,0%). As higher is the level of reached after 10 years education, as more "awakened" are educational needs and more frequently people return to learn, invest in education, including extra. Thus, among graduates of higher education (10 years later), the proportion of those who have turned to the additional training is growing by starters from VSS (27%) to starters from SSC (42%) and further to those from HS (54%).

3. The impact of the starting secondary education to the occupied now social and professional positions.

The dependence of the movement up a status ladder while increasing education level is well known. At the same time the study shows the influence of the "after-effect" of starting secondary education on the achieved (after 10 years) social and professional positions. Let's draw the correct comparison. Let's consider those who had started from HS, SSC, VSS and have reached (after 10 years) higher education. What kind of social and professional status have three different groups of young people achieved? (Fig. 3). It turns out that those who had had higher capital of starting secondary education, have taken more advanced social and professional positions, even though all of them now have the same level of education.

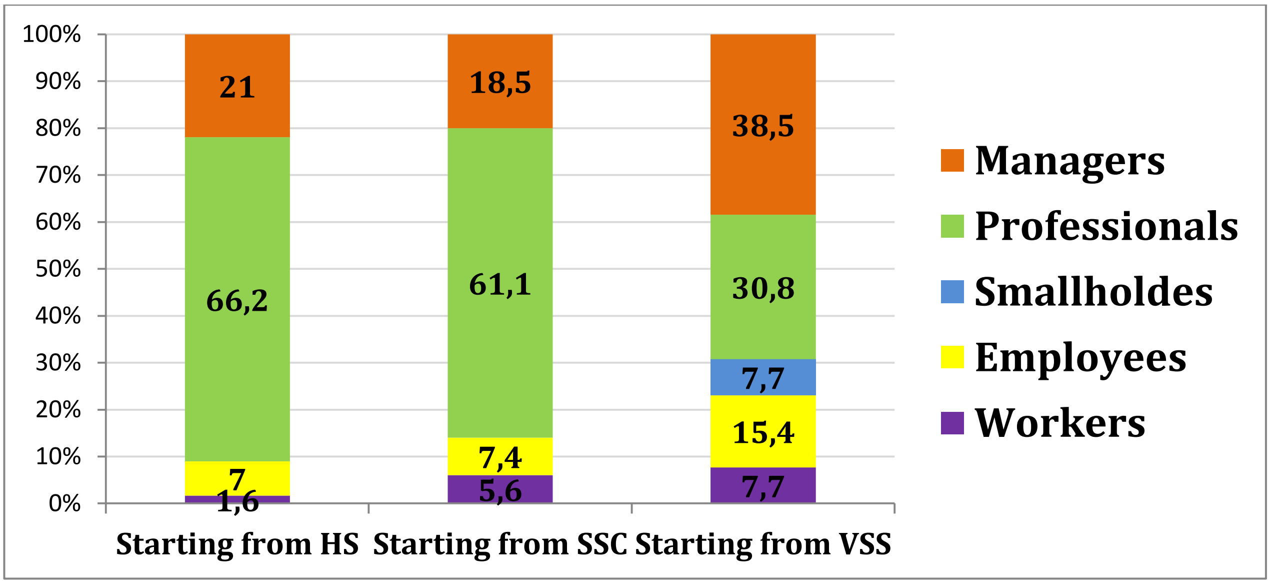

Fig. 3.The distribution on status of those who had stated from SE, SSC, VSS and have reached a higher education 10 years latter

The most common differences between the three groups are: the sum of the percentage of managers and professionals (whose status requires the availability of higher education) is equal to 83,4% for starters from HS, 79,6% for those from SSC and 69,3% for those from VSS.

The structure of status of the starters from HS and from SSC is very similar: the majority is professionals (62,4% among the first and 61,1% among the second), significantly fewer of those who occupy positions of employees (not requiring higher education - 7.0%, and 7, 4%). However, those who had started from HS demonstrate certain advantages in comparison with ones from SSC. The first are more likely than the second to become managers (21,0% vs. 18,5%) and less likely to work as workers (1,6% vs. 5,6%). Among the managers the ratio between top-managers and managers of middle/low level is 5,4% to 15,6% for the first and 1.8% to 16,7% for the second. 4,3% of the first group are engaged as professionals of art and sciences, there is no one like them in the second group. This reveals a higher competitiveness of starters from HS. 21,5% of them have received higher education at prestigious universities – respectively 7,3% of starters from SSC. Besides the predominant part of starting from HS receive higher education in day schools, and starting from SSC - more likely by correspondence.

The number of young people who obtain higher education after VSS is small. The distribution on the achieved status is more polar, compared with the previous two groups. There is a higher proportion, on one hand, of managers (38,5%) and, in another hand, of workers (7,7%). At the same time there are significantly fewer professionals (30,8%). This specificity reflects the nature of careers of these graduates. They have received a higher education by correspondence while they have been working. During the analyzed period a predominant part of them went to work in the service sector and the private sector. Starters from VSS had begun as "blue-collar"; and part of them has grown to positions of business managers, especially as supervisors of the lower level of management. The interview with this category of respondents shows they have mainly turned to higher education by correspondence in order to legitimize their status as supervisors.

4. The impact of acquired educational resources on subjective social well-being

These empirical data indicates that the accumulation of educational resources determines not only the objective social status of respondents, but it substantially and consistently affects the subjective sense of self and self-esteem. Fig. 4 shows how young people with different levels of obtained education estimate their life satisfaction.

Scores on the scale "satisfaction/dissatisfaction" are distributed almost linearly with increasing of education level: there is the largest share of "absolutely not satisfied" and "not satisfied" among the least educated (respectively 6,3% and 12,5 % persons with only a secondary

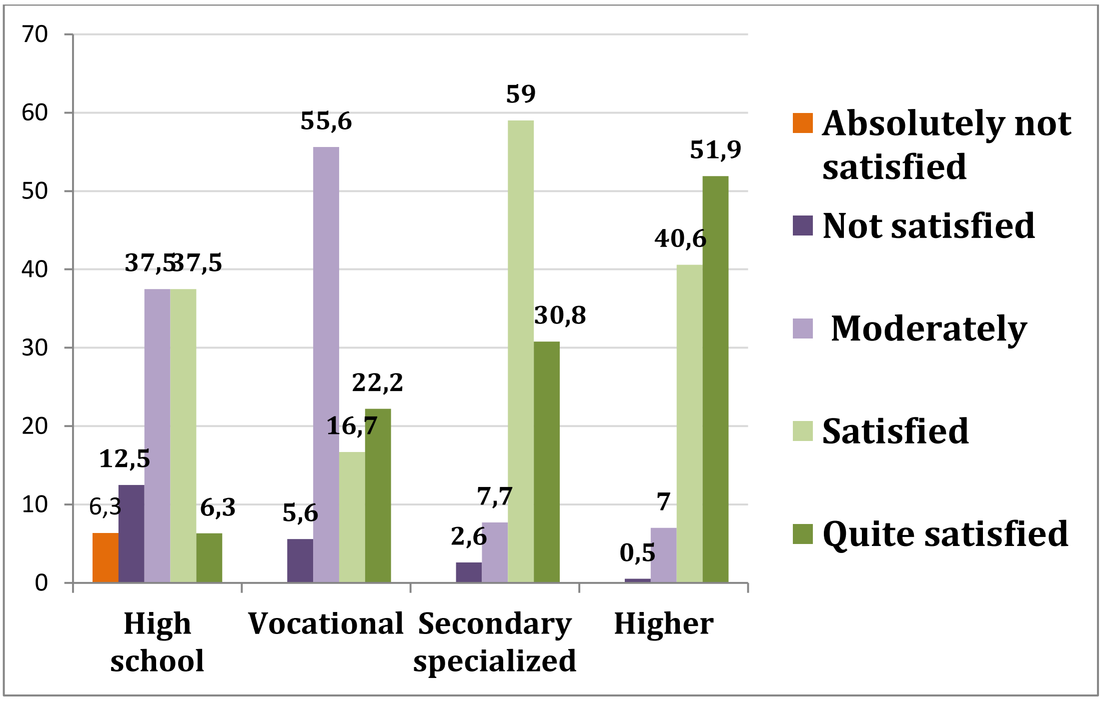

Fig. 4 Are you satisfied with life?
(% of respondents in groups with different level of achieved education)

education), in the next step of education (persons with vocational education) - the majority evaluates the "moderately satisfied" (55,6%), with the rise of yet another stage of education level those are focused on "satisfied" position (59,0% persons with secondary specialized education) and the most highly educated often estimates the point "quite satisfied" (51,9% of those with higher education).

The positive impact of human accumulated capital on subjective self-esteem is a steady trend. Dependencies, similar to this demonstrated above for the indicator "life satisfaction", are found for other indicators of social self-awareness (the answers to the questions: "Have you achieved more than your parents?", "If today you graduate from secondary school, would you repeat your life pathway?").

5. The use or conversion of the initial professional education becomes key ways of the entering in labor market

Initial professional education (higher or secondary specialized education) that young people receive after school, becomes a capital, differently used in acquiring social and professional positions.

The degree of an application/non-application of the initial professional education depends on the labor market state, as well as on personal circumstances of biography. This causes two main ways to make their paths: the path to use and one to converse the received specialty/profession and skill level (i. e. level of the received education – higher or secondary specialized).

The fact of "keeping" specialty/profession from education while entering a labor market and work turns into the main condition of successful, often ascending careers. Main controlling factor is the availability of appropriate vacancies with suitable wages. This type of trajectories, by our study, was observed in areas serving a market infrastructure, successfully developed productions, an employment of universal application. At the same time, there was a mass practice, when they got a job that did not correspond to a specialty/profession from education.

Referring to the content of the quantitative survey. Let's calculate the share of those whose current specialty is like the specialty from education and the proportion of those whose specialties do not match. The ratio is better among people with higher education (57,6% to 33,7%) and worth among those who have specialized secondary education (47,4% to 38,6%).

As a fact does using or not using in practice the specialty of education affect the occupied social and professional positions in case of received higher education and secondary specialized education? Primarily, let's compare status of higher education graduates of two subgroups 1) those whose current specialty matches with the specialty from education; 2) those whose specialties do not match. In general, the situation (Fig. 5) in both groups are very similar: 90% of young people of the first subgroup have status that require higher education and 80% of the second one. Although the position of the second subgroup is somewhat weaker: its share of managers is 1,8 times less than for the first subgroup and, in addition, there are even some people who occupy position of workers. Thus, those who do not use the specialty of higher education, as well as those who use it, have the same frequency to receive status involving skill level equal to higher education. And in fact, in both cases, this frequency is high.

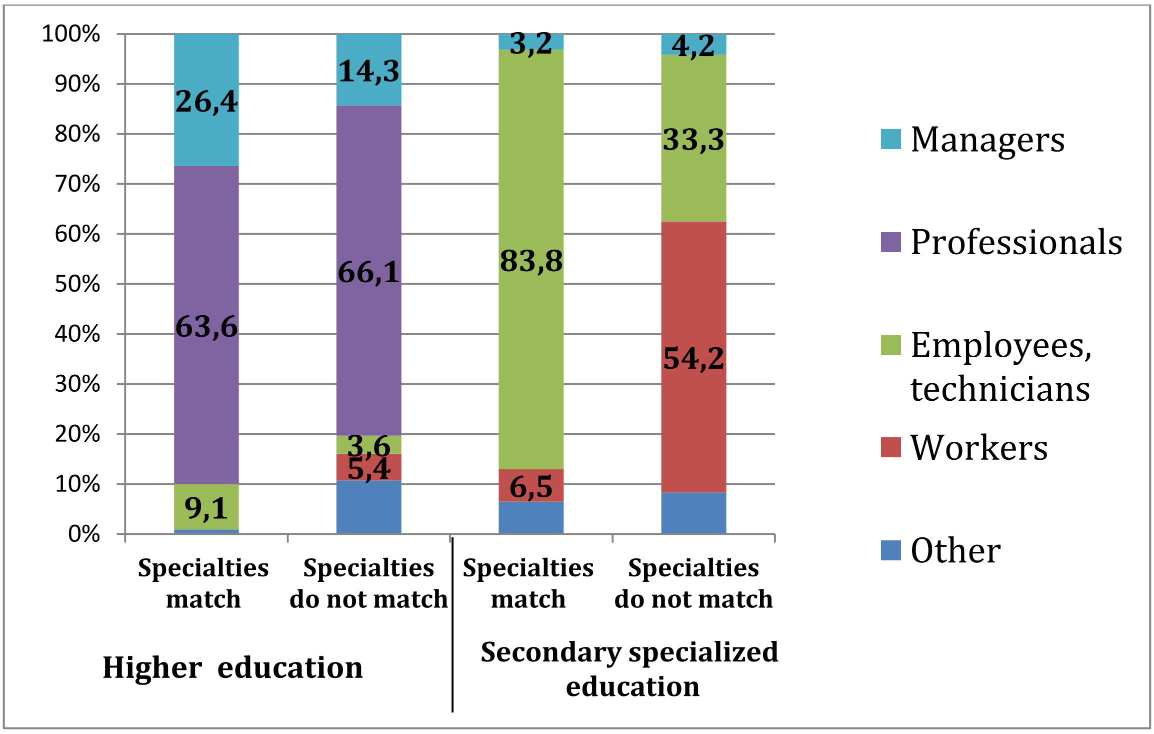

Fig. 5 Possibility of conversion of higher and secondary specialized education. Distribution by status those 1) whose a current specialty in work match a specialty from education; 2) those whose specialties do not match, %

The situation is different for graduates of secondary specialized education. Among them in the first subgroup, the predominant part (83,8%) is employed as technicians, craftsmen, employees (i. e. according to the level of their qualification - level of SSC) and 13% have a lower status. In the second subgroup (whose specialties do not match) above-mentioned ratio is 33,3% to 62,5%. Thus, more than half of the second subgroup shifts to position of workers. This suggests that the conversion of technical and technological components obtained in secondary specialized education does not take place. That part of the educational resource which has been formed by industrial and technical training, has no characters of general, universal educational capital capable to converse. If secondary specialized education is not used for its intended purpose, it loses the property of being education-capital. The secondary specialized education system does not form separate block (from a technological component of the specialization) of generic competencies which can be valued by the labor market as qualifications of middle level.

Analysis of interviews leads to the same conclusion. If a higher education is not used in work as special knowledge and skills, it still gives its possessor a certain cultural capital, which in the labor market is tend to engage in exchanges, equivalent to the level of a higher education qualification. In the case of secondary specialized education and without an application of the specialty from education, such holder is most often devoid of any additional cultural and educational resources (except the capital of secondary education), which would have assessed by the labor market as a mid-level employee.

6. Relationship between the accumulated educational and professional resources and the demand in the labor market

The research (N 3) has been carried out as a qualitative one by a case-study method. There have been received 22 interviews of young people who were students, the receivers of degrees of the Master and PhD, the specialists being trained or had a course of learning abroad.

On the base of the data taken from the interviews and describing stages of an educational and labor way of an informant there have been constructed trajectories of life ways for all being polled. This analysis shows that a career of an informant is formed depending on what human capital he possesses and how much his qualification, specialization, knowledge and skills meet or do not meet the demands of a labor market. And this basic moment, this collision of a demand and a suggestion predominates in a career irrespective of used or not used the specialization of learning (basic at the Native Land and/or received abroad), the received additional knowledge and skills, the achieved qualification. Several types of professional careers were separated on this basis.

<u>Ascending careers</u>

There are examples of straight, ascending careers during which the knowledge and specialization received abroad serve as means of promotion at a labor way. There are noticeable Natalia's and Igor's trajectories when the advanced professional knowledge and skills received during learning in the West and that do not have analogs in Russia find a direct application at the Native Land. So, Natasha, a young medical worker trained for one year in one of the leading German clinics in the sphere of genetics. After returning home, owing to the received newest knowledge she was accepted to the leading medical organization in this sphere and simultaneously was invited to work in a private clinic and has prepared the PHD dissertation. Here, the main career-forming moment is a connection of the acquired experience and a corresponding professional cell when the newest scientific knowledge received by Natalia in Germany has found application at the adequate structural division within the frames of the Academy of medical sciences. Igor, a pilot independently studied English language during several months of training in the USA and Holland where he was trained to work at the new model of the American plane. This new plane was purchased by Russia and Igor received a work of a pilot at the flights to the USA. Owing to the accumulated high qualification the impulse of which was received abroad he being a citizen of a small town goes to Moscow and now works at Sheremetievo-2 and makes International flights all over the world.

Thus, the advanced preparation received in the West in a case of connection with the adequate structures of reception in the Native Land and with the assistance of favorable personal factors gives an ascending trajectory of a professional career.

"Niche-forming" careers

The advanced narrow-specialized knowledge and experience being acquired during studying in the West only at first sight seem to be an indispensable value, achievement or advantage for a person. Really, it appears to be greater but quite ambivalent resource. Such resource can work as the capital when the received unique or rare knowledge and skills meet a demand in the Native Land. Then they turn to be the unconditional value for their owners. At the same time the accumulated narrow-professional knowledge and skills even the most progressive and advanced can not turn to the capital and remain to be unused reserve at least for some time. Among those being polled we also observe such cases when those who have this experience are pushed out of the frames of the traditional places in the sphere of their activity or this experience is used only additionally to the main labor activity.

The general line is that in the West they have joined to the progressive world scientific knowledge corresponding to their specialization. However, the narrow-professional advanced education received abroad appears to be poorly profitable both for a person himself, and for the Russian society so as in the society there have not yet ripened corresponding structures of reception which would meet the realized needs of a person and would satisfy him under working conditions.

Careers on the base of conversion

Alongside with the careers when people remain within the limits of their profession there are also such ones when the basic education received in Russia and the professional knowledge acquired in the West are not used. These are trajectories during which it is observed a conversion of a complex of additionally received knowledge - mastering by foreign language and business culture, studying of culture of the country, practice of familiarizing with norms and institutes – to the new profession and career.

Here the specific role belongs to the foreign language. Practically, all received interviews testify that the main achievement of those studied abroad becomes mastering a foreign language. During the stay in the country of the studied language the communication itself becomes the exclusively effective way of perfection and mastering a foreign language. As a result, at the presence of the preliminary training through certain period there comes the free possession of a foreign language.

Foreign language is a working tool of the modern qualified specialist. At least in the capital at a labor market concerning the qualified work it is brightly enough expressed a tendency: the "more"

English (foreign) the better work for which it is possible to be applied. The English language is especially necessary in the field of marketing, work with clients, sales, IT, office administration. Employers in these fields of activity spend greater money for training of the personnel to business English that assumes knowledge of etiquette in work with foreign partners and clients and skills to communicate with them, correct drawing up of the resume, conducting of interview on a post, business correspondence, etc. These knowledge and skills are appropriated for those who returned from abroad already owing to the fact of staying there, passing through formal institutions of west education and environment of living, communication with the carriers of language.

A number of trajectories (physics, mathematics, engineers) shows that training for which respondents directly went abroad appear to be not applicable at the Native Land. Here we don't speak about that at a labor market these specializations do not find corresponding places. On the contrary, there are places, but that segment (science or engineering specializations) which does not give a worthy estimation of this qualification, offers too low payment and consequently does not maintain any competition to the alternative career offers going from the sphere of business.

The connection of the human capital and the demand at a labor market during career occurs always in such a manner that if it is not possible to apply or apply profitably the highly specialized preparation, the person finally tries as it is possible to sell more expensively an available cumulative resource of knowledge and skills. Accordingly, in these conditions professional training, specialization can appear not to be involved. So, this situation actually occurs and among many humanists trained abroad, which after returning home do not use his high specialized knowledge but realize the received general humanitarian preparation and unique knowledge of foreign language in the international organizations and companies.

Mastering foreign language becomes a resource of accumulation of human capital that testifies to the big efficiency of the received training. This phenomenon is observed in parallel and irrespective of the efficiency being received as a result of the basic professional training which was the main purpose of a trip. Mastering foreign language occurs as a result of the purposeful expenses (preliminary training at the Native Land, continuations of study in institutional forms abroad, independent expansion of a lexicon and knowledge on grammar), and spontaneous - on the fact of contacts - perception of speech forms and senses in foreign language during daily dialogue. Thus, there is observed a definite excess of a result over formal expenses.

The presented interviews show that similar "sublimation" of efficiency is also observed in the influence which the training abroad renders on a career of those who return home. That of a component of the human capital which is accumulated by the fact of staying abroad (passages through formal institutions and acquiring of culture, norms, forms of dialogue) in a combination with knowledge of foreign language on the Native Land is converted in advantages at employment, more highly paid work, the accelerated professional growth. The majority of the humanists as well as the representatives of technical professions polled by us irrespective of the professional training received abroad after returning home are successfully arranged first of all in the foreign companies and in the international business. This fact is the most obvious effect of the receiving education abroad in the cases considered by us.

7. Relationship of educational and professional trajectories of young workers reveals the contradiction in the formation of skilled workers.

More or less stability concerning the choice of a working trade has been studied. 73% of the surveyed young workers express a desire for remaining workers in the period ahead and 27% - do not wish to do so. Analysis of young workers' trajectories relating to the degree of stability reveals significant contradiction of forming labor personnel. One group are those young persons who become workers having enough schooling (11 grades of senior high education) or another secondary education (SSC). Thanks to this they most intensively accumulate human capital and achieve higher qualifying categories. However one third of them wishes to leave the working ranks and they strive for further improvement of formal education with the view of leaving the worker`s occupation. Ipso facto such young persons form a stream of "transit" workers. At the same time two thirds of this group of young workers who have the same educational resources and achievement of relatively high skill categories remain at work. Unlike the group mentioned above there is a second group of young people who become workers possessing less schooling (9 grades, junior high school, graduates of basic education), vocational school education or training course instruction. They achieve less success in further education and qualification. But such young persons are notable for greater professional stability and stronger probability of consolidating their working positions for a long time.

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Educational Inequality: First Results of Survey[16]

Yulia B., Epikhina, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. The article explores the problem of educational inequality on the basis of survey data obtained in the project “Social mobility: 4 generations”. It employs a quantitative approach to the measurement of education level. The data show that structural factors such as parental family social class, main breadwinner’s education and family income have been losing their influence on the respondent’s level of education.

Key words: education;, inequality; social class; social background

Surveys point to the strengthening of educational inequality in the postsoviet time in Russia. The educational inequality is interpreted as dependency on the social origin. The educational attainment depends on the family social position, its resources. Traditionally a nominal scale is used for the measurement of education, but restricts analytical opportunities.

There is an alternative approach, it is to use an interval scale that defines an education as a number of learning years. This approach is believed to be more productive. We propose to check the hypothesis that educational inequality is on the increase using the quantitative measurement of the education.

The analysis is implemented on the base of the survey data “Social mobility: 4 generations” are used. The size of the sample is tantamount to 5097 respondents. A randomized stratified sample was used as the basis of the study.

All set of the data was divided on four cohorts (by the age of birth): 1936-1960 (1330 respondents, 26.1%), 1961-1970 (1134 respondents, 22.2%), 1971-1980 (1189 respondents, 23.3%), 1981-1990 (1444 respondents, 28.3%).

The average years of learning increases steadily from the oldest cohort to the youngest one. The oldest cohort studied 12.6 years on the average, the youngest one – 14.1 years.

Factors of educational inequality are defined as attributes of social background. Social class is defined by the professional occupation of the main breadwinner. The question of professional occupation was asked in an open form and then coded according to ISCO-08 (International Standard Classification of Occupations). The ISCO-08 codes permits to build the EGP class scheme. The main breadwinner’s education is assessed on the basis of a nominal scale as the highest educational degree. Family income in the period of childhood is gauged by a nominal scale as a level of consumption. The scale includes 6 grades from the lowest (“We did not have enough money for food”) to the highest (“We did not have any financial problems. We could afford everything”).

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The Theil's index decomposition is used. It helps to define the impact of each factor on the inequality level. We expect that in the youngest cohort the proportion of inequality determined by the structural factors will be greater than in the previous cohorts.

The Theil's index decomposition was counted for each structural factor.

According to the result of the Theil's index decomposition for the parental social class, the impact of the social class on educational inequality decreases from the oldest cohort to the youngest one. For the oldest cohort the factor of the parental social class explains 10.5% of the inequality in the number of the learning years, for the youngest one this factor explains only 6.9% (Table 1).

Table 1.Impact of the parental social class to the inequality in the number of the learning years (%)

Cohorts	% of inequality determined by the social class of origin
1936-1960	10.5
1961-1970	8.8
1971-1980	7.5
1981-1990	6.9

This fact can be explain in two ways: 1) the expansion of the education (the growth of the numbers of educational institutions, the diversity of educational forms etc.); 2) the social policy (compulsory educational levels).

The impact of the main breadwinner's education also decreases since the last Soviet years (Table 2).

Table 2.Impact of the main breadwinner education to the inequality in the number of the learning years (%)

Cohorts	% of inequality determined by the main breadwinner education
1936-1960	11.1
1961-1970	15.3
1971-1980	13.6
1981-1990	8.7

The family income is the weakest factor: it explains the smallest part of the difference in learning years. It also decreases during both Soviet and post-Soviet period (Table 3).

Table 3.Impact of the family income to the inequality in the number of the learning years (%)

Cohorts	% of inequality determined by the family income
1936-1960	7.1
1961-1970	5.5
1971-1980	3.3
1981-1990	2.1

All structural factors that usually are interpreted as the main predictors of the educational inequality demonstrated the tendency to decrease. The result seems paradoxical in the situation when the majority of surveys mark the widening gap in educational inequality. There can be two explanations: 1) D. Grusky and other sociologists are correct when they propose the alternative new approach to class analysis (mini classes). Perhaps traditional big class schemes can not account for existing social differences. 2) The quantitative measurement is problematic in the conditions when the system of education expands or when the number of openings in the educational system is greater than the number of applicants. In this case the differences of educational system is compensated by greater opportunity of applicants to enroll in educational institutions.

Unstable Hired Workers and Lifelong Education[17]

Zinaida T. Golenkova, Moscow, Russia.
Yuliya V. Goliusova, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. Article is covered an issue of using life-long learning institute by unstable hired workers (precariat). According to social research of RLMS-HSE a precariat reluctantly use the possibility of developing a positive human capital, precariat also don'taspire to raise the educational level. They don't use system of lifelong education for developing; they are rather passive and inert. However, the issue is a complex problem. The system of life-long education by itself is not perfect.

Key words: precariat; unstable employment; lifelong education; positive human capital

The theory of human capital says that knowledge, abilities, skills which are created at the individual in training process should pay off in the course of a labor activity and should be expressed in increase of the salary level, receipt of dividends, employment stabilization, and career development. So the positive human capital which provides useful return from investments into it into development and growth is created [Korchagin, 2011:10]. In order that knowledge, skills have been converted throughout all labor life of a person, it is necessary to support and update them constantly, addressing at the same time to institutes of lifelong education, increasing thus the efficiency.

Sociologists determine lifelong (permanent) education as "purposeful receipt and assimilation by the person of knowledge, skills during all life for the purpose of maintenance socially and individually necessary level of general education and professional training" [The sociological encyclopedic dictionary, 1998: 208].

It is about implementation in life of more active and equal participation in education system beyond the scope of secondary and higher education of citizens of all age, irrespective of economic and social situation, a floor, an ethnic origin or physical capacities.

The distinctive feature of the 21st century is the fact that knowledge becomes caused by their practical application. The requirement arises in new educational system of lifelong education which not so much extends, replicates knowledge how many opens access to them to the most various social groups. As a result education becomes a tool of social transformations. Education, study, knowledge firmly hold the upper places in ratings of preferences.

The world is changing rapidly through one generation. Under globalization of economy and innovative processes the dynamism of changes happening in society is led to the fact that the gained

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professional knowledge immediately becomes outdated. In turn it requires advance training. There are many various projects such asstaff training in a single company or global electronic training system for adults including distance training practice. Some Russian universities sign contracts with Department of Labor and Employment in regions and carry out vocational training for the unemployed. It helps to raise competitiveness on the labor market. Universities in turn also should aim at own continuous development, and only then they are capable to realize quality professional education, fully considering labor market requirements of the 21st century.

Especially sharply the problem of stability and safety increasing faces the new social groups called precariat. These are the economies which are informally occupied in formal sector not having the situation of stability in the labor market not having employment securities [Golenkova, Goliusova, 2015:47]. This group is implemented through officially the arranged full employment according to the employment contract on principle place of employment. Of course, this criterion of allocation is not unique, but its reliability cannot be called in question since the official statistics fixes this indicator.

According to Rosstat, in 2013 the number of unstably hired constituted 5634 thousand people that constitutes 8,5% of all hired employees of Russia (It is calculated according to http://www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/b14_61/IssWWW.exe/Stg/2-20.doc). Working according to the provisional employment contract, under the contract for accomplishment of a certain amount of works or rendering services, on the basis of the oral arrangement are allocated among them. All these groups can be ranked as unstably hired because at any time they can join ranks of the unemployed. If in the first and second case the minimum employment security is, then in the last such guarantee does not exist at all since there is no document confirming relations of the employer and the worker. The majority of this group is men. It isn't a world trend where the unprotected segments of the population get to "risk group" most often: youth, women, people of pre-retirement age [Standing, 2014].

As far as precariatis involved in system of lifelong education and are capable to create through it a personal positive human capital it is possible to trace on the basis of the this 23 waves of "The Russian monitoring of an economic situation and health of the population of Higher School of Economics National Research University (RLMS-HSE)". 410 respondents meeting an availability condition officially of not properly executed employment on principle place of employment have been filtered.

Among precariat people who has family are prevail(62%), the majority of them are in a registered marriage(42%), 20% live in a non-registered partner relationships. On a gender respondents were distributed as follows: 53% of men and 47% of women. The majority (57%) lives in the regional center. The youth aged till 30 years prevails.

Most of all unofficial hired are available among unskilled workers, workers of service trade and trade and any skilled workers. Many respondents have rather high education level. 44% have left secondary school (10-11 classes), 23% have graduated from average special educational institution. We are forced to establish the fact that rather educated people are engaged in unskilled labor.

Data show that the majority of respondents are Russian citizens from birth that is contrary to world tendencies according to which most often precariatis replenished at the expense of external migrants.

Representatives of group in general satisfied with their work and working conditions, however they are not satisfied with compensation, including it insufficiently fair. 36% of respondents know that they receive a "grey" salary, and that the employer does not pay from it taxes and insurance fee. 56% confirm that they are not arranged officially at the initiative of the employer who does not express desire to make registration according to the Labor code of the Russian Federation. 88% confirm that for the last 12 months they didn't have delay in salary payment, and those who had it, says that it was paid in 14 calendar days.

Respondents estimate the chances of job development are not absolutely satisfied, they establish the fact that their careers don't develop. Respondents in general are not afraid of unemployment and highly appreciate the opportunity to get a similar job in other company. We note that the biggest percentage of respondents is constituted by selling assistants in shops, on the second place bodyguards borrow, and on the third place there are room cleaners.

Channels of employment are quite predictable. The majority has got a job through friends and their own network, on the second place – through relatives, on the third – they came directly to HR department of a company.

The interrogated precariat in the majority have no additional employment or a side job, do not grow up vegetables and fruit for sale, do not part living creatures, don't gather mushrooms and berries, do not live on a rent.

Informally hired workers do not burden themselves various diplomas and certificates. So, only about 12% of this group in addition finished professional courses to increase the level of the basic education, 4% attended professional development course, less than 2% receive the highest, second higher education, 0,2% are getting Master degree. The few finished a driving school. The majority increasing the individual human capital digs up personal resources for these purposes; therefore, the organization in which they work is not interested in increase of their education level and qualification. 72% of respondents have surely told that they do not plan to increase the level of the education in the next 3 years. Level of computer literacy in group is rather high, but the computer is traded on by respondents for entertainments, information search on Internet, for online purchases. Respondents don't use computers at work.

In general, precariat do not need to increase the individual human capital, do not use system of lifelong education for self developing, they are rather passive and inert. According to research, 14% declare that they don't have years of service for retirement pension, 63% do not want to change work.

The main issue which should be find out what is the reason of that inertness? Is it a personal choice or is it an insuperable barrier of life? The problem is very difficult because the system of lifelong education is contradictory by it self. In the context of globalization contradiction only compounded. Unfortunately, the formalism prevails in many programs of professional training that relate to system of lifelong education for adults. Certificates and diplomas are issued only upon presence that cannot provide with additional education and advanced training. All these problems are familiar to workers in modern world and they do not want to be part of those schemes. Besides, the main institutes of socialization (a family, school, the right) are not always capable to provide a successful growing of youth. The education system often torn between the "exaggerated pragmatism" of the American school [Dewey, 2002] with its system pragmatization of education and the encyclopedic education more typical to the European continent.

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Problems of Joint Pastime of Parents and Young Children in the Family

Nataliya P. Grishaeva, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. This article is about how parents and young children spend their pastime, what is the structure of the family leisure activities and correct approach to the TV viewing for young children.

Key words: young childrens parents; preschool child; leisure activities; television influence on children; socialization

The study "Preschooler 2013" was conducted in 2013-2014 at the Institute of Sociology of the RussianAcademy of Sciences (ISRAS). In this study author try to determine the preferred pastime of parents and their young children. Total sampling: 112 parents and 115 children aged 5 - 7 years attending preschool institutions in Moscow. The study was conducted by quantitative survey parents and individual interviews with children.

The study "Preschooler 2013" uncovered that in the modern families parents spent 3 - 4 hours a day with young children who attend pre-school institutions. Also it shows that the great part of parent's time given to talk with the children, then reading and engaging in educational activities, lesser parent's time given to walks and only to the minimum - playing together.

A staggering 85% of children would like to play with their parents on a daily basis. However, adults don't give due importance to the game, because of their citing on their busy schedule and fatigue (40%), other 50% of parents think that this games are absolutely useless. This trend is largely due to modern social attitudes on the priority development of intelligence in younger age, also it explainedbecause of representation of modern parents about the game as an unaffordable luxury, which the child can surrender to the detriment of other useful pursuits.

These survey allow us to compare the preferences of children and parents in the joint pastime. A distinct majority of children want to play with their parents and watch TV (82%), and parents want to read a book for their children (75%) and do something useful (82%). We can see the huge difference in preferences of children and parents concerning reading fairy tales and playing the games. Most of all parents prefer reading. But children rare chose this position. The common ground is a joint TV viewing, which takes for children an average of 1-3 hours on a weekday and 3-4 in the weekends.

The study has shown that the highest value in parents mind belongs to development of intelligence; they are always ready to help children in difficult intellectual games and devote so much time as possible.

Comparing the information from this survey, we can say that children area in the family have a tendency to decrease. The number of activities that interesting for children and parents reduces. For successful socialization children needs special activities, such as playing games with parents. But this activities are in steep decline, while the number of families who choose to watch television increases.

The ISRAS conducted research for determination the degree of television influence on the formation of the moral concepts of modern preschoolers, TV in the structure of Moscow family time management and figure out the parents' submission about the quality of television production. A group of "Studies of current trends of identity formation in the educational sphere " during 2012-2014 years have been carried out socio-psychological studies "preschool and television."

Total sampling: 100 senior preschool children (5-7 years old), 75 their parents and 54 teachers of senior and educator groups of Moscow kindergartens.

Analyzing the results of preschool study, it was found that the most favorite thing at home, after coming from the kindergarten, is watching television and playing computer games, next comes playing games with parents or peers. The most popular film among boys is: Star Wars (prefer 70% of children), among girls - various fairy stories. On the question: "What cartoon character do you prefer the most?" 50% of boys and girls named Batman, Spider-Man, Luntik, Masha and the Bear, The Smurfs, cartoon characters from "Monsters, Inc.". A staggering 40% of Russian children have never seen the classic soviet cartoons about Pinocchio, Doctor Aibolit etc.

On the question: "Why did you become friends with Batman," 45% of the children named qualities such as courage and physical strength. To the question: "Whom would you call bold?" A lot of preschoolers responded that it is a person who don't afraid to kill the enemies. It was found that practicallynone of the teachers and parents doesn't systematically and targetable talk about what children watch on TV. This is the main factor of inadequate formation of moral values.

Boys are often more susceptible on the negative impact of TV programs. 72% of boys prefer Star Wars and other thrillers Girls are less susceptible on the negative influence of television programs. The majority of girls prefer to watch different fabulous stories.

A great influence on "free games" of children in preschool institutions (kind of games that occurring at the initiative of the children themselves) hasTV. One decade ago the boys mostly played in explorers, astronauts, drivers, etc., but now, in "free games" dominated aggression and destruction games, such as an accident, murder, war. The girls games have changed less, their games still connected with family. However, increased the theme associated with the prestige of goods and their purchase. The main source of information about it is advertising. Knowledge of children that is advertised is truly inexhaustible: 75% of preschool children have named almost all the products advertised on television at the time of the survey. Only 23% of children of the senior preschool age doesn't know anything about advertising.

Caregivers marked hyperexcitability among children, spending at the screen for 3-4 hours a day (usually on weekends), and such children in each group of 3-4 people. Teachers see the connection between the mechanistic relationship in children games, and the same mechanistic relationship in many American cartoons. Another concern is about that just few parents listen to the educators advices about television viewing. Partly this is objective, because many teachers doesn't know how to work on these issues.

Analysis of parents opinion about the influence of television on children's development showed the following. Parents understand that television can have positive and negative impact on their children. However, majority of them feel themselves powerless to change the situation: their children watch aggressive television. The most typical statement is: "What can I do, somebody show such programs and children watch?". According to parents estimates, children spend at the TV screen about 30-50 minutes on weekdays and more than two hours on weekends. Most parents do not have the culture of watching TV. Just only 28% of Moscow households have a TVschedule. In other words, TV is turned on only when there is a program which child would like to see. Children consider that television is a family member, like the background of their life. Many children eat, play and even sleep while TV is turned on. Naturally, all of the information coming from the screen, is extremely important for the children, in many cases, even more significant than the parents opinion. So we can see a significant changes in the pastime of parents and young children in the family.

Labor Practices and Expectations of the Russian Young Scientists and Innovators

Galina P.Gvozdeva, Novosibirsk, Russia
Elena S.Gvozdeva,Novosibirsk, Russia

Abstract. Studied are ideas of scientific youth on the opportunities associated with employment in the sphere of science and innovative business. Using the data of poll of young researchers and innovators of Russia carried out in 2011 and the factor and cluster analysis are constructed empirical behavior models of young scientists and innovators. Considering motivation of work of youth and the influencing environment conditions, the development and adaptation behavior models in the sphere of work are revealed.

Key words: young scientists and innovators; labor practices; expected opportunities in the work sphere

The Problem and theTasks

The growth of human potential in the sphere of science, education, technologies and innovations is the benefit of advanced countries and is seen as the goal in the Strategy of Innovation Growth in Russia up to 2020. At present the most negative effect on the development of the innovation sector in the Russian economy is lack of motives for innovation activity, insufficient experience of development commercialization among members of the academic community. It is an acute problem of the efficiency of labor in transition from raw material to innovative economy. One of the main directions can be creation of preconditions for efficient models of the labor behavior of young people. As was mentioned by experts at the 19th St. Petersburg International Economic Forum, expansion of the employment of young people in science and innovation enterprises would be the proper reaction to crisis events. But which social institutions and norms would be proper to this and which do as barriers to it?

Another urgent problem is development of links between the science and the knowledge-intensive business While estimating the state policy, I. G. Dezhina pays attention to such of its drawbacks as, first, that science is considered in Russia as “the sector of generation of knowledge” instead of a part of the innovation system of the country; second, decision making is ever more built on the direct participation of the government in the sphere of science and technologies [Dezhina, 2012: 145; 2010: 86] instead of the creation of a developing community, in accordance with the concept of the “triple helix” [Itskovich, 2010:145].

The *tasks* are, first, to substantiate the theoretical concept on the influence of the expected opportunities in the sphere of work on the behavior of young people employed in the sphere of science and innovative business; second, to reveal empirical models of behavior caused by different work motivations and the institutional community.

Theoretical Approach

As is shown in the fundamental work of L. Boltanski and E. Chapello [Boltanski, 2011], over the last 10—15 years there have been considerable changes in the world of labor, which have weakened the protection of workers, by increasing requirements to them. Changes of their organization when people have become freer in respect of their working hours, more mobile and are connected among themselves by more complicated social networks, have led to growth in labor intensity, responsibility in production and instability of employment. On the whole, external conditions determining the evolution of labor relations in the advanced countries, have led to more deteriorated social and economic situation of young people, who have their first job in the labor market. To a much lesser degree, this was the problem for young people desiring to work in the sphere of science and innovations in Russia: comparing to the previous generation, the social guarantees have much diminished (the relative level of work way has become lower, there are a smaller number of accessible housings and places in kindergartens). Therefore, expectations connected with these spheres of labor have ceased to attract people, who are the most talented and, at the same time, oriented to personal achievements and material welfare. But the creative nature may yield to material discomfort if there is a prospect to change the situation by achievement of certain results. So another important element regulating the labor behavior of young people is the system of values, which, in interaction with motives and available skills determines the person's behavior.

On the basis of evaluation of opportunities provided by the institutional community of the science sphere and innovation business, as well as satisfaction with job, we consider the employed academic young people as experts. They have in practice found the both positive and negative features of job, and their opinion reflects adequately the potential of all young people in terms of involvement in innovative and scientific activity.

Conditions facilitating the formation of the creative models of labor behavior are shown by the case of work motivation of young people up to 35 years of age working in these spheres. The *encouraging models of labor behavior* are understood here as practices established under influence of certain conditions, which allow one to achieve higher results (number of publications, patents, participation in projects), as well as motivation self-realization, higher qualification and satisfaction with labor. The practices originated from other institutional conditions, which provide employment but are not oriented to achievement of high work results and self-actualization but rather provide a possibility for adaptation or search for a new job are called *adaptation models of behavior*.

In accordance with one of the recognized theories D. McClelland, determinants of action are the motives, the expectation of success and values [McClelland, 2007: 566-567].

In our characterization of the interaction between motivation, stimulation and satisfaction with work we have used a two-factor model of F. Herzberg [Herzberg, 1959], according to which there are two sets of factors, i.e., supporting (hygienic) and motivation. Motivation factors, directly influencing the satisfaction with work are: job content, achieved results and their acknowledgement, level of responsibility, opportunities of career and personal advancement. The supporting factors may cause dissatisfaction with work or they may support avoidance of dissatisfaction, interpersonal relationships with colleagues, subordinates and management, the worker status, etc.

We have also used a model of motivation of young people to join an innovation activity proposed by E. S. Gvozdeva, G. P. Gvozdeva, and A. G. Tyrtyshnyiy, based on V. Vroom's theory of expectancy [Vroom, 1994]. The motivation factors are described in it as a set of variables overlapping each other: expectation of relevance of obtained results to own efforts, expectation of reward in accordance with the results obtained through own efforts, expectation of the value for the person by the obtained reward (more detail on this model and work motives see [Gvozdeva, 2012; 2010]). The motivation appears as the apprehension the young person of possible successes and achievements in the sphere of science and innovations, as well as the reward for them, having a value for the person. The motivation may change if the person recognizes non-adequacy of his expectations to the real state of things, or if the rules of management of an activity change (for example, a new system of rewards is introduced –wage supplements, housing subsidies for young people, delegated responsibility).

So, in our approach to central elements of influence are opportunities provided by the institutional community, quality and values of a young man, his notions on his own opportunities, expected results of activity and expected rewards.

When making decision where to work, the young man considers the expected opportunities and advantages of various jobs, their accessibility, his own chances to meet their requirements to applicants, compares them with his life situation and plans for the future, estimates the possibility to realize by it his individual life strategy.

Database

The data on labor behavior of young scientists and innovators, on their estimation of work conditions, work effectiveness, work motives have been obtained in the All-Russian Internet-poll of young scientists, made by IEIE SB RAS (Institute of Economic and Industrial Engineering, Siberian Department of the Russian Academy of Sciences) in 2011 (coordinator E. S. Gvozdeva, Candidate of Sociology, 1037 answers, including students and post-graduates, engaged in scientific research and developments). In building empirical models of the behavior of young labor to 35 years of age, a secondary analysis was performed by using answers from 492 persons**.**

Expectations and Models of Labor Behaviour

Various labor practices of young people are presented in the database: 1) social-demographic characteristics of young people, including jobs, positions, presence/absence of science degree; 2) evaluations of available opportunities and benefits of employment; 3) work results (number and quality of publications, patents, etc.); 4) satisfaction with various aspects of work; 5) preferred kinds of reward for achievements in work.

The attempt to describe the models of the behavior including identification of social practices on the basis of various work motivations under certain conditions and opportunities. Motive, in their turn, are formed under influence of the surroundings of the individual and social norms. A particular motive begins to “work”, to dominate in a certain group of young people, if there are sufficient opportunities and incentives in the sphere of work. This means that the reward in science and in innovative business is estimated as satisfactory comparing to that obtainable for similar work in a different sphere or on a different place of job.

The expectable opportunities and privileges in the sphere of work have been described by means of answers to questions on associations with the words “science” and “innovative business” (14 prompts in each), and on the attractive features of the work in these spheres (12 prompts in each). Next the factor analysis was given separately for each of these 4 sets of indicators. Then, using the obtained factors, by means of cluster analysis, the empirical models were built of the behavior of employed young people with different motivations to work in the sphere of science and innovative business.

For the *sphere of science* 3 factors characterizing the opportunities and 5 factors of the expected advantages (table) have been identified. On the basis of 8 emphasized factors, by means of the fast cluster analysis, an empirical typology of the behavior models of the young people dependent on opportunities the most important for them have been constructed. The most stable of them was a 4-cluster typology, allowing to identify groups of young researchers with different models of behavior and different motivation to work. The developing models of behavior are marked with ***.

For the sphere of innovative business, similarly to the use of the same methods 4 factors characterizing opportunities and 3 factors of expected advantages were identified. The empirical 5-cluster typology of the behavioral models of the young people was built on the basis of 7 identified factors.

Among the found empirical models of work behavior among the employed young people, two were described as typical of young scientists (YS) and another two as innovators. The criteria were the achieved results by the group of this model and their satisfaction with work. The number of scientific publications is much higher among YS, oriented to implementation of own ideas, on travels abroad and delay from army (their share among YS is 62%). The most satisfied with work are those who have interest in science, while those who avoid army are negatively disposed to "work prestige" and "opportunity of making career in science" (the satisfied are 79 and 39%, respectively). Among innovators the developing models are practiced less (43%), since they undergo higher uncertainty and risks, than YS. (Criteria were leadership and participation in innovative projects and satisfaction with work).

Table 1. Expectations in the sphere of work and dominating motivations in empirical models of in-labor behavior of young scientists (YS)*

Expected opportunities and advantages in the sphere of work	No. of behavior model; dominating motivation	Conditions, determining the model of behavior
Factors of opportunities for – discoveries and implementation of ideas; – *material welfare, leadership and authority**;* –*corruption and unfavorable working conditions* ***Factors of advantages*** – qualities of co-workers and social benefits (including the chance to settle the housing problem); – respite from the army, opportunity to travel abroad and combine scientific work with higher-paid side work; – *fruition of dream and self-actualization;* – *interest in research;* – *flexible working hours in creative work*	**1** – interesting work, realization of intentions*** (55%) **2** –avoidance of hard work (26%) **3**- social benefits and positive qualities of colleagues (12%) **4**- respite from the army, research trips abroad ******* (7%)	Features of socialization, including employment in developing groups ***(1 and 3 models)***; Programs supporting research and youth mobility ***(1 and 4 models)***; Regulation of wages ***(2 mod.)*** Provision of materials and equipment ***(2 model)***; Provision of housing subsidies ***(3 model)***; Respite from the army ***(4 модель)***

* In brackets, % of these answers from the group of this model is shown.
** Italics show the analyzed factors of opportunities and advantages that have had no effect on the found models of behavior.
*** Noted are the most productive youth developing behaviors.

So, it is shown that, on the one hand, both in science and in the sphere of innovative business, fruitful work and work satisfaction are found in young people whose expectations are associated with the presence of opportunities for creative work and implementation of plans. Such were 55 and 28%, respectively. On the other hand, attention is drawn to a large proportion of young people who work in these areas, but do not see opportunities for discoveries, work and implementation of plans. Models of avoiding difficulties and intense work are adhered to by 26% in science and by 34% in innovative business. More than half of young people are not enough motivated to innovation. The group not expecting to achieve material well-being by working in science was not identified. Young scientists understand that working in this area provides low opportunities to gain leadership and power.

On the whole, the constructed models of the behavior of young scientists and innovators in the sphere of work makes it possible to speak on the urgent need to form a more developmental institutional environment, including effective work incentives, training and technological updating. It is necessary to recognize the effectively working young professionals as real and potential subjects of modernization of Russian economy; they are able to critically perceive opportunities and to adequately assess them.

The target guideline for the future – there is to create conditions for the growth of productivity and job satisfaction youth in the areas of science and innovation business.

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Political Practice in the Lifeworld of Young People in Rural Areas

Elena A. Kolosova, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. The article deals with the social and political position of Russia's youngpeople in rural areas through the prism of the following indicators: interest in politics, the presence of certain knowledge in this field, commitment to certain political groups, involvement in the political process and political activities, participation in civic initiatives. To consider youth socio-political position as the main sourceы of empirical data using the results of the All-Russian Research (grant RNF №14-18-02016). The survey was conducted in August 2015, all nine federal districts in 22 regions, territories and republics in the 71 village engulfed by nationwide sample of 1,000 people. And the survey interviewed 1750 people in 18 regions of the country 25-30 October 2014, based on a representative sample by gender, education, marital status, place of residence, ownership and seniority. Polls held in all economic regions of the country, representing the Central Russia, the Volga region, South of the country, the Urals, Siberia and Far East, as well as two metropolis - Moscow and St. Petersburg.

Key words: political consciousness; political activity; political participation; interest in politics; youth; rural areas

Youth is considered the most active social and demographic groups, playing a leading role in the changes in contemporary Russian society and is the main agent of change and transformation of society. Whether it is so in the rural areas?

In recent years (especially in comparison with the end of 1980) in the structure of the lifeworld of young people there is a decrease of interest in politics and the reluctance of active participation in the political life of the country. The general decline of interest in political events is even more evident in comparison with 1987, when its active interest in the political events declared more than half of the respondents (54.4%). In 2013 the share of those who have declared an interest in the political developments in the country dropped to 27.1%. There are a lot more those who doesn't monitor political events: 12,9% in 2013, and in 1987 there were just over 1% [LifeWorld…, 2016].

Young people actively respond to local events that have serious public interest or affect the person of certain young people. A constant and active monitoring of the political situation in the country and in the world don't interesting for today's youth, including rural areas.

But political apathy of modern rural youth is not total, as the majority of young Russians (86.8%) learn political news on television, this channel is most common among Russians (especially in rural areas). Because of problems with an Internet connection derive such information from the Internet (this group is the most active among the other age groups) (Table 1), only half of young rural residents (52.8%) in rural areas.

Such behavior of young people can be called passive political practices, as modern young people are aware of what is happening in the country and abroad, but a genuine interest in the subject matter does not show and has no desire to influence the political situation in the country.

Table 1.Answers to the question "From what channel do you receive political information" (more than one answer)

	2014	2015
	Russian youth	**Rural youth**
	Under 29 years	Under 29 years
TV	74.3	86.8
Radio	21.5	18.9
Newspapers	16.1	5.7
Internet	66.5	52.8
Talks with comrades	33.3	28.3

Communicative practices of today's youth are very important. From conversations with others political news learn 28.3% of young villagers. Discussion of political news with family, friends, colleagues testifies of the limited involvement of young people in the political process. Among the political news sources in rural youth conversations at work occupy not last place (32.1% - with colleagues, 18.9% - with co-workers), since the village youth beginning their career earlier (due to financial difficulties, need to help the older generation etc.). Those who have no one to discuss political news about 10% (Table. 2).

Table 2.Answers to the question "With whom do you discuss political news" (more than one answer)

	2014	2015
	Russian youth	**Rural youth**
	Under 29 years	Under 29 years
Family	52.9	49.1
Co-workers	12.9	18.9
Friends	49.9	35.8
Colleagues	25.5	32.1
Everyone	23.2	20.8
Nobody	7.0	9.4

The practice of political participation include voting behavior of different levels. More than half of rural youth did not participate in any form of political life in 2015 (Tab. 3), only about a third have participated in elections to local and regional authorities. The signing petitions, participating in demonstrations and meetings, participation in pickets much less popular forms of political participation of young people (from 3.3% to 0.8%). In this case, rural youth behaves exactly like the young people in any other type of settlement.

Table 3. Answers to the question "In what forms of political life do you participate in 2014" (more than one answer).

	2014		2015
	Russian youth		Rural youth
	Under 24 years	25-29 years	Under 29 years
Elections to Duma	10.4	22.7	23.0
Elections to local and regional authorities	28.4	36.9	32.8
Sign petitions	2.8	2.6	0.8
Demonstrations and meetings	4.7	1.3	3.3
Pickets	1.4	0	0.8
Didn't participate	63.5	56.2	60.7

The majority of young people in rural areas (39.5%) evaluated the political situation in Russia at the present time as a crisis. Slightly more than a third assess the situation as normal, for only 10% - the current political situation is favorable. About 15% find it difficult to assess the current political situation in Russia

The lifeworld of rural youth is composed of two main types of political practices. The first related to the active political position - commitment to certain political trends, participation in elections, membership in political parties, participation in demonstrations and meetings, pickets, etc. The second - related to the passive behavior of young people, due to the lack of motivation to influence the political life: the recognition of the political news media, policy discussions with colleagues and friends, refusing to participate in social activities and voting in elections.

For rural youth the political life of society today is not a fundamental factor in their outlook and behavior, and is a separate sphere of society, causing interest among a small circle of persons included in the political movements and parties, interested in politics and political processes.

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Modern Concept of Identity and New Trends in Formation of Citizenship and Patriotism of High School Students

Nataliya V. Kuznetsova, Moscow region , Russia
Elena I. Pronina, Moscow, Russia
Yuriy E. Antonov, Moscow region, Russia

Abstract. Trends in the formation of citizenship and patriotism of high school students is analyzed on the basis of the sociological research made by the authors. The problem of cultural identity formation in the modern world is highlighted.

Key words: identity; cultural identity; patriotism; patriotic education of high school students; values

The problem of studying the identity of the individual and of the state is relevant in terms of multiculturalism policies pursued in the EU and the United States. Almost everywhere people are asking themselves: "What do they have in common with their fellow citizens and how they differ from other peoples?. The importance of national identity in different cultures is realized in different ways. For Israelis and Palestinians, the threat to national and cultural identity is linked historically to the struggle for territory, where places of religious and cultural values are situated, that are priceless both for Palestinians and for Israelis. For the part of Christian community, the destruction of the unique monuments of Christian culture was a tragedy, and most importantly - people who have a different religious affiliation in the conflict in Syria and Iraq. The conflicts in the modern world are also connected with the practices of awareness and the preservation of one’s cultural identity, which is based on language, religion and culture. The work of S. Huntington [Huntington, 2004], contains the idea that the most serious problems of nations, states are often associated not with politics and economics, but with cultural symbols, the definition of national identity.

The tragic events in Ukraine show the crisis that is not so much economic and social but rather it is the crisis of cultural, linguistic and religious identity for many Ukrainians, who have common religious, family, cultural and historical roots with the Russian people. In today's world, especially in Europe discussions between the faithful of different religions and the adherents of secular culture on the basic concepts of the political, social order, individual rights, religious, cultural and gender identity became strained. In a number of countries, political elites assign national, cultural and other identities to their citizens in some cases ignoring the opinion of the citizens themselves. The sex change and registration of the same-sex marriages in several European countries may serve as an example of the negative identity construction.

Or the example of the political leadership of Bulgaria, which decided not to invite representatives from Russia on the anniversary of the liberation from the Ottoman yoke in 2016. And the relations between Russia and Bulgaria have a long history. Tens of thousands of Russian soldiers died to free Bulgaria after the 500 years of Ottoman rule. In response to this Russian sacrifice in the first and second world wars, Bulgaria fought on the side of Russia’s enemies; and in the XXI century making the choice between the West and Russia, as well as many of the Slavic peoples, it has chosen the West. One cannot but agree with Vladimir Khomyakov, co-chairman of the movement "Peoples’ Cathedral" who said that “two hundred years of cultivation of the Slavic brotherhood idea in the Russian society expired its deadline. It must be admitted that: no blood relationship, not the similarity of culture and language now determine who are "us” and who are "them" ... defines their belonging to Russian or Western civilization, which is based on - following this or that value system" [Khomyakov, 2016: 9].

Three main theoretical problems arise in connection with the designated research problem, which require prior clarification. Firstly, the definition of the concept of identity; secondly, the analysis of the problem of preservation of cultural identity in a global world; third, the research of problems of formation of citizenship and patriotism among young people, for example, high school students.

It is necessary to note a few points regarding the terminology of identity in general and cultural identity in particular. Let us note as well that the meaning of "identity" and the definition of identity, which are given in the dictionaries, are usually based on the fact that "the identity (of late latin. Identicus - synonymous, same) – identity, coincidence of anything with anything" [Soviet encyclopedic dictionary, 1980:481]. We will briefly discuss the publications related to the subject of our research paying attention to the concept of identity. The questions of national and cultural identity in the context of demographic crisis were widely discussed by the expert community during the All-Russian Scientific Conference "National identity of Russia and demographic crisis". (2006).

The conceptual work "Social and civic identity in the context of global processes" [Gorshkov, 2008] provides comparative analysis of national and civic identity in the context of global processes; explores the types and interpretations of identity in the Russian and foreign literature; raises the question that the significance for identities for the individual and the nation may change with time under the influence of internal and external (geopolitical) factors; it is noted that "identity carries the answer to the question about the nature of its people, its place and role and tasks in the world history and the ideal forms of its existence." [Gorshkov, 2008:30].

In the collective monograph [Aktualnye konzepty sovremennosti…, 2015] authors analyze Russian civilization in the context of the researched problem - the preservation of cultural values; it says: "spiritual memory of Russian civilization - language, writing, literature - is a part of the values of the Russian culture. Measures to preserve the cultural heritage of Russia, in our point of view, should include: firstly, the financing of the Russian language dictionaries; secondly, the implementation of measures in the field of museum development, including a moratorium on any movement of cultural property to the territory of other states; and thirdly, the publication of history textbooks, the history of Russian culture with the participation of RAS experts, theologians, leading scientists of Russia" [Aktualnye konzepty sovremennosti, 2015:42-43]. In practical terms, the problem of cultural heritage preservation and the foundations of the cultural identity formation contain, on the one hand, the realization of human rights in need for the enrichment of the cultural values and, on the other hand, the implementation of a complex of cultural heritage protection measures due to the cultural policy framework pursued by the state.

The analysis of the content of the identity concept indicates that there is currently no universally accepted definition of identity.

1. Identity is the product of self-identification, of understanding that you or I possess special qualities that separate me from you and you from them (S. Huntington).

2. Identification is one of the most important aspects and mechanisms of interaction between the individual and the social group, involving among other things the assimilation of behavior patterns of the significant "other" (S. Freud).

3. Identification is the result of social interaction, when in the process of social communication, especially in communicating with other people, a man compares himself with them and begins to see himself as if from the outside (G. Mead).

4. Social identification is the process of social identity formation (the result of social identity) by relating and identifying with the social patterns, groups, roles, types, attributes, qualities and characteristics (E.A. Grishina) [Grishina, 2009:140]. In the broadest sense of the concept of identity means that a person is aware of belonging to any group, allowing him to determine his place in the socio-cultural environment and to freely navigate in the outside world.

Cultural identity has a decisive influence on the process of intercultural communication. According to researchers, the essence of cultural identity is the conscious acceptance by the person of the cultural norms and patterns of behavior, values and language, understanding of the "I" from the perspective of the cultural characteristics that are accepted in the community, the self-identification of himself with the cultural patterns of this particular society.

To navigate in a foreign way of life you need to understand the semantic categories of a foreign cultural identity, including the vocabulary of a foreign language. When dealing with other cultures many of us judge foreign cultural values, using as a model and criterion our own ethnic group socio-cultural values; many of us are making a comparative analysis of the lexical-semantic categories of our native language and other languages.

The core of a cultural identity is the language. Every nation preserves in its semantic group words and phrases that reveal the soul of the people, its worldview and its identity. All peoples in their linguistic expression store specific keywords that succinctly define the priorities and values of peoples' mindset and culture. Russians are interesting to the rest of the world for their spiritual view of existence; it is this spirituality that is reflected in the key words of the Russian language - conscience, happiness, generosity, truth, justice. Russian language is not the only mode of communication; it is our common view of the world, the family and the state.

It is gratifying that the Society of Russian literature has been created since March 2016 in Russia, this organization is inheriting the traditions from the similar organization that operated from 1831 to 1930. It will be headed by the Primate of the Russian Orthodox Church Patriarch Kirill. In his opening speech, he said: "Our predecessors understood that the native language and literature are involved in the formation of the cultural identity of the person, they provide a link with the history of the native people, with previous generations. Without this link cultural and thus value succession breaks ... of course a student who does not know his mother tongue and is not familiar with the national culture, and especially literature, this student is separated from its roots. It is more difficult for him to perceive and even more difficult to feel interconnectedness with the historic vertical of his people, with the great events of the past, to share the moral, spiritual and cultural ideals with national heroes ..." [Chitat po-russki, 2016:2].

Therefore, today it becomes urgent to appeal to the patriotism education issues in the context of identity.

The Russian Federation has developed a program "Patriotic education of the citizens of the Russian Federation for the years 2016-2020", which covers "ensuring the necessary conditions for improving the civil responsibility for the fate of the country, the readiness of the citizens to defend the country, raising the level of society consolidation to meet the challenges of national security and sustainable development of the Russian Federation, involving citizens in the process of protection, conservation and strengthening the power of the Russian Federation, ensuring the succession of generations of Russians, strengthening citizens' sense of belonging to the history and culture of Russia "[Postanovlenie Pravitelstva Rossiyskoy Federazii "O gosudarstvennoy programme "Patrioticheskoe vospitanie grazhdan Rossiyskoy Federazii na 2016-2020 gody,2016]. The teenage school age (11-17 years) is considered as a separate age category in the program "Patriotic education of citizens of the Russian Federation for the years 2016-2020".

Senior school age is an important stage in the life of the individual, as school children assimilate the value priorities of cooperation during this period, establish the basics of lifestyle, form life priorities and their civic position [Pashkevich, 2009:126]. Senior school age is also the period of the formation of a sense of identity and the development of new social roles [Milekhin,2011:9].

Almost 10 years has passed since the adoption by the Russian Government on July 18, 2005, of the State program "Patriotic education of citizens of the Russian Federation for 2006-2010". What is the situation in the field of civic education and patriotism of Russian school children? What are the dynamics of youth attitudes over the years? To answer these and similar questions in 2012 the study "Trends in socialization and the problem of social adaptation of children, youth and adolescents in modern Russia" was carried out, high school students in the schools of Magadan, Moscow, Nizhnevartovsk, Troitsk, Lyubertsy, Obninsk, Langepas were surveyed. The survey was led by a group studying modern trends in the formation of personality in education (Tobengauz P.M., Borrego D.M., Grishaeva N.P., Pronina E.I. (research leader). Sample consists of 526 students within the ages of 13 to 18 years, who at that time were students of 8-11 grades.

The obtained data were processed using a program called VORTEX. The obtained data allowed to make a comparison with the data of the study "Shaping civic and patriotic position of youth and adolescents in Russia", which was conducted by the Group studying modern trends in the formation of personality in the field of education (Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences) in 2008 among high school students school in Nizhnevartovsk, Belgorod, Tver, Magadan, Leninogorsk and several cities in the Moscow region. There were totally 570 schoolchildren surveyed. The array of respondents was formed from students within the ages of 12 to 18 years, who were students of 7-11 grades. The obtained data were processed using a program called VORTEX.

According to the “Patriotic education of the citizens of the Russian Federation for the years 2016-2020” the educational process should help improve the level of knowledge of Russian literature, culture, geography, regional studies knowledge "[Postanovlenie Pravitelstva Rossiyskoy Federazii “O gosudarstvennoy programme “Patrioticheskoe vospitanie grazhdan Rossiyskoy Federazii na 2016-2020 gody, 2016]. One of the conditions for the successful assimilation of this knowledge is students’ interest in studying these subjects, aimed at patriotic education, motivation to study these subjects. According to the study conducted by the Group studying modern trends in the formation of personality in the field of education (Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences), such subjects as literature, geography, music, world art culture, history, fine arts are not on the first place in the list of the most important subjects from the point of view of high school students. However, it should be noted that students give the main priority after math to the Russian language (the study of which contributes to the level of knowledge of Russian culture and the inclusion to the Russian values) and social studies (having a direct impact on the assimilation of social norms and the formation of the civic position of the school children).

The awareness of belonging to the team of class members is also the starting point for the formation and development of citizenship and patriotism: "Before becoming a citizen and patriot of the small or large Motherland one must learn to be responsible for the obligations imposed by the communities to which one belongs (family, class, school etc.) and learn to be proud of them" [Nikulin, 2009:103]. Such a high level of self-identity with the class team points successful background of patriotic education in school.

One of the indicators of formation of active citizenship is the individual's participation in political parties, movements. Taking into account the results of the study, high school students can be divided into two major groups: 1) students who do not want to participate in the political life of the community through participation in political parties and movements in the future (48% of respondents); 2) students who are trying to postpone their participation in these activities when they are in a more mature age (16% of the respondents plan to begin participation in political parties, movements at the age of 30 years or more, 15% - at the age of 18 -23 years, 14% - at the age of 24-30 years).

In the program of the Russian civic education it is stated that it is necessary to provide "voluntary inclusion of children and youth in the real social, environmental, cultural, economic and other problems of the family, school, village, district, city, region, Russia" [Postanovlenie ot 16 fevralya 2001 g. N 122 g. Moskva O gosudarstvennoy programe “Patrioticheskoe vospitanie grazhdan Rossiyskoy federazii na 2001-2005 gody”,2001]. The high school students being aware of the problems of the country and their experiencing the sense of belonging to these problems indicates a certain degree of formation of patriotism.

The dominant life values and priorities for high school students according to our surveys are parents and family (61%), friends (57%), health (53%) and love (50%). The next positions in the list of life priorities of school students take up such values as education (34%), interesting work (31%) and career (31%), money (26%), security (24%), development of their abilities (22%). The prosperity of the country in the list of priorities in life of school students gives way to such values as independence (20%) and comfort (17%), leisure time (16%), getting into the same group with values such as religion (12% of respondents), the possibility of living abroad (12%), fame and success (11%).

Thus, priority values for high school students are values associated with personal well-being (health, parents, love, friends, security), material wealth (money, career), self-realization and self-development (interesting work, education, development of their abilities). Therefore, to enhance the patriotic attitudes among high school students the conditions must be ensured, which will make it possible for students to achieve their goals in the future, as well as translation of the patriotic values in schools, clubs and groups of interest, and in the media.

High school students were also asked questions concerning their own understanding of the word "patriotism", as well as their readiness to manifest patriotic behavior. The data from two surveys, one of which was held in 2012, and the other - in 2008, reveal the dynamics of the patriotic orientations of high school students. The comparison of the results of the researches held in 2012 and 2008 showed that the meaning given by young people to the concept of "patriot" has not changed much in 4 years, but it can be stated that some of new trends are emerging in the interpretation of this concept.

Table 1. Distribution of answers to the question: "What do you think it means: "to be a patriot" today?"

Answer options	2008	2012
To love and be proud of your homeland	83	84.9
To live in your country	17.4	17.5
To know your history	44.9	40.1
In case of need to protect the interests of the country with arms in hands	39.5	26.4
To obey the laws of the state	24.2	20.3
Honestly and with due diligence to work for the good of the motherland	24.0	25.1
To not avoid military service	13.9	10.8
To love your near and dear ones	14.7	16.0
Hard to say. other	1.2	4.4

The percentage from the number of surveyed.

* The sum exceeds 100% because one respondent could give several answers at once. In % from the number of surveyed.

As it can be seen, "In case of need to protect the interests of the country with arms in hands" – the amount wanting to do that has lowered. And this is the situation, despite the fact that the program of patriotic education by 2012 has already gained significant "momentum". "To be a patriot" - you must respect the laws of the state - such a statement in 2008 is considered true by about every 4th high school student, while in 2012, it is so for only about every 5th high school student, i.e. slightly less than in 2008. But the number of high school students believing that in order to be called a patriot, you must go to the polls and to participate in the political life of the country has tripled (from 5% to 15%). As it can be seen, patriotism profile is shifting towards a non-military behavior. Wondrous is that living in one's own country being important for a patriot was picked by only 17%, which is significantly (almost 5 times) lower than the index of love and pride towards one's homeland. However, over the 5 years from 2008 to 2012 - patriotism profile remains the same - namely, to love and be proud of your homeland, to know your history and, if necessary, to protect the interests of the nation with arms.

The data analysis indicates a correlation with the responses received to the question about the qualities required for a patriot. Living on the territory of the country as a necessary characteristic of patriotic behavior was noted only by every 6th respondent. We see as well that, despite the fact that

60% consider themselves patriots, the same number (i.e. more than half of high school students) would like to live in another country and not in Russia. In 2008 only every 4th participated in the study wanted to live in another country and not in Russia. Most unpopular was the desire to work in another country for some time, and then return to Russia.

What is that in which the patriotic consciousness of high school students is particularly evident? In 2012 60% of high school students said that they consider themselves patriots. Approximately 30% of surveyed students said that they would like to live in Russia, some of them at the same time said that they wanted to change their country. It must be stated that in 2008 there were 2 times more students wishing to live in Russia. This, in our opinion, is surprising, given the fact that by 2012 the patriotic education program was implemented widely in schools and patriotic values were proclaimed and welcomed in various types of media.

Regarding the criteria of patriotism that define this concept in the minds of high school students in 2012 the vast majority - 85% identify patriotism with loving and being proud of their homeland, 40% point out that patriotism involves knowledge of the history of the country, and 26% (in 2008 - 40%) believe that in case of need patriotism involves protecting the country's interests with arms. Number of high school students believing that to be a patriot, you must go to the polls and participate in the political life of the country has increased 3 times from 2008 to 2012 (from 5% to 15%). Obviously, patriotism profile shifts towards a non-military behavior. In spite of the differences of the data in 2008 and 2012, the priority of these interpretations among high school students remained the same - to love and be proud of your homeland, to know the history of the country and, if necessary, to protect the interests of the country with arms.

In general, talking about the features of civil and patriotic education of high school students the following aspects can be named. The school is a special space, where through interpersonal interaction with peers, high school students are acquiring social skills and self-identification. 70% of high school students feel that they belong to the members of the class group. Such a high level of self-identification with the class indicates a successful background of patriotic education at school, provided a competent pedagogical influence.

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Aspects of Formation of Creative Competence of Students

Alyona D. Matraeva, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. In article aspects of formation of creative competence of students are considered. The role of creative competence in different types of activity of the person is discussed. The author considers that creative competence needs to be formed in the course of training in higher education institution as it is the integrated characteristic of the personality.

Key words: creativity; creative competence; common cultural competences; students

The present stage of development of society in Russia and abroad is considered as time of active search of new ways of development of the personality, her creative initiative, human potential in general. Growth of international relations, change of a role of people in system of the production and public relations staticize requirements to the level of the qualified specialist, including the level of formation of his creative abilities, ability to produce independently essentially new original ideas for the solution of the various tasks arising in the course of professional activity. Today only the person who is creatively belonging to the activity is capable to cope with practical and theoretical tasks which are set for him by social and economic transformations, scientific and technical progress. In modern conditions the personal growth, career in many respects are defined by the level of creative abilities, ability to apply new various strategy at the solution of daily and strategic problems.

Process of modernization of society in which factor of success of the personality focused on innovative activity and capable to self-development is most important has caused need of reforms for education. In the XX century as a solution of this problem Bologna Process – process of rapprochement and harmonization of systems of the higher education of the countries of Europe for the purpose of creation of uniform space of the higher education has been chosen. The competence-based approach in education is closely connected with Bologna Process. The concept of competence has appeared as a result of the attempt made at the all-European level to bring educational standards of the different countries of Europe into accord. In connection with complexity of introduction of new technology of an assessment of results of education and development of their criteria, universal for all countries of Europe, in 2001 the TUNING project («Tuning Educational Structures») which purpose was an establishment of the comparable educational standard with preservation of cultural diversity which shouldn't disappear in connection with growth of educational mobility and standardization of requirements to development of disciplines has been started. This project passed in Russia since 2006 under the name TEMPUS «Creation of a network of the Tuning centers at the

Russian universities». The term «competence» in EQF (The European qualification frame allowing to correlate the qualifications accepted in different national education systems) is defined as the integrated concept expressing ability of the individual independently apply various elements of knowledge and abilities in a certain context. The modern understanding of competence is connected with all-round development of the personality which isn't reduced to tightly professional competences, but assumes obtaining necessary «common cultural» skills which were assumed by traditional model of education, but had no fixed, formalized character. Common cultural competences define active activity of the person, his ability to be guided in various spheres of social and professional life, harmonize an inner world and the relations with society. The importance of these qualities of the personality increases also in connection with transition from traditional to the personal focused paradigm when society needs the active, creative experts capable to make decisions independently and ready to take the responsibility for their implementation, able to set goals and to design new ways of their achievement.

With introduction in educational practice the competence-based approach, the problem of formation of creative competence becomes even more actual. If earlier research of creativity contacted first of all with identification of talented and gifted pupils and students, now creativity is considered more widely.

There is a set of definitions of the concept "creativity". It is possible to refer such representations of creativity to the most widespread as:

- producing essentially new ideas;
- ability to apply various new strategies at the solution of problems;
- ability to produce unusual, non-standard ideas;
- ability not to follow stereotypes, «to remain open» for the various arriving information by search of solutions of problems;
- originality and speed of thinking;
- readiness to work in an unusual context, tendency to symbolical, associative thinking.

Creativity is shown in ability of a producing, on the basis of the gained knowledge and the saved-up experience, new ideas and ways which optimize working process or help with creation of essentially new product. As M. I. Danilova notes, «creativity is an ability of the person to non-standard, original thinking and behavior. At the same time should be noted creative, constructive nature of such thinking and behavior» [Danilova, 2012:101].

According to R. Florida, creativity includes not only intelligence of the person or his creative abilities. Creativity surely includes ability to synthesis which result can be anything – the invention of the device, development of the theory, the understanding of a problem conducting to her decision or creation of a work of art [Florida, 2005:68]. Therefore, obligatory components of creativity are, on the one hand, novelty, and with another – efficiency in search of solutions of the existing problems. The creativity treated thus can be found in various spheres of human experience.

Creativity is one of the main factors of development of high-tech, knowledge-intensive industries of production, new technologies and the industries. During an era of post-industrial society creativity is a factor of competitive advantage, is highly appreciated, encouraged, used in various ways and becomes a source of social and economic development of society.

For the first time the term «creative competence» meets in works of the American scientist D. Ch. Pearce studying questions of education. He believed that active figurative game has a great importance in education as promotes creative development of world which he called «creative competence».

A.V. Hutorskoy analyzes epycompetence-based approach and problems of formation of competences, considering them as a criterion of readiness of the specialist to different types of activity in the conditions of instability and pluralism. He marks out ability which allows the personality to work productively and creatively, staticizing and mobilizing knowledge in an uncertainty situation for the solution of tasks – creative competence [Hutorskoy, 2007: 132].

Considering problems of modern education, R. Epstein speaks about the concept «creative competence» as about readiness to apply adaptively the gained knowledge, to supplement system of knowledge independently, to seek for self-improvement [Epstein, 2005: 146].

M. Zauyer and D. Erpenbek define structure of creative competence, representing her as a ratio of the following elements:

• methodical – abstract thinking, rhetoric, ability to the analysis, etc.;

• procedural – methods and the principles which cover not only production of ideas, but also the process of a solution;

• personal – creativity, sociability, motivation, etc.;

• panoramic – conditions of formation of competence and interaction of all participants of this process.

On the basis of the available scientific researches, it is possible to claim that creative competence promotes increase of productivity and efficiency of activity. First of all, this results from the fact that the person is interested not only in high-quality performance of the work, but also in search of new ways and original strategy of a solution; he is capable to make quickly non-standard decisions in any situation and to approach the organization and performance of tasks with greater energy and enthusiasm. It should be noted especially that creativity influences not only activity of the person, but also development of personal potential. Creativity is means of self-updating, self-realization and self-improvement of the personality.

In sociocultural interaction creativity acts as a necessary component. The higher the level of formation of creative competence of the personality is, the more effective and more productive activity of the person will be. These aspects staticize need for improvement of vocational training of future experts, andespecially her creative component that amplifies in the conditions of modernization of education within competence-based approach. In what way is going a formation of creative competence within receiving the higher education? For the answer to this question we will give results of recent research.

For the purpose of definition of factors of formation of creative competence of students, in January-March, 2014 research (300 students of the third and fourth courses are interrogated) has been conducted [Zernova L.P., Rybakova M. V., Matraeva A.D.; 2014:56]. Students of natural-science faculties of Mendeleev University of Chemical Technology of Russia, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow Institute of Physics and Technology (technical university) participated in poll. As creative competence is inseparably linked with common cultural competences, the main attention in research has been paid to a social and humanitarian component of process of the higher education.

First of all, it should be noted the fact that the vast majority of students (91,7%) believe that in independence of the received specialty, it is necessary to develop creative competence as it is the integral component of development of the person, both in personal, and in the professional plan. At the same time students don't believe that this competence isn't the most demanded. More students are concerned by a lack of practical and theoretical knowledge in the specialty, competences of organizational interaction. On the one hand, the received results can be explained with specifics of higher education institutions and faculties, on the other hand, it is impossible to forget that the university as a higher educational institution has to focus students on comprehensive training of the person for professional activity.

Saying about how formation of creative competence within higher education institution is possible, students (7,8% of respondents) have answered that it is humanitarian disciplines, collective teaching (5,1%), participation in the student's organizations (1,7%). Apparently from indicators, catastrophically small number of students believe that higher education institution qualitatively influences formation of creative competence. Such indicators can be explained with prevalence of technical disciplines over humanitarian owing to specifics of the considered higher education institutions. The considered aspect is also correlated with the fact that most of students believe that it is necessary to increase the volume of the humanitarian disciplines taught in the course of training. However underestimation of a role of higher education institution in formation of creative competence deserves close attention as this situation calls into question receiving qualitative education and appearance of comprehensively developed professionals in various areas.

The disciplines exerting the greatest impact on formation of creative competence, students called the standard of speech, a foreign language, philosophy, history, sociology, political science, cultural science. Also these humanitarian disciplines more exert impact on formation of competences of social interaction, competence of self-organization and self-government.

By results of research it is obviously possible to make the following recommendations about various aspects of formation of creative competence of students.

During educational process it is necessary to carry out monitoring of quality of the education on degree of formation of creative competence, to reveal constantly the problems connected with contents and the organization of educational process. Answers to such questions have to be analyzed: «What is the degree of formation of creative competence?», «As you consider whether is creative competence is so necessary for the expert, as well as professional competences?». It is necessary to pay attention to these questions as answers to them show how the educational process goesand to what purpose students move.

For improvement of preparation on humanitarian disciplines it is worth increasing a number of hours of their teaching, to enter humanitarian disciplines for choice if they aren't in the program of training or volume is insufficient.

It is necessary to carry out more practical works, seminars, discussions, thus, passing to intensive occupations, to use as much as possible interactive technologies.

Thus, at the level of the higher education it is advisable to place particular emphasis on formation of creative competence. The higher education represents a stage in training of professionals who have to be capable to production of innovations during modernization of society. In the course of higher education institution students specialize in a certain kind of activity, gain special professional competence and experiment on practical application of this knowledge (in practice, training) in this connection on the basis of the «general» creativity «specialized» (professional) creativity develops: ability to creativity in a certain sphere of human activity. Creative competence becomes the integrated characteristic of the personality reflecting ability and readiness for productive professional creative activity in the conditions of innovative economy. For this reason creative competence needs to be formed in the course of training in higher education institution.

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Childhood in the Socio-Humanitarian Perspective: a Multidisciplinary Thesaurus

Svetlana N. Mayorova-Scheglova, Moscow, Russia
Elena A.Kolosova, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. The proposed research has theoretical and methodological character and is based on the analysis and synthesis of published socio-cultural studies in the field of childhood of the early 21st century, and interviews with the heads of the largest social survey of the last decade of childhood. Article made within the grant of the Russian Humanitarian Scientific Foundation (project № 16-06-00792 «Childhood in the socio-humanitarian perspective: Thesaurus").

Key words: childhood; thesaurus; experts; the science of childhood, sociology of childhood

In social-humanitarian knowledge in Russia there is a significant discontinuity between theoreticians, developing approaches and methodology for the analysis of processes in childhood, and the structures, developing indicators to assess the welfare of children and prepare national reports on the situation of children. Official indicators rely on outdated materials, whereas there were many significant changes in the field of Russian childhood in the past decade. Thus, in the field of leisure official statistics captures data only on traditional institutions of education and leisure activities for children, paying no attention to the new forms of, for example, development centers, event-companies, activities in the trade and entertainment centers, remote forms of additional education, digital libraries, etc.

At the same time appear design-projects that describe possible fast transformation of childhood (till 2030). Simultaneously put forward as positive and desirable, worthy of promotion and implementation also such marginal theses: children today and in the future less and less need the family; children in Russia should be embedded with chips; required genetic and medicamental modification of a Human to increase his capacity, etc.

We do not set the task of creating some sort of a universal branch of scientific knowledge, a kind of "new pedology". Sociology of childhood today plays an important increasing role among the studies of childhood, which are traditionally carried out by psychologists and pedagogues. From our point of view, interdisciplinary approach to the study of childhood allows to synthesize existing theories and methods and to use them in applied researches of modern children and adolescents. Russian sociologists of childhood implement special project on the synthesis of the results of different studies (sociological, psychological, pedagogical and others) and creation on their basis universal Thesaurus, oriented on officials and experts in practical work with children (pedagogues, leaders of children's organizations, commissioners for children's rights, journalists who write about children and for children and other stakeholders). The major goal of the project is to convey recipients update knowledge about modern childhood, capabilities of forecasting and planning changes in various forms (print, virtual, educational, activity). Important research challenges of the scientific team - update the methodological approaches to the study of childhood, approbation of tools compound expert opinion, audit data sciences studying childhood as peripheral region - economics, law, linguistics, history. Sociologists, summarizing and systematizing the results of current research, can make a certain contribution to the development of the conceptual apparatus of other sciences or individual industries, to formulate a number of theoretical propositions concerning the basic categories of "interdisciplinary, thesaurus."

Specialized thesaurus captures childhood in society processes associated with children's community, change social institutions associated with the development of the personality of the child (families, schools, non-school environment, including changing social and environmental information, and others).

We are planning to involve deeper scientific description and application guidelines about new phenomena for Russian reality: quasichildhood, glamorization of children, internet-culture of children and for children, early education "from the cradle", divergence (separation) of the educational vectors in different layers, the contradictions of the systems of social protection and social punishment in childhood, tolerance in the society at simultaneous rejection of inclusion in education and etc [Gubanova, 2014; Chudinova, 2015].

At the subsequent stages of the project are preparing proposals for the development of new sections and indicators to the main public report on the situation of children in Russia, as well as creating a periodic electronic annex entitled "Childhood in the socio-humanitarian perspective: the results of research."An additional function of this application will be a compilation and coverage of practical experience and methodological social science expertise of social experiments, projects, social development programs in the field of childhood.

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Attitude to Labor Migrants in Consciousness of Moscow Student Youth

Irina V. Vorobyova, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. The article presents the attitude of students of Moscow to the labor migrants living and working in the capital region, and an analysis ethnic and cross-national of the installation in the minds of youth in recent years.

Keywords: youth; inter-ethnic relations; labor migrants

The study of the various aspects of installations, consciousness and life activity of students is a topical direction for the research by a number of sciences and has a high practical significance. Opinions, worldview, installations of youth not only determine the behavior of a given socio-demographic group, but also affect the country's future development by a certain way. In modern Russian society on the life world, consciousness and behavior of young people are influenced by such negative factors as the loss of confidence in the authorities, interethnic conflicts, the bureaucracy, the growth of corruption, instability of the economic and political systems of society. In society there is an alienation of the majority of young people from the state politics, distrust of the authorities.In situations of the unsurmounted economic crisis and of fierce competition in the labor market there is a fertile ground for the growth of ethnophobia, xenophobic sentiments, right up to the manifestations of extremism in the youth environment.

Data of numerous public opinion polls confirm the deterioration of international and inter-ethnic relations in society. According to the Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VCIOM), since 2008 a stable deterioration of interethnic relations has been observed in Russia. In 2013, almost half of respondents (49%) expressed concern about the increasing tension and intolerance in the sphere international relations (for comparison, in 2006 36% of respondents answered so). In turn, 39% of Russians were of the view that inter-ethnic relations have not changed and remained at the same level. Only 9% of respondents believe that they have become more tolerant [Interethnic relations..., 2014] (see. Table 1).

Table 1. Answers to the question "How in your opinion, have changed interethnic relations in Russia in last year?" (Close-ended question, one answer)

	2006	2008	2010	2011	2013
They have become more tense, intolerant	36	24	32	39	49

Continuation of the Table 1

	2006	2008	2010	2011	2013
What were, and have remained such	40	40	44	40	39
They becamemoretolerant	17	27	16	11	9
Difficulttoanswer	7	-	-	-	-

Attitude to labor migrants who live in the metropolitan area, occupies a special place in the structure of inter-ethnic, international relations. At present, labor migration of citizens near and far abroad to the territory of Russia is a permanent and objective fact of today's realities.According to the Federal Migration Service of the Russian Federation, only three months in 2016 (January to March) 4 166 804 migrants entered Russia, of which only 2 291 368 were supplied on the migratory account. All in all, on the situation in March 2016 there are 9 867 115 migrants in Russia [Statistical data..., 2016].

At the same time Moscow is not only the largest metropolis in Russia but holds first place in the number of migrant workers.Moscow and Moscow region today and in the future remain the most attractive in terms of migration because of their socio-economic potential and of wider, compared with other regions, of employment opportunities. According to the Federal Migration Service in Moscow in 20141 361 000 migrants were delivered on the migratory account[Official statistical..., 2014].According to results of the 2013 213 157 work permits were issued within the approved quota (in 2012 - 188 919, 12.8%), that was almost 98.9% of the quota, of which: 193 314 - to foreign citizens who arrived in the order of visa-free and 19 843 - who arrived in the visa procedure[A report..., 2014].Thus, a fairly large proportion of migrants fill the sector of the Moscow economy. Despite this, in the sphere of labor migration there is its illegal part where an unscrupulous business actively uses the labor of illegal migrants. Difficult situation with illicit migration affects the state international relations, promotes the growth of extremist manifestations, makes a serious threat to public safety.

According to a study conducted by staff of the Distributed Research Center of interethnic and interreligious issues of the Russian Federation Ministry of Education and the Russian Academy of Sciences, a large part of Moscow students have negative installations to migrant workers [The survey..., 2013].For example, only 10% of respondents believe that Russia needs all kinds of migrant workers; 33% of respondents chose the opposite answer ("Russia does not need any migrant workers"); 28% - believe that "need only those migrants who come to work, but then return to their homes"; 15% - believe that "need only those migrants who intend to stay in Russia for ever who try to integrate into"; the rest had difficulty answering on this issue.

When answering the question "Which of the judgments about what impact migrant workers have on the lives of your region and Russia as a whole do you agree with?" 25% of respondents expressed the view that migrants “do not respect the traditions, the language of local people, and this gives rise to conflicts”; 29% of respondents agreed with the proposition that the migrants “do the work, which the local population does not want to do”; 20% believe that migrants “are low skilled, do the work, not having the competence and experience”; 9% believe that “migrants take jobs away from the local population”; 6% chose the answer “they take control and capture the whole spheres of the Russian economy”; and 3% believe that migrants “bring archaic norms and life values, excessive religious and moral fundamentalism”.

Among the positive estimates and judgments against migrants are the following: “They add variety to the culture of Russia” (4%); “They raise those spheres of economy, which in Russia in recent years has been in decline” (3%); “They strengthen the familial and moral values (respect for elders, religious, hostility to excessive consumption of alcohol)” (1%); “They are highly qualified and extensive skills, good at their job” (less than 1%).

When answering the question about the main sources of information about living in Russia labor migrants the most popular answers were: “Personal observation and evaluation” (more than a third of respondents - 34%), “Internet” (18%), “Television” (10%), “communication with the representatives of ethnic groups” (9%), “materials of newspapers and of other periodicals” (8%).

Probably, the fact that personal observation and evaluation became the most mentioned source of information about labor migrants living in Russia may indirectly to indicate that this social group is becoming more common and socio-identifiable for the surrounding, and its behavioral and cultural manifestations - all the more visible for the rest of the population. Among the statements of the respondents dismissive negative assessment of migrant workers prevails - only less than 1% of the surveyed young people consider migrants like highly qualified specialists. In the minds of Russian youth is mainly spread opinion about migrant workers, as low skilled labor, which performs the types of work, from which the local population refuses. Moreover, a number of respondents believe that migrants take jobs away from the native population and capture the whole spheres of social life and the economy. More than a third of respondents believe that the Russian economy can do without labor of migrants. It is obvious that amid the economic crisis is exacerbated by struggle for resources, and representatives of other nationalities evoke a sense of competition and even rejection among the Russian population [Kitaytseva, 2016: 188].

Many people see migrants like a source of conflict, their reluctance to fit into the customs and traditions of the society in which they live. It is worth noting that arising cultural distance is largely determined by the fact that an increasing number of migrants comes from countries with different cultural and religious traditions different from Russia. This ethnic-cultural difference is one of the root causes of discontent towards migrants by the Moscow students. The reluctance of other nations living on the territory of the Russian Federation, to study the culture, traditions and customs of Russia becoming a serious problem. Unwillingness to fit into the customs and traditions of the society in which they live, the reluctance to learn the Russian language is of particular criticism from the Russian population against other nationalities temporarily or permanently residing in the territory of Russia.Moreover, more often young people see the danger and threat to security by the labor migrants, many of whom are natives of the Caucasus and Asia. In answering the question of agreement or disagreement with ethnical conditionality of crime opinions of the respondents were as follows: More than half of respondents (55%) agree with the statement that "Representatives of individual nationalities is really more likely to commit crimes"; a quarter of respondents believe that “this view spread by those who want to provoke inter-ethnic conflicts in Russia”; 5% of respondents believe that “this is imagination by media which pursue loud sensationalism”; 8% of respondents could not answer the question. Among respondents who as answer chose an option the “Other”,the following options statements were present more often, “there are no bad nations, there are bad people”, “stereotypes”, “some religions encourage violence”, “lack of adaptation”.

These data are concordant with the results of the study “Life World Russians and the evolution of the forms of their participation in the implementation of state and social change (1990-2000)” [According to the data of the study All-Russian research “Life World Russians...”, 2014]. So, when answering the question, “in your opinion, in the first place who poses a threat of conflict and unrest in the country?”, opinions of respondents of Youth group (from 18 to 24 years) are following: the most popular version became “From nationalist groups” - 62,9%. Moreover, it is in the group of younger respondents, this percentage is highest in the whole of the totality of the number who chose this option response was 57.6% (see. Table 2).

Table 2. Distribution of answers to the question “In your opinion, in the first place From whom a threat of conflict and unrest in the country may emanate?”[Sum..., 2014]

	Age groups, years					Total
	18-24	25-29	30-39	40-49	50 and over	
From criminal elements	39.5	37.5	35.2	33.2	29.3	33.9
From the corrupt part of the administrative apparatus	32.3	43.8	43.8	41.7	44.5	42.3
Fromnationalistgroups	62.9	55.6	55.9	60.3	55.5	57.6
From some in formal organizations	21.0	22.5	20.4	23.1	26.8	23.1
Fromsomeoneelse	2.4	9.4	5.9	4.7	6.6	5.9
Difficulttoanswer	6.5	10.6	10.2	8.5	8.8	9.1

Thus, now the nationalist threat is not only serious “grown” in the mass consciousness of youth, but is recognized as one of the priority issues that can lead to conflicts and threaten the country's security [Vorobyova, 2014:99-106].This once again emphasizes that in recent years, the

Russian ethno-national problems are quite acute. Besides national armed conflicts, illegal immigration, the frequent cases of criminal incidents on the part of representatives of the peoples of the Caucasus and Central Asia contribute to the formation of ideas about the real potential threat to the security of society.Taking place today active migration processes, a great number of ethnic groups living in the territory of Moscow and the Moscow region, the state of inter-ethnic and inter-confessional relations leads to the fact that the metropolitan area is one of the most complex in terms of inter-ethnic relations. The problems of interethnic relations most acutely find expression among young people, where negative ethno-contact settings and ethnic phobias are widespread and high enough potential of ethnic conflicts is noted.

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Summa otvetov ne ravna 100%, tak kak po metodike oprosa mozhno bylo vybrat' neskol'ko variantov. Otvety privedeny v poryadke ubyvaniya kolichestva otvetivshikh [Sum of answers is not 100%, because according the procedure of the survey could choose several options. Answers are listed in descending order of number of respondents]. (In Russian).

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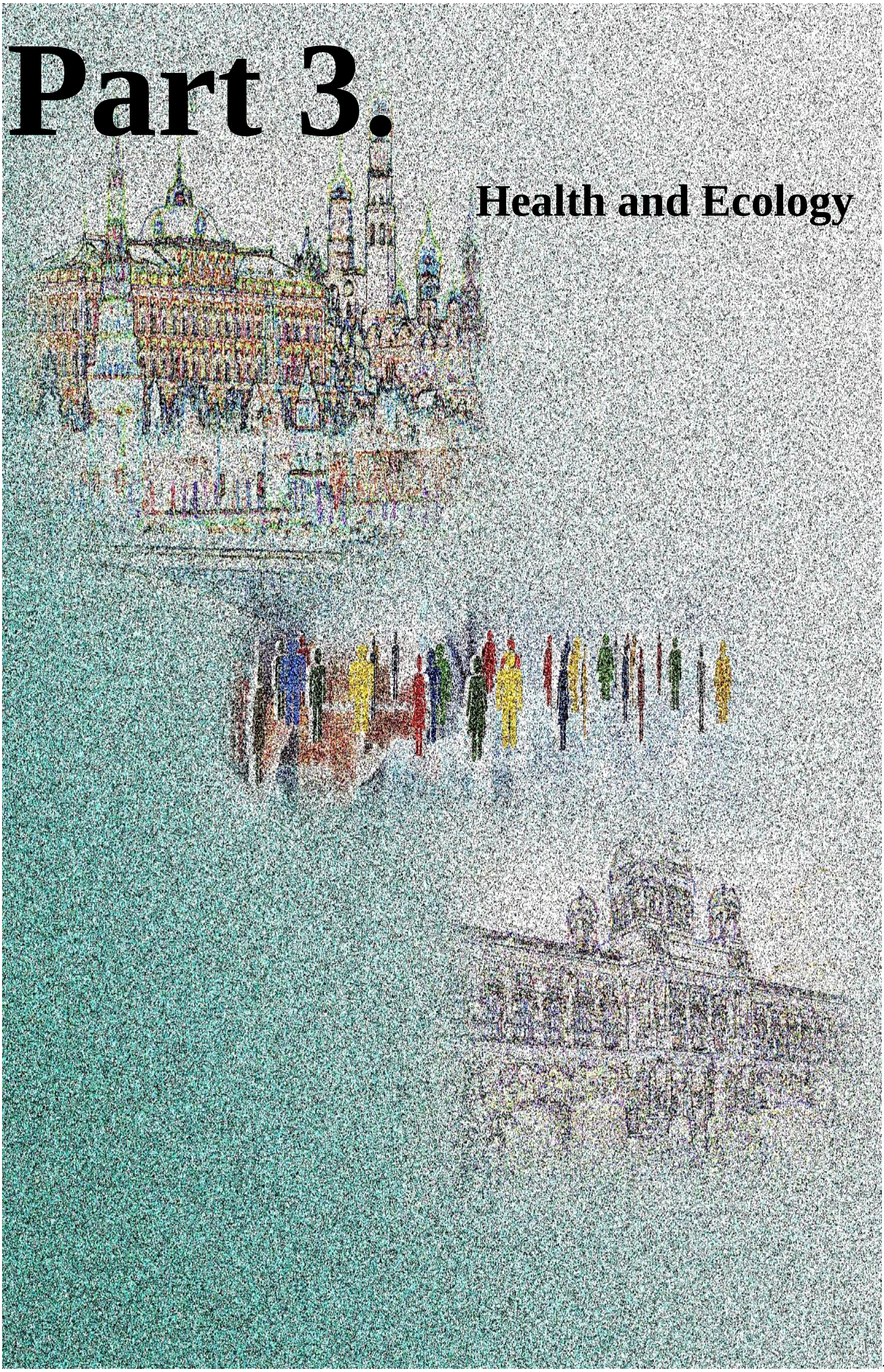
Part 3.

Health and Ecology



Principles of Complex Environmental Analysis: the Synopsis

Oleg N. Yanitsky, Moscow,Russia

Abstract. Aiming at accumulation of new knowledge gained by modern social, natural and technical sciences the author put forward a set of principles of analysis ofthe socio-bio-technical systems (SBT-systems) which, in his opinion, more adequate to the state of environment in which we live and work. The replacement of the HEP-NEP paradigm as a basic principle of environmental studies by more integrated problem-oriented and interdisciplinary analysis is suggested. Why new principles of this analysis are needed, twelve major principles of it, their possible impact on environmental politics, and some remarks related to a necessity of modernization of research methods and techniques – are the main points of the article. In the author's opinion, the shaping of the SBT-systems prompts social, technical and natural sciences to more close collaboration. The present text only suggests some proposals for further research and reflection.

Key words: all-embracing risk environment as a social actor,environmental politics; glocalization; interdisciplinary analysis; problem-oriented research; sociobiotechnical system

Why new principles of such analysis are needed?

The necessity of reconsideration of some principles and methods of socio-ecological analysis is conditioned bya set of interrelated transformations. A new – global – reality has emerged and continued to evolve. The globalization as a process and structure is rather complicated phenomenon full of twists and unintended consequences. This reality is characterized by uncertainty and unpredictability, total digitalization, all-embracing mobility and by all-penetrating risks production. The earth has been covered by dense information networks which led to the inversion of space effect. The internet for peoples is gradually replaced by an internet of things. A 'normal accident' has become a social norm. The evolutionary created global turnover of substances is violated and the global metabolic processes are changing. The global (geopolitical) wars for deficit natural and social resources are accelerating. There is a dangerous trend to 'left' the Earth and to resettle to other planets. A 'behavior' of this highly interdependent and integrated world is rather hard to calculate in terms of a particular discipline. Therefore, the HEP-NEP paradigm [Catton and Dunlap; 1980] and other similar dichotomies are needed to be reconsidered in accordance with the above shifts and changes.

Taken together the above shifts prompted me to offer the concept of a sociobiotechnical system (a SBT-system) and to develop some interrelated principles of its comprehension and research. The very idea of the following principles development is based on the works of leading global theorists and environmental sociologists, namely Z. Bauman [2011; 2011a; 2011b], R. Barrios [2010], U. Beck [1992; 1999; 2007; 2015], M. Burawoy [2015], M. Budyko [1977], F. Capra [1982], M. Castells [2010], W. Catton and R. Dunlap [1980], A. Chizhevskiy [1926; 1964], M. Fisher-

Kowalski [1997], M. Fisher-Kowalski and H. Haberl [2007], A. Giddens [2009], A. Irwin and B. Wynne [1996], D. Keen [2008], J. Martinez-Alier, [2009], L. Milbrath[1984], R. Lidskog et al. [2015], B. Phillips [2009], I. Prigogine and I. Stengers [1984], J. Prades[1999], N. Sundar[2014], A. Touraine [1988], M. Wilenius[1999], J. Urry[2003; 2005; 2008; 2012], Van Holdt[2014], V. Vernadsky [1980], M. Waters [1995], A. Wolman [1965]. My previous and recent works in these fields have also been used [Yanitsky; 1999; 2004; 2012; 2012a;2013;2014; 2014a; 2015].

Principles of complex eco-social analysis

The **first principle** is a complex approach in the studies of environmental issues. Nowadays, there is no Nature as such. *Human activity has created a qualitatively new actor which I called the global sociobiotechnical system*. This system is not only a creature of human activity, an 'environment' for this activity but the relatively independent social actor as such. This actor together with such phenomena as the inversion of space, super-mobility of people, information and things, social time acceleration and some other substantial shifts means an absolutely new construction of human ecosystems. The modern global sociobiotechnical system is multi-dimensional and rather complex: every social actor as well as the Nature as such is constructing their own environment. In our highly interdepended world the method of theoretical speculation in terms 'either-or' like nature-society or urban-rural is not adequate [Yanitsky, 2016].

The **second principle** is the *openness and mutual interdependence* of any SBT-system. Our planet is the open SBT-system. Therefore, all its structures and functions irrespectively of scale and geographical location of its subsystems (components) are tightly interdepended by information and resource flows, competing interests of local and global stakeholders, and metabolic processes. They are also interdepended by flows of wastes (informational, material, and human). B. Commoner was right stating that all tied together with the all, and the all has its destination. Therefore, there is no separate evolution of the nature and of human society. Today, natural and social worlds not only 'interact' but highly integrated and mutually interdepended. The analysis and comprehension of a particular SBT-system should be implemented in the frames of global SBT-system's analysis including its cosmic space. Another important principle of the analysis of the SBT-systems is a dialectics of their sustainability and development.

A tight interdependence of the SBT-systems and their parts is provided by material and virtual *networks*. These networks are not simply 'interactions' but they are transmitters of all kinds of resources ranging from messages between individuals to flows of capital or of migrants which seek shelter, work, safety and wellbeing. Simultaneously, these networks are the providers of various kinds of risks. Risks are network-structured processes because they exert impact on social order and the carrying capacity of the SBT environment. A spot-like risk as a locally-based virus may abruptly turn into an epidemic or into some other global destructive process. All networks are double-sided structures: they may be used for developmental processes, accumulation of social and human capital and for destructive activity including hackers' and terrorists' attacks.

The **third principle** is a necessity to take into consideration the continuous expansion of manmade systems, their information and material resource networks into the natural ecosystems. *Under the influence of human activity our planet is gradually transformed into a man-made SBT-system with its own regularities*. The man-made systems are required permanent care, repairing, monitoring, etc. None the less, such systems are not guaranteed against outward distraction or self-transformation. More than that, today a man has created a lot of instruments aimed at the governance of natural ecosystems and processes in the direction he wanted. As a result, a regime of functioning of evolutionary emerging natural ecosystems is violated as well. Therefore, this is the reason for introduction of the notion of a *critical state* of any SBT-system. The notion of critical state is as important as the notion of normal ones.

The **fourth principle** is the use of a notion (and method) of *socio-ecological metabolism* in a theory and practice of any SBT-systems. Such metabolism cannot be reduced to the analysis of material or information flows. A history of humanity is the history of man's exchange with nature. This qualitative and quantitative exchange is named as metabolism. I differentiate two types of it: socio-ecological, i.e. between man and natural ecosystems, and social metabolism as such, i.e. the exchange between social actors by ideas, information, material resources, etc. The very history of humanity is a form of continued socio-ecological metabolism throughout the centuries. By and large, a man has developed more and more mighty forms and instruments for the *constructing of socio-ecological metabolism*. Recently, the constructed metabolism acquires a global character. But this process has never been one-sided. The nature responds to such human interventions by means of natural disasters, climatic changes, desertification, and so on and so forth. In such cases the nature is acted as a social actor which seriously transforms or disturbs human habit of living. The process of throughout chemization of our life, living environment and the biosphere is going on. The situation is aggravated by the fact that harmful space-time transformations of chemical substances in the biosphere is hard to trace. Dispersion and transformations of risks generated by long-term metabolic processes means that sources of risks are undetectable. The chemization processes have become one of the means of taming of all the SBT-systems. Unfortunately, the sociologists are totally ignoring such 'hybrid' processes shaping life of a society and nature.

But it is not all. On the one hand, it is important that world economic, political and science institutions took the lead in total construction of the SBT-systems. The World Bank, the World

Monetary Fund together with regional and world alliances of states are the main developers of the SBT-systems. Such constructive activity is aimed at the maintenance of access to deficit resources irrespectively how harmful such activity may be distractive to natural ecosystems. On the other hand, the human intervention into the fundamental laws of a humanity reproduction is dangerous as well. All what we name as ‘hybrid’ politics, ‘hybrid’ wars, etc. is the practical realization of projects of construction of the SBT-systems. I don’t know any project aimed at the maintenance of evolutionary formed balance in nature ecosystems which will be practically implemented. The ‘sustainable development’ principle as well as numerous local projects of ‘ecologization of life’ failed.

Finally, one should differentiate a diversity of nature and social life shaped in the run of long-term evolutionary metabolic processes and ‘diversities ad hoc’ constructed by man and its mass media. I mean the ‘hybrid’ representation of a reality by the ad hoc construction of so-called synthetic art (music, theatre, show, light, motion, cries, etc.) is destructive to human consciousness. An everyday life teaches ordinary people to perceive their surrounding environment more or less stereotyped. The synthetic art presenting the reality like a movable collage disorient them. But to my mind, the most dangerous hybrid now emerging is the current processes of civilization clashes. The matter is that the backward people inspired by media shows could be and already are armed with newest weapons for getting a ‘better life’ here and now.

The fifth principle is the study of limits of the SBT-systems sustainability. Their development is not linear – it full of ups and downs, bifurcations and unintended consequences. Then, all above systems have their own carrying capacity conditioned by the measure of their complexity, careful adjustment of their qualitatively diverse components, and by the character of environmental response in which these systems are built in. If the carrying capacity of the environment is surpassed it turns from risk-absorber into the risk-producer. Such turns may happen abruptly. A rehabilitation of affected SBT-systems takes much more time than their construction, and often cannot be fulfilled at all. The maintenance of any SBT-system is usually very costly, and the price of such maintenance grows in time. Any mistakes in construction, location and experiments at the high risky SBT-systems are extremely dangerous (remember the Chernobyl and Fukusima-1 cases).

The sixth principle is a ‘normal accident’ maxim (Ch. Perrow). The human history shows us an endless chain of short-term and long-term accidents and disasters. But usually they were perceived or considered as abnormal events, true calamities, even when they were the parts of the history of humankind (wars, revolts, revolutions, natural disasters). Recently, the *‘normal accident’ is a norm of functioning of any SBT-system*. It is normal in the sense that it is practically impossible to construct such a system without any defects or mistakes. Then, it may happens that a particular SBT-system constructed to concrete site, geographical and climatic conditions is not fit to the rapidly changing environment. Besides, one should take into account the possible resource imbalance (the deficit of ones and surplus of others), a high mobility of labor power, lack of areas suitable for normal life, etc. To my mind, from the establishment of nuclear parity and the threat of 'nuclear winter' (N. Moiseev) the globalization is mainly turned to a military-forced mode of development. It may be called economic and military domination, soft or hybrid wars, but the military force their essence. Western theorists call it technological revolution. Buy such 'revolution' is sometimes extremely dangerous!

The seventh principle is the understanding of evolution of global SBT-system as a struggle of pro- and counter-ecological forces. This system is evolving, transforming and degrade in the run of local, regional and global stake holders' struggle. This means that every SBT-system is glocal [Waters, 1995]. To my mind, the threat of global warming is the evidence that the world as the SBT-system has come up to a dangerous threshold of its evolution. Either the global stakeholders will reduce their appetites or the global warming or other global risk (bifurcation) will destroy this system. Of course, on the surface of political struggle all actors involved are appeared as 'pro-ecological'. But in practice they pursue their egoistic interests. This practice does not exclude some public pro-ecological gestures (for example, donations) but such pro-ecological activities are not comparable with the possible and actual threats produced by the stakeholders' activity across the world.

The eighth principle relates to the theory and methods of the SBT-systems' analysis and comprehension. In my view, *the problem-oriented and interdisciplinary approaches* are the cognitive means for reducing the probability of global risks emergence and for relatively quick rehabilitation of affected people and their living environment. The problem-oriented and interdisciplinary approaches should underlie of the research, teaching and rehabilitation activity of affected people and ecosystems. I realize that this principle run counter to the established social order and practice which, in turn, is rooted in the Enlightenment principles. But let me put a set of simple questions: how we act under condition of the 'normal accidents'? – Yes, complexly crossing all the disciplinary and bureaucratic borders. How we work on our research projects? – Again complexly overcoming disciplinary demarcations. And how we behave every day? – Yes again, complexly. Finally, how a child gets to know a surrounding world? Yes, by the same way. Thus, to understand better any SBT-system's behavior better and to develop efficient means of resolving environmental issues one should follow the principle of complex approach.

The civic organizations and movements play the important role in practical implementation of the above principle. The matter is that they follow the principle 'learning by doing.' And the demands of modern grassroots and social movements are one-dimensional very rare. Why almost in every accident the local or other authorities attract volunteers? Because of them are experienced (i. e. 'multi-handed') people well prepared to act complex in critical conditions. The reverse side of the same coin is a media activity. In critical conditions the media not only ‘inform’ but they render help to the affected people and environment. More than that, under such conditions the media is rather efficient instrument for resolving urgent problems and for teaching affected people how to cope with their individual problems. Unfortunately, the mass media usually fulfills the reverse role frightening the ordinary people by a continuous flow of ‘breaking news.’ That is why people turn to social networks.

The ninth principle is a necessity for joint studies of ‘material’ and virtual systems. Strictly speaking, today these two realms of human existence are inseparable. Therefore, any SBT-system has two dimensions: material and virtual. The further the more the virtual communities and networks are become more socially important than territorial ones. This trend has two outcomes. On the one hand, it leads to the gradual drop of social reproductive role of urban environment. Cities have become a sort of transition areas as the airports and other transfer junctions. The virtualization of everyday life leads to the loss of social, national and cultural identity. The importance of protection of the Motherland is declined. Local life and local natural ecosystems (reserves, unique landscapes, natural monuments of cultural heritage) are suppressed or totally destroyed by giant transnationals. On the other hand, people are resisted to such ‘unification.’ The emergence and maintenance of one-issue protest actions, the local lore movements, cognitive tourism, exhibitions and festivals of folk culture are the examples of this reverse trend. And the information about such local events and exhibitions is accessible through the mass media. These complex (‘material’ and virtual) SBT-systems are still not sufficiently investigated.

The tenth principle is the focus on the violation of vital balances within global SBT-system. The violation produced by a man himself. Today the humanity has already encountered with risks and threats generated by himself. It is going on *the man-made disturbance of ecosystem balance*. Critical diminishing of the rainforests, pollution of word oceans and cosmic space, lack of drinking water, desertification, global warming, and critical decline of biodiversity as well as such natural anomalies as El Niňio phenomenon are the signs of such disturbance. Such violations may cause not gradual but abrupt changes and unintended consequences. The way of practical realization of this principle is triple: the continuous monitoring of such global changes; the compiling a model of such balance; and the development of more strict global legislation.

The eleventh principle is the necessity of global-and-local (i. e. glocal) approach to the analysis of the SBT-systems. If any global SBT-system is subjected to all-embracing and all-penetrating risk it means that *there are no absolutely safe places on the planet*. The number and scale of critical situations on the planet is growing steadily. Therefore, there are more or less safe places only, and this quality of them may vary from place to place as well as in time. Simultaneously, it means that notion of ‘vital balance’ is not universal but locally or regionally depended. For ones it means clear air, ‘ecological food’, medicine insurance, and other matters of wellbeing, whereas for others it means a survival by all means only. Fore ones it means safety whereas for others it means a permanent risk to be wounded or killed. As one can see, the phenomenon of inversion of space has a very practical meaning. All in all, the glocal approach is equally important for politics, business, science, education, and everyday life.

The twelfth principle is a focus on substantial shifts in structure and function of *a primary eco-structure*. As I thought earlier, each individual has its own eco-structure with the networks with the past, present and future [Yanitsky, 2012].It has been the ‘normal’ model of such structure fitted to more or less peaceful and predictable development of a society. It has been my version of the A. Gidden’s idea of a ‘cocoon of basic trust.’ But in the run of last 25 years the situation is sharply aggravated. On the one hand, the world became much more movable, uncertain, dangerous and permeable. On the other hand, as Z. Bauman, U. Beck, J. Urry and other theorists of modernity noted, an individual himself became much more movable as well. Besides, the global community was and still is divided in two ‘camps’: those who are capable to move everywhere and those who are still unmovable being tightly bind to a particular place of living. But both categories are potentially included in a global network.

Another important aspect of the problem is that a single person could make a large-scale and even a global harm. In the run of couple of years a dozen of terrorist attack in France, Belgium and the EU at large has happened. The network and spot-like aggressive actions has become an instrument of modern ‘hybrid war.’ The era of ‘peace and friendship’ is over, and war and peace are becoming less and less distinguishable. Theoretically there are two extremes: on the one extreme are the peaceful inhabitants who are concerned with their careers and maintaining their routine of every day life. On the other extreme are hackers and armed combatants. The *theoretical* dilemma is that these radicals and extremists are ‘We’ and ‘They’ at the same time. But they are so inspired with their ideology that they do not experience any cognitive dissonance. Such persons may live in a certain human milieu for months and even years, maintaining everyday routine contacts and at the same time be alienated socially and psychologically from the social milieu they live in. I suppose that the extremists perceive the surrounding world as black and white simultaneously. Nobody knows exactly who is between these two extremes, and therefore this particular type of marginal, i.e. double-sided individuals should be studied in detail. What is clear is that no commonly shared idea of privacy and security at risk exists and that the privacy and security are multidimensional and contextually conditioned concepts.

An impact of the above principles of environmental politics (EP)

Actually, it is going on about substantial changes in the current EP. First, what are the essence and priorities of the suggested model of the EP? It seems to me that it should be the politics which respond to the abovementioned challenges and shifts, that is, it should be sociobiotechnical, i. e. complex and multisided. It doesn't mean that particular objects (landscapes, sites, rivers, etc.) shouldn't be protected. But the *basic principle of such EP must be an interdisciplinary approach and complexity*. Environmental politics is an issue of utmost complexity. Second, this new EP should be not a set of post factum decisions and actions butit must be based on fundamental regularities of the sociobiotechnical system'sevolution within which we live. In other words, it is going on about a capability to foresee the substantial shifts in basic principles of our existence. That is first of all, about the substantial changes in dominant modes of production. As each country or their group has its particular features and priorities it seems that the concordance of them is one of the most difficult tasks of environmental politicians of a new generation.

Third, as the sociobiotechnical system evolves not linear but with unintended turns and bifurcations the new EP should be prepared to it. Actually, it means that this EP should be supplied with continuous, permanent information, i.e. it should be monitoring-like. If this approach will be accepted it will lead to substantial changes in institutional principles of political procedures. Four, it in turn means substantial changes in the very essence of political process. Any political process, be it local or global, is divided into electoral terms. Recently, all electorate, politicians and the decision-making process as such are subjected and accustomed to this electoral procedure. That is all of them must be capable to look ahead. It, in turn, means substantial changes in politics of education, media and other spheres of public life.

Five, only the permanently functioning a 'triangle collaboration' between the grassroots (expert-citizens), independent scientists and environmentalists turned public figures are capable to transform this iterative and inherently contradictory process into uninterrupted (continuous) one. Six, our world is at all-embracing risk. Namely, continuous local conflicts and wars as well as natural and man-made disasters urge us to think about the relationships between the actors of new EP as such and those who involved in rescue operations and charity aid. Of course, in particular situation they are often interfere and overlap but from the administrative viewpoint they are different processes with their own goals, forces, logistics, budget, etc. Seven, the majority of decision-makers are not capable to resolve complex (i.e. highly integrated) issues. Besides, their mode of thinking is usually characterized by one-issue and short-term mode of operations. They are not guilty in it because the overall institutional structure is divided into sections, particular organizations, 'urgent issues' and the like. The object-oriented approach is dominating whereas it must be process-oriented as well. The objective-oriented approach is a serious impediment on the way of reform of the EP.

Eight, under the above conditions the role of an environmental movement should be reconsidered as well. Today, all so called environmental issues are deeply integrated into a highly risky, complicated and integrated world. For example, about 50 years ago the issue of public participation in environmental protection was at the top of public agenda. Nowadays, the issues of privacy protection, of hackers' and terrorists' attacks come to the forefront. If one shifts bottom-up, he/she will see that the global security is at the top of international political agenda. Security means not local safety 'here and now' but first of all survival of humanity. Significant example just came from Austria. The former leader of the Austrian Green party being elected as the president of this country stated that he will be the leader of all Austrians.

Nine, in any cases we should keep in mind that there is no more 'environment' as an only resource for the humanity existence. The *environment is the SBT-system as well, and as the social actor* affects our life all the time. A behavior of this actor is rather hard to predict. Up to now, the global community is trying to cope with the global warming process, but mainly in the form of political proposals. As recent events in Europe are clearly showed, any abrupt shifts in domestic or foreign politics are the triggers of cascading social protests and rise of public concern far beyond environmental issues.

Ten to my mind, the forming of a global environmental movement is impossible by definition since the interests, resources and values of local/regional EMs are different. They may be partially united by the global organizations only. As an experience of some regional EMs shows, they try to exert impact on decision-making of particular authorities by the addressing to international corporations and other global stakeholders. But usually such organizations pursue first of all their own interests.

Some remarks related to methods and techniques

The first one is the imperative of knowledge related to the history of a particular SBT-system and its economic, social, political, confessional and other peculiarities. In other words, I am again call for problem-oriented and interdisciplinary analysis. Such history is not 'linear.' The 'path dependence' principle is not universal, human history develops with unintended turns and subjected to the boomerang effects. Ulrich Beck was absolutely right saying that 'History is back!'

The second one is a necessity of global dialogue between partners equal in rights. I think that M. Burawoy was right rejecting the division of nations on 'leaders' and 'subaltern' ones. If any SBT-system and human history at large are developing every minute, *the global dialogue on environmental* issues must follow it. Some of my colleagues from Asia and Africa said that such dialogue is possible if the 'western' worldview dominating in sociology will be overcome. The input of western mode of thinking is undisputable but the global dialogue must be actually democratic.

The third one related to a social status of environmental sociology. In my view, this branch of sociology has overcome its disciplinary boundaries attracting and reworking of concepts and ideas from other social, technical and natural sciences. In essence, modern environmentalism as theory and politics is a highly integrated realm of knowledge with the highest level of complexity. If it so, *we should think on how it might be institutionalized*. It is uneasy task but some institutional elements of it already exist. I mean the national and global systems of weather, volcano, geophysical and other monitoring. Monitoring, especially of critical situations emergence, and global dialogue are the pillars of forthcoming institutionalization of environmentalism.

The fourth principle is a personal (or a joint research team) experience gained by means of included or distant long-term monitoring of the SBT-dynamics. As we know from the history of great scientific breakthroughs and discoveries, the understanding of global SBT shifts came simultaneously from rather 'different points of observation' coupled with hypotheses and guess-work. In any case, the top-down view is as important as bottom-up one. The view of local expert-citizens and local knowledge as such could not be neglected.

The fifth principle is a bearing on intuition which is as important as research findings. My own experience as a multi-sided researcher shows that the knowledge gained in a particular field (say, during the geopolitical studies) much later suddenly helps me to 'feel' a behavior of quite another social or political actor. Once again, such 'feelings' may emerge only when a researcher is in a continuous dialogue with other researchers. All what we name as 'hybrid' politics, 'hybrid' wars, etc. is the practical realization of projects of construction of the SBT-systems. There is no any practically implemented project aimed at the maintenance of evolutionary formed balance in nature ecosystems. The globalization and the 'sustainable development' principle are not combined.

Conclusion

Today, the Nature is rapidly socialized and the society is 'naturalized' attempting to make human processes and devises more 'biological' (nature-like). The further the more it is difficult to separate the natural processes from natural ones. As a result, we are dealing now with rather complex socio-bio-technical systems (the SBT-systems), local, regional, and global. Near-earth space is rapidly socialized and polluted as well. The SBT-systems as complex actors are needed in new approaches and methods of analysis. These actors emergence together with such phenomena as the inversion of space, super-mobility, social time acceleration and some other substantial shifts means an absolutely new construction of human ecosystems. The SBT-systems are structurally and functionally united by *metabolic processes* which may be social, technical, biological, chemical, etc. Thus, the metabolic processes cannot be reduced to the exchange of energy and information flows. Then, the notion of a *critical state* of any SBT-system is introduced. The notion of critical state is as important as of normal one. Their development of SBT-systems is not linear – it full of ups and downs, bifurcations and unintended consequences. Recently, the *'normal accident' is a norm of functioning of any SBT-system*. More than that, the globalization is turned to military-forced mode of development. The coming of global warming is the evidence that the world as the SBT-system has come up to a dangerous threshold of its evolution. The problem-oriented and interdisciplinary approaches are the cognitive means for reducing the probability of global risks emergence and for relatively quick rehabilitation of affected people and their living environment. Any SBT-system has two dimensions: material and virtual. The further the more the virtual communities and networks are become more socially important than territorial ones. The virtualization of everyday life may lead to the loss of social, national and cultural identity. The violation of vital balances within the global SBT-system is produced by a man himself. The number and scale of critical situations on the planet is growing steadily. Therefore, there are more or less safe places only, and this quality of them may vary from place to place as well as in time. Accordingly, an environmental politics should be the politics which respond to the abovementioned challenges and shifts, that is, it should be complex and multisided. The very fact of the SBT-systems emergence impels to more close cooperation between social and natural sciences.

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Health as a Value in the Value Consciousness of Russians

Tatyana V. Fomicheva, Moscow, Russia
Galina S. Salistaya, Moscow, Russia
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Abstract. The article provides an overview survey of health problem as a value in the value consciousness of Russians (the problem is taken from standpoint of its inclusion into the block of socio-cultural values and motivational approach to study of values). Factors that form attitude to health as a value are determined.

Importance of dissemination and promotion of concept of Russians' behavior aimed at self-preservation is accentuated.

Following document analysis methods were used in this study: traditional (primary) analysis of documents and secondary, comparative analysis. Specialized techniques of quantitative content analysis were practically tested on this project as well. Thus, we applied "triangular approach" for the study of the processes of formation of values.

It can be concluded that, despite the results of sociological research, that fix «health» as a core value of value consciousness of the Russians, this value stays only declarable and nominal. The real position of this value in the consciousness of Russians is much lower, especially among youth and men of different ages.

Key words: value; value of health; value consciousness; Russians; nation; the future

Changes in public life exert influence, first of all, on changes of value orientations of population. It is possible and necessary to study the health in the context of Russians' value consciousness while referring the health to socio-cultural values block.

Analyzing structure of values N. I. Lapin determines the following elements: "core", "reserve", "differential", and "tail". Health as a value has been frequently recorded in the "core" of Russians' value consciousness. In 1997 F. M.Borodkin defined rate of health value at level of 63% [Borodkin, 1997:98-111] and noted that value of health was in inverse proportion to amounts of citizens' incomes.

In 2012 R. E. Abishev recorded the rate at level of 98% [Abishev, 2012:6-8]. The change attests the positive dynamics and increase of the rate value in time.

Scientific and technological progress, technological innovations, improvement of living standards contribute to the fact that value of health occupies a rather high position in the Russians' hierarchy of values.

Females recognize value of their health by age of 40. Males recognize the same by age of 50. Recognition of health as a value is more often observed among people engaged in intellectual work and has a rather instrumental character [Drobizheva, 2004:33-43].

Many authors connect quality of life with value attitude to health [Kashapov, Terent'ev, Cejssler; 2007:107-111]. Issue of "medicalization" (that is possibility of medicine to control state of health and of sickness) is raised with increasing frequency [Kashapov, Terent'ev, Cejssler; 2007:107-111]. Problem of bioethics as the modern medicine philosophy [Hrustalev, 2003:5-12] assumes discussion of new possibilities of medical science often related to revaluation of the established hierarchy of values.

Value-and-motivation approach to study of health has found reflection in publications by A. I. Antonov, V. A. Zotin, V. M. Medkov and other researchers [Antonov, Zotin, Medkov;1982]. In the 1980s one of the first definitions of the health sociology was suggested [Ivanov, Lupandin;1984:72-77]. Theoretical sociology investigates the problem of health more often in the aspect of personal behavior aimed at self-preservation.

It is noted that health of population is by 50% determined by the way of life, by 20% by ecological factors and by 20% by biological (hereditary) factors and by 10% by health service. If an individual leads a healthy life that may by half predetermine a high level of his health. And vice versa, a person who leads healthy life deteriorates his/her health and provokes early old age coming [Zdorov'echeloveka – bol'shayacennost' dlyaobshchestva…,2016].

The Russian theoretical and empirical sociology explores health at macro-level (health of population) as well as at micro-level (individual health of a person). Integral index of population health is “expected future life span” (hereinafter referred to as EFLS).

Range of indices used in estimation of population health dynamics is supplemented by some indices of mortality to be precise, by: a) infant mortality (number infants who died in age of less than 1 year per 1000 of live births); b) maternal mortality (number of females who died in result of pregnancy complications, births and during postpartum period per 100 000 of live births), and c) deceased by principal categories of death causes.

Table 1.Dynamics of Russians* EFLS indices (expected life span at the birth) [Rossijskij statisticheskij ezhegodnik, 2015: 669], [Rimashevskaya, 2006]

Year	1990	1994	2003	2014	Dynamics, number of years
Population as a whole	69.2	63.9	65.1	70.9	1.7
Males	63.8	57.6	58.8	65.3	1.5
Females	74.3	71.2	72.0	76.5	2.2

The observed dynamics of indices (given in table 1) attests a rising trend towards a slight increase of Russians’ longevity in the past 24 years. A substantial increment of population longevity must become one of the important national tasks in Russia.

In past 9 years infant mortality rate demonstrated two cyclical declines (see table 2), from 11.0 in 2005 to 7.4 in 2011 and 2014. Eventually a considerable decline of the rate can be noted.

Table 2.Infant mortality rate (number of infants died before their first birthday per 1000 live births), Russia [Rossijskij statisticheskij ezhegodnik, 2015: 671]

2005	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
11.0	9.4	8.5	8.1	7.5	7.4	8.6	8.2	7.4

Proceeding from data given in table 3 it is possible to note that a relatively good situation with maternal mortality is observed in countries that demonstrate the highest longevity expectancy (70-80 years) and comparatively high level of per capita GDP as well as well as in countries where high quality health service is available for various strata of population, a level of medicine at large is quite high and struggle against mass contagious and epidemic diseases is carried out. The rate is considerably lower in rural regions where quality of obstetric ais is worse than in megacities.

Table 3. Excerpts from comparative table of aggregate maternal mortality rates (countries of the world, 2009-2014) (number of women died of pregnancy complications, births and during postpartum period per 100 000 of live births) [Rossijskij statisticheskij ezhegodnik, 2015: 671-672]

Country	Year	Aggregate birth rate	Country	Year	Aggregate birth rate
Russia	2014	10.8	**EU countries, of them:**		
BRICS countries, of them:			Austria	2013	**1.3**
Brazil	2011	59.5	Bulgaria	2012	4.3
India	2013	**167.0**	Germany	2013	4.3
China	2013	23.2	Italy	2011	2.6
SouthAfricanRepublic	2009	**187.9**	Lithuania	2013	6.7
Other countries, of them:			The Netherlands	2012	3.4
Argentine	2011	42.0	Poland	2013	**1.0**
Norway	2013	**3.4**	Rumania	2013	13.6
Republic of Korea	2012	11.6	UK (Great Britain)	2011	6.6
USA	2010	20.6	Finland	2013	**1.7**
Turkey	2013	23.5	France	2011	**5.7**
Japan	2011	**4.1**	Sweden	2013	6.2

Factors and groups of factors that form health of Russians can be designated as follows: biogenetic, ecological, socio-economic, social and other factors.

As we see, inconsiderable natural increment of Russia's population visible from 2012 (see table 4) is registered. Speciak Federal programs (maternal capital, creation of perinatal centers all over Russia, "Healthy Russia") contributed indirectly to this result.

Table 4. Rates of births, mortality rates and rates of natural population increment (per 1000 persons), Russia [Rossijski jstatisticheskij ezhegodnik, 2015: 669]

Infants born						Persons died						Natural population increment					
2005	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2005	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2005	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
10.2	12.5	12.6	13.3	13.2	13.3	16.1	14.2	13.5	13.3	13.0	13.1	-5.9	-1.8	-0.9	0.0	0.2	0.2

Taking statistical data given in table 5 into account it can be note that relatively good situation in the sphere of birthrate in countries with the highest level of expected life span (70-80 years) and comparative high level of per capita GDP as well in countries like India, Turkey, Argentine where religious motivation of population behavior is vividly expressed

Table 5. Excerpts from comparative table of aggregate birth rates (countries of the world, 2011-2014) [Rossijskij statisticheskij ezhegodnik; 2015: 670]

Country	Year	Aggregate birth rate	Country	Year	Aggregate birth rate
Russia	2014	1.8	**EU countries, of them:**		
BRICS countries, of them:			Austria	2012	1.34
Brazil	2013	1.8	Belgium	2012	1.8
India	2013	2.3	Germany	2012	1.4
China	2012	1.7	Italy	2012	1.4
South African Republic	2013	2.6	Lithuania	2012	1.6
Other countries, of them:			the Netherlands	2012	1.7
Argentine	2011	2.4	Poland	2012	1.3
Norway	2012	1.9	Rumania	2012	1.3
Switzerland	2012	1.5	UK (Great Britain)	2012	1.9
USA	2013	1.9	Finland	2012	1.8
Turkey	2012	2.1	France	2012	2.0
Japan	2012	1.4	Sweden	2012	1.9

Speaking of main causes of mortality among population it should be noted that in Russia mortality among males is traditionally higher than female mortality. One of the main causes of Russians' mortality are "external causes of death", alcoholism (and its consequences) in particular, smoking, intoxications, road traffic accidents, work-related fatalities. In countries with relatively low life standards (India, South African Republic) risk of deaths in result of contagious and parasitic diseases is high. In these countries rate of deaths in result of external causes is also high (see table

6). Regional aspect of mortality (residence in rural regions) is also noted as a factor which indirectly contributes to lower life expectancy of Russians [Rimashevskaya, 2006: 36-41].

Table 6. **Excerpts from comparative table "Population mortality due to causes of death" (number of deceased per 100000 of population) (countries of the world, 2004-2014) [Rossijskij statisticheskij ezhegodnik, 2015: 670]**

Country	Year	Contagious and parasitic diseases	Malignant neoplasms	Circulatory diseases	Diseases of respiratory system	Diseases of digestive system	External causes of death
Russia	2014	17.7	114.8	320.5	31.5	42.2	102.4
BRICS countries, of them:							
Brazil	2010	26.6	99.5	184.1	66.5	32.1	71.8
India	2004	175.2	100.4	381.5	107.5	39.7	116
China	2004	35.6	142.7	279.5	135.9	25.1	73.4
South African Republic	2009	318.6	101.4	285.2	196.8	38.4	104.1
Other countries, of them:							
Argentine	2010	27.8	118.0	173.2	86.0	25.4	43.6
Norway	2012	8.5	115.4	106.4	35.7	12.2	30.7
USA	2010	13.8	116.2	136.4	42.3	18.7	50.3
Japan	2011	7.0	105.1	83.7	41.5	13.2	43.2
EU countries, of them:							
Austria	2011	4.1	118.2	143.0	19.6	17.9	31.6
Germany	2012	8.5	118.2	142.6	26.1	20.9	23.1
Italy	2010	6.7	119.9	116.2	20.2	15.4	21.9
UK	2010	4.7	130.0	121.8	49.8	24.6	23.5
Finland	2011	3.4	102.9	149.4	16.2	24.7	50.0
France	2010	7.4	123.9	83.5	18.7	17.7	37.0
Switzerland	2010	7.8	107.4	132.2	20.2	12.5	30.4

Thus we can identify principal characteristics that are significant for Russians' longevity:

1) Gender: female organism is more persistent, females are less susceptible to stresses, vicious habits, infections; way of life is less prone to "deviations";

2) Regions of residence: priority of urban region (megacities, big and medium-size cities) is noted, first of all, from standpoint of quality of medical services provision and broader opportunities for employment and life standards rising;

3) Way of a Russian's life.

At the state level problem of nation health is dealt in various ways. The national USA program "Healthy people" three approaches to improvement of public health status and three organizing principles are emphasized. We will designate these approaches and principles in descending order of priority: 1) health promotion (health maintaining), 2) health protection, 3) preventive services (prophylactics and medical services) [Zdorov'e cheloveka – bol'shaya cennost' dlya obshchestva…, 2016].

In Russia national project "Health", the program of medical service quality improvement declared by President of Russia V. V. Putin came into effect since January 1, 2006, within framework of four national projects realization. The project's goals were: improvement of Russians' health; increase of accessibility of quality of medical aid; development of primary health care; revival of disease-preventive aid; provision of high technological medical service for majority of population. The State program of the Russian Federation healthcare has been adopted in Russia. Two stages of the State program measures implementation are provided for. The first stage covers 2013-2015, the second stage covers 2016-2020.

It is possible top make the conclusion that in spite of results of sociological studies that identified health as a "core:" value of value consciousness of Russians the value remains to be the proclaimed, nominal value. Its real status in the Russians' value consciousness is much lower, especially among youth and males of various ages. Empirical reflection and confirmation of the conclusion can be found in description of statistical indices.

So, what measures can be taken for making value of health a part of the ultimate values block and making this value of maximum significance at level of Russians' value consciousness core? Will it suffice to ensure propaganda of healthy way of life, self-preservation among, first and foremost, young generations of Russians? Is it possible to expect self-preservation behavior from population of the present day Russia? It is our opinion that only a complex of measures and utmost concentration of public efforts can help to achievement of these ends.

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Sociological Analysis of Geoenvironmental Problems of Ugra: on the Example of the Nefteyuganskiy District of Ugra

Said Kh., Khaknazarov, Khanty-Mansiysk, Russia

Abstract. The article summarizes the dynamics of the residents' views of Nefteyuganskiy district of Yugra on geo-ecological problems of the region. Also the question about the factors affecting on population's health is considered. In particular, the results of the sociological research conducted on the territory of the Nefteyuganskiy district of Ugra in 2007-2008 and 2012-2015 are considered.

Key words: ecological situation; natural resources; industrial development; respondents; indigenous people of the North; experts; health; factors; population

In conditions of the far North and areas equated to the far North, natural environment under the influence of the industrial complex, especially in resource-extraction areas, is difficult to restore.

Unlimited and uncontrolled growth of consumption of mineral raw materials without consideration of ecological restrictions and development of high technology may lead to the global environmental crisis.in the near future

The necessity of consideration of public opinion in the planning and use of natural resources, and also the necessity of taking of managerial decisions are fixed in a number of legislative acts of federal and regional levels, in particular in the law "About ecological expertise".

Industrial development of hydrocarbon raw materials (oil and gas) in the North affects the interests of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North (ISNPN), because mineral deposits for industrial needs are focused mainly on the territories of traditional natural resource use (TTNRU) of the ISNPN. Tribal lands, ancestral (family) lands and rangelands are referred to the TTNRU. Over the last 40-50 years a significant reduction of the TTNRU of the ISNPN has been in the region. Main traditional economic activities of ISNPN suffer. Consequently a degradation of the ISNPN's socio-economic situation occurs; this situation requires a special attention at present time.

In this article we consider the issues of geo-ecological character and the factors influencing the health of population on the example of Nefteyuganskiy district of Yugra through the prism of sociological research. In particular, we analyze the point of view of the district's residents about the results of mineral deposits' development in a comparative perspective.

According to information of the former Department on affairs of indigenous peoples of the North [Korennye narody…, 2010], there are 33 territories of traditional natural resource use (tribal, ancestral lands) of ISNPN; their total land area is about 1217140 hectares, inhabited by 16 families

(64 persons) of the indigenous population. Their main activities are hunting, fishing, harvesting of wild plants.

The bases of the district economy are the plants of the fuel and energy complex, such as: JSC "Yuganskneftegaz", Salym Petroleum Development N.V., OJSC "Surgutneftegas", etc.

In 2007-2008 and 2012-2015 the workers of the Ob-Ugric Institute of Applied Research and Development (Khanty-Mansiysk) conducted ethno-sociological[18] researches on the territory of Nefteyugansk district of Yugra to study modern environmental and socio-economic status of ISNPN.

In the research participated:

- in 2007 – 114 respondents. Among them: men – 40,35%, women – 59,65%. ISNPN (Khanty, Mansi): men – 39,42%, women – 60,58%. Other nationalities: men – 50,00%, women – 50,00%.
- in 2008 – 117 respondents. Among them: men – 26,50%, women – 73.50%. ISNPN (Khanty, Mansi): 87.18%. Other nationalities: 12,82%.
- in 2012 – 54 respondents. Among them: men – 31,5%, women – 68.5%. ISNPN (Khanty): 96,3%. Other nationalities: 3,7%. The age of respondents (years): till 20 – 9,3%, 21-30 – 16,7%, 31-40 – 24,1%, 41-50 – 24,1%, 51-60 – 14,8%, 61 and older – 11.1%.
- in 2015 – 73 respondents. Among them: men – 21.9%, women – 78,1%. ISNPN – 33 (45,2%): Khanty – 33 (45,2%), Mansi – 0 (0%). Other nationalities: 40 (54.8%). The place of the respondents' residence – Nefteyuganskiy district: Salym (19,2%), Cheuskino (26,0%), Lempino (54.8%).

Pollution of atmospheric air on the territory of Nefteyuganskiy district is determined mainly by local sources and, in the least, by atmospheric transport from other districts. The main causes of pollution of atmosphere air are industrial emissions from plants, gas flaring, evaporation of light fractions of hydrocarbons from the surface of accidental spills of oil, sludge pits, storage tanks of oil and vehicles exhaust gases.

In accordance with the data of the news-bulletin… [2008], the highest accident rate of oil products is fixed on the oil deposits of LLC "RN Yuganskneftegaz" (2712 accidents), JSC "Tomskneft" (1273 accidents and JSC "Samotlorneftegaz" (809 accidents); it amounted 87.4% of all registered accidents on the oil fields of Yugra.

According to the results of our research, a significant majority of the respondents among the representatives of the ISNPN and the experts of Nefteyuganskiy district believe that industrial development of the subsoil deteriorates the ecological status of the region (60,00% and 69,02% in general and accordingly by years). In contrast to the experts, the respondents from the number of

[18]Head of research is the author of the article. Empirical surveys on places were conducted: in 2007-2008, by researcher of the Department of Ethnography of OUIARD, V.V. Seraskhova; in 2012-2015 by the author of the article. Processing of results in the programs "Excel" and "Vortex" was made by the research staff of the Scientific Department of socio-economic development and monitoring: V. T. Kharamzin, N. V. Tkachuk.

ISNPN believe that the results of industrial exploitation are the exclusion of the indigenous population from the territory of their inhabitation and degradation of their culture (30,77% and 24,51% according to years) [Khaknazarov, 2011; Khaknazarov, 2013].

The absolute majority (75,3%) of Nefteyuganskiy district's respondents have noted that industrial development of the subsoil deteriorates the ecological status of their region (district) of inhabitation. The respondents believe that the results of industrial exploitation are the exclusion of the indigenous population from the territory of their inhabitation and degradation of their culture (34,2%). Only 6,8% respondents of the region have noted that ecological status of their region (district) of inhabitation improves in a result of industrial development of the subsoil.

As a comparison, it should be noted that the results of the previous surveys conducted by us in other areas of Yugra, 81% respondents of Kondinskiy, 74% respondents of Khanty-Mansiyskiy and 56% respondents of Oktyabrskiy districts also expressed opinion that a deterioration of ecological status of the region occurs due to industrial development of the subsoil. As we can see, it is the opinion of most respondents. Some respondents noted exclusion of the indigenous population from the territory of their inhabitation and degradation of their culture (Kondinskiy district – 31%, Oktyabrskiy district – 41%, and Khanty-Mansiyskiy district – 47%) [Khaknazarov, 2006].

Answering the question "*How do you assess the ecological state of the region at the present time?*", a large majority of representatives of the ISNPN and the experts have noted the unsatisfactory ecological status of the region (68,42% in general). The paradox of situation is that during the course of the re-surveying (in 2008) the views of the respondents were diverged. Most part of the experts and representatives of the ISNPN believe that the environmental status of the region is in a satisfactory condition (55,49%). Although, as shown by the analytical data described above, actually the environmental status in the district is clearly in unsatisfactory state. Such situation in the responses affords ground for continuation of monitoring research of these problems.

But for the majority of the respondents in other investigated districts ecological status of the region is unsatisfactory (65,74 %), only for 32,2% of the respondents it is satisfactory status.

The majority of the respondents (55.6%) have noted that they do not participate in implementation of ecological or other expertise during the development of federal and regional state programs of natural resource development and protection of the environment.

In conclusion we note that the residents of Nefteyuganskiy district and the residents of other districts of the region think differently about the consequences of development of mineral. And, despite this, the majority of the respondents of the district (68,42, 55,49, 46,6%% according to years) notes a deterioration of ecological status of the region and the place of their inhabitation, exclusion of indigenous population from the territory of their inhabitation and degradation of their culture.

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Conflicts in Social Ecological Practice

Marina V.Rybakova, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. The article discusses the features of the conflict in the framework of social ecological practices, provides a definition of environmental conflict within social practice, analyzes the stages and levels of environmental conflict in the modern Russian reality, demonstrates the mechanism of transformation of the local environmental conflict in the Federal one.

Key words: conflict; environmental conflict; environmental social practice; public space

The attention of scientists to the problem of social environmental practices as one of the most important phenomenon of the process of social development was noted in the second half of XX century. It is expedient to consider social ecological practice through concept of social practice.

In sociological concepts analyzing social practice there is a certain position on the appointment of social practices in the life and interaction. German sociologist and philosopher Jürgen Habermas believes that the social practices «are all the things that make social agents, including, of course, appropriate conversion of objects, taken in their social forms. Practice cannot be reduced either to objective scientific knowledge nor to the subjective experience of consciousness, and are valid implementation of social relations». [Habermas, 1987:385]

Social practice represents a template of behavior of the person and is expressed in his daily activity accompanied with reflexive monitoring and rationalization of actions. All this is typical for a certain historical context. Social practice in various treatments have the potential necessary for the analysis of those processes which exist in environment.

It is necessary to give a definition of social environmental practice and to consider it as an integral system of individual and collective actions in conjunction with the means and the results of these actions aimed at changing of the nature of man and society interaction with the natural environment, which are institutionalized in various spheres of life. [Rybakova, 2012:26].

The world scientific community has realized that human activities have led to the impending global ecological crisis. It manifests itself in the global environment, climate change, the loss of the main properties of the biosphere - the ability to self-regulation, self-cleaning and self-reproduction.

The negative social environmental practice not only leads to the destruction of the natural environment, but also to the emergence of a growing number of ecological conflicts.

Increase in needs for natural resources of various subjects of managing distributed disproportionately on the planet is leading to the emergence of the ecological contradictions turning into the conflicts. In the history of mankind the ecological conflicts represent the difficult and multilateral phenomenon requires in-depth analysis.

Taking into account the saved-up experience, it is possible to offer the following definition: the ecological conflict is a kind of the social conflict arising within the social ecological practice leading to contradictions owing to violation of ecological interests of society on favorable surrounding environment. Definition of favorable, safe for health, resource-intensive, ecologically steady, esthetic and various environment has been more fully developed in the ecological right and is given in the Law on protection of environment (Art. 11).

Environmental conflicts are ambiguous on the social consequences and affect the natural foundations of human existence, different social groups and humanity as a whole. Social problems and social tension are always the cornerstone of the ecological conflict. Through disagreements, violence, the conflict in many respects there is an integration of system providing her adaptation to environment conditions.

The ecological conflict has even more difficult characteristic than just social conflicts. They are considered «as a confrontation between the domestic and interstate levels, caused by incompatible or hostile interests of one or more parties and their struggle for the right of ownership, use (distribution) of natural resources and their control, followed by the possible use of violent to achieve the goal» [Altfater, 2016:44]

Limited resources and a rapidly growing need leads to the violation of environmental and economic interests of different stakeholders such as government, business and the population in general. They may be different for each subject. For business representatives the acceleration of economic growth and profit are prevalent, even when damaged applied to environment. For population environmental interest in most cases is the right to a healthy and safe for the life environment.

Special sharpness is gained by the ecological conflicts during formation of a consumer society, in the conditions of formation of market capitalism and redistribution of the property relations, economic domination and the power that, eventually, leads to the ecological conflicts at the different levels – from municipal, local, regional, federal, developing into the global conflicts.

Plurality of participants results in certain difficulties in studying of the ecological conflict.

In complicated structure of the ecological conflict is allocated the object which is environment or its elements and a subject which is understood as a real contradiction of interests because of which the parties enter an antagonism. It can be natural resources, ways of their research or production, information on their stocks or a state, and those negative factors which are really connected with use or the property right. They can carry both local and international character.

In the structure of the ecological social conflict besides contradictory participants who can be presented by interests of individuals, social groups, classes, the nations, or the whole states the circle of experts is allocated. Permission of the ecological conflict depends much on professionalism, honesty and responsibility of experts, trust or mistrust of society to their activity which lead to real deteriorations in environment.

The ecological conflicts connected with pollution of environment and their prevalence connected, on the one hand, with need of economic growth, dictated by consumer society, and with another - violation of the ecological rights of citizens for favorable environment.

Different scales of interaction between various subjects such as certain person, the social group or the state the ecological conflicts can be local, regional, local. The local ecological conflict is a frequent phenomenon in social ecological practice. The reasons of their emergence can be the most different.

Local pollution of habitat have developed in the XIX-XX centuries into such as: deforestation, violation of a soil cover, pollution of water sources, acid rains, irrational use of various natural resources, reduction of a biodiversity, an ecological pressure on the increasing territories of landscapes, from local have passed to a stage of global and have come to trudging drama character. The reality of global climate change has led to the conclusion of the Kyoto Protocol (1997).

The Kyoto Protocol became the first global international agreement which has been based on market mechanisms of regulation of reduction or stabilization of emissions of greenhouse gases. Within the international agreement the ecological international conflict between the main countries pollutants was developed. The Kyoto contract has not been ratified by the USA, China and India. China and India developing for that period, didn't set the task of reduction of emissions of greenhouse gases, but as industrial giants, they are large pollutants of environment. Canada has withdrawn from the international agreement as isn't providing collective responsibility on the anthropogenous impact on climate changes of Earth. The international ecological conflict has shown difficulties of economic and legal character which assisted inefficiency of the Kyoto Protocol in the solution of problems of global warming.

Problems of climate change have been amplified by financial, energy and food crises. In many respectsthe reasons of food crisis are on the one hand power problems and reduction of agricultural grounds, with another - the adverse weather conditions connected with climate change. For production of the monocultures used by large, international agroconcerns for production of biofuel the farmland of small national producers for production of food is reduced. Food prices rise that leads to the mass social conflicts. In Mexico increase of prices for corn in 2007 has led to mass demonstrations, there have taken place disorders for hunger on Philippines, in Egypt, in the Western Africa. There is continuous increase of prices for food: from 2004 to 2007 the food prices have grown on average by 83%, by wheat - for 181%, by rice - for 201%. According to the conclusion of the World Bank, it is not a temporary phenomenon, but long process.

Climate change has caused changes in economic and social development of modern global society.

The international threats and risks connected with climate change are so large that «Framework Convention on Climate Change» in Paris in 2015 has been signed already by 195 countries of the world.

In social ecological practice as a complete system of the actions directed to change of the social relations and prevention of the ecological conflicts the international interaction in the field of environment has a great importance. It has to promote creation of new types of behavior of individuals, social groups and societies in general, to form understanding of interdependence in economic, social, political and ecological spheres of society.

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Social Consequences and Adaptation of Population to Climate Changes

Irina A. Sosunova, Moscow, Russia
Olga N.Mamonova, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. This article is considered actual issues of social consequences and adaptation of population to climate changes. Results of empirical sociological research are presented (expert survey and lay-public in Internet).

Key words: adaptation; climate changes; public opinions

Climate changes issues became highly recognized during last years, and it is impossible to solve them without public opinion support. According to classical works of social science, public opinion can be understood as a form of appearance of collective consciousness, estimative attitude of great social communities to actual issues of reality which are of the great interest and may generate wide discussions.

In the long view according to climate change issues all basic functions of public opinion may manifest: expressive (control) – the force stays under the power institutes, and which is possible to estimate their activity; consultative – which recommend definite solutions of economic, social and other problems; directive – may contain solutions of irresistible, imperative; informational; nomenclative – which influence to personnel, etc.

Herewith interests which lay in foundation of public opinion on climate change formation, are characterized firstly by social prosperity, high (or accessible) life quality; by safety of vital importán interests; by satisfaction of development directions and time.

Till present public opinion on climate change may be characterized by two significant specific features: incompetence in conditions of some scientific uncertainty. Second one - vivid demonstration of sociological “cloud effect”, i.e. people suppose that somewhere far away some problems are actual and critical, and on “our side” everything is without changes, that is why the significance of them is quite dubious.

First attribute is characterized by steep increase or leap of respondents who consider climate change the serious problem (according to different methodic of international surveys, there are leaps from near 60% respondents to 45% for 2-3 years).

Second attribute can be illustrated by results of sociological research (conducted in 2012), where respondents were offered to choose from options those ecological factors which are seen as the biggest trouble for them. Undoubtedly, the leaders are: quality of drinking water (85%

respondents), air pollution (70%), although local climate changes (any, without accent to global warming) seriously bother only 10% of respondents.

It is important to pay into attention those specifics of public opinion which were mentioned above, influence to significant social orientation of population. In the beginning of 1990s on the back of proactive publications about global warming in Russian mass-media was ascertained that over 65% of respondents-Muscovites are ready to limit manufacture and emissions, but only 8% of them are ready to reduce their personal consumption for this good purpose. The tendency is stable during last 25 years.

For general evaluation of public opinion condition concerning global climate changes results of empirical research may look interesting. American Institute of Public Opinion in 2010 has conducted research devoted to global warming in 111 countries. In world in general 35% of respondents declared the warming is a result of human activity. 14% - consequence of natural processes, 13% - consequence of both natural processes and human activity, 2% - refuse to answer, and 36% does not know anything about it.

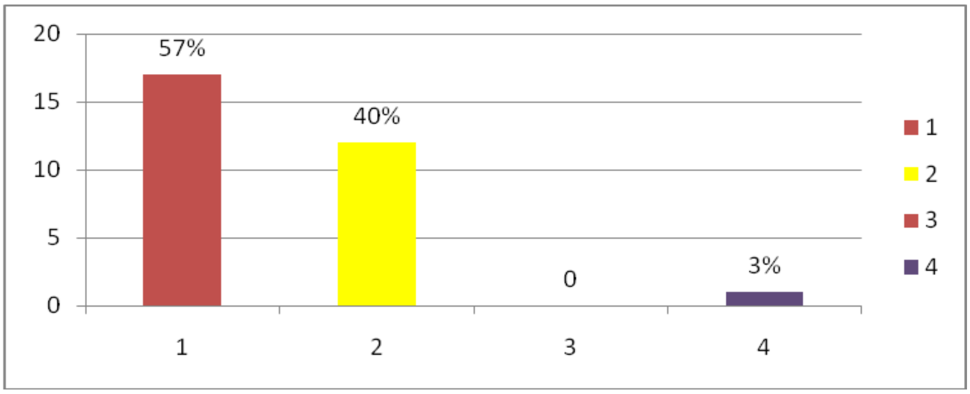
In the first instance, human activity is blamed for climate changes in Latin America, Taiwan, Singapore etc. In Eastern Europe and Russia the majority of respondents blamed humans as well. Mostly in American public opinion global warming is seen as consequence of natural causes.

Nevertheless, the survey “Climate changing in American consciousness. Hope and relation of Americans to global warming at September 2012” has showed that 70% of Americans believe in global warming, only 12% denies the problem totally, 54% of USA population are sure that climate changes after human activity, and 57% of Americans suppose the menace to natural security.

One of the latest expert surveys was conducted in Moscow in the beginning of 2016. 30 experts were interviewed during III session of International Forum “Russia's participation in the implementation of the new Agreement on Climate Change (Paris 2015)”, 18 February 2016, President-hotel. The sample is characterized by highest educational level, (near 40% of respondents have scientific degree of Master or Ph.D., more than a half – bachelor degree) and proved personal and professional experience of respondents (near 30% - older than 40-55 years and near the half – older than 55 years). Half of them are women.

Almost all respondents consider instability of climate evident problem: according to expert survey, the majority of the respondents (57%) suppose global climate changes of past 10 years evident, while 40% of them feel it periodically in their everyday life (temperature leaps and instability of climate).

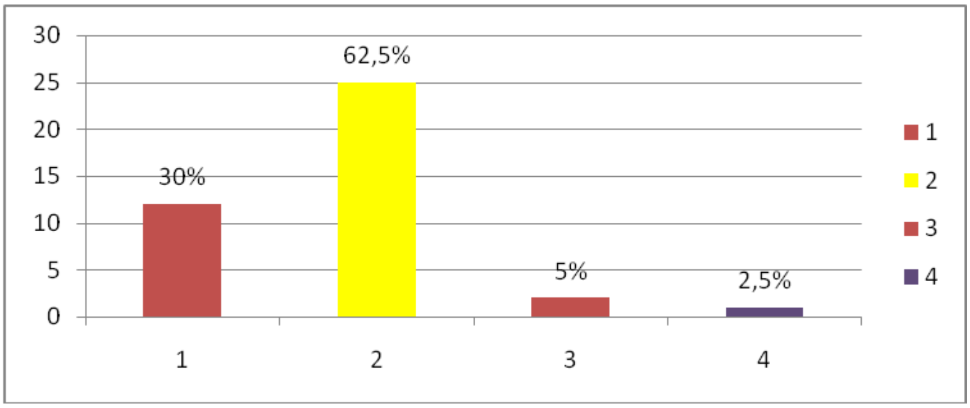
Table 1.“Can you feel in your everyday life during past 10 years the reality of global warmth?”(experts)



Data presented shows experts assurance in significance of climate change. This creates suppositions for negotiation in mass consciousness of “cloud effect”, mentioned above for recognition of highest actuality of these changes in public opinion.

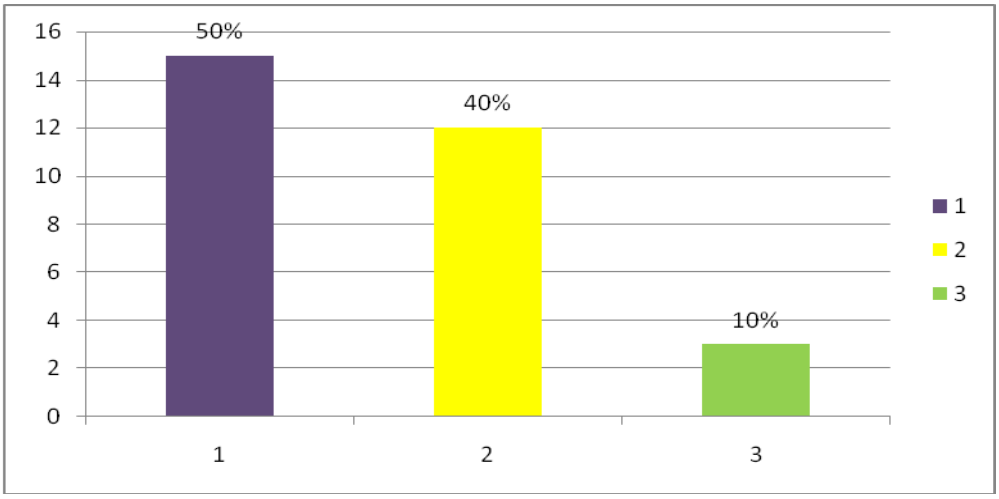
According to survey of the lay-public in the Internet (40 respondents, January-February 2016), the majority of the them (62,5%) concern about global climate changes of past 10 years and can literally sometimes feel them in their everyday life (temperature leaps and instability of climate), at the same time 30% of the respondents suppose these changes evident.

Table 2. “Can you feel in your everyday life during past 10 years the reality of global warmth?”(lay-public)



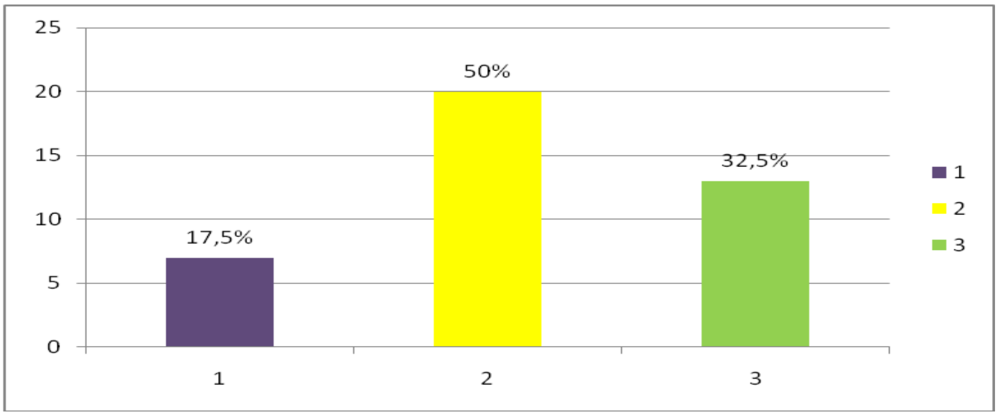
Concepts of experts’ estimation of climate change significance on “professional level” can be seen in below data: “From your point of view, how actual is the confrontation with anthropogenic factors of global warming in modern Russian economic situation?” Half of the experts are sure that the issue demands immediate interference and economic situation is not such a “big deal”. 40% of the respondents suppose the prioritized problem but only in situation of economic expansion. These results declared the acknowledgement of actual confrontation with anthropogenic factors of global warming by ecological expert community.

Table 3. "How actual is the confrontation with anthropogenic factors of global warming in modern Russian economic situation?" (experts)



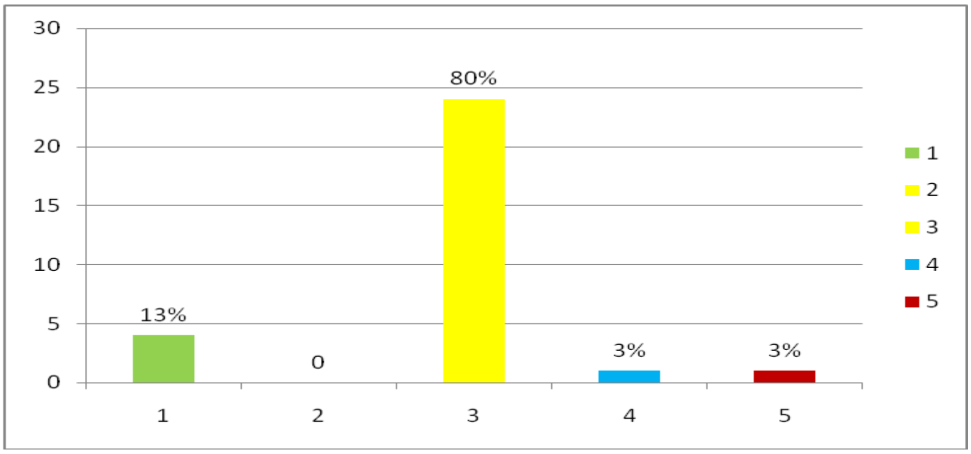
Opinions of lay-public are presented below and they differ from the experts variations. Half of the respondents consider the prioritized problem of anthropogenic factors but only in situation of economic expansion, while 17,5% of respondents struggle for immediate actions.

Table 4. "How actual is the confrontation with anthropogenic factors of global warming in modern Russian economic situation?" (lay-public)



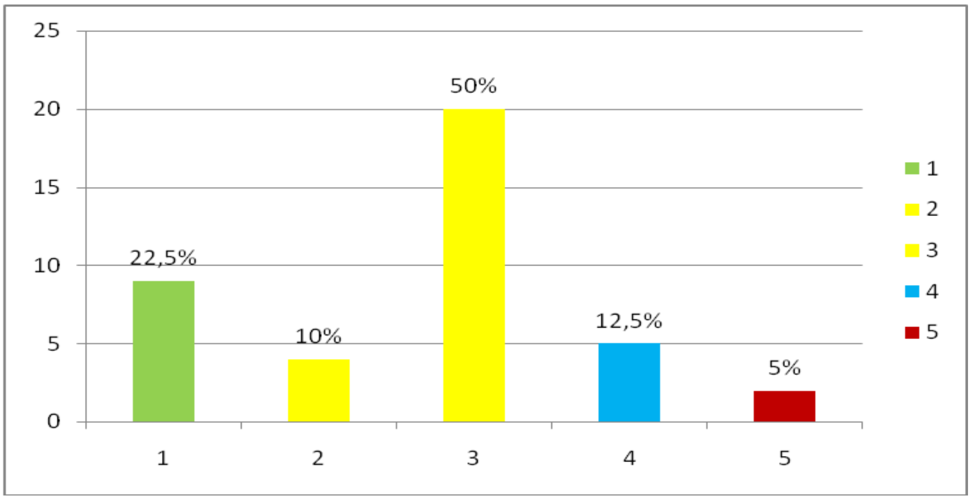
Perspectives of society participation in decision making of climate changes can be presented in results of next allocation: the majority of experts (near 80%) have chosen the 3d alternative, i.e. the priority of the state on the base of real participation of civil society. It is possible to assume that public opinion will be waiting for active coordination and initiatives from the state during the critical situation of global climate changes.

Table 5. "Which voice has the top priority during practical programs elaboration, connected with global warming?"(experts)



It is interesting, that lay public views were more various. Alternatives: 1 - state; 2 – civil society (social movements, etc.); 3 - state with social movements and public funds; 4 - hard to chose; 5 – another option.

Table 6."Which voice has the top priority during practical programs elaboration, connected with global warming?"(lay-public)



In conclusion it is necessary to underline that actuality of sanctions in the broad understanding and their social consequences in the sphere of global climate changes.

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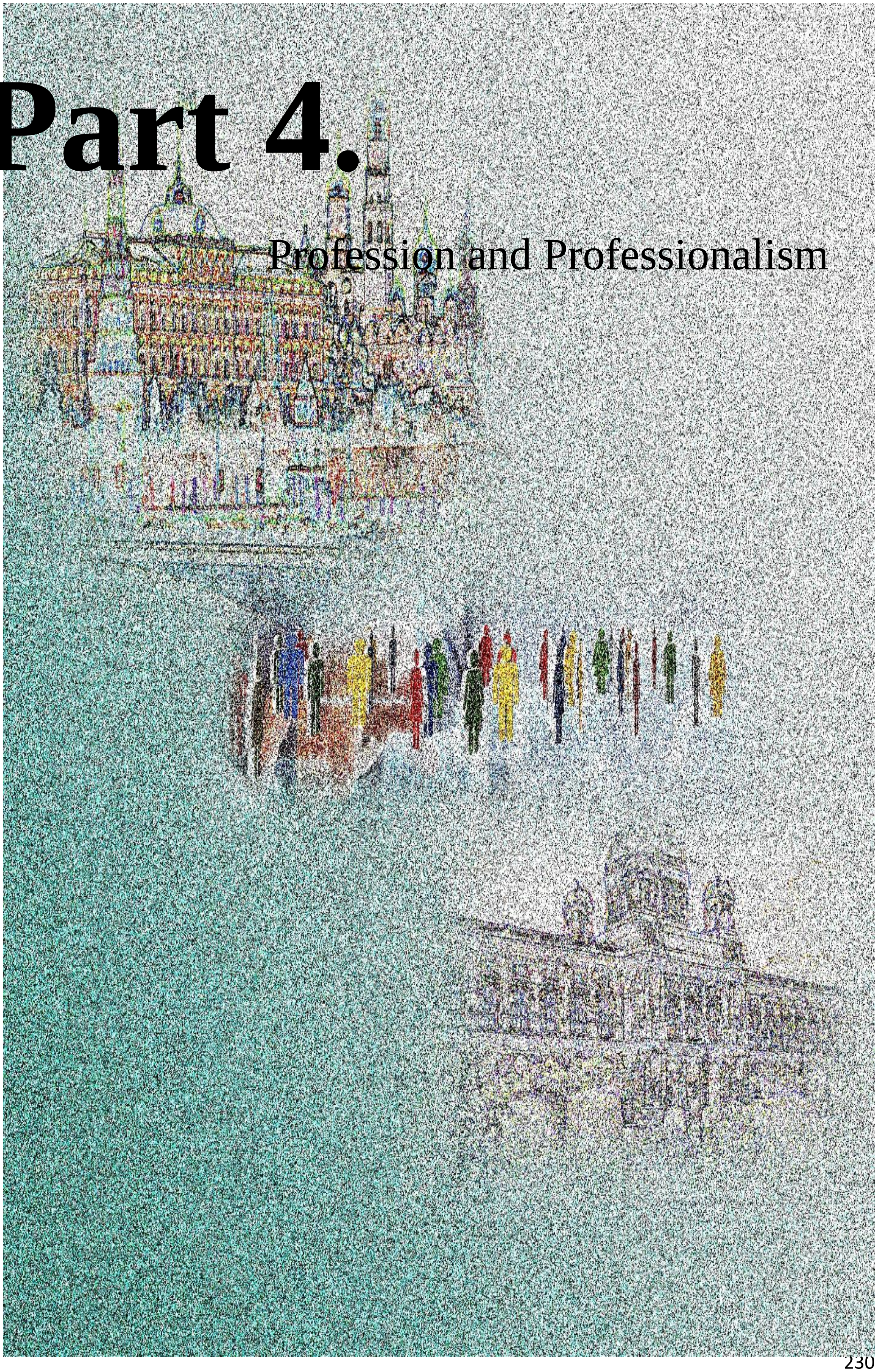
Part 4.

Profession and Professionalism



Dynamics of Interpretations of Professional Altruism: the Case of Preschool Educators

Valery A. Mansurov, Moscow, Russia
Olesia V. Yurchenko, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. The paper is centered on the analysis of the concept of institutional altruism and its studies in the professional practice. We take preschool educators in kindergartens as an object of research. Social researchers studied the concept of 'professional altruism' on the example of socially important intellectual professions in the spheres of health, law and education. In our research we consider the dual nature of the professional behavior. Some of professional actions may be concerned with self-enhancement, but the reverse side of the coin is that what they provide is still an ethical service for their clients. On the basis of qualitative and quantitative research in three Russian cities we came to the conclusion that preschool educators consider altruism to be an important part of their professional life and culture. Many of them state that their work does not depend on the income they earn. They highly rate the quality of professional work of their colleagues.

Key words: sociology of professions: professional altruism: preschool educators

A variety of social problems today have to do with the decline of altruism among professionals [Jones, 2002]. Before coming up with a solution, we need to first study and understand the very concept of "professional altruism". At present, there are a number of definitions of this notion that are determined by the academic field within which it is being considered. In sociology, the term "altruism" was introduced by A.Comte [Comte, 1875]. In his perception, it is a principle of "living for the sake of others" as a way to build a perfect society. He believed the purpose of human life was to serve humankind, thus improving oneself. Altruistic and egoistic behaviour influence societal development and establishment.

Comte’s reasoning of the notion of "altruism" paved the way for scientific study of social and pro-social behavioral aspects interpreted as actions taken in order to help others without expectation of reward [Eisenberg, Mussen, 1989]. For the classical sociologists of the late 19th and early 20th century, altruism as a moral principle of disinterested care for others’ well-being becomes an important macrosociological problem. It was public moral and solidarity that came into focus [Durkheim, 1933]. Sociologists analyze the mechanisms of evolving altruistic behaviour and contradictions arising between the interests of society, which benefits from individual’s altruistic behaviour, and individual’s egoistic aspirations.

By the mid-20th century, the issues of public morals and altruism largely faded into the background [Bykov, 2015: 12]. From the study subject of macrosociological theories and explanatory models the topic of "altruism" is shifted to the branches of sociology [Saks, 1995] and such related fields of knowledge as biology, psychology, anthropology and economics [Hitlin, Vaisey, 2010; Feigin et al., 2014]. When it comes to social science, altruism is mainly interpreted as voluntary and intentional activities for the sake of another person or society as a whole which take effort and are done without expecting anything in return [Feigin et al., 2014: 1].

In recent years, professional altruism has come into sociologists' focus again [Gestwicki, Bertrand, 2011]. The goal of this article is to trace the evolving ideas of professional altruism as well as opportunities for their implementation in the study of professional groups in Russia with the use of the data obtained from preschool educators in the course of research conducted by the sector of Sociology of Professions and Professional Groups of the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Science.

The dialogue around professional altruism and professionalisation within the field of early childhood education has increased as concerns about the quality of early care, education, and professional accountability have been raised around the world [Yurchenko, Mansurov, 2014]. It is also a hot topic in Russia, attracting much contentious debate in the media and government. However, there is still a lack of social research on the problems of reforming preschool education and on the altruism of this professional group.

Theoretical background

Functionalist researchers have seen the professions as centrally significant, very effective, and apolitical social institutions within society. This view was largely rooted in the classical works of Durkheim, who laid emphasis on the importance of professional ethics [Durkheim, 1933]. His view that the division of labour and occupational groups represented the moral basis for modern society led him to focus on the professions as entities which embodied all the social functions which he valued and which would act as intermediates between individuals and the state [Durkheim, 1933]. These Durkheim believed would save modern society from the breakdown in moral authority, which in his view threatened it. The development of this view was presented in the works of functionalist researchers in the twentieth century [Parsons, 1968; Ben-David, 1964; Halmos, 1970].

Within this theoretical framework, professionals were seen as a specific structure within the social system and professional altruism was seen as a key defining aspect of ideal model of the profession. In the late 1950s-1960s, the functional approach to sociology became so dominant that the discipline of sociology and functionalism became more or less identical. Most social researchers of the time saw professional altruism as a social good at which professional expertise is directed, whereas allegiance of medical practitioners was expressed through a pledge to follow a code of conduct. More recent work has not denied the importance of altruism, but has given greater emphasis to the strategies actively deployed by professionals to engender a position of power.

Following the functionalist and trait writers, professional competence had to correlate with themost important values of society. They argued that those work activities which have an immediate relation to the establishment and maintenance of the main values of the society, in a case they possess other required 'professional' characteristics, may be called professions. Parsons claimed that 'a full-fledged profession must have some institutional means of making sure that such competence will be put to socially responsible uses' [Parsons, 1968:545]. He argued that the most obvious 'social responsible use' of professional knowledge was in the sphere of its application to medical science. At the same time, he mentioned that the skills of teaching and of research in the 'pure' intellectual disciplines – the humanities, and the natural and social sciences – could also be included in to the sphere of professional activities.

Thus, professionals were seen as primarily disposed to serve the community, as opposed to self-interest. The technical solutions which the professionals arrived at, were conceived as based on the needs of clients, not on the material interest and needs of the professional. Thus, the system of moral and material remuneration was seen as a fair reward of the profession by the state, not as a result of pursuing self-interested goals by the professionals. Some sociologists even viewed altruistic service as an inherent personal quality of the members of the profession. Later in the century, Ritzer stressed that trait and functionalist writers have often confused studies of profession as collectivities and individual professional workers [Ritzer, 1973].

Following the functionalists and trait writers, professionals were supposed to see their work as a kind of mission or calling. Unlike people whose work was considered to be an occupation, and who were taken to lack the feeling of 'commitment' to their work-activity, professionals were assumed to remain committed to an area of work during their life span. At the same time, the rewards to professionals were higher and the period of adult socialisation was prolonged. Members of the profession were less willing to leave an occupation, and were more likely to assert that they would choose the same work if they were to begin again.The level of development of formal (written) and informal ethical codes for recruits to the profession were seen as an important indicator of professional altruism, and as one of the key concepts of whether an occupation could be called a profession [Hall, 1975:74].

Ben-David argues in his trend report on professions in the class system that one of the most important distinguishing characteristics of the professional organisation and behaviour is the existence of a vocational subculture which comprises explicit or implicit codes of behaviour or generates an *esprit de corps* among members of the same profession [Ben-David,1960]. It also ensures them certain occupational advantages, such as an egalitarian rather than authoritarian type of supervision in bureaucratic structures and monopolistic privileges to perform certain types of work.Millerson wrote that an ethical code could be both formally and informally enforced, through censure, removal from the professional association, or professional ostracism from interaction within the group [Millerson, 1964]. He undertook an examination of over one hundred and thirty British qualifying associations, and found that about a quarter had formal written codes [Millerson, 1964: 28-29].

Later the idea of altruistic professional service was called into question. In the 1970s, views on the professions started to change. The general public was faced with examples of the inadequate levels of competence and professional corruption [Saks, 1995]. At the same time, a major shift occurred in social science from the structural functionalist orthodoxy to a much more pluralistic scene, in which sociological conflict theory and an action-based conceptualisation began to play an important role [Collins, 1990:24]. Neo-Weberians and Marxists came to the foreground of social research. The change was important for the sociology of the professions, as up to that time, the professions had been considered ethically positive embodiments of the 'central values' of the society. Critics felt that this approach reflected too closely the ideological image which professionals tried to convey of their own work. The functionalist and trait writers started to be seen as 'victims' of an uncritical acceptance of the professional claims to such attributes as ethical behaviour, altruism and community service.

Thus, it has been claimed that the functionalist and trait writers confused 'descriptive' and 'normative' definitions of profession. A descriptive definition gave attributes that were essential for an occupation to be a profession and did not say anything about what professions ought to be like. Conversely, a normative definition gave the ideals that professionals ought to pursue and realise. But it was not always apparent whether a descriptive or normative type of definition was meant.

By the mid-1970s, two new models of the profession and professionalisation appeared: the neo-Weberian model of 'the profession as a monopoly' and the Marxist model based on the 'relations of production'. Despite all their differences, the followers of these approaches tended to focus on the analysis of professional power and managed to move away from a static functionalist definition of the profession as being apolitical and homogeneous communities of competent individuals. Within Marxist frame of reference, critiques were oriented toward revealing that the claims of altruism of the professions were nothing more than a mask for professional self-interest and their control and surveillance functions for the benefit of the dominant bourgeois class. Saks commented that the critical thrust of Marxists was mirrored in the depiction of the oppressive role of professions in Western capitalist countries [Saks, 1999].

Neo-Weberians have conceptualised professions as an institutionalised form of monopoly and/or power based on knowledge and skills maintained by particular relationships with the state and the market. They viewed the rather high position of professions in the society as something that the professions had to work at, and once it was reached, wished to protect and enhance [Larson, 1990: 30]. The reinterpretation of the definition of 'profession' was accompanied by the change in the definition of the term 'professional altruism'. Within the framework of the action-based approach, social scientists have emphasised that professional occupations surround their work with an ideological covering, whereas in the trait and functionalist works, the professions were viewed as a 'calling', not merely a job. The activity carried out from 'high motives of altruism, of glory, or of moral, spiritual or aesthetic commitment rather than for mundane gain' [Collins, 1990: 35].

Revisionists of the functionalist approach stress the fact that the high-status professions are occupations with high pay and power, which suggests that the idealisation of work is something additional to other rewards, and not a substitute or compensation for them [Freidson, 1994]. The point that the professions appeal to the moral status of their work in order to demand a 'status appropriate wage' and a justification for their high social position is well argued in the paper by Duman on the creation of professional ideology in the nineteenth century: 'Central to this process was the formulation and diffusion of a unique ideology based on the concept of service as a moral imperative. This provided doctors, lawyers, clergymen and the members of an evergrowing number of other occupations with an article of faith with which to justify their claim to superior status and special privileges, such as self-discipline' [Duman, 1979: 38].

Freidson has also examined the potential for producing an ideology possessed by a successful profession [Freidson, 1994]. He comes to the conclusion that the successful deployment of the professionals' cognitive and normative aspects not only allows some occupations to establish their social status, it also provides the potential for defining social reality in the area in which members of the profession function. That is, the ideology gives the professions the opportunity to use their technical expertise as the basis for a claim to a universal validity for their public pronouncements. While they can in some circumstances extend this well beyond their particular domain, they typically use it to define the standards by which their competence will be judged and the extent to which the laity can enter their domain.

However, professionals cannot keep afloat only on pursuing interest-based occupational strategies aimed at gaining control of the market through the establishment of exclusionary closure [Macdonald, 1995]. As Macdonald argues, while there is no need to revert to the functionalist view, which takes professionals entirely at their own evaluation, professionals are providing the services that they claim to provide in relation to the life, health, property and other matters of crucial importance to their clients [Macdonald, 1995: 101] Some of their actions may be concerned with self-enhancement, but the reverse side of the coin is that what they provide is still a service for their patients or clients. This approach echoes with Saks' understanding of the dual nature of the professional behaviour, which, in his view, is akin to the mythical Minotaur – part human, part beast. The analogy drawn suggests that the ‘precise balance of the positive and negative features of the professions is not yet known and the nature of the contours of the profile need to be firmed up’ [Saks, 1999: 21]. Saks argues that there is a need to develop an analytical framework for assessing the altruistic ideologies of professions.

This paper does not aim to assess the balance that is struck between self-interests and the public interest of professionals. However, here we try to adhere to a more stable interpretation, which acknowledges the dual aspect of professions which both attempt to protect their market position and promote public service. We do not deny the importance of the professional ideology of altruism, arguing that some of their actions may be self-enhancement, whereas others are still a service for their clients.

The data and methods

Early childhood education is arguably becoming, or seems likely to become, a profession [Freeman & Feeney, 2006; Watts, 2009]. Preschool education may be defined as a “semi-profession” [Etzioni, 1969], as it does not correspond to an ideal type of classic professions. We use the concept of semi-profession in a value-neutral manner. The value-neutral use of the term here implies there is no assumption that classic professional practice is better, more valuable, or more effective than a semi-professional practice [Brante, 2013: 6]. The difference between them is analytic not normative, and merely contends that one practice is to a greater extent based on a robust scientific basis. Russian preschool educators can be defined as a semi-profession in the sense that their practice is built on a less developed body of knowledge and skills. Its members have a lower status than those in the socially idealised professions. They have a shorter training period and a lower level of social acceptance and autonomy.

The main aim of this article is to present a discussion of selected findings from the recent research undertook in three large Russian cities, including Moscow, Samara and Syktyvkar in 2014-2015. It included the questionnaire survey of 779 respondents who filled in self-administered questionnaires (479 in Moscow, 150 in Syktyvkar and 150 in Samara). The research project was based in three regions within Russia so that comparisons could be made in the responses of early educators in different areas of the Russian Federation. The case studies were in Moscow, the capital, and a dense urban area, Samara, a large industrial city to the south-east, and Syktyvkar, an area dominated by coal-mining, oil and gas well to the north of the capital. The regions selected as the focus for the research did not represent Russia as a whole, but were typical of the regions in which the early education reforms had been relatively well developed and the reforms had already had an impact on the differentiation of the social standing and attitudes of the early educators.

The requirement that the sample be representative of Russian preschool educators had to be offset against resource considerations. Thus the major principle that underlay the sample design was to achieve the maximum precision for a given outlay of resources. This being the case, the choice was made for a pragmatic non-probability quota sampling method, under which a method of stratified sampling in which the selection within a stratum is non-random was understood. Stratification was done according to the age of respondents.

The results of the research

The study reveals that lots of preschool educators would like to be regarded as a group that is committed to professional values and standards. The majority declares that their motivation does not depend on their income. Being asked “Which of the statements is the best to describe your attitude to work?”, the most common response was: “My work does not depend on the salary. I do my best irrespective of the salary” (46% in Moscow, 42% in Samara and 47% in Syktyvkar). Another frequent statement was: «I love my job, but my family is of greater importance to me» (24% in Moscow, 22% in Samara and 20% in Syktyvkar). Preschool educators traditionally strive for efficient combining of professional role and that of a mother. Only one tenth of the interviewed answered "My job is a contract. The more I get paid, the more I do" (8% in Moscow, 14% in Samara and 10% in Syktyvkar).

Being interviewed, the experts noted that over the years of reforming preschool education they managed to preserve the core of educators and teachers. These are people with over 10-15 years of experience. As a result, the core team is made up of fulfilled people who really love their occupation. Moreover, they have sufficient experience and are well versed in age-specific peculiarities: "*We still have literate, creative, intelligent teachers who love their job…They are altruistic and self-giving. They do realize the importance of the education/child-rearing process in the development of children as future citizens of Russia"* (Preschool Director, Moscow).

Preschool educators displayed high professional motivation, despite the fact that most of them were dissatisfied with their salary. Practically half of them gave low evaluation to their financial health: "I can afford food and clothes, while purchase of expensive durables is a problem for me" (47% in Moscow, 43% in Samara and 54% in Syktyvkar). About one fifth of preschool educators claimed their financial situation as disastrous: "I can afford food, but purchase of clothes is a problem for me" (21% in Moscow, 27% in Samara and 20% in Syktyvkar).

Nevertheless, practically no one from the professional community was disappointed with their profession. Preschool educators from all the regions display high commitment to their occupation. Among other problems, they are hardly worried by "professional disappointment" (8% in Moscow, 1% in Samara, 1% in Syktyvkar) and "the feeling of uselessness, low demand for their knowledge and expertise" (6% in Moscow, 1% in Samara, 1% in Syktyvkar). Preschool educators still value their job as being challenging and giving them an opportunity to realize their creative potential. The most important reason to choose this profession was said to be "an interest in raising children" (57% in Moscow, 37% in Samara, 31% in Syktyvkar). Another common reason turned out to be "perception of this profession as one’s own mission" (30% in Moscow, 18% in Samara, 18% in Syktyvkar). This demonstrates the importance of work duties and responsibilities when becoming part of a professional group.

Preschool educators do not directly link the level of professional expertise and quality of their services with the deteriorated working conditions. 83% of preschool educators in Moscow, 66% in Samara and 71% in Syktyvkar claim their colleagues to be first-rate specialists[19]. The professional group still remains an important referent representative for lots of them: "*The education reforms have totally disorganized the work process, brought confusion and uncertainty, insecurity about the future... We draw strength and patience from communication at work. This is our second home. We learn from each other, support each other…"* (Preschool Director, Syktyvkar).

The sense of belonging to a professional community plays an important role in the lives of preschool educators. At the same time, the involvement of those who work directly in preschool educational institutions into the work of professional organizations is extremely low. In the course of interviews, preschool educators mentioned only two associations: The Moscow City Organization of RF Public Education&Science Workers’ Trade Union and the Russian Pedagogical Society. There is a stereotype belief that small associations are founded due to political situation or are engaged in special-interest tasks. Trade unions are also no longer regarded as a force that is able to defend the interests of preschool educators.

The professional community continues to demonstrate the relative loyalty and commitment to the chosen occupation. Even in the current difficult situation, about one third of them are willing to recommend the educator profession to their children or close relatives (26% in Moscow, 28% in Syktyvkar and 27% in Samara). Some of preschool educators, primarily in Moscow, "never think of a career change" (42% in Moscow, 26% in Samara, 21% in Syktyvkar). Thus, although we cannot speak of high professional loyalty among preschool educators, there is no evidence of its low level.

The major problem for the professional group is not so much poor financing as its low prestige. An absence of outward respectability makes preschool educators feel at a disadvantage: "*preschool educators, as a professional group, are not respected, they can only be feared"* (Preschool Educator, Moscow)*; "parents have been granted a lot of rights and are currently using us. They get a service*

[19] Respondents answered the question: "Will you please specify the point on this scale that would characterize the professional level of most of your colleagues in preschool institution? " (1 to 10). The majority chose the option of 7-10 points.

and believe we owe them" (Trade Union Leader, Moscow), *"state officials do not respect our work"* (Director, Moscow). It is only natural that evaluating measures that could improve their lives, preschool educators gave their major preference to such aspect as «raising the prestige of the profession»: 29% - in Moscow, 21% - in Samara, 29% - in Syktyvkar. Other important factors have to do with changes in working conditions («increase of earning potential/provision of paid services» and «reduction of preschool educators' workload/ number of children per group»).

Conclusion

We tried to fill the gap in the study of the ideology of professional altruism in local sociological practice.

Preschool educators displayed their commitment to altruistic devotion, claiming they do their utmost irrespective of their income. Lots of them perceive their profession as a mission and would like to be recognized for that. Professional ideology of this community is based on the assertion of their competence, expertise and skills. They are of particular significance when it comes to building an internal cohesion of the group as well as its external positioning which is necessary for the public respect.

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Social Attitudes and Status of Women Engineers in Russia in Transition[20]

Valery A. Mansurov, Moscow, Russia
Olesia V. Yurchenko, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. The dialogue around engineers has increased as concerns about the quality of engineering have been raised in the country. Privatisation resulted in the change in Russian engineers' status. There are transformations in the common standards of practice, discipline, payment and social attitudes. The engineering profession has acquired some possibility of self-regulation in the labour market. The scope of engineers' autonomy in the private sector has slightly increased. Soviet industry had a lot of special features that set it apart from other advanced industrial countries. A much higher proportion of women engineers was one of the peculiarities. Workforce 'feminisation' became one of the most particular features of the Soviet industry and was connected in part with state politics – insofar as there was a drive towards equal rights for all. Women's interest in higher education in Engineering remains unchanged since the Soviet period. In terms of administrative position, most women have been rank-and-file engineers. The highest managerial posts are mostly preoccupied with men engineers. Many women engineers work on a part-time basis. An analysis of women-engineers' social status and their views on their current social standing have become one of the central issues in the ongoing project Russian Engineers: Formation and Development of the Profession. The research aims to investigate the background, work situation, and the attitudes and values of engineers in contemporary Russia.

Key words: engineer; engineering activities; dynasty; social status; economic status; cultural resource, law; socio-economic resource; training; professional orientation; professional continuity; accreditation

Every modern industrial country needs technological expertise to be competitive in the global market, and it is critical to train engineers to provide that expertise. Modern Russia is one of the countries with the most engineering graduates [McCarthy, 2015]. Higher engineering education in quantitative terms shows positive trends, but there are concerns and challenges for the quality of engineering and technical education. Russian higher education institutions that train engineers are not listed in any international rankings of the best universities [see for example, The Times Higher Education World University Ranking 2014-2015, QS World University Rankings, 2014]. The situation was quite different at the Soviet time, when Soviet higher engineering education institutions were prestigious. Soviet Union took the third place in the world in terms of the number of attracted foreign students who were trained in engineering (The US universities and colleges took the first place with 419.6 students engineers and France - the second with 136.9 students-engineers) [Arefiev, Arefiev, 2012].

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Today about 22% of Russian students, more than 1.6 million, are enrolled in engineering and technical fields; although this share has declined over the last decade (from 33% in 1995) [Dobryakova, Froumin, 2010:1035]. For the last decade, the European Commission has highlighted the risks related to the shortage of engineers and has called on members states to draw more widely on the pool of female talent. The decline of interest and enrolment of young people, especially women, in engineering remains an issue:

"Engineering as a human endeavour is also facing numerous additional challenges of its own, including attracting and retaining broader cross-sections of our youth, particularly women; strengthening the educational enterprise; forging more effective interdisciplinary alliances with the natural and social sciences and the arts; enhancing our focus on innovation, entrepreneurship and job creation, and; promoting increased public awareness and support for the engineering enterprise" [UNESCO, 2010: 267].

Women have contributed to the diverse fields of engineering in modern and historical times. However, they are still underrepresented in the field of engineering both in academics and as a profession at every level [Fouad, Singh, 2013]. In the Western countries, a number of programs have been created to understand and overcome this tradition of gender disparity.Proposed fixes include mentor programs, student support groups and targeted recruitment efforts. Initiatives have begun at universities and corporations, including Intel's recent $300 million diversity commitment. However, the numbers of women engineers are still insufficient, for example, only 11% of professional engineers are women in the US [National Science Foundation, 2011].

Women still are in minority in many Western corporations. In the US, the figures are well known: at Apple 20 percent of tech jobs are held by women and at Google, only 17 percent. A report by the Congressional Joint Economic Committee estimates that nationwide in US about 14 percent of engineers in the work force are women [Nilsson, 2015]. Moreover, many women are much more likely to leave an engineering career, thus losing many of the engineers higher education institutions train.

The issue of the position of women in engineering has been recently raised in Russia as in other industrial countries [Kovaleva, 1999; Arefiev, Arefiev, 2012]. In Russia, the statistic has not been stable. In the Soviet time (1970-1980s), approximately one third of students trained in engineering were women [Arefiev, Arefiev, 2012:10]. During the ensuring Soviet times, the role of women in engineering and engineering education was strong with almost 60% of the engineers being women [Barabanova, 2013:1]. Since the fall of the Soviet Union, Russian women in these engineering careers has fallen to below 40% of the engineering workforce with a continuing downward trend. As a point of reference, the representation of women in the U.S. engineering workforce has remained around 9-11% with a very large attrition and departure of women from engineering professions during college and their early professional life.

In Russia, the pool of qualified women engineering graduates does not stay lifelong in the field of engineering [Kovaleva, 1999; Karnoy et al., 2014]. While our educational system is having some success at attracting and graduating women from engineering programs, women who earn engineering degrees are disproportionately choosing not to persist in engineering careers, and research has not systematically investigated what factors may contribute to their decisions. Today we shall analyse the reasons why the engineering profession does not attract women.

Women Engineers in Soviet Time

Soviet industry had a lot of special features that set it apart from other advanced industrial countries. A much higher proportion of women engineers was one of the peculiarities. Workforce 'feminisation' became one of the most particular features of the Soviet industry and was connected in part with state politics – insofar as there was a drive towards equal rights for all. The 1977 Soviet Constitution stipulated that men and women have equal rights, and that women have equal access to education and training , employment and remuneration. The Soviet government also provided women special medical and workplace protection, including incentives for mothers to work outside the home and legal and material support of their maternal role. Because of such provisions, 92% of women were employed at least part-time [Curtis, 1996].

The roles of women in the workforce and to some extent politics were very similar to those of men. Women had equality in jobs given to them in principle but not in practice, employers still preferred men over women in many fields. All around women tended to be paid less than men. Despite official ideology, in practice, most Soviet women did not enjoy the same position as men in society. Average pay for women in all fields was below the overall national average, and the vaunted high percentage of women in various fields, especially health care, medicine, education, and economics, did not hold true in the most prestigious and high-paying areas such as the upper management of organisations in any of those fields.

Most of the state benefit programs for women continued into the post-Soviet era. However, as in the Soviet era, Russian women in the 1990s predominated in economic sectors where pay is low, and they continued to receive less pay than men for comparable positions**.** In 1995, male engineers received an average of 40 percent more than their female colleagues[The Moscow-based Center for Gender statistics]. Despite that, on average, women were better educated than men, women remained in the minority in senior management positions. In the later Soviet era, women's wages averaged 70 percent of men's; by 1995 the figure was 40 percent, according to the Moscow-based Center for Gender Studies. According to a 1996 report, 87 percent of employed urban Russians earning less than

100.000 rubles a month were women, and the percentage of women decreased consistently in the higher wage categories [The Moscow-based Center for Gender statistics].

Throughout the Soviet period women were confined to less prestigious engineer jobs. They often remained in the position of subordination to male engineers and seldom aspired for top administrative positions. Most women have been rank-and-file engineers. The highest managerial posts have been mostly preoccupied with men engineers. Many women engineers worked on a part-time basis. In the times of economic and political crises, womengenerally were the first to be fired, and they faced other forms of on-the-job discrimination as well. Private enterprises often fired women to avoid paying child care benefits or granting maternity leave, as the law requires. In 1995, women constituted an estimated 70 percent of Russia's unemployed, and as much as 90 percent in some areas [Curtis, 1996].

Women Engineers in Russia in Transition

An analysis of women-engineers' social status and their views on their current social standing have become one of the central issues in the ongoing project *Russian Engineers: Formation and Development of the Profession*. The research aims to investigate the background, work situation, and the attitudes and values of engineers in contemporary Russia. Today the project is at its initial stage and we would like to present the results of the desk research and literature analysis on the subject. To date we shall discuss the selected results and show the main barriers and reasons why women do not want to persist the career in engineering.

Why are there so few female engineers? Many reasons have been offered: workplace sexism, a lack of female role models, stereotypes regarding women's innate technical incompetency, the difficulties of combining technical careers with motherhood [Nilsson, 2015]. Women's decisions not to persist may be due to their own concerns about managing the organizational climate, performing engineering tasks, or balancing work and family roles [Smith, 1993] or could be due to environmental barriers, such as facing a chilly organizational climate, particularly during parenting years [Society of Women Engineers, 2007]. Women may also encounter organizational barriers when they reach a juncture to move into management from engineering roles. It is therefore, critical to understand the diversity of factors that lead some women to persist in engineering and others to leave it, as our educational system may have a role in better preparing women engineers for workforce challenges. In addition, the organisations that employ women engineers have a vital role in creating work environments that both attract and retain women engineers.

In Russia, there are important societal factors that hinder women from choosing the career of engineering. One of the main reasons for the lack of interest in engineering education is the decrease of the prestige of engineering in society. The results of current all-Russia surveys show that, at present, the profession of engineer has a poor future. *What would you like to see your children or grandchildren become?* In 2012, of all possibilities, medical practitioner gathered 24% of responses, lawyers - 11%, financiers -11% and engineers - 8% [VCIOM, 2012]. Though the prestige of engineering has declined in many countries, in Russia the problem is very serious. Only 4% of Russians said that the profession of engineer is prestigious (see Table 1, Table 2). The same score (4%) got the professions of teachers, blue collar workers and the military profession.

Table 1. What professions are the most prestigious?

Lawyers, attorneys	23%
Economists and financiers	15%
Medical practitioners	12%
Bankers	9%
Public officers (civil servants)	6%
Entrepreneurs	5%
Engineers	4%

Source: VCIOM 2012

Table 2.What professions are better paid?

Lawyers, attorneys	17%
Bankers and entrepreneurs	14%
Economists	10%
Public officers (civil servants)	8%
Medical practitioners	6%
Engineers	1%

Source: VCIOM 2012

Prospects for the future

More broadly speaking, all scientific professions—particular valorised in the 20th century—seem to suffer from a lack of attractiveness today. The European Relevance of Science Education (ROSE) survey regularly reviews the interest and motivation of 15 year-olds for scientific and technical professions. For many years now in developed countries, there has been a progressive lack of interest of the younger generation for these jobs. And under these circumstances, the differences that have always existed between girls and boys tend to more or less increase. This is a worrisome point, which explains the lack of female will to close the gender gap in the sciences as a general absence of motivation. It is a major challenge for European economies, and was already identified as such by the European Commission more than 10 years ago when it was working on the Lisbon Strategy [ParisTech Review, 2010].

If engineering schools seek to enroll more girls they would have more success emphasizing the social and societal challenges of the profession instead of focusing solely on the technological dimension. Women seem to be drawn to engineering projects that attempt to achieve societal good. In Russia, the state reforms are now likely to have the most critical influence on the social status of engineering profession.

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Engineering Activity and Engineering dynasty in Russia: problems in the historical context[21]

Elena Yu. Ivanova, Moscow, Russia
Irina A. Streltsova, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. Features of engineering activities in Russia and processes of formation of engineering dynasties has been considered in a multidimensional social field, taking into account the influence of the state and the market in the context of historical change.

Dynasty as a special reality of social life is studied on a basis of a multidisciplinary approach (sociology, history, economics, and psychology). Professional continuity in the field of engineering is, first, the choice of a particular educational strategy that will enable repeat the social position of the ancestors. Secondly, the choice of a specific life strategy, which can be viewed from the standpoint of inheritance from our ancestors, and, thirdly, the choice of intellectual strategy, which provides the intellectual continuity in the form of preserving scientific schools and technology trends.

Identification of the social characteristics of engineering dynasties at different stages of historical development of Russia, as well as evaluation of the impact of socio-economic and political conditions of the existence this phenomenon is an important area of sociological research. Note the following main factors of development of dynasty: the creation of an effective system of higher engineering education and provision of the necessary social and economic conditions for the adaptation and professional development of graduates in certain professional circles. Engineering dynasties in Russia were part of the professional elite until the 90-ies of the twentieth century. There is a significant reduction of the role and importance of professional continuity, social, economic and cultural statuses of the engineer at a present time in conditions of economic and social instability

At the federal level does not stipulate mechanisms assigning the status of a professional engineer, rights, duties and responsibilities of engineers, there is no formalized system of standards and rules of professional engineering activities.

Key words: engineer; engineering activities; dynasty; social status; economic status; cultural resource; law; socio-economic resource; training; professional orientation; professional continuity; accreditation

The efficiency of the engineering community had being built on intergenerational continuity has been closely correlated with innovative activity in society and with the growth of production efficiency. The situation today has characterized by growth in demand for engineers in various fields of the human activity, on the one hand, and by a shortage of highly qualified specialists, on the other hand. Many Russian enterprises of the real sector faced a shortage of young staff. The deficit is due not only to the "nedoproizvodstvom" of professionals, but also the innovations in technological innovations, which leads to a change in essence of the professional activity of engineer.

The modern Russian sociology practically do not engaged in the study of a professional group of engineers although qualitative and quantitative characteristics of engineering contingent reflects to a large extent, the techno-economic level of the development country as a whole. Moreover, the sociologists do not study properly, engineering dynasties, in our opinion they are the

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foundation of the engineering community. The processes of reproduction of the family's traditions and the professional positions of engineers do not studied by the science yet. On the agenda of the scientific debate are the following questions:

- Social, philosophical and methodological problems of modern engineering activities;
- The nature and the specificity of the concept of a "professional family";
- Cultural, educational and professional resource of the engineering dynasty;
- The psychological and the family singularities of continuity of generations;
- The professional self-determination in a dynastic family;
- The continuity of generations as a cultural-historical process and as an objective law of social process;
- The effect of different national cultures (German, Swedish) on the formation of the domestic engineering community and the emergence of the professional dynasties;
- The features of engineering activity in Russia and the processes of formation of dynasties engineers considered in a multidimensional social field, taking into account the influence of the state and market in the context of historical change;
- The place of the dynasty, as the specific reality of social life, is in the multidisciplinary system Sciences (sociology, history, economics and psychology;
- The problem of relations professionals from different generations and so forth.

We consider the Professional continuity in the field of engineering activities involves, first, selection of a specific **educational** strategy that would reproduce the social position of their ancestors; secondly, the choice of such a **life** strategy, which would be considered as legal inheritance, and, thirdly, the choice of such a **research** strategy that would provide intellectual continuity in the form of research schools and technological trends.

An important direction of our research is The Identify the social characteristics of engineering dynasties at different stages of historical development of Russia, as well as the assessment of the impact of socio-economic and political conditions on this phenomenon.

We can distinguish several phases associated with the extinction and with the revival of engineering dynasties in Russia.

The first stage. Until 1917 year. A lot of stable multigenerational dynasties in various fields of engineering (the mining, the railway transportation, the military production) had emerged on the background of industrial development, effective special education and progressive scientific achievements in Russia.

The second stage. Until 1927 year. The revolution of 1917 had a devastating effect on the dynasty of engineers in Russia. Many professionals emigrated, the engineering education system was destroyed. Access to higher education was closed to "alien elements" the Prestige of engineering profession have practically coming to naught.

The third stage. Until 1929 year. State policy in the field of at the industrialization required a professional engineering staff. Reform of higher technical education had conducted. However, the educational process had focused on the laboratory works. The reception of students was organized in the framework of the government program, "Prizyv" by name. Most of the students have been included the party list from families of the workers and the peasants. An "alien elements" could also enroll in institutes and universities. The quality of engineering decreased, however, due to the growth in the number of engineers graduating there was no shortage of engineers.

The fourth stage. Until 1945 year. Aware of the shortcomings of mass engineering education, the system of professional education returned to higher education on the classic rules. The young engineers and technicians formed a new, quite significant, social stratum, characterized by high social position, politically loyal to the authorities and to the cause of building communism. In order to new engineering dynasties had been formed did not have time. The Great Patriotic war began.

The fifth stage. Until 1991 year. After the war the country was faced with the reconstruction of destroyed factories and with the construction of a new infrastructure. In the postwar years in the USSR observed a rapid growth in the number of scientific and technical workers in comparison with the growth of the scientific community as a whole. In 1950-1960 gg in the Soviet Union was the high prestige of higher technical education and level of engineering training. The "cult of knowledge" had established and had been maintained by the state in the public mind as a result of deliberate policy almost to 1991. The conditions were created for formation of engineering dynasties. There is an increase of two generations of dynasties, born after 1917.

The sixth stage. 1991-2010 (suspended) years. This phase is characterized by a significant decrease in prestige of the engineering profession, by the closure of the research institutes and the productions. The engineers had been squeezed out of the scope of the educational interests and professional opportunities into other fields of activity (trade, services, etc.).The downward social mobility of the engineering profession has led to the fact that the motivational component of maintaining dynasties was almost destroyed.

The seventh stage. The present time. In the modern Russian society revives a socioeconomic request to raise the status of the engineer. The new industrial society requires the preparation of highly qualified specialists. However, despite the measures taken by the state policy (clearly inadequate), has not yet had been recovered the prestige of the engineering profession. The Sociologists fix the alarming fact: the representatives of the most relevant professions for society (including engineers) do not want their children to follow in their footsteps. This largely prevents the emergence of engineering dynasties and adversely affects the saturation of the labor market by our young engineers and technicians.

In the framework study "Engineering dynasties in Russia", we conducted the interviews with experts - teachers of higher education institutions that train engineers for different branches of national economy (Bauman Moscow State Technical University (hereinafter the Bauman); the branch of Bauman Moscow state Technical University in Korolev town (hereinafter the Korolev); Moscow State University of Civil Engineering (hereinafter MGSU); Moscow Aviation Institute (hereinafter MAI), Moscow Institute of Physics and Technologies (hereinafter MIPT), Moscow Automotive And Road Construction State Technical University (hereinafter the MADI), Moscow Power Engineering Institute (hereinafter MEI).

During the interview we found out the position of experts on the place and role of contemporary engineer in the system of the socio-economic relations; the value of continuity of generations (dynasties) in engineering activities; the assessment of the level of training of engineering personnel; the possible ways of improving the social status of scientific and technical intelligentsia in the conditions of realization of the tasks of industrialization.

Among the problems requiring immediate solution, experts called:

• Lack of proper attention to the engineering profession;

•The lack of a developed socio - economic conditions for support of development engineering activities;

•The absence of the clearly defined state installation on the industrial production development;

• "Many engineering technologies "stuck" in the past" (Bauman);

• The students do not see the prospect of their implementation in the engineering activities;

• The engineering community is not consolidated and etc.

The question of the status of engineers in the modern society has caused almost an unambiguous assessment of the situation.

"If to speak about our Russian society, there are no conditions for the maintenance of the status of the engineer. The status of engineers has fallen sharply. The engineer has relocated to the periphery of social life. An engineering is not considered a prestigious activity. This sphere of an activity became a humiliating, hopeless venue for professional development." (MADI)"Social status is virtually nonexistent, but in recent years there has been some progress. Maybe there was a realization that without the support of the engineering profession, the country has no future" (Bauman).

The serious problems in the system of training and the professionalization of engineers is obvious. The experts noted, "*After the country accepted the Bologna Convention on education, training of professional engineers practically stopped. Training of professional engineers through* *the two-stage system: bachelor – master, - methodologically does not meet the requirements of training professional engineers in our conditions" (MGSU).* In support of its position, the expert cited the examples of other countries where the teaching is according to the Bologna system, but where decades there is a proper procedure of professionalization of the engineer. For about 7 – 10 years, any graduate working as a trainee in the company, comprehending the basics of the engineering profession. Then he receives recommendations 2-3 professional (certified) engineers of the company where he worked. A special Commission evaluates the compliance of the applicant's special requirements and then issues (or not issues) a Certificate of professional engineer. This practice significantly increases the social, economic and legal status of the engineer. Our experts have reasonable concern that there now take place absence of an effective qualification system, the lack of a nationwide database of professional engineers, the destruction of the national, built over the years the system of the training engineers in Russia. The situation could be mitigated .It is necessary reviving the close relationship of University and industry. *"Such was the experience of the ZIL (*The Factory Lichachov by name*).There was such form of educational institution as the "Zavod – Vtuz". There were prepared specialists for yourself. For example, all educational institutions that trained professionals for the transport sector were under management of the Ministry of Railways. Students knew that they would work on the railroad. Practice was passing - also on the railroad. This industrial control system collapsed. In the modern situation to return such educational form like the technical college under the industrial enterprise, quite difficult" (MEI).*

Moreover, there is another problem. According to some experts, "*only 20 % of students are oriented to work in the engineering profession. The others learn for the sake of "crust". Now Teachers receive award for student achievement. That is, the teacher financially not interested in the expulsion of the students for the academic failure"* (Korolev). It should be noted that, notwithstanding the identified degradation processes of engineering education, young people are still trying to obtain a specialized diploma of engineering of the University in order to acquire the needed resource (this resource is essential) and to continue to build a successful professional path The Experts have formulated the qualities required to the modern engineer: ability to make decisions in a multifactorial environment and work with related industries. *"The engineer needs to evaluate and measure. He needs to learn his place in the chain of relations between science and practice. We need to teach students to evaluate their work and assess your experience: projects, diplomas, practices, etc. Need to help students to foster respect for their work. To raise self-esteem"* (MAI).

Could not agree more with the need to develop uniform requirements to the professional qualities of an engineer. The developed moral code of the engineer that is acting in a number of scientific and technical societies should be become mandatory for the entire engineering corps. Among the main requirements of the code, our experts identified the following provisions. *"A* *required professionalism and a social responsibility for their decisions. In the recent historical past, the engineer-the Builder, if he designed the bridge, stood under it in the time when testing with load has been conducted. Risked". (MGSU)*

An important part of engineering activities is teamwork. Without a professional team, without a certain social environment, the engineer cannot be realized as a qualified technician. *"The engineer can expressing yourself only in collaboration with others. If an engineer fell out the team, then he lost the qualification" (MIPT).*

In addition, it was noted that upbringing of the necessary qualities is largely dependent on family foundations. Dynasty - a special form transfer relationship to the profession: constant communication, perception of views and ideas, examples relevant to the case, the conversation in the common system of the coordinate and the common terminology. A special look at the problem of a professional continuity was reflected in the reasoning of the expert. *"The engineering dynasty is not necessarily a family dynasty. Each engineer should be have the students and the teachers. Each engineer got or have to get a mentor. A professional engineer who has trained of the engineer, he is also part of the dynasty. The responsibility, the respect for status and the self-respect, the respect of society is transferred to the engineer from the mentor. There is a special engineering environment" (MADI).* Following the logic of our expert: the engineering dynasty is based on two principles kinship and intellectual mentoring. It is this symbiosis provides for the formation and development of the individual of the professional engineer.

The improvement of the modern system of the training, the socialization, the certification of engineers must go, according to experts, in the following directions. First, it is an active formation of the professional engineering community. Professional associations, organizations and other free societies are extremely important. The exchange of opinions, the debate, the discussions, the preparations of projects are the mover of the engineering profession. According to experts, the existing professional organizations – it is rather the trade Unions; do not perform necessary for the engineering corps of the task. "*Before the revolution there were Russian technical society*[22]*. His influence was decisive in all technical spheres. Neither one of the basic industrial and commercial decision was not taken without the approval of this society* "(MIPT). *"The modern professional associations of an engineers are not the important and significant organizations. They spend the conference once a year, they are publishing something and that is all. They were not being attracted nor for the expertize, nor for training solutions, nor for the personnel issues. For example, appoint the Minister of industry, well, at least I would ask representatives of the engineering community...".*

[22] *Russkoe tekhnicheskoe obshhestvo* [Russian Technical Society] Available at: http://www.technicalsociety.ru/imperial (Accessed 1 May 2016). (In Russian)].

(MEI) Our experts were unable to give examples of the existence of the legitimate schemes of the institutionalization any engineering community. Alongside with the communities of engineers are operating the sectoral scientific-technical societies, united in alliances and, in particular, the Russian Union of scientific and engineering public associations. In addition, had established a number of academies, for example, the Russian Engineering Academy, Russian Academy of natural Sciences, the Russian Academy of cosmonautics, etc.

"They do exist. They have the diplomas, the stamp, Compete with each other. But few people know about them. Who knows about the Engineering Academy? There are 30 sections in the Engineering Academy. They are duplicating, intersect. They are not going along. Their programs are not coordinated. At the state level there is no such official of the authorized institution that would regulate activities in the field of engineering activities (MEI). The experts call for a revival of special bodies: ministries, departments (up to 90-es of the SCST of the USSR), whose task would be the regulation of engineering activities in Russia.

The experts noted the positive role of various forms of the socialization of engineers in the modern world. Regular symposiums, seminars, annual professional congresses. The teaching of the pupils and the students in the schools and the universities is the extremely important activity of the professional engineer. "*I chose my profession (electrical engineer) when I was in school yet. In ninth grade the new teacher came. He came from the factory. He was a major engineer. And he was telling us about his own experience of the work as a power engineer. I was so captured and many too. And together we went to power engineering Institute" (MPEI). "The engineering profession needs to teach people with practical experience. I'm not saying it should be by their polls. The teachers who came from the business, from the production, from the sciences must work half-time at least." (MSTU).* The experts were unanimous that the training of engineers should begin in the school. The experts pointed the importance of the early career counseling, the opening of specialized schools, focused on training engineers.

It is impossible to regulate the activities of the engineering corps, and to give it the official status without the adoption of the special legislative acts. The drafts concept of the Federal law "On Engineering activities," "On professional engineers, "On scientific and technological societies" had been prepared. For years, there is an active discussion of these documents, but before the actual procedures of an adopting laws, far away, because a crucial role is begin to play the conflicts of interests, the political "nuances", the bureaucratic coordination, the competition for proximity to power.

Should the professionals in the field of engineering activities to build a certain policy in relations with the government and the power? The following skeptical attitude towards the possibilities to influence the state of Affairs in the sphere of interest of scientific and technical intelligentsia was expressed. *"Nothing to talk about. In Government there is no one person who is familiar with the production, worked at the production"* (Korolev).Despite this, it is necessary to intensify the impact of the engineering community on the adoption of state administrative decisions. *The impact of the engineering community on the government decisions must become the leading and guiding force of the development of the economy. The programs new industrial development our country, all laws relating to the technical sphere must pass a mandatory examination in the engineering community" (MIPT).*

Agreeing with experts, we have systemized their wishes addressed to the Power, which is taking managerial and policy decisions:

- The consolidation of the economic, social, legal status of the engineer largely depends from the State activities and the State policy;
- It is necessary to support the engineer as the guardian of the intellect and to strengthen the engineering community, if Russia wants, with the minimal losses, to limit the impact of the Bologna system of education and to make a breakthrough in a new-industrial development;
- It is necessary to establish an effective system of appraisal of engineering personnel and professional continuity;
- Scientific and engineering community must get the right of legislative initiative in the development and presentation of the Russian legislation in the field of science and technology and participate in the development of state standards and technical regulations in the areas of science and technology.

The expert survey showed that at the present time the process of consolidation of engineering community resumed. Real steps has taken to improve the status positions of engineer and rebirth engineering dynasties

The Role of Professional Employment in Solving Social Issues

Marina G. Khokhlova, Moscow, Russia

Abstract.In her article the author examines the role of professional occupation in mitigating ethnic and social inequality. The solution to the problem, the author argues, lies in professional education and further occupation, which form the context for the socialization of an individual. In the view of the author, a paid professional job is the dominating factor that forces the individual to seek compromise and avoid conflicts.

Key words: professional education; employment; socialization

Professional employment is an important component of a person's status; it is a measure of his or her role in the social division of labor, and, through earnings, also the criterion of the quality of life. It plays a central role in the stabilization of social life, in overcoming problems connected with the socialization of a person; it channels a person's efforts to the sphere of professional activity, urges one to build relations that are not based on discrimination on the grounds of a formal attribute (ethnicity, religion) but to take into account empirical parameters, which, even if as a whole does not eliminate ethnic, cultural and social contradictions, can reduce tension.

In the present article I attempt to accentuate the roles of professional employment as a means of stabilizing situations of discontent arising, in particular, on ethnic ground. Professional occupation as an element of social relations can reproduce inequality that is embedded for example in education. Although it is a social and individual feature which, unlike, say, age or origin, can be changed by a person during his/ her lifetime, that is to say, a person, it would seem, shapes his/her own destiny.

Professions as a rule tend to be relevant for different market economies, but that is not a question I am going to discuss here. I see the role of professions not only in the functioning of the modern economy but also in solving *social issues*. They help to preserve better some human values, although in some instances they may challenge the status-quo and acquire new roles.

Professions are a type of occupations. The holders of a profession carry out services which are based upon theoretical knowledge acquired through a specialized education, often on a university level. Moreover, several scholars emphasize that members of professions to a large extent have control of content and standards of the occupation and of access to the occupation and the particular education… professions develop basic mentalities, ideas and values which impinge upon the institutions and organizations in which they are dominating. [Gulbrandsen, 2007]

I use the term '*professional employment'* to emphasize the presence with the worker of professional training, since the mechanism of social selection operates already at the level of education The problems of social differences and inequalities manifest itself in the sphere of professional training quite graphically. Reproduction of social inequality is in most cases predetermined by the family and the nearest environment of the pupil since a person is mostly integrated in the environment for which he or she was prepared in the course of formation and the social context in which he or she stayed during education/training. Therefore, the social status of a family is inherited by every new generation from the previous one and can be views as a deep track from which it is difficult to get out. I would like to underline that education received during one's green years differs in the influence on the person from what is learnt when one is already an adult (see figure 1).

Professions function in the conditions of a constant search of balance with the economic structure of a society (this finds the most strong expression particularly in the situation of a crisis). In such a case the less prepared part of the society unable or not willing to fit in under new conditions resists innovations. This leads to problems of a social nature.

The absence of professional employment influences immediately the person's behavior in such conditions. Dissatisfaction with social relations usually decreases when a person acquires some trade, since it is the basic component of one's social status and role.

Professional occupation channels personal efforts into work-related activities, which can decrease the ethnic and cultural tension if not eliminate it totally, and favors the development of professional skills (in particular, in multiethnic working teams). Professional occupation prevents discrimination because it helps people judge others by their merits. A successful professional development (career) gives a person the feeling of stability and prosperity. Even if different ethnic groups sometimes find themselves on different levels of the social ladder.

The blossom of the world information society has provided the widest circles with an opportunity to participate in new forms of interaction in the cyberspace by making access to information more democratic. Education, it would appear, as never before can carry out its inherent functions: promote sustainable development, help overcome crises, preserve the bases of civilization, and help in solving problems of sustenance of the person, his or her spiritual life,

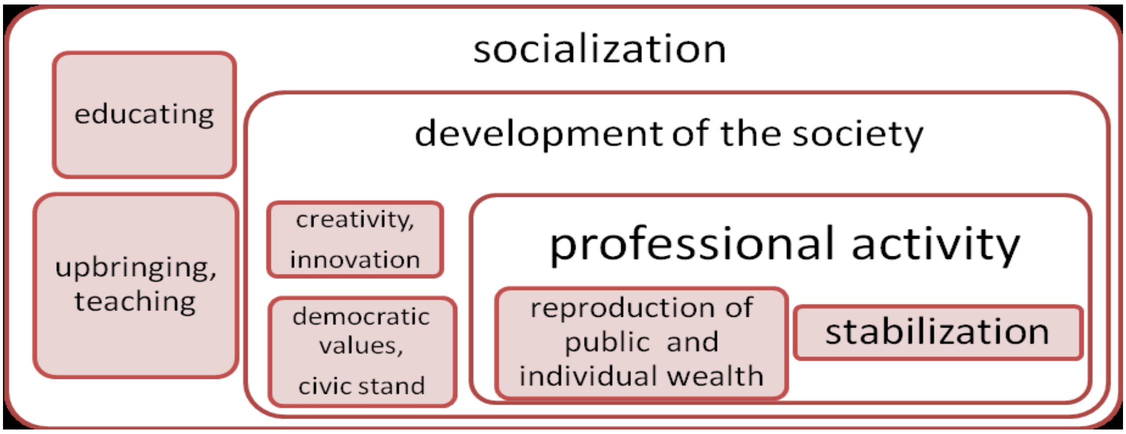

Fig. 1: Functions of Modern Education

If social selection takes place more often during the choice of the place of study, the foundation for the cognitive abilities of a child are laid earlier, even before the child goes to school, at the level of preschool education, which represents often a problem for poor families. This does not imply, however, that it is possible to overcome social inequality in education only by creating a large number of places in preschool establishments, at low prices. It is necessary to consider the problem as a whole, including the educational level of parents, their income, the level of regulation of the labor market, ethnic features, migrant background.

Professional education requires constant ‘updating’ in difference to classical general education during which common knowledge is acquired of eternal cultural values existing outside of time.

The concept of life-long education (includes informal, additional and further regular education), needs the interaction between the establishments of formal and informal education, including the possibility of accreditation and formalization of the previous and informal training of the person, his or her individual experience. The latter becomes more and more important in the process of expansion of the possibilities of online training. That is a special question.

By updating the education system, re-thinking pedagogical scenarios, overcoming the gap between school culture and youth culture the situation can be changed in many respects. No matter how highly one might think about the importance of education as an inherent worth (see figure above), necessary for understanding one’s civil role in the society, one should not forget about the purely pragmatic component of education. The acquisition of a trade and subsequent employment are basic elements of a person’s socialization that allows him or her to become integrated in the society. That is to say the ‘foundation’ (see the bottom of the figure above) is the useful professional work required in the labor market.

The level of socialization achieved as a result of training and allowing the person to be integrated in the society may be considered a yard-stick of the education received. Acculturation of a person, especially a young person, will be all the more successful if the labor market is closer to his or her personal knowledge, skills, attitudes and needs. An unemployed teenager will be bound to have a civic stand different from the one who has had vocational training with the prospect of paid work in the profession.

Research unambiguously shows that a person with professional education adapts much easier in cardinally varying environment both in social and in professional quality. The accelerating flexibility of daily life provides to a prepared person the conscious choice and the possibility to resist instability. Profession can be regarded as something quite important for ‘building’ the future in accordance with the demands of the market and competition that needs constant innovation. It becomes especially evident in a crisis situation.

While a prepared person remains functional in case of changes, he or she is ready to the solution of those new tasks which might arise, whereas the society as a whole can 'reset' itself, increase the social involvement of the person, enhance the number of the citizens who are able to do without social support of the state, to provide for themselves and to participate in the formation of riches of the country and to conquer (overcome) social instability in the society. As a whole, professional employment as the source of economic independence and expansion of opportunities can become an instrument of development irrespective of whether we are talking about the development of a person or long-term development of the society as a whole. Professional knowledge is still one of main factors of social differentiation, a precondition for the division of labor in the future and their lack a formula for social exclusion.

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Transforming Professional Careers (the Case of Young Russian Lawyers)

Irina P.Popova, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. The paper considers the formation and transforming of professional careers types of the graduates with higher legal education in Russia. The differentiation of career patterns in legal profession depends on many social factors, including institutional conditions and individual attitudes. The social context of career patterns formation in Russia is associated with the “overproduction” of lawyers due to increased demand for legal education in post-soviet period. The system of legal education has been developing in response to the requirements of the market out of professionals’ control. These development leads to the deterioration of the quality of vocational education and professional development and deformation of professional careers.

The analysis focuses on the impact of training and employment institutions, as well as individual attitudes towards education and professional development. Particular attention is paid to the careers of the graduates with higher legal education, who abandoned their specialty, and educational potential to engagein professional careers in other fields of activity. Their decisions have been usually formed in the university during the academic legal practice.

The analysis combines quantitative and qualitative strategies on the basis of the study "Structural features and motivational bases of social mobility of young Russian lawyers". The study was conducted in two stages: 1) semi-structured interviews (N=31). 2) survey based on formalized questionnaire with law school graduates obtained a law degree between 2000 and 2010 (N=414, 25 cities).

Key words: career; lawyers; legal education; professional control

This paper examines the formation of professional career types of graduates with higher legal education in Russia. The social context is associated with “overproduction” of lawyers due to the increased demand for legal education during post-soviet period. Firstly, I will briefly describe this problem, moving on to the issues of professional career factors, and then present the data on the career development of law schools graduates, focusing on those among them who left the profession after graduation.

Higher legal education remains among the most popular ones in Russia today. Its popularity (along with economic education) in post-Soviet society reached phenomenal proportions [Topornin, 1996; Kochkarov, 2013; Grudcyna et al., 2014]. The dynamics of its evolutionary processes was generally in line with the growing trend of high demand for higher education that is necessary for success in society, and consequently, the scale and structure of the institutions of higher education in general, which in turn, led to erosion of its quality and uncertainty in regard to the application of the professional careers of graduates (see: Sharova, Mulina, 2010; Konstantinovskij, 2012; Burluckaja, 2012]).

Statistics clearly demonstrates these trends. The number of universities in the USSR in 1980 was 494, in 1990 – 514, while in 2000, inRussia alone, it increased to 965, and in 2011 – to 1080. We should point out that this growth was mainly due to the private universities (358 - in 2000, 446 - in 2011, during Soviet times there were none). Accordingly, the numbers of higher education recipients also increased: in 1989 per 1000 persons of the corresponding age, 113 were accepted in higher educational institutions, and in 2013 – 228 [Rosstat, 2012: 217-218].

Higher legal education did not just follow that trend, but multiplied it on over-exaggerated scale. According to official sources, in the Soviet Union, legal personnel were trained in 52 universities, while in Russia, in 2009, 1211 institutions provided services in the field of legal education, most of which were non-core ones, with private universities accounting for the significant portion of that amount. According to the data, in the mid 2000s in Russia, there were about 250 state universities and 230 of their branches, about 200 private universities with 370 branches, which trained specialists in the field of jurisprudence [Chashin, 2009:14].

The situation with the legal training in Russian society attracts attention of the researchers [Bondar' , 2013; Kuksin, 2014; Chernysh et al., 2014; Popova, 2014]. It is associated with a context of quality of social institutions in society [Nathov, Polishhuk, 2012].

The context of career research of the graduate lawyers is wide. We can single out three important aspects (or complexes of the subjects of this study):

Problematic issues of higher education

Primarily, the researchers focus their attention on the problem of “overproduction” of specialists in sought after, in-demand professions that leads to erosion of the quality of higher education, as well as uncertainty, in terms of its application in professional careers of the graduates.

Another important aspect is obtainment of higher education as its own separate thing, as a prerequisite for success in society, and not a specific profession. Consequently, it becomes a cause for certain devaluation of higher education in the labor market, or employment after graduation.

In short, we can define this set of problems as follows: overproduction of lawyers in response to market demand, erosion of infrastructure and quality of education in a growing number of universities that provide legal education ("education and entrepreneurship", the so-called "business law").

The next set of problems is associated with the career studies. These studies are numerous and varied, depending on the disciplines and areas of research (primarily in psychology, sociology). Here we rely on the following general perceptions of a professional career:

- Career is an interdisciplinary concept, based on its understanding as a long term development, movement in the workplace, characterized by the change of types of employment, job and qualification positions, defined by achievements, which allow to evaluate the progress (see: [Arthur, Hall, Lawrence, 1989; Arthur, 2008; Hall, 1986; Holland, 1996]).

- Career timeframe is often viewed from the perspective of its close connection to the life course of an individual, to stages of socialization (see: [Super,1989]).

Studies of the institutional regulators of a career are important as well. Institutional regulators ("career management") suggest the possibility of "construction" of the prospective professional careers patterns [Чернышев, 2010; Mangutov, Skvorcov, 2011; Shapiro, 2012].

Based on these understandings, we can make the following generalizations regarding the object of our study:

Professional careers of young lawyers are based on advancement in their chosen field of activity: completion of educational process, and sequential occupation of various jobs and positions.

Finally, the aspect of the career research in the context of the professions and professional groups is very important as well.

Research of professional groups from the viewpoint of the career development of the representatives of these groups might identify the most promising types of careers for the professional group itself, as well as its structure. For instance, Abbot drew attention to the patterns of individual and collective careers that erode homogeneity of professional groups and change the system of professions [Abbot, 1988].

Thus, this problematic situation raises the issue of professionalization as the enhancement of the status of the profession; study of the promising types of professional careers from the viewpoint of the prospects of the professional group itself, as well as its structure, and, in general, feasibility study of a professional group's ability to control new membership (access to professional group).

The specificity of the professional career in the legal field should be noted.

Studies of internal differentiation of a professional group reveal a variety of careers and their factors (including social and gender inequality, specialization, etc. – see: [Koloskova, Sokolov, 2003: 64; Mrovchinski, 2012: 105; Dinovitzer, Garth, 2007; Kay, Gorman, 2008; Hull K.E., Nelson, 2000]).

One of the bases of career differentiations is the reliance on professional education. Thus, it is a study of two types of careers:

- *a career within the framework of the chosen profession – based on obtained training and legal education, and advancement in accordance with its application in the workplace and in positions, requiring legal qualifications*;

- *a career in the spheres of activities unrelated to the higher legal education*.

Objectives and main research question

How is professional legal education utilized in employment and development of the professional careers of university graduates, majoring in legal studies.

The object of our research is: the differences in characteristics of the careers that develop within the scope of the chosen profession, as well as outside that scope are formed not only on the outside, but also within the educational framework of the university.

Our research question is: what are the main differences between the groups of graduates that develop their professional careers within the chosen profession from the ones that don’t?

Other issues might be related to our main question: Do these differences depend on external conditions (type of university, education) or on internal guidelines of an individual? What could be the object of management in a career formation?

Empirical data and research method

The analysis combines quantitative and qualitative strategies on the basis of the study "Structural features and motivational bases of social mobility of young Russian lawyers ". The study was conducted in two stages: the first one included 30 semi-structured interviews with law faculty graduates (N=31). The second one was based on a formalized questionnaire, and surveyed 414 of the law school graduates that obtained a law degree between 2000 and 2010 (N=414, 25 cities). At the time of the study, there were 11 respondents in the qualitative sample, and 22% in the quantitative sample that left the legal profession.

Results

Analyzing the careers of the graduates, we identified these three parts: 1) the choice of a profession; 2) college education and training; 3) entering the labor market.

Analysis of the circumstances behind the ***selection of the university (and the profession itself)*** reveals many similarities between the two groups: with regard to the influence of family and friends; with regard to the role of the media and popular culture; in the perception of profitability and prestige of the profession; with respect to the time of the decision regarding the choice of the university (high school).

There are also significant differences between the groups

“Moral impulse” of the choice (desire to fight crime, violations of the law) – among the group of those, who decided to stay with the profession.

Convenience and comfort among the group of those, who subsequently left the profession (according to the respondents surveyed, on the scale of 1 to 5, moderate admission requirements of the Law Faculty: 2.49 VS 1.85 points, as well as convenient location of the university: 2.17 points VS 1.74 – were more significant). At the stage of determining the future occupation, for the respondents that left the legal profession, the main motivating factor was not the content, but the possibility of obtaining a necessary launching pad for successful advancement toward higher social status.

- Legal education appears to be the easiest way of obtaining higher education due to following reasons (which is evident from the interview):

- Liberal (or humanitarian) nature of education (due to lack of ability to study "exact" sciences")

"When the time came to determine my future profession, …..it was a burning question, since exact sciences were my week point… So, what remained, were the humanities…" (Female, Khabarovsk).

- Recognition of the prestige of the profession in society (cultivation through the media of the popularity of legal specialties – investigators, policemen)

"… Perhaps, it was fashionable, everyone said so. All of the more-or-less conscientious people with a fairly acceptable level of development wanted to study Law…" (Female, Novosibirsk)

- Relative ease of admissions, weak competition:

"there was not much completion….", "I had friends, who helped me get in" (male, Stavropol). "….. there were many weak applicants…., the ones that already got rejected elsewhere, or the ones that didn't give it any thought" (female, Novosibirsk).

Thus, obtaining legal education is a relatively easy and convenient way of improving ones social status.

The case of selecting a legal career as a family project of improving the social status is of particular interest. Legal education was chosen by the female respondent's parents, who not only had no association with jurisprudence themselves, but had no higher education either. This is not a professional career strategy, as much as a strategy aimed at gaining the type of higher education, necessary for a certain social position and income.

"…at that time, everyone wanted to study law… if you were to ask someone, "What do you study?" they all replied, "I study law"… and you got instant respect…".

Such method of the social status improvement turns out to be fragile, due to the perception that it is not earned (week professional identity, poor quality of education).

"Of course, my mother is happy now, she tells our relatives that her daughter is a lawyer… But, I feel like some sort of a fraud … I have a college degree, and I am satisfied with it."

The impression of "fraudulency" of the obtained status became one of the main reasons for leaving legal profession (according to the interviews with the respondents, labor market conditions became secondary). It is important to note that the respondent in her statement emphasizes moral constraints in the development of the career of a lawyer (and not the constraints of the labor market) in a following statement:

“I could not work up enough courage to go and work as a lawyer…I wouldn’t go looking for work”.

The second part of career structure is college education and on-the-job training.

We should point out the two main findings.

The correlation between continuation of ones career within, or outside of the chosen profession, depending on the type of college has not been determined: there is no significant connection between the type of college that a respondent attended (public, commercial, specialized or not, free or tuition based) and leaving the chosen field.

The differences are manifested in the attitude towards field practice and on-the-job training: those, who negatively assess the impact of the university field practice on the professional career development, often leave legal profession (45% VS 26% among those that work in their chosen specialty).

“I … can tell you with complete certainty that after the first year of college, after the first few internships, I completely lost interest in it, to put it mildly” (male, Stavropol). “I very much disliked it, the way everything was organized… to much paperwork…” (female, Khabarovsk). “I realized that this was not for me, I did not want to pursue it…” (female, Novosibirsk).

And the third part of the career structure focuses on entering the labor market.

Market constraints are much stronger among those, who work outside of the chosen profession.

The first job is far more often identified as the only job available at that time, among those who left the chosen field, than those who remained in it (34.4% and 19.8% respectively); they also far less frequently expect to gain any seniority in the chosen profession (27.8% and 40.6% respectively).

Graduates find themselves trapped in a conflict between practices of the market methods of free and easy “supply” of legal education and low demand for it among the employers that realize their flaws, and dismiss these mechanisms.

“...there are universities where anything can be bought, and everyone knows that… So, this diploma, and these grades are not indicative of the quality of education, and everyone knows that” (male, Stavropol)

Among those, who subsequently left legal profession, the job search motives are a lot more pragmatic: convenient work location, good work and vacation schedule.

Independent job search after graduation is what differentiates those, who remain in the chosen field.

Such motives as professional development, as well as labor market limitations are also influential factors in drastic professional change. The main difference is rooted in the attitude towards legal profession: leaving the field is often based on antipathy that becomes clearly evident during practice, internship, or the first job experience after graduation.

So, the dividing factors in the development of professional careers within and outside the chosen profession are the field practice in the university and the attitude towards the profession.

It should be noted that our study reveals the feature of legal education, which is extremely important for the career development: **the universality of legal education for the future career of the graduates.**

Law degree and qualifications in cases of leaving the profession are an important resource in a new field (60%). No one regretted their choice of a university, where they received their former education: it offered them a base for better handling of not only professional, but various life situations as well.

But the analysis of the interviews demonstrates: the lack of demand for these particular educational skills, obtained only for the sake of having a diploma, remains a factor of instability not only for professional self-determination, but also in the social position.

Conclusion

The conclusion covers the issues with regard to the contradictions in the development of a professional career in market conditions.

The market creates a demand for advanced law degrees, expanding opportunities for the development of legal profession. It is based on the universality of this education and an opportunity to fairly easily create a high social status. At the same time, the boundaries and the quality of the education are eroded, potentially lowering the status of the profession itself.

Development of professional careers in the field related to professional education, as well as other spheres of activity, is determined during the educational process at the university, but primarily during the on-the-job and field training.

The possibilities of "narrowing" these boundaries, as well as the emergence of professional career patterns depend on testing of the future lawyers during university practice. It is the issue of the professional community's supervision of field training during university studies. On-the-job training is an important regulated segment in the formation and establishment of the professional career as a lawyer.

A law degree is a universal basis for transformation of professional careers, social advancement and social competence under market conditions.

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Engineering Education in Russia: (content analysis of scientific publications)[23]

Anna V. Semenova, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. The purpose of this study - to find out the main trends and substantial Russian scientific public opinion structure in relation to various aspects of higher engineering education in Russia. The quality manual content analysis was chosen as the research method. The empirical object - scientific online publications Russian authors on the problems of higher engineering education.

As a result of analysis of the content of these publications it revealed the opinion of Russian scientific community concerning the assessment of the current state of higher engineering education, identification of existing problems, their causes and solutions, analysis of the impact on the engineering Russian incorporating education in the Bologna process, justification and description new educational technologies and methodologies, enabling translational movement of higher engineering education system in the process of modernization.

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Key words: engineering education; Bologna process; content analysis

Innovative development strategy of the Russian Federation aimed at strengthening Russia's position in the markets of high-tech and intelligent services. However, the technological modernization of Russia is not feasible without the development and improvement of engineering education, which should be based on the best traditions of Russian engineering school, on the one hand, and creative processing of a successful modern foreign experience in the formation of engineering and technical personnel, on the other hand. The importance of the modernization of higher engineering education is undeniable. It is obvious from the words of V.V. Putin: "Restoration of the innovative nature of our economy must begin with the university - and as centers of basic science, and how the personnel of innovative development of the basics." Given the above it seems appropriate to clarify - and what is the opinion of the scientific community, Russian engineering higher education professors and teachers on various aspects of higher engineering education in Russia, because they are the main driving force, to put into practice modernization of higher engineering education in Russia.

Thus, the purpose of this study - to find out the main trends and substantial Russian scientific public opinion structure in relation to various aspects of higher engineering education in Russia. The quality manual content analysis was chosen as the research method. The empirical object - scientific publications Russian authors on the problems of higher engineering education, selected using the specified keyword (engineering education, technical education, engineering and technical education). A total of 78 selected publications, whose authors are professors and teachers of Russian higher

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technical educational institutions. The advantage of selecting the method of content analysis is that, in contrast to the survey, for example, experts here we are dealing with a completely freely express their thoughts and opinions, do not point the external questions of the interviewer or questionnaires. Thus, we get an unprovoked, except the external environment and internal opinions of the authors, opinion on the issues under investigation. The structure and content of this opinion is given solely by the authors of publications published that is relevant and meaningful to the author.

As a result of analysis of the content of these publications it revealed several major content clusters, covering almost all the selected units. This historical stages in the development of engineering education in Russia from the time of Peter to the present day, the assessment of the current state of higher engineering education, identification of existing problems, their causes and solutions, analysis of the impact on the engineering Russian incorporating education in the Bologna process, justification and description new educational technologies and methodologies, enabling translational movement of higher engineering education system in the process of modernization, the debate about the content, organizational, and methodological innovations of educational process, technical and humanitarian components ratio in the formation of future engineers, as well as the interaction between theory and practice in the educational process and nurturing creativity and creative systems thinking as a necessary basis for the formation of innovative engineering staff.

We begin our analysis with the historical stages of formation and development of higher engineering education in Russia, because it is the source of the story as the achievements and existing problems in the study area of social life. Total publications with historical bias was 15% of the total. Among them are two articles: Arefiev A.L., Arefiev M.A. Engineering and technical education in Russia in numbers. Saprykin D.M. Engineering Education in Russia: history, concepts and perspectives. (Both here and in the future, due to the large number of analyzed texts, the author will be listed, only those who were in support of specific thematic block, the other part repeated their contents) [Arefiev A.L., Arefiev M.A., 2012; Saprykin D.M., 2012].

The tradition of the state of engineering education in Russia was founded more than three centuries ago. In 1701, on the initiative of Peter I in Moscow was created School of Mathematical and Navigational Sciences, which became the forerunner of the NikolaevMarineAcademy (now -. The NavalAcademy named N.G.Kuznetsov) and marine engineering school of the Emperor Nicholas I (now - Military marine engineering Institute) in 1773, inSt. Petersburg was founded by the Mining Institute of the Empress Catherine II. But the most important date is November 20, 1809, when the Emperor Alexander I signed a manifesto establishing the Body and the Institute of Railway Engineers.

This institution was under the direct patronage of the king. His brothers also led the organization in 1819 of two other prominent schools - Nicholas Engineering and MichaelArtillerySchool. Among them stood out later MikhailovskyArtilleryAcademy, the main source of manpower for the Russian military industry, and Nikolaev engineering academy, has trained many outstanding military engineers. These three schools, as well as by later Emperor of the Institute of Civil Engineers Nicholas I and Technological Institute of Emperor Nicholas I, as well as special classes of the Marine Corps, in the first half of the XIX century formed the basis of technical training in a systematic higher education in Russia.

Engineering Education in Russia enjoyed enormous prestige. Up to 60-ies of the XIX century the Russian Empire was not inferior to anyone in the number and quality of training of engineers. But in the 60s - 80s of XIX century Russia lost in the preparation of the French engineers and Germany. However, in the second half of the 80-ies of the XIX century, was launched the reform of middle and lower technical education. With accession to the throne of Nicholas II began the second era of mass creation of technical universities in Russia. Issues of new universities have begun after 1904 and the situation has changed radically after about 1908 the 20 years preceding the revolution of 1917, the Russian Empire, there was a significant increase in both science and engineering, and agricultural education. By the beginning of the First World War, the Russian system of higher professional technical and agricultural education in all respects superior to the German. This was achieved primarily through targeted public policies and substantial investment in this area since the mid 90-ies of the XIX century.

Almost until the end of the XIX century to train highly qualified engineers is almost entirely concentrated in Russia in the infrastructure sectors (transport, construction, military and marine industries), and engineer, as a rule, turned out to be in the military or civil service. In terms of the development of engineering education in Russia during this period was among the five leading countries of the world. Engineer Job was very prestigious, highly paid and had a high social status. The greatest privileges enjoyed mining engineers, railway engineer, engineers-signalers: they wore their shape, had military ranks and unite in a specialized body, though formally were not soldiers. Managers Engineers had general's status. It attracted into the profession of noble young people, and for young people from the lower strata of engineering education served as the social elevator.

An interesting tradition that existed during the reign of Nicholas II, the was a noticeable increase in the "family" tradition of science education. After the beginning of school reforms in 1899-1902 years much more attention has been paid to the role of parents in education. There was a huge amount of literature for parents, for example, the classic benefits of Perelman and Ignatieff. Largely thanks to the conscious position of the Russian families, continue to transmit scientific culture and to form "education" of their children and the installation during the revolution, and during the Civil War and the postwar chaos managed to preserve Russian science and engineering school. [Saprykin D.M., 2012]

After the revolution of 1917 a lot of highly qualified professionals as well as students of engineering universities have emigrated abroad. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union has inherited from the Russian Empire, a strong and well-balanced, well-equipped system of technical education funds. In the RSFSR in 1925 was only one completely new technical university (the Moscow Mining Institute). All others are having direct conversion of already existing institutions or created on the basis of the largest and rich technical secondary schools that took in the early XX century, sufficient material and technical base and personnel. In 1927 in the USSR, there were 26 technical colleges, they were trained 46.9 thousand students. Pre-revolutionary system of technical colleges remained virtually before the reform in 1930, when the old institutions were disbanded, and on the basis of their faculties, departments and schools were established many branch schools, which were run by the economic commissariats and implement mass production.

The main problem of the training of new technical personnel in this period was low general education level of the population. In addition, the Soviet government banned access to higher education for children of representatives of "exploiting class", that is the most educated segments of the population. At the same time the family influence was limited to education. The tsarist government strongly encouraged parental involvement in the educational process of rapprochement "between home and school." The Soviet government, for political reasons, having discharged the parents from educating their children and depriving them of any credibility, thereby not only been forced to give huge school disciplinary functions, but also dealt a severe blow to the "family" reproductive mechanisms of education.

Along with all this to bring in workers' schools (preparatory), and by the mid-1930s technical universities natives of the workers and peasants began to be created almost every second to enter a university graduate has been working faculty. During the period from 1930 to 1940-ies number of technical universities in the USSR increased by 4 times and exceeded one hundred and fifty. Class limit for admission to institutions of higher education have been canceled. At the same time, we should note the decline in the quality of technical education. Enhanced release of Chartered Engineers has been achieved largely at the expense of "optimization" of the learning process (of training programs have withdrawn non-core disciplines, and has been reduced to 3-4 years in a number of high schools the duration of training of engineers). In connection with the discrepancy of quality of mass produced technical experts increasingly complex needs of industrial production in 1932 adopted a special decree according to which in the higher and secondary specialized educational institutions of technical profile to share practical training and work experience should have been discharged for at least 30-40% of school time. For this purpose every technical university was fixed a particular enterprise, and students are required to prepare individual reports on their practical training, for which they received the test scores.

In 1935, we reduced the range of university disciplines: overly fractional 950 to 275 (consolidated). Educational literature has been seriously revised, and in 1936-1937 a large series of new textbooks and teaching materials, considers the latest scientific and technological achievements of the period, and promote closer coordination of theoretical courses with current practice has been developed for the higher technical educational institutions. Over 90% of students of technical colleges received a scholarship and studying in higher education institutions, organized at the factories had increased (15%) scholarship. Scholarship was significant: 400 rubles a year at universities in Moscow and Leningrad and the capitals of the Union republics and 300 rubles - in other universities (with an average salary of workers and employees in 1940 was 396 rubles).

During the Great Patriotic War and in the postwar period, training of technical staff in higher education for objective reasons decreased by 2-3 times, but already in 1950 it in quantitative terms has reached the pre-war level, and for the next 10 years, this figure has increased almost 2.5 times (in 1960, engineers output exceeded 120 thousand people). Engineering and technical education has always had close ties with the industry science and industry. Technical colleges were required to have among their teachers at least 5% of the staff of specialized research institutes and design bureaus. The proportion of students enrolled in engineering professions, the entire postwar period consistently exceeded 40%. Most engineers and technicians (in absolute terms and as a percentage) has learned in the 1980-1981 school year, and then in the national high school began a gradual downward trend in the proportion of students of engineering profile.

This is due to a decrease in the prestige of engineering occupations, especially in the last decade of the Soviet Union. The main reason - low pay. For comparison: in Tsarist Russia in 1913, the average salary of an engineer at the plant 10 times the average earnings of low-skilled workers, and 2-3 times - qualified. While it was 10% and in the construction of workers' salary even higher than the salary of engineers by 2.4% in 1985. The difference in the average salary in the industry.

The transition from a planned system of organization of the economy to the free market has led to catastrophic consequences for the national economy, science and education. Due to the sharp reduction in the Russian manufacturing sector demand for technical specialists has decreased obviously. Their release from state universities in two decades almost halved from 42% in 1988 to 22% in 2008. The increasing technological gap between Russia and the raw "one-sidedness" of the economy have led to a deterioration of the quality of engineering education and reduce the degree of compliance modern scientific and technological progress.

That existed in the Soviet period, effective system of professional orientation of young people (including numerous school clubs and scientific and technical work) after 1992 was unnecessary and broken up. The degradation of most branches of industry radically changed the value systems of the Russian youth: technical profession and systematic work in industry, research institutes and design bureaus lost any attraction in their eyes. In comparison with the Soviet period fell sharply and the international prestige of the Russian engineering education. A serious problem is the age of the teachers - more than half of them are over 50 years old. Young teachers are scarce. Technical universities lack modern laboratory equipment, especially the bench for training students. Due to the irregular update the practical part of training programs - with a focus on the latest trends of development of the industry - in the domestic technical colleges as prospective students often learn the field and paradigm expired more than 10 years ago.

If the USSR educational process in the engineering and technical colleges were highly specialized (targeted training of highly qualified personnel for a particular industry), after the Soviet Union collapsed profile of domestic technical higher education institutions become "blurred": today, 90% of them are preparing economists and financiers , including not only the industry, but a wide profile, almost every third - lawyers, in every fifth - sociologists, every sixth - psychologists, etc.

The main customer of engineers and technicians is the national economy. However, Russian companies actually do not protrude customers qualified technical personnel, as the domestic economy is not actually upgraded and is technologically stagnant. For universities became chronically unsolvable problem of the current organization of educational and industrial practice. As a result, the majority of graduates independently employed are not on the profile of training and subsequently forced to complete their education or to be retrained to be competitive in the labor market. [Arefiev A.A., Arefiev M.A., 2012]

Technical Universities Association of Russia among priority measures for improvement of engineering education in the country and enhance its prestige calls to establish a system of technological preparation of pupils and improve their professional orientation, increasing the number of schools of technical orientation competition, strengthening the link secondary schools with technical universities and the expansion of the target student recruitment, increased scholarships studying in the field of defense-industrial complex, the assignment of graduates of engineering faculties qualification "engineer" with a corresponding entry in the diploma (as was the custom in tsarist Russia), consolidation of young professionals in enterprises due to a significant increase in their salaries and provide them with preferential housing. As part of the modernization is necessary not to cut higher education, and to increase the general engineering and fundamental training and give universities the right to determine its form and content, as well as significantly improve the logistics of educational institutions.

In fact, the finishing block historical review, we have already moved on to the thematic cluster for the assessment of the current state of higher engineering education in Russia, marking the existing problems and ways of their decisions. Total for this unit can be attributed about 13% of publications. As the main publications have been chosen materials of the joint seminar of teachers of technical colleges and employers, manufacturers, conducted in 2012 by the Association for Engineering Education of Russia. According to a survey conducted by the association during the workshop, more than half of Russian experts (as experts were participants) assess the state of engineering in Russia as critical, or who is in a deep systemic crisis (respectively 28% and 30%). According to 27% of the experts, engineering in our country is in a state of stagnation, and only 15% acknowledged his condition as satisfactory. At the same time 51% of the experts acknowledge the strong correlation between the position in engineering and engineering education, and 14% believe that the state in engineering is completely determined by the state in engineering education.

Assessing the state of engineering education in Russia, 17% of experts agreed that it is a systemic crisis in the state, 36% - in critical condition and 30% believe that in engineering education is stagnating. Satisfactory assessment of engineering education was given only 17% of the experts.

The experts offered the following possible ways to improve engineering education in Russia:

- The use of competence-based approach in the design and implementation of engineering education programs;
- Use of practice-oriented educational technologies, development of new and exclusive competences;
- Use the potential of the advanced industrial enterprises in the preparation of engineers;
- Training in accordance with their abilities and inclinations, individual approach;
- Training to work in a team.

More than half of the experts from the industry (employers) evaluate the level of training of engineers in Russia as satisfactory (60%), 20% admit it unsatisfactory. At the same time young specialists by employers are characterized as follows:

- Low efficiency and performance of engineering work for graduates, lack of knowledge, skills and experience in the use of high-performance integrated means of computer network design (CALS-technology);
- Lack of knowledge of business processes and features of the Russian business environment as a whole;
- Lack of business communication skills, negotiation, lack of communication, presentation skills;
- Low level language training;
- Poor knowledge of methods of synergy;
- Excessive demands and ambitions that do not meet the level of training, inability to assess its value in the market.

Among the major shortcomings in the content and forms of training were mentioned by experts:

- Lack of communication with the objectives of the learning process of real output, the weak participation of employers in the educational process;
- Insufficient number of hours of practice;
- Insufficient number of educational programs on ethical and managerial disciplines, working in teams;
- Low motivation of activities of the teaching staff, aimed at improving the teaching technologies;
- Insufficient attention given to educational programs on the submission of the product markets.

Experts from the following options were proposed changes in the organization and technology training of engineers:

- The creation of educational and industrial laboratories in cooperation with businesses, organizations based departments in enterprises;
- The introduction of practice-oriented educational technologies;
- Introduction of a system of self-managed learning students;
- Attracting business professionals in the educational process, organization of training of university teachers in enterprises;
- Curriculum design, together with the enterprise.;

To form the competences and competence at the future engineers the following methods have been named by experts:

- Competence-based approach in the design of educational programs;
- The capacity to attract industrial companies and research organizations in the process of training;
- Problem-oriented and project-organized learning;
- Advancing elite education;
- The development of academic mobility;
- Block-modular approach in the formation of curricula and educational technologies;
- Expansion of the academic freedom of universities;
- Training in teams;
- International public and professional accreditation of educational programs;
- The use of foreign languages in the educational process.

Almost all of these positions, generally indicated by experts, have been developed and specified in a number of publications of other clusters - a description and justification of new educational technologies and techniques, the impact on engineering education Russian inclusion in the Bologna process. Such articles were about 35% of the total. Consider the content of the most utilitarian designed publications, offering concrete steps for the modernization of the educational process and the engineering education system.

In the article "Preparing engineering personnel for the military-industrial complex in the two-tier (bachelor-master) system of higher technical education [Boreysho A.S., Ivanov K.M., Strahov S.Y., 2011], an analysis of the two-level system of training specialists from the position staffing requests military-industrial complex and modern innovative enterprises. The authors proposed a new scheme for the training of professional engineers, based on a combination of basic education in a bachelor degree and additional training later in the process in the production of special courses for the system. According to the authors, one of Russia's key points joining the Bologna process is to increase the export potential of Russian education. But the problem is that humanitarians two-tier system is indeed optimal, while for university technical profile it can negatively affect the quality of training and lead to Soviet and Russian engineering school gradual degradation (this opinion was expressed by almost all the authors of the publications of the cluster).

Undergraduate is certainly a necessary step technical education, but a graduate of Bachelor is only an intermediary for the university-enterprise system as the base level of training would not allow him to carry out full-fledged activity of the modern engineer. To achieve the required level in the conditions of modern production bachelor need a lot of practice on actual production, it is not always possible due to lack of time, lack of preparation techniques and interested in teaching youth mentors engineers. You must be able to obtain additional education on specialized engineering training programs. It would seem that this is provided for Masters, but its task and the main purpose is the reproduction of the teaching staff. This does not solve the problem of training of highly qualified design engineers, process engineers, production managers, that is, those experts, who feel the need to maximize the high-tech industries.

A reasonable solution would be to preserve specialties, whose task is to direct the release engineers for enterprises of the military-industrial complex. But in modern federal state educational standards specialty preserved only for a limited number of specialties and basically replicates the traditional approach to the training of engineers, formed earlier. Speciality in today's environment - this is only pretty much undergraduate and graduate synthesis in a continuous educational process. But despite the fact that the knowledge within the specialties do not meet the competencies that are needed in a modern design and production cycles, it is specialty in higher education provides the best training for the military-industrial complex than the master.

The authors see a way to Bachelor in the chosen direction and profile had basic education. Then the graduates focused on scientific and pedagogical work, continue their education in graduate (not more than 20% of the bachelor). Graduates of the Bachelor, selected project or production activities, come to a particular enterprise, which begin practical specialization. In the process, they are sent to a series of different specialized courses or training (out of work or without separation). Subject courses must correspond to real practical interests of engineers and needs of a particular employer. The content and methodology of the courses must provide to obtain the most detailed practical knowledge with a minimum of distraction on theoretical questions. Having a set of courses, combined specific activity profile of an engineer, bachelor gets the necessary amount of practical knowledge and skills that complement the program of undergraduate and significantly different from the preparation of a master.

If necessary, the company may be invited by the curators of the university for assistance and adaptation of graduates in the company, study the real needs and the required set of knowledge and competencies. For communication education and industry specific staffing requests content of the courses, their curricula and licensing should be assigned to the professional engineering community, regional educational and industrial structures (in contrast to the undergraduate and graduate programs, is determined solely by the Ministry of Education and Science).

Pros in the following approach. Additional post-graduate programs for bachelors can be updated and adapted to open and close more quickly. There is increasing the mobility of teachers and students, most of specialization and at the same time, the universalization of higher technical education. At the same time, program specifications by professional practitioners provide their specification and direction, and obtaining additional education at the same time production activities should increase the motivation of students and cause a lot of activity in the learning process. [Boreysho A.S., Ivanov K.M., Strahov S. Yu., 2011]

Such a system of post-graduate and additional engineering training - an important step in ensuring continuity and improvement of the quality of training in the process of rapid scientific and technical progress. This is especially true of the defense industry, where technological change is happening very quickly.

Another approach to solving the problems of the introduction of a two-level education in technical colleges, based on the functional approach to the structure of the engineering work, it is proposed in the article "Competence functionally oriented training of engineers in the two-tier system of higher education" " [Mihelkevich V.N. and Nikiforov S.V., 2014]. The authors consider it expedient methodically divided the totality of engineering functions into two conditional groups: 1) performing - production and technological, operational, managerial and operational management; 2) creativity - experimental research and design.

With this separation is expedient only to shape the knowledge and professional competence of the professionals, who are dominant in a particular group of meaningful functions. On this basis, you can develop appropriate educational programs of functional engineering specializations. Their implementation can be accomplished in three formats:

1) introduction of additional optional courses of functional specialization;

2) the introduction of a standard curriculum of elective module functional engineering disciplines;

3) introduction in the curriculum of the target individual training professionals additional cycle of functional disciplines of engineering specialization agreements, contracts with businesses.

This approach has worked well, for example, in Germany, where some of the technical high schools spend two-level training of specialists: engineers of the first degree - a practical orientation (higher professional schools are preparing for three years) and graduate engineers (Universities prepare 5.5 years). In Hungary, production engineers are preparing the first degree (3 years) and theoretical engineering second degree (5 years).

In Russia, many managers of industrial enterprises concerned with the fact that in connection with the transition to the bachelor-master system will disappear, and the concept of a specialist engineer. To remove this concern the leaders of a number of leading universities (MSTU Bauman, SPbGEU, Tomsk GPU, etc.) Offer to enter into a technical university in parallel with the preparation of academic bachelors and masters on direction two-level training for engineers undergraduate (bachelor by specialty) and engineers masters (master's degree). At the same time a structural unit, which will be carried out preparation of bachelors-engineers are invited to call the engineering school, and the structural unit of the training of masters-engineers - higher engineering school. [Mihelkevich V.N., Nikiforova S.V., 2014]

Bachelor-engineer - an expert who operates, maintains and modernizes technological objects and processes. Master-engineer - a professional with a deep fundamental and special training system, which is able to develop new principles of operation of technical systems and facilities. In other words, the Bachelor-engineer - a massive Specialist and Master Engineer - an elite specialist design engineer, research engineer.

The structure of higher education, on the one hand, provide students with a wide range of further educational route (five degrees of choice), and on the other - to create conditions for a sustainable, differentiated use of engineering work.

Thus, in the structure of the proposed integrated systems function and interact with two educational subsystems: the subsystem of higher general technical education on a broad subject areas (BA, MA) and a subsystem of a two-step professional engineering education in a number of narrow specialties, based on a foundation of general technical knowledge of the subject areas (engineering school and the higher engineering school). Due to the rational use of laboratory base and human capacities of universities associated in the integrated system achieved substantial savings volume of educational services and material costs. Coma, thanks to its flexible structure and adapt quickly to changing market conditions demand in the labor market, such a system creates favorable conditions for the implementation of the targeted individual training specialists of different qualification levels.

Very popular among the authors of the thematic cluster of articles on the modernization of higher technical education competence-based approach (23% of articles), the construction of the matrix of competencies for different engineering profiles. Thus, the authors of the article "Formation of competence of the modern engineer in the transition to a two-tier system" E.Pustovoyand N. Zima considering design principles of educational programs and training of engineers on the basis of competence-based approach to be implemented in the framework of innovative educational program "High-Tech". They developed educational programs based on the design concept of professional competence model, the credit system and the principle of student mobility. It is a comprehensive approach to the development of the program, which allows you to:

• harmoniously into account the needs of employers in the region, themselves graduates, as well as the academic community;

• use a system of credits as a tool in due importance of certain competences;

• allow the formation of flexible educational paths in the course of preparation of the expert;

• provide transparency and compatibility of qualifications obtained from foreign counterparts. [Pustovoy N., Zima E., 2008]

Universal design graduate competence model combined European approach to structuring competencies and approaches implemented by the federal state educational standards. Different profiles, there are differences in the sets of competencies, but remains unchanged creativity. It is the creative component of engineering education is devoted to 10% of the articles. For example, in the article "On the preparation of innovative engineers," the authors K. Levkov and O. Figovsky argue that in the professional model of the engineer's main core competencies - is inventive (innovative) way of thinking. Therefore, the learning process should take place in close connection with the formation of systemic thinking.

Deficiency of hours of training and current training system does not allow as a separate discipline areas, the purpose of which is the practical application of the knowledge gained in the development of creative and systematic thinking, creative imagination, in teaching methods and performances of Inventive Problem Solving. Therefore, a modernization of curricula and teaching methods, as well as their adaptation to the needs of innovative engineers. The essence of modernization in a more complete use of the didactic potential of each of the subject and solved as examples of inventive problem solving in a variety of subject areas.

The article describes the author's method is based on the principle of two-dimensional study. The vertical component of the program builds on the logical structuring of educational material within the study area, where the previous threads are the basic foundation for the next. The learning process is consistently vertically, that is, from simple to complex. Within the framework of the horizontal component for each of the themes defined by its place in the existing interdisciplinary space (knowledge system) and provides examples of its use in its engineering and other subject areas. Two-dimensional didactics activates thinking, displays beyond the subject under study and allows for an association with the existing system of knowledge in its various angles.

Develops and maintains the theme of creativity in engineering education V.I.Livshits, in his article "Formation of creativity in the preparation of engineers of mass professions." The author argues that the rapid sophistication of the technosphere and the infosphere is forming a new matrix of criteria for engineering personnel. Staffing service corporations now widely practiced by assessing the level of creativity of applicants. Unfortunately, according to the author, the current practice of the functioning of the engineering education system greatly distanced from the problems of teaching creativity. Many universities are in a state of the educational gap, gap with today's realities and tomorrow's innovations. Employers call it a crisis state of engineering education system. The result is the production gap of university scholars who do not know, those who fear and avoid activities in the technosphere enterprises. The manufacturers call these graduates "embryos" engineer.

In addition to this in the field of engineering education continued to flourish until the incompetence of ignorance. Therefore, the author defines the problem field of engineering education in the following way: through overcoming "embrionizma" and incompetence - a high professional competence - and already on this basis the formation of professional creativity.

Creativity inherent flexibility of approaches and strategies, the ability to resist stereotypes. On the way to overcome the "embrionizma" and incompetence should be dealt with the following tasks:

1) strong update learning concept in engineering education - replacement fundamentalization on professionalization, filling theory of specific technological challenges - longstanding Russian educational principle;

2) enhancing educational and technological systems, and avoiding the use of adapted educational systems since the student must learn to overcome their resistance;

3) the introduction of testing for knowledge of the teachers taught the specialty;

4) avoiding impersonal approach to the formation of study groups, seminars. stream Education must give way to personal learning route;

5) construction of educational disciplines chain as a machine assembly: the details - the knowledge and skills obtained in the cycle of the natural sciences; components - skills obtained in a series of general engineering and professional disciplines embodied in exchange projects; Machine - a thesis project, which solve real engineering problems.

Secured with all this system of production and engineering practices. To improve in the engineering preparation of professional competence necessary to:

- attracting professionals-producers to address the key issues of education;
- mastery of engineering graphics;
- laboratory courses required to obtain the results in the real material;
- inclusion in the educational process of production and engineering practices, for example, in the form of engineering semester;
- development of standards for the mandatory intrahigh content engineering sections of the graduation projects.

When forming the creativity necessary to use only those skills that are recognized and proven character. The central part should not be a lecture, but action, mental or physical, on complex objects of technosphere. Many things can be learned in the process of working on them. This will help new training system based on engine simulators - educational engineering.

Apologists for the concept of engineering education fundamentalization believe that the formation of the creativity of engineers and growing future creative research for science - it is a synonym. They are mistaken. The engineering work is to create new ways and means to overcome the resistance of objects solving engineering problems. Creativity, in the opinion of theorists, is produced when put non-standard problems of the highest complexity. But often, these non-standard problems are theoretical, it is absolutely not related to the future profession. Common tasks will likely push the engineering creativity. This proved successful in the world of creativity teaching methods - Theory of Inventive Problem Solving (TIPS). These methods are based on learning algorithms ready reference. Comprehension of classical solutions gives support and becomes a springboard for creativity. In engineering education decision common tasks - is not learning stereotypes, this training standards. Learning means and methods by which it was possible to overcome the resistance of objects in the past, led to development of instruments and their own creative ways. [Livshitz V.I., 2011]

Finally, the last on the list, but not least, to the scientific community, thematic section devoted to the discussion of the relationship between technical and humanitarian components of engineering education (20% of the total number of publications). It all began with a discussion with the professor Uchaikin that required to remove a course in philosophy from the curriculum, and the history and philosophy of science - removed from the candidate examinations, go to the track purely technocratic education. In addition, a number of authors expressed concern about the reduction of the humanitarian component in the training of engineers, in connection with the transition to a two-tier system, and hence the reduction of preparation time by reducing the humanitarian component. All authors of this cluster were in favor of the traditional concept of integrity of engineering education, in which the engineer is considered from the standpoint of common cultural, spiritual and moral development in connection with the pluralism of its role in public life. In fact, the authors have shown themselves supporters of European and Russian tradition of training engineers of the late XIX beginning of the XX century, which was based on the combination of two principles - the scientific and technical approach and spiritual at its core the idea of integral human formation.

Speaking about the integrity of education, first of all have in mind the idea of "humanization" of technical school. It was assumed that the engineer, along with a deep scientific and technical knowledge, should have a thorough humanitarian culture. It is also important that the Russian (as well as French and German), engineering colleges prepare students not only to the technical work, but also to the professional execution of the director functions. Specialist who has the technical knowledge, but not ready to lead now, in fact was not considered in the full sense of the engineer, and only his assistant. The gap of the two practices (engineers and managers) came later, and it was negative, degradation phenomena.

However, in recent decades there have been important changes in this area. Increasing the value of innovation and rapid technological change dramatically tightened the requirements for the basic education of engineers, the quality of their intellectual, moral, volitional, and organizational abilities. The sharp increase in the role of small and medium-sized innovative companies increased the requirements for integrity, versatility and breadth of training of the engineer, who once again finds himself in the role of scientist, technical expert and head of the company, which requires a much greater responsibility.

Thus, we can conclude that the complex and dynamic nature of modern engineering, which makes use of the latest technology and is characterized by a high level of responsibility, determines the objective need, clearly aware of the Russian scientific community, to improve technical education, its focus on competence-based approach, aimed at forming readiness for continuous self-education activity, business communication skills, abilities to act and make responsible decisions in unusual and uncertain situations, readiness for effective behavior in a competitive environment in a stressor.

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Evaluation of the Professional Capacity of the Head of an Educational Institution (School) and a Young Teacher in the Conditions of Modern Society

Eugene V. Zhelnina, Togliatti, Russia
Tatyana N. Ivanova, Togliatti, Russia

Abstract. The analysis of the data obtained as a result of carrying out the sociological research «Professional Standard of the Teacher» is presented in article. Research is conducted in March, 2016 by a questioning method. Directors of schools of the city of Tolyatti and young teachers - graduates of the Tolyatti state university became respondents.

Key words: professional standard of the Teacher; young teacher; schools; sociological research; Tolyatti State university

Many schools in the conditions of reforming and modernization of Russian education lay special hopes on young teachers. It is connected with the fact that the youth, as a rule, quickly adapts to any changes of external environment. They quickly develops hi-tech areas. Besides, young people are more mobile and socially active. In this regard in March, 2016 sociological research has been conducted. His purpose consisted in studying of professional standard [Prikaz № 544n…; Rabochaja versija…;Strategija-2020…] of young teachers – graduates of the Tolyatti state university. Requirements to teachers were estimated from positions of the new professional Teacher standard.

During research from 16.03.16 to 31.03.16 questioning with representatives of administration and young teachers of educational institutions (schools), according to the allocated target groups has been carried out: the principal – 43,75 %;the young teacher – 56,25 %.Selection was made by 17 educational institutions (schools) of the city of Tolyatti. Selection is target (not casual). As a method of research questioning has been chosen. In a form of selection the method of «snowball» was used. Besides, Dembo-Rubenstein's technique modified by us was used.

To estimate interest of respondents in teaching activity, the opinion on motives of choice of profession of the teacher has been studied. Respondents have noted that in the course of teacher's activity their communicative skills develop, the fear of performance before audience vanishes, and also there is a remarkable opportunity to communicate to audience of school students and «to give» them the knowledge. For respondents activity of the teacher plays a large role in realization of their pedagogical potential, and also helps to develop comprehensively. At bulk of respondents interest in teaching has appeared in the childhood when «School» was their favorite game. Respondents have pointed that the teacher's profession – a remarkable opportunity to keep up to date, be aware of all new. Only for some teachers the choice of profession was casual.

We have also taken an interest at teachers whether they love the work. Most of respondents have with confidence declared that they love the profession. Two respondents were disappointed in a profession of the teacher and have left work.

Then we have asked respondents to express in a few words their relation to the work. It has become clear that most of respondents are positive to teacher's activity. They have noted that work very responsible, but creative and interesting: «every day there is something new». Also, according to respondents, the profession of the teacher allows to develop, communicate with «huge number of the most different people». It is pleasant that among young teachers were such which "like to be a source of knowledge and abilities of school students, to observe how they find all new skills in the profession". However there were also less positive reviews of work of the teacher. For example:

- «the profession of the teacher of school isn't too useful to psycho-emotional health, and in general at the current methods of teaching isn't effective owing to remoteness of deep knowledge from reality»;

- «the profession of the teacher is very tiresome, besides the salary doesn't please».

The interrogated respondents have spoken that today in our country there are many factors which don't give the chance to enjoy the work.

Further we have asked respondents what, in their opinion, is the main thing in work of the modern teacher. Almost all respondents have agreed in opinion that the teacher, mainly, has to be able to find understanding with different school students, to interest them in the subject and to motivate on further training. Respondents have also emphasized that the teacher has to develop and improve constantly professional competence, and also show keen interest in the subject.

The question of has finished the first block whether everything suits teachers in their professional activity. As well as it was supposed, the most part of respondents isn't satisfied with a low wage and lack of financing on development of the professional activity. Teachers have pointed that volume «to nobody the necessary «paper» work» constantly grows in their work. She falls down the teacher's shoulders, thereby increasing loading. It negatively affects on health. One respondent has also noted that he doesn't accept lack of interest of school students to a subject.

Further we have counted interesting to ask respondents what difficulties they had to face at the very beginning of professional activity. As it has become clear, for most of respondents complexity consisted in search of contact with school students. It occurred because the age difference was insignificant. Respondents have also noted that it was psychologically heavy to be reconstructed in the relations with other teachers as they «were mentors just yesterday, and today became colleagues». Most of respondents have indicated a lack of time for preparation for occupations and development of working programs. As for adaptation, only five respondents admitted that they at the beginning of professional activity have had a severe stress. He has been connected with large volume of works, bad self-organization and the first experience of carrying out occupations. The others have noted that «the stress per se wasn't».

The main reason for which young teachers often leave walls of school at the beginning of the professional activity respondents unanimously called low compensation. As a rule, the youth wants «to achieve everything and at once». However in teacher's activity process of creation of career «is built quite long period of time and includes not only teaching, but also conducting research activity that also influences the income». Besides, to receive a certain status of the teacher, also certain financial investments are necessary. As a result, it turns out: that «to construct career in commercial activity much more simply and quicker, than in education» therefore young teachers begin to test in other spheres. To all other, «disharmony in school, abundance of unnecessary literary trash, infinite plans» is felt today that negatively influences moods of the beginning teachers.

Further we have found logical to ask respondents about their further professional plans. It has become clear that teachers shortly plan to get second higher education.

As for further plans, most of respondents don't plan to connect the activity with teaching any more. One girl doubts that the chance to remain the teacher in connection with reorganization, reduction, etc. will be presented to her.

Thus, the situation with fixing at schools of young teachers is ambiguous. On the one hand, interest of the beginning teachers in teaching and research activity is visible. Also the desire to work with audience of school students is noted them. It is interesting to it to observe how the identity of each school student is formed. They wish to introduce something new in teacher's activity, to develop constantly, etc. On the other hand, the situation is aggravated with bureaucratic requirements: continuous filling of improbable volume of papers, an investment of considerable appliances for increase of the professional level, etc. Besides, all this is followed by «inadequate payment of power-intensive work of teachers». Young teachers want to develop, make new discoveries, to improve the skills. But wish to spend on it a minimum of time and appliances. At the same time the youth wants to receive high earnings at the same time. However in the conditions of our education system it is considered impossible. It turns out that in our country the insufficient salary of teachers defines destiny of further development of institute of the main general and secondary (full) general education. Paradoxically, butfact.

Today development of innovative technologies and their introduction in educational process happens in high gear. In this regard we have decided to estimate the relation of respondents to various educational innovations. Almost all respondents have agreed in opinion that innovations shouldn't contradict the developed sociocultural environment of school at all. All innovations have to be proved and real. Participants of educational process, by all means, have to be able to apply innovations in the activity. Respondents have noted that in our country the insufficient level of information development for introduction in an education system of innovative technologies is observed. «At first it is necessary to study these innovations», and then to apply in various public spheres, including an education system. Also, according to respondents, innovations «promote progressive development of teacher's activity, considering the fact of transition to information society and feature of modern children: hyperactivity, restlessness, love to computer graphics, animations, entertainments». Respondents have noted that with introduction in an education system of information technologies gradually «the tradition of a domestic education system is lost». It is possible to observe «depersonalization» of educational process by means of the increasing computerization. However use of multimedia equipment in the course of training nevertheless «is interesting and fascinating for school students, a lot of things are remembered as the visual memory works».

As it has become clear, young teachers even more often understand information technologies as educational innovations. It isn't surprising as lately the most part of reforms in education is connected with informatization. The role of the information and communication technologies used in the course of training significantly has raised today. Teachers had had a remarkable opportunity to expand a range of impacts on school students through application of various information means, for example, through use of social networks for discussion of educational subjects, etc.

The following block of questions of our research has been directed to studying of the identity of the young teacher. The question of to what respondents present the ideal teacher both what professional and personal qualities became the first in this block, in their opinion, he has to possess. For this purpose we have suggested respondents to make a formula IT (ideal teacher) therefore have obtained the following data:

IT (the Respondent 1) = competence + ability and readiness to solve actual educational problems;

IT (the Respondent 2) = knowledge, both a subject, and a way of the report to the student of this knowledge;

IT (Respondent 3) = literacy (education) + charisma + life experience;

IT (Respondent 4) = psychologist + scientific + teacher;

IT (Respondent 5) = personality + professional ethics + personal qualities + knowledge;

IT (the Respondent 6) = profound knowledge of discipline + flexibility + desire to impart the knowledge + patience + humanity;

IT(the Respondent 7) = desire to work with audience + punctuality;

IT (Respondent 8) = intelligence + decency + high intelligence + high culture of communication + sense of humour + charm + charisma + competence;

IT (the Respondent 9) = the deep understanding of a subject relying on qualitative theoretical knowledge + a praktice + skill to communicate + tolerance + the present of views;

IT (Respondent 10) = love to a profession + knowledge of a subject + skill to communicate.

The analysis of results has shown that the ideal teacher, first of all, has to be competent of area of the taught discipline. Among professional qualities which the ideal teacher has to possess respondents have noted:

- ability and readiness to solve actual educational problems;
- professional ethics;
- intelligence;
- flexibility;
- desire to work with audience and to impart it the knowledge;
- high I.Q. and cultures of communication
- to the practician;
- the present of views.

The main personal qualities of the ideal teacher respondents called charisma, tolerance, humanity, decency, sense of humour, charm and skill to communicate. As we see, respondents have given preference in creation of an image of the ideal teacher to more professional qualities, than personal.

Then we have taken an interest at respondents whether there has to be, in their opinion, at activity of the modern teacher a creative component. As it has appeared, all respondents have agreed in opinion that the creative component is an integral part of teacher's activity. However they have noted that it is necessary to hold to the methodical plan nevertheless. One of respondents has carried out allegorical reasonings, having compared the methodical plan for teachers to the bible for priests. However, according to most of respondents, «there are situations when use of more actual and useful material is necessary, than in specified the plan. So not to do without creative work». Also respondents have noted that «it is impossible to forget about difficult questions of school students which sometimes arise very unexpectedly. In any situation the teacher shouldn't fall face down in dirt». Respondents have surely declared that «the creative component is always as the teacher, using materials, researches, processes them not only taking into account some, but also taking into account own present at work of the teacher».

Further we have decided to estimate a creative component of our respondents directly. Most of teachers have answered the question «Whether You Consider Yourself as the Creative Person?» positively and have proved it by the fact that in the activity, «working with a certain material», they, by all means, «create something new, not similar to another». Respondents admitted that they lack experience and courage for realization of the creative potential yet. And, they said, «before school students who all the same that they tell them, not really want to give all the best on full». We will note that some respondents consider themselves as insufficiently creative people though try «at themselves it to develop». One respondent has found it difficult to answer the matter.

Today it is considered that the teacher, first of all, has to be the intelligent person. In this regard we have asked respondents whether they agree with this statement and whether they consider themselves as intelligent people. Interesting was the fact that per se teachers interpreted intelligence differently. Respondents the intellectual called «the person possessing a critical way of thinking, high degree of a reflection, ability to systematization of knowledge and experience». Respondents have specified that intelligence is included into ability to communicate with audience. The teacher, in their opinion, has to be able to speak with school students «one language». In other words the teacher has to find «golden mean» between intelligence and a youth slang. Respondents have also agreed in opinion that the intelligent teacher, first of all, has to be highly moral, educated and talented in spite of the fact that intelligence of the teacher is often regarded by school students as «modesty and downtroddenness». Respondents have noted that the teacher «has to cause respect in a fit of temper and minds of school students that they listened to his speeches. For this purpose the teacher needs to put on, express respectively the thoughts, to behave». Despite various understanding of intelligence, practically all respondents have noted that the teacher after all has to be an intellectual. However one of respondents has pointed that the teacher «cannot always be intelligent, it is very important that he was a strong personality for whom pupils will reach». As for intelligence of our respondents, the majority considers itself as those. Two teachers admitted that they consider themselves not as absolutely intelligent people.

In completion of questioning we have decided to learn at what level there is a self-assessment of teachers. For this purpose Dembo-Rubenstein's technique modified by us during which they needed to estimate the following qualities on a 100-mark scale has been offered respondents: mental capacities, creative abilities, the authority at colleagues, the authority at school students, self-confidence. The analysis of results has demonstrated that the self-assessment of mental capacities of respondents is in norm limits. Among respondents there were more teachers confident in the creative abilities. However were such which have estimated in themselves a creative component rather low. As there was, a little, which of young teachers holds authority with the colleagues. Also few have highly appreciated the authority at pupils. Estimates of respondents concerning self-confidence were various:

- overestimated (2 respondents);
- high (2 respondents);
- average (3 respondents);
- low (3 respondents).

Thus, our assumption that most of young teachers very much highly appreciate the qualities and abilities wasn't confirmed. As it has appeared, the beginning teachers it is sane look at life and crucially give an assessment to the knowledge, abilities and abilities.

As for claims of young teachers, the assessment of part of respondents is at slightly overestimated level, however in general it is possible to speak about rather realistic assessment of teachers of the ideas of possible development of the offered abilities.

Summing up the results, we will note that modern young teachers, despite low compensation, improbable volume of «paper»-work, disinterest of many school students in knowledge acquisition, after all remain faithful to the business. It is pleasant that among the beginning teachers there are born teachers who put heart and soul in the work, observing as the identity of each school student is formed. Pedagogical process allows young teachers to learn every day a lot of new information that it helps them to develop as it is professional, and creatively.

Today, when our life is characterized by the raised rhythm, dynamism and activity, to young teachers at the beginning of the professional activity to join work very difficult. It is connected, first of all, with a lack of time on development and preparation of occupations, and also lack of self-organization. Besides, the situation is aggravated with a problem of finding of contact with audience of school students who not fully perceive the beginning teachers.

Young teachers are very interested in development of educational innovations. However they consider that before using innovations in educational activity, they need to be studied carefully. To the information means used in the course of education, the beginning teachers are positive. They allocate a number of lackes connected, first of all, with introduction in educational process of the Internet.

The creative component is a necessary element in activity of modern teachers. However not all beginning teachers can call themselves creative people with confidence. The same concerns also intelligence. Most of young teachers understand ability to find a common language with audience of pupils as intelligence, remaining at the same time the highly moral, but strong and interesting personality. The self-assessment of most of the beginning teachers is at average/high level that is very important in realization of potential of young teachers.

Thus, during our research the most important components of professional potential of the young teacher have been analysed: pedagogical potential; scientific potential; innovative and technical potential; research potential; cultural potential; creative potential; psychological potential. Research of pedagogical potential of young teachers has shown that in work of the beginning teachers communication with pupils, and also an opportunity to develop is of great value, learning a lot of interesting information and improving communicative skills. However many young teachers aren't sure of prospects of the professional activity. First of all it is connected with low compensation, large volume of «paper»-work, quite long process of career development and universal reduction of teachers.

The analysis of value of information and communication technologies in life and activity of the beginning teachers has helped to define a condition of innovative and technical potential of young teachers.

Speaking about a condition of cultural potential of young teachers, there is a wish to note that among a set of leisure hobbies modern teachers give preference to communication/walks with a family and friends, to reading various literature, and also sports and visit of Broadcasting Company. Despite strong entry into our life of the Internet, in free time young teachers find for it a little time. The beginning teachers have many interests and plans for the future today, there are conditions for creative development, however young teachers use them insufficiently owing to load and shortage of free time.

Creative potential of the beginning teachers is rather big, in the professional activity they constantly create something new, earlier not known. However the problem of disinterest of many pupils in the taught objects often prevents teachers to realize the creative opportunities completely.

The condition of psychological potential of young teachers is characterized by rather high self-assessment and satisfaction with the professional activity. However owing to small experience, as a rule, the beginning teachers don't hold authority that undermines their confidence in the forces a little.

In general it is possible to tell that the condition of sociocultural potential of young teachers in many respects is defined by development of the information environment of education. Today information and communication technologies became the integral attribute in educational process, and information competence – an obligatory component of culture of the modern teacher. However strong entry of information and communication technologies into educational process has significantly complicated work of the modern teacher that, first of all, is connected with continuous filling of a huge number of documents. The situation is also aggravated with low compensation of the beginning teachers in this connection young teachers often leave teaching activity, despite love to the business.

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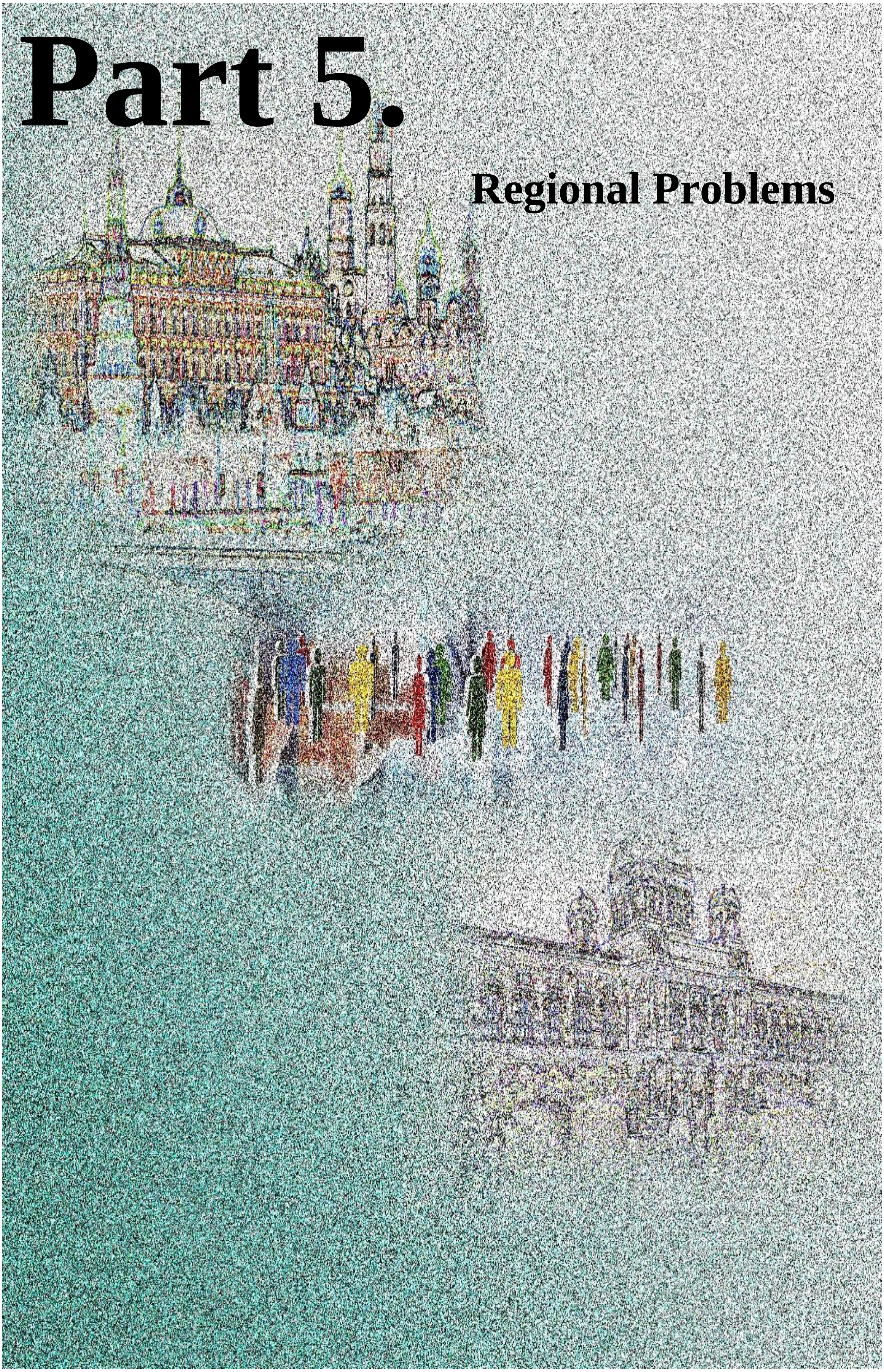
Part 5.

Regional Problems



South Russian Frontier: New Challenges

Ludmila V. Baeva, Astrakhan, Russia
Tatiana N. Yudina, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. Territories of Russia lying along the country border, specifically the Lower Volga river basin and territory adjacent to the Caspian Sea are explored from position of frontier methodology advanced by F. J. Turner, R. Billington et al. Typical peculiarities of near-border regions, such as heterogeneity, general development trends, vigorous struggles for resources, confessional contradictions, vague and unstable frontier lines, fringe territory situation, way of life clear of customs and traditions etc. have their own manifestations and peculiarities the Southern Russian frontier. Modern intercultural frontier is closely connected with migration processes. New realities of 2014-2015, crisis in Russia-Ukraine relations, adjunction of the Crimea as well as new migration legislation of the Russian Federation (hereinafter referred to as the RF) have brought about material changes in migration flows. These processes, in their turn, appeared to be connected with economic, social and with cultural consequences migration has for the South of Russia.

Key words: frontier; near-border territories; the South Russian frontier; migration processes; foreign and internal migrants; the Lower Volga river basin; Caucasus; Central Asia

Territories with unstable, volatile boundaries or frontiers attract attention of researchers since the 19th century when regions conquered by Europeans but still kept living their own life became objects of scientific investigations. Boundaries of various in metal and ethnical aspects cultures and different (in material and technological terms) levels civilizations became a transition from one world to another world where each party of contacts experienced mutual influence. In this instance volatility of borders means not only a general trend of movement in one direction, but also a reverse movement, i.e. a situation when a conquered territory "takes revenge" not in military and political but in mental, language, and confessional terms.

Nowadays theory of frontier goes through a period of active development in Russia. The revival of frontier theory is determined by fact that the theory has a great scientific potential for research of zones with flexible, volatile boundaries as well as with intensification of intercultural interactions in multicultural and near-border territories in a period of great migration activity. The South of Russia turns out to be in the center of active changes (this region has received the greatest (after two Russian capitals) number of migrants from adjacent republics and states. At the same time features peculiar to frontier territories in general and regional particularities have became apparent (and sharp). In many respects these processes determine the scientific interest to and practical value of the problem investigation.

F. J. Turner who investigated processes of America's colonization by the English and the French was one of the pioneers near-border lands or frontier studies [Turner, 1962:373]. Since Turner's investigations the theory of frontier has been developed and refined by Turner's followers from various countries. These researchers investigated not only confrontation of “barbarity” and “civilization” but also other no less difficult issues connected with the clash, intersection, and mutual penetration of various peoples’ cultures. The most important steps in this direction were made by researchers of Siberia reclamation that is considered as an analogue of the American frontier [Panarina, 2013; Rezun, 2010.]. Application of frontier studies investigations has good prospects not only for studies of Siberia but also for studies of many other near-border regions of Russia, in spite of their uniqueness and inimitable distinctiveness. In political, geographical, cultural, anthropological, confessional and other aspects considerable expanses of Russia turn out to be near-border territories, and that fact provides the basis for their comprehensive study and development of typologies. In recent years the South Russian frontier [Romanova.,2014; Yudina, 2014], i.e. the region adjacent to the volatile borders of Russia with the Caucasus and Asian states (the instability of the border increased after collapse of the USSR, two Chechen wars, and growth of social and political tensions in Republic of Daghestan and in result of growth of international influence of Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan), has become even more unstable.

The subject of studies is the present-day South Russian frontier, the subject matter includes social, political and philosophical aspects of this frontier in conditions of migration processes development.

First of all, it should be noted that the frontier concept has various meanings, so the term requires a refinement. If originally the term meant a territory (border) between reclaimed expanses and expanses that were not reclaimed and developed by Western settlers, then present-day researchers understand the frontier as a zone of volatile boundaries in a more broad meaning. As N. Yu. Zamyatina defined it, the frontier is characterized as “a zone of uneasy balance” [Zamyatina,1998:75-89.].

In our turn, we rely on classification of frontier types we have elaborated earlier. In this classification we discriminate civilization, cultural, confessional, ethnic, technological, value, informational, military-political, language types of frontier [Baeva, 2014: 32-39]. I shall explain principal types because these types are important for the purpose of our study. Civilization frontier is a territory of volatile borders between “civilized” and “barbarian” nations (“civilized” and “barbarian” are terms borrowed from L. H. Morgan and F. Engels). The term assumes a juxtaposition of nations that occupy different levels of material life development. This difference determines the urge to colonization of new lands, “reclamation” (or colonization) of indigenous population’s territories or eviction of indigenous population (up to its extermination). Example of that is the “classical” frontier described by F. J. Turner. The “classical” frontier is the space between European settlers and Red American Indians. A peculiar type of civilization frontier can be designated as resettlement type. Researchers of colonization of Siberia have described the peculiarities of resettlement type frontier. We proceed from the definition given by R. Billington who characterized this type of frontier as "a geographical area… where low population density and normally rich and poorly developed natural resources provide an exceptional opportunity for improvement of smallholder' social and economic status" [Billington,1991:222].

Intercultural frontier is a near-border area between cultures of different types. This frontier is connected with shifts, mutual penetration, and mutual impacts of different cultures. Examples of this type of frontier are penetration of Europeans in China or India. This penetration brought about Westernization of traditional Oriental culture as well as Easternization of the Western or Eurasian type culture that dominated in Europe, Russia and the US. The difference of this type of frontier differs from the civilization type of frontier is as follows: cultures are relatively equal in respect of development level, achievements, potentials, and resources. In the contemporary world this type of frontier plays the most visible role because it is connected with interactions of globalization including attempts to implement multiculturalism, integrate considerable groups of migrants into the space of recipient culture.

Confessional frontier is an area of a religious system's penetration into territories that are new for and alien to it. That can be connected with a clash or intersection of different confessions (religious ideas). Examples of such frontier are territories of Buddhism's infiltration from India to China, Japan, Kalmykia and so on, Christianization of German lands and Ancient Rus in the early Middle Ages, Islamization of the Arab world, Spain etc. Today this phenomenon is of particular interest because it is connected with the forced penetration of Islam in European culture that manifests in West European countries as well as in Russia. An inter-confessional "dialogue" or clash can result either in complete domination of one religious system over another religious system or assimilation of one religious system into the other system. There are other options (for instance, emergence of syncretic "alliance" of two systems or eclectic mix of two traditions in the routine life of people who live in conditions of such frontier.

Ethnic (anthropological) frontier is connected with spheres of interactions of two or several ethnic groups. That brings about changes in such groups' ways of life, their customs, traditions, habits etc. The Russian Caucasian frontier is a good example of the type in question. Development of this frontier began as early as in the 17th century and in some aspects goes on up to now [Urushadze, 2012].

The typology described above can be used for investigation of a process of conquest of a territory and when a complex of all types of frontier are present simultaneously (because there is a difference of culture, level of civilization, technology, religion and so on). However, relations are possible when a certain type of frontier prevails or dominates as, for example, it occurs with the process of Islamization or Christianization. At the same time technological and ethnic differences may be of minor importance.

Frontier areas have their own peculiarity which consists in presence of certain characteristics, landmarks, such as heterogeneity, general trend of development, intensive struggle for resources, confessional contradictions, volatility of borders, peripheral situation, way of life cleared of traditions etc. These factors contribute to formation of frontiers as zones of particular instability. As a rule, development of these zones does not bring about their normalization, strict abidance to customs, laws, common and general requirements. Despite the fact that open-ended, tolerant intercultural relations emerge in such zones they fall into risk areas [Basalaeva, 2102].

The current processes of globalization allow us to apply the frontier theory for understanding of migration processes in the world and Russia. For instance, the territory of Siberia nowadays becomes a zone of new frontier. We mean the massive penetration of China (to be more precise, influx of Chinese citizens) in the Russian territories beyond the Urals. The South Russian frontier also experiences a new stage of its history: Caucasian peoples and Central Asian peoples are actively moving into the Lower Volga river basin. Powerful migration flows are changing contours of present-day Russia, its cultural, ethnic and confessional outlook and profile. And these changes are taking place not only in the periphery but in the capital too. That prompts us to think about a possibility of transition of the country at large into unstable conditions of a near border area.

The territory of eastern Ukraine, of Donetsk People' Republic and Lugansk People's Republic that proclaimed their independence also has turned out to be a zone of volatile frontier, a buffer between interests of Ukraine and the West on one hand and interests of Russia on the other. In this particular case we observe and deal with not a frontier of civilization or cultural type frontier but with a military-political frontier. A military-political frontier is characterized by expansion of zone of influence or military or political forces advancement in some directions into territories of other states. So, the expansion of NATO to the East, to boundaries of the RF creates a new frontier. (When we talk of the expansion of NATO we mean not only deployment of NATO military bases but also influence on foreign policy of states). Areas of the USA- the USSR face-off during the Cold War can be considered as a military-political frontier. The same can be said about the current dynamic territorial standoff of the USA and Russia's anti-ballistic missile defense systems deployment. Expansion of Russia's boundaries and Russia's advancement into territory of the Crimea in 2014 also can be characterized as a frontier trend that has a peculiar form of re-frontier because the territory in question turns out to be re-acquired by Russia. The "re-frontier" term was suggested in the concept suggested by A. P. Romanova and S. N. Yakushenkova for characterization of the process that brings about a change of frontier process' dominant actors and rethinking of history and historical memory [Yakushenkov, 2012:74-80; Yakushenkov, Romanova, Baeva, 2014:304-314].

Events that unfolded in 2014 around Ukraine and Crimea have exerted a significant influence not only on international situation of Russia but also on its domestic social and economic policies. Fall of oil prices, devaluation of rouble, sanctions imposed on Russia have weakened the economy of Russia which in many ways depends on importation of raw materials and exportation of many staple goods. Standards of living deterioration, rise of prices for staple food stuff, medicine drugs, and charges for communal services has also reverberated on migration situation in the South of Russia. According to official statistics, by the end of 2014-early 2015 about 3.5 million foreign citizens worked in Russia. And dynamics of migrant influx was positive in the recent years. In result of Russia' sliding into foreign policy crisis and domestic instability number of migrants from Central Asia decreased drastically in early 2015. P. Kovalenko, ex-chief of Interregional union for protection of the labor migrants' rights, notes this decrease in his statement: "Influx of migrants into Russia has decreased due to exchange rates. Migrants from southern countries have actively gone to Kazakhstan where wages of a salesperson is 1200 USD for a 5 days week. The figure is specific and effective for Alma-Aty at the end of January, 2015"[24].

Due to fall of rouble exchange rate a migrant may prefer a job in Turkey or in South Korea. A labor migrant from Uzbekistan explains the change as follows: "We have to pay for the exit visa, then we purchase a permit to work, health insurance policy, registration fee, license, and language exam. All that costs a lot of money. At the current exchange rate of rouble it leads to losses. What option is better for a person? Turkey and South Korea seem to be better options. Wages everywhere are higher: from $800 and higher, but it is more difficult to work in Turkey. Wages are higher but requirements are harsher. Turks are very strict. They demand a command of language. Turkmens, for example, can understand Turkish language well and can speak Turkish with no special training. Though there are many common features and similarities in Turkish and Uzbek languages Uzbeks encounter greater difficulties. And Kyrgyz and Tajik people have to learn Turkish to get a employment in Turkey…"[25]

What are consequences of this change for population of Russia? On one hand, outflow of migrants will provide greater chances of employment for Russian people and that can be useful for them under the circumstances of growing unemployment), decreases social risks related to adaptation, conflicts with the title nations etc. On the other hand, migrants carried out low skilled jobs that the local people gradually declined and could occupy many niches at the labor market. Sure, that did not generate a desired harmony in labor division in Russia but the same can be said of Europe. Conflicts

[24] The Russian News Service//Available at: http://rusnovosti.ru/posts/363596 (Accessed 11 February 2015).

[25]Migrants have gone to Turkey and South Korea instead of RussiaAvailable at: http://www.mk.ru/social/2015/01/22/migranty-vmesto-rossii-poekhali-rabotat-v-turciyu-i-yuzhnuyu-koreyu.html

in the sphere of production occurred and still occur and the example of such conflict is the situation that arose at "Sady Pridon'ya" enterprise in Volgograd in January of 2014, when workers from Uzbekistan were fired because they demanded payment of their real, full and not reduced wages[26]. Nowadays sphere of construction is completely dependent on work of migrants, so it can suffer the greatest loss in result of migrant outflow. Introduction of licenses for migrants has aggravated the situation. From January of 2015 the price of a work permit for migrants increased 2.5 times, up to 4 thousand roubles a month. To acquire patent a migrant has to submit a health certificate, marks for exam in Russian language, basics of law and history of Russia. It should be noted that the price of the test is 30 thousand roubles. A migrant has to get a patent (license) in a month from a moment of his/her entry in Russia. The patent is to be executed in a region where migrant intends to work. If migrant moves to another region, he/she has to repeat all procedures again.

New rules of arrival in Russia and departure from it were intended to normalize uncontrolled migration flows and new measures have brought results already. According to K. Romodanovski, the chief of the Federal Migration Service, "in the first days of January of 2015 number of migrant dwindled by 70%. Now fall of number of foreigners arriving in Russia has stopped. In comparison with the past year (2014) departure of foreigners increased by 14%. But these changes are connected not with economic factors but with our work aimed at counteractions to illegal, irregular migration. We have activated automatic system of control that allows controlling duration of a foreigner's staying in Russia. Thanks to the system we succeeded in implementation of the most important principle, the necessity and inevitability of punishment principle. Such system is unavailable even in European countries… Earlier a million of incomers falls on a half of million of departing foreigners. And now these two figures (of incoming and departing foreigners) are close. So, from the beginning of 2015 number of incomers in Russia exceeds number of foreigners departed from Russia by 10-20 thousand persons[27]. That is to say that the dynamics remains to be positive but the difference between numbers of incomers and departing persons is no more great: it is within 10 thousand persons limit. According to the chief of the Federal Migration Service, a "change of migrant faces" of a kind is taking place: number of migrants from Ukraine, Moldova has increased and citizens of China, South and North Korea have started to arrive more frequently.[28]

[26]The map of conflicts in the South of Russia: exodus of Russians from Stavropol region, mutiny of migrants in Volgograd and hunger strike of a Kuban environmentalist.Available at: http://fedpress.ru/news/conflict_map/investigations/1392638384-karta-konfliktov-yuga-rossii-begstvo-russkikh-so-stavropolya-bunt-migrantov-v-volgog(Accessed 17 February 2014).
[27]Interview Konstantin Romodanovski, the Federal Migration Service chief, gave to TASS InformationAgency on March 18, 2015Available at: http://www.fms.gov.ru/press/publications/news_detail.php?ID=122978(Accessed 17 October 2015).
[28] Change of migrant faces in Russia: Ukrainian and Moldavan people come to us instead of Tajiks,

Difficult foreign policy situation and economic situation, changes of migration laws are factors that contribute to outflow of foreign migrants from the South of Russia but do not reduce number of internal migrants from republics of Russian Caucasus. It should be reminded that the Southern Federal circuit, along with the Central and North-Western circuits, has a positive migration balance in foreign and internal migration and that results is achieved due to territories of Caucasus. As sociologists L. L. Rybakovsky notes, “In respect of migration Northern Caucasus is a rather closed region of Russia. Migration exchange runs on amongst parts of the region. The main migration partners for Adyghea are Krasnodar region and Karachayevo-CircassianRepublic. And main migration partners for Daghestan are Stavropol region, Kalmykia and Astrakhan region. For Ingushetia the main migration partners are North Ossetia. Main migrant partners for Kabardino-Balkaria are Karachayevo-CircassianRepublic and North Ossetia while main partners for Stavropol region are Karachayevo-CircassianRepublic, North Ossetia, Dagestan, Kalmykia and Astrakhan region. The main migration partners for Krasnodar region are Adyghea, Karachayevo-CircassianRepublic, Rostov region and Stavropol region. High values of coefficient of interregional migration exchange in North Caucasus are related to a stable trend of regional migration flows formation based on ethnic characteristic [Rybakovski]. Reasons of the Southern Federal Circuit’s attractiveness for migrants from Caucasus are its climatic conditions, high level of agriculture development, trade, availability of close historical relations among regions of Caucasus and the South of Russia, a high level of toleration demonstrated by title nations, especially in multicultural regions where traditions of Christianity, Islam and Buddhism intersect. Caucasus, as A. P. Romanova puts it, is “the eternal frontier’: Caucasus was conquered by Russia in the past and nowadays the region vigorously enters the modern epoch [Romanova, Topchiev, 2014: 284-291].

Migration of people from Caucasian republics, of course, is very different from labor migration from Central Asian countries: a greater part of incomers does not look for jobs in agriculture or in construction but is oriented to business, commerce and transportation. According to Yu. O. Sulyagina, along with long-term factors that are nearly not subject to changes, integration potential of a recipient society and adaptive capacities of migrants acquire a particular significance for policy of integration [Sulyagina, 2014:22-31.]. It should be admitted that adaptive capacities of migrants allow the Southern Russian cities to retain a positive balance of population increment in spite of a low birth rate among the title population and departure of young people to capital cities. The Southern Federal

Source: Правда.ruAvailable at: : http://www.pravda.ru/news/districts/07-01-2015/1242933-migrant-0/(Accessed 17 October 2015).

Circuit still remains to be a recipient region with a positive demographic dynamics despite the fact that in Russia at large demographic situation materially deteriorated in the past decades; according to calculations made by the Russian Business Consulting and data of the Russian Service of Statistics, “in 801 towns (i.e. in 71% of the total number of towns) population decreased in the past 25 years. Number of residents of 14 towns has decreased by more than a half. If one includes settlements that lost status of township during this period then number of towns that lost a half of their population will increase to 18. About 200 towns lost more than a quarter of their populations”[29]. At the same time demographic situation in towns of the Southern Federal Circuit remains to be positive and factor of internal movements plays not a minor role in maintenance of this positive balance. As T. N. Yudina notes in her study of the present-day migration problems, “nowadays a considerable part of labor migrants stay on Russia not as guests. They are de facto and de jure permanent residents of Russia. Besides labor migrants themselves their children belong to the same category” [Yudina, 2014: 143-151]. High birth rate in families of migrants who came to Russian towns for permanent residence contributes anyway to development of social infrastructure in regions and forms potential labor force that has not approved itself yet (the second generation of migrants does not reach active working age). However this situation already changes outlook of the southern Russian towns where national schools have risen and Caucasian communities have consolidated. For instance, in Astrakhan city school named after G. Aliev and monument of Geidar Aliev were erected and opened at expense of the Geidar Aliev Foundation. An urban avenue, a park and a bridge dedicated to Aliev were also opened. Other national communities also have markers of their presence in Astrakhan. Authorities of the multicultural city welcome that: in recent years monuments of Kazakh popular musician and composer Kurmangazy Sagyrbaev, of Turkmen poet Makhtumkuli Fraghi and to Tartar poet Gabdulla Tukai. In sign of friendship with Republic of Iran a monument to Omar Khayyam was laid down. Examples of intercultural interaction in the region should be noted. The monument to Equal to the apostles Prince Vladimir in front of Vladimir Russian Orthodox church was erected with the help of the Geidar Aliev Foundation and molded of bronze in Baku city. The social outlook of this frontier city also is changing: in schools separate classes for children who speak Russian poorly are formed, and hijabs are allowed in institutions of higher education (hijab is forbidden in schools and institutions of secondary vocational education). Specialized sections are opened in supermarkets where foodstuff and clothes for Muslims are sold. Characteristically, marriages of local girls with migrants of Orthodox opinions change their way of life substantially. These changes are manifested, among other things, in hijab wearing (hijab is associated with values of moral purity, preservation of family

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[29] The Russian Business Consulting study: How Russian towns die out//22.01.2015. Available at: РБК: http://daily.rbc.ru/special/society/22/01/2015/54c0fcaf9a7947a8f1dc4a7f (Accessed 17 October 2015).

traditions and fidelity) in spite of liberal tenor of the present-day youth culture and crisis of family as an institution (number of divorces in Astrakhan city is one of the highest in the RF). Analysis of gender peculiarities of immigration processes in Astrakhan region demonstrates that number of male migrants (14069) is nearly twice as high as number of female migrants (9203). Migration increment of females is negative and comprises –495 persons. That figure is equal to 13% of male migrants. So, on the contrary, by far more males come in the region than depart from it: migration increment of male part of population comprises 4440 persons. That is equal to 87%. As regards interregional migration then number of female incomers to Astrakhan region comprises 3238 persons (47%) while number of male migrants is 3626 (53%). Migration increment of females in Astrakhan region at large is negative and comprises –495 persons. Migration increment of males is positive and comprises 4440 persons [Ivanova, 2014:159-161].

Thus migration processes have influence not just on economic processes but also on socio-cultural, spiritual-confessional and gender processes. On one hand, migration contributes to demographic process, forms influx of labor and promotes cultural diversification. On the other hand, intensive migration in the South of Russia generates enclave tendencies that are similar to processes that have place in European countries where migrants aspire not to adaptation and integration but to preservation of their own tradition and to opposition of this tradition to the tradition that is dominant in culture that is new for migrants.

As it was noted above, peculiarities of frontier regions, such as the South Russia region, are connected with openness, instability, and a liberal way of life. In many respects these traits have created conditions favorable to migration flows. Situation that emerged in Russia in 2014-2015 has brought to bear influence on migration flows dynamics that to a considerable extent may bring about only intensification of migration and movement of Russians to cities with higher standards of living (that is from southern towns to capital cities and from Dagestan, Chechnya and Ingushetia to towns of the Russian South). That will result in a new situation at the labor market. And this new situation has to be assessed in the immediate future.

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The Implementation Challenges and Ways of Improving Social-Project Activities of the Population

Angelina V.Borodina, Ufa,Russia

Abstract. The article identifies the main challenge sand conceptual orientations of improving social-project activities of the population. We used the method "world café" and analysis of the literature. The result revealed that organizational and technical issues are not a priority reasons for low level of socio-design activity of the population. The main reasons are insufficient motivation of the population to the creation and implementation of social projects, insufficient education and awareness in this area. The directions of solving these problems are: involvement in the practices, playing techniques, social advertising with the involvement of Internet technologies, the development of creativity and culture for social studies, etc.

Key words: social-project activities; the motivation for the creation and implementation of social projects; social activism of population and youth

In a recent issue of creation and implementation of social projects in the sphere of socially useful activities is especially important in the system of social management.

Analysis of the literature and discussion on the topic of socio-project activities of citizens between students and experts within the student Olympics in sociology by the method of "world café", taking place in 2015 at the faculty of philosophy and sociology of the Bashkir state University, revealed the following main problems in the field of social design.

Low social activity of the population, poor knowledge of opportunities and methods of design, about organized grant competitions on social problems. Irrelevance, declarative nature of many social projects, the discrepancy between the projects and social reality of the Russian society.

Incorrect formulation of priorities and objectives in the creation of social projects.

Low degree of public confidence to the possible partners in project implementation – to grantmakers and government authorities.

Weak motivation of the population to participate in social projects.

Small financing of social projects from the state budget or from grant funds. The Bureaucracy by organizations, especially by the officials in implementing socially significant projects.

The lack of effectiveness of social projects, the incompetence of specialists who create and implement them.

According to experts, the specific underlying causes of these problems, are diverse.

So, the declarative formalism of any projects are related to the fact that the population (e.g., youth) included in the project activity under duress, or on the basis of short-term rational interests (electoral projects).

Sometimes the infantile, immature, "critical" position instead of project solution is based on The creation of a concept or a program of project. There are no constructive ideas about solving social problems, just the proclamation, convictions. As a result, the project as a program of ongoing activities to solve any social problems is not created.

Also a system for the identification of socially-active youth and its social-project training at the level of state authorities and administrations of enterprises is not sufficiently developed. Despite all these difficulties, interest to socio-project activities for a portion of the population, is. Organizational and technical problems are mostly solved.

The most active part of the population in the creation of social projects are the socially-oriented public organizations.

So, in 2014, over 70 companies enrolled in the Annual Programme "The Best social projects of Russia". Among the winners listed in the “top 20” are: "Movement for responsible driving" (the company "INTOUCH"). The project started in 2012. It began with a staff survey and competition among their children. Customers have sent 300 informed advice on safe driving, project`s team conducted lessons in schools of Moscow. Another project-leader – "School of social entrepreneurship" OJSC "Siberian coal energy company". For the year under this project was developed by the 37 social entrepreneurship project, started 33 of socio-entrepreneurial business, employed 136 persons, beneficiaries – 6717 people.

Socially oriented Non-profit NGOs of the Republic of Bashkortostan has begun more actively to demonstrate their abilities in the activities for grant applications through the active promotion of the project activities. So, in 2014, 10 organizations of the Republic have received funding in the grant competition of the RF President. In 2015, the total amount of grant support of public organisations of Bashkiria for socially oriented projects on the program of the President of the Russian Federation is 20 million rubles.

Among the projects-grantees such as: NGO "Russian Union of young scientists". Budget funding amounted to 3 million rubles. The meaning of the project is the organization of the system of interaction between state and public institutions on a scientific basis. NP "Center for geopolitical studies “Berlek-Edinstvo” - 3 million rubles for the promotion of traditional spiritual values of the Eurasian civilization among students of the Russian Federation and Central Asia.

NF for the prevention of socially significant diseases and the promotion of healthy lifestyle “No to alcohol and drug addiction” - 4 million rubles. A project to increase the effectiveness of rehabilitation activities by preventing “burnout” of specialists. [Murtuzaliev M., Israpilov S., 2010].

The effectiveness of the project activities of public organizations depends in many cases on the effectiveness of state bodies that create framework conditions for their functioning. So in 2014 the Ministry of labour and social protection of Republic Bashkortostan is the governmental body mandated to address issues relating to the support of socially oriented non-profit organizations in the Republic. The Ministry has been able to consolidate the work of the state bodies to support project activities of socialy-oriented non-profit organizations in the Republic. As a result, for three years from the budget of the Republic for the support of such NGOs was sent to more than 365 million rubles.

However, youth associations`s independent social project work is little developed. Often they are involved in Federal projects, programs as implementers, not innovators. This is partly justified by the employment of young people with school, work and family activities.

In the Republic grant funding of youth associations is available according to the Regulation on the method of conducting a contest for selecting of projects (programs) of youth`s and children's public associations to compete for state grants in the form of grants, adopted through the Government of the Republic of Bashkortostan decision No. 80 of 3 March 2009. In 2014, 11 projects (programs) children's and youth`s organizations have received grants for a total amount of 1200 thousand rubles.

Such Republican organizations as the regional division of the Russian Union of Youth, governmental bodies on youth policies provides assistance in the project activities. The Ministry of youth policy and sport of RB does consulting and offers seminars on receiving grants, released a recomendations on the basics of making grant applications; RSM cooperates with educational institutions, implements joint educational seminars on grant-project activities.

Among the results of the youth project activities are: agricultural enterprise in Aurgazinskii Region of Republic becomes youth training village, where young people learn agricultural business and agro-tourism. In the village of Bulgakovo municipal project is implemented on the work with volunteers of the firefighter department. There were recently constructed the building, arena, hockey rink, football field. Young people are involved in the work of firefighters. In Mishkinskii Region of Republic in collaboration with the Children's University was organized" The Youth camp of rural entrepreneurship"[Hamitov, R.,2005].

Thus, organizational and technical aspects of submission of grant applications in project activities, through both government and public support, with varying degrees of effectiveness are resolved.

The situation is worse in the cultivation of a social asset and its consolidation; in the questions of its social, creative education, and also in the questions of raising public motivation and awareness of socially useful design. In our opinion, these directions are the key in solving of the considered problems. The available literature sources, regarding these aspects of the development of project activities are sparse, some tips can only be found in disparate practical handbooks and articles, or in practical experience of social engineers.

What conceptual ideas can form the basis for improving these aspects?

1. It is necessary to find the motivation to socio-project activities. We need to increase a positive, faith in kindness , a sense of solidarity and belonging ("we"). To increase solidarity by attracting people to participate in social activities, social projects, or to the creation of project concepts in role-playing and business games, involving, for example, young people in good deeds. It is necessary to put social project activities in a light, playful form for youth, guiding them towards serious topics (e.g., planning and programming of public-useful activity) as all involved became more familiar with social activities.

2. To overcome lack of awareness of social work, of social activities, mistrust of it, it`s unpopularity with the public. To inform in the social networks. Use blogging, social advertising, social promotion, off-line and online methods of promotion of socially useful activities.

3. To develop creativity. To generate ideas, you have to become a "collector of ideas" and "generator of ideas". "Collector of ideas" is a social engineer of high-level research culture, because any publicly significant and useful project was based on the unmet needs of the population. To create an effective project you need to know the methods of study of public opinion polls, the methods of analyze it, and know where to find the data of such researches, to be able to analyze statistical, expert data.

The role of “generator of ideas” is a self-reflection, initiating ideas by yourself or promote and support group in initiating and generating ideas. "Bloggers can be activists through their texts, teachers can be activists by encouraging students to rethink their beliefs, artists can lead the "guerrilla activism", placing their works in the city, the information technology experts can organize E-journal, etc." [Kak stat' aktivistom …].

4. Stimulate the social activation of young citizens. Including to encourage all forms of interregional and international cooperation in the fields of education and seasonal work of young people. This will bring up a more tolerant and open-minded generation, that will allow them to create concepts for the solution of socially significant problems and their decisions will be free from local stereotypes about socially-useful activities. [Murtuzaliev M., Israpilov S., 2010].

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Social Activity of Citizen as a Resource in Managing the Development of the City

Natalya A. Kostko, Tyumen, Russia

Abstract. The article proposes to consider the main approaches defining the opportunity to apply the concepts of social space, identity, social activity, social practices of citizens in managing the city development. In this paper, the emphasis is on the analysis of social practices of the population, which are characterized by substantial and instrumental orientation on self-organization in the achievement of the development goals of the city, solving urgent problems of citizens. For the study conducted a content - analysis of materials of the Tyumen Newspapers over the past three years.

Key words: urban development; social space; social activity; identity; municipal management

The aim of this paper is analyzing, generalization of existing knowledge, conceptions and ideas, that portraying maintenance of notions: "social city space", "social planning", "social identity of citizens", "citizens activity" as applied to management practices and social planning of city development.

The paper presents preliminary conclusions of existing approaches to estimate intension social city space, city structure, indicators and requirements for its applicability in management of the city development that was partly published, now they developed out and its accurate definition on the basis of the results performed sociological research.

City considered as complicated, closed-loop but not fully closed social system (according to ideas of Luhmann N.) [Luhmann N., 1999] with its own number of elements, relations and interactions, aims, development models.

In accord of systems concept, city as complicated social system have system properties provided on the assumption of develop its own generative system complexity and purposefulness, in other words, development of internal environment elements instead of result of megasystem external actions. City development made contingent upon its capacity to generate condition (generic and specific) that stiring up factors and system elements by controlling means. Searching of new ideas seed perspective in plane of city development targeting and defenition of the development methods on activation of inner city elements as complicated social system.

According to operative rule of law, cities are municipal units. Urban management is carried within the local self-government system representive social and political form of city functioning. In borders of this jural construction, there are no aims of development for different level municipal unions. We can only talk about standardized list of conditions are important to provide for population vital activity. Questions of local mining only in the article 17 point 6 of Federal law as of 06.10.2003

№131 (revised on 29.12.2014) "About common principle of the local self-government organization in Russian Federation" are considered acceptance and organization of realization plans and programs of municipal unit's complex social-economy development.

Aims of development that fixed in strategies and plans of social-economy development most of municipal units can be conditionally subdivided into two types. Aims directly related to the necessity of developing the economy-investment, innovation potential of municipal units for effective functioning of reproduction process which is the objective and necessary inevitable, and aims which provide including social factors, non-materials resources in development process. Exactly in this part observed divergence of approaches. Recognition as purposeful reference point development of human potential might also be called the step forward in municipal management. However management economy-technocratic approach narrows the essence and possibilities of using this orientation toward horizons of medium-term /long-term planning of progress normative economy-statistic social infrastructure development indexes. Human role as subject and developing source is stayed passive. Human more than likely was made the observer or consumer of the proposed development resources. At the same time, we can be regarded that economic impact during effectiveness of human potential and capital exceed return of physical capital [Kapelyushnikov R., 2013:28]. It is powerful source of development in today's conditions. Besides, several scientists talk directly that "there is no connection between material prosperity of the city and it's ability to provide consistent increase"[New models of urban development…,2013].

Formingqualitative description of human potential and capital in municipal management could be measure inverse system effect in all sphere of vital functions. It is a question of increasing labour productivity, adjustment to changes, quality and character of reflection and broadcasting of the new knowledges, culture, highly degree valuable of human and it's life, etc.

It's obtaining from social infrastructure instrumentally in border of prognostic and normative management. Level and quality of services, provided social infrastructure to population, can marginally describe level and quality of human capital. By the way, it isn't an evidence of human capital role in city life, degree of it's delivery to solving complicated problems at all.

The main problem is that in actual management model of the city development an accent has displaced to necessity of creating conditions to obtain forming and increasing of human potential and capital with the expectation of return on this enclosure. Of course, it's positively characterizing social State. However, human in this construction become passive consumer instead of active participant of developing process. Increasing all kind of resources (from financial to productive-management) which were headed to replenishment processes, to social sphere for obtaining it's high-quality condition has endless and infinite character. Human capital returning on this management actions and valuation of it's consequence doesn't become unambiguously positive. Perhaps, there is reason in proceed to definition of city development goals, including taking into account such parameter as influence, participation of human capital in managing to obtain city development goals. Effectiveness of human capital sees through the participation of citizens in construction city social space.

Effectiveness and positively efficiency of human capital will appear through the opportunity to set interactions relations, where individual, separate groups, communities step forward as subject in social development co-administration equally with municipal government, local self-government bodies upon partnership principals, principals of co-operative responsibility.

Cooperation is viewed as instrumental and organizational basis of any administrative action for citizens activation. This can be serially and logically realized through the city communities. Social city space is favorable/not favorable condition and at the same time one of participant of the city community interaction and integration. This point of view is in agreement with the understanding that "One of the reason of intensification disintegration Russian community vector is absence complete mode of social space in social groups, communities and individuals" [Mihalinec O. M., 2015:12].

Using system approach, theory of Giddens E. makes it possible to discuss that social space is the concentration/variance of social system's social elements which are in action, cooperation state from its nature, which have its place in localization, for example, as city [Giddens E., 2003].

Basic methodological basis, which proves possibility and necessity of alignment of cooperation mechanisms between government, administrative structures and population, projection social space and taking into account it's state and evolution in practice of municipal administration of city development, is the theory of social action, theory of structured of Giddens E., Bhaskar R. [Giddens E.,2003; Bhaskar R.,1991].

At the same time, we understand that there is opposition between ideas of social structures and actor-net theory (ANT) of Latour B., Law J., Urry J. and others. We proceed from requirements of city as social system complexity and necessary to accept intercoupling material and non-material elements of space according to Bourdieu P. tradition [Bourdieu P.,1993:137].

When we describe space, appearance of the city, its perception and influence, it will be productive to use actor-net theory of Latour B. [Latour B., 2007], where not only individuals and groups act as subject of relation, but objects of material world too.

The main element of city and its social space is city human community. City is that form of social life which we can talk about generality and community construction as form of interaction of its members and vital activity. This forms are regarded as condition, instrument and goal-orienting act of all city space subjects in management goals achievement.

There is a difference between notions "city community" and "territorial commonness". The main uniting element of territorial commonness is territory, bordered space which forming as affected of complex of factors and appearance. Territorial commonness is a crossing, imposition of social space and territory revealed by connections and attitudes in territorial borders.

At the same time, we can't take no account to criticism of place, territory role, decrease its influence from effect of up-to-date factors of postindustrial world [Castells M., Peter J. Taylor] when significance of common place as basis of human social integration start to expuls by community of interest [Krol M., 2015], where came meeting, collision, articulation, transmission, appropriation, adaptation, etc. of interests – in borders of social space.

The construction of community descend from human identification as citizen, as human which have set of interests similar with social space transmissioned. It is uniting description which is product of city vital activity and population on the way of theirs combined development. Human self-identification as citizen is logical movement to city community forming. City community is viewed as new level of territorial commonness quality. The connectivity of social space and human identity is mainly attributable to demonstration of human social activity, ability to realize it's own interests through the solidary participation in city development management.

As reference descriptions for work on notion "identity" was taken descriptions of scientific approaches and schools of M. K. Gorshkov [Gorshkov M. K., 2013:9-10].

If we recognize presence of two approaches for "identity" notion essence: essencialists and constructivists, then it's necessary to accept Vendina O. I. position about not to associate identity with place only. Identity must be associated with splittable value system of human community [Vendina O. I., 2013].

In any case, working thesis is about human is main action subject to form its identity in border of social space which is condition to provide interaction between different social elements and, at the same time, is factor of influence to determination and construction of essential definitions of human, community, etc. identity. Social space is viewed not as an abstraction, not as a flow, not as phenomenon of human feelings reflection, but as objective reality which have its own properties and traits, if human have interaction with that, forming of identity make possible [Smirnyagin L. V., 2007].

Identity realized by social relations. Acts and mechanisms of social relations provide connectedness of function and symbolical units of social space [Orlova E. A.,2010:110].

Identity is complicated, many-sided appearance which forming connected with process of expectations actualization, counter demands to society, necessity to interaction, fixing individual coordinate system of interests priority through correlation of personal and public which can be cause forming conditions of conflicts in society.

Notion identity synonymic to notion social identity of human, which includes the whole spectrum of manifestation and descriptions of this appearance with accentuation to perception and adaptation of social reality, values and standards of society, attitude to interaction, conduct and demonstration of activity, definition of proper place and role, which constructed by individual.

Identity, collective identity, more national, “increasingly is viewed as the most important factor which cement society, provides membership of its citizens in realization of state problems of social and politic development and prevents from social disintegration” [Vanshtein G..,2011; Semenenko I. S., Lapkin V. V., Pantin V. I.; 2010; Smirnyagin L. V., 2007].

At the same time, we understand “wide choice of potential significant for modern man system of reference point, which connected with informational society development, predetermine discreteness of social identity, actualize now one and now the other its components” [Semenenko I. S., Lapkin V. V., Pantin V. I.; 2010: 40].

At that, territorial or city identity is one of a line of other identities in conditions, using terminology of Becker V., domination of the regulative morals [Becker V., 2000]. Descriptions and demonstrations of city identity is directly connected with level, degree of city community development.

Human which self-identify with city community become not only element of city community, but potential resource for its development which become apparent throw solidarity with this community. At the same time, we recognize the fact identity, its definition and perception don't lead to solidarity a priori. “Identify yourself with society and have common interest isn't meaning to by solidarity with it” [Klimova S. G., 2013:33]. Klimova S. G. picks out as foundation of solidarity demonstration such properties as responsibility for oneself and society on base of her researches. One must grant that. As consequence, researching, social projection of connective between identity and solidarity must be in focus of management actions, developing ideas of agreement and participation of citizens in management. Such approach isn't new. It has historical roots and has found reflection in works of domestic sociologists of activist school from the middle XIX to the beginning of the 20th centuries (A.I. Herzen, N. G. Chernyshevsky, D. I. Pisarev, N. K. Mikhaylovsky, S. N. Yuzhakov and others) at the time of modernization crossroads. It still demands the judgment. Now as the initial methodological bases for definition of mechanisms of interaction between the population and governing bodies it is offered to use Boltanski L. and Teveno L. ideas [Boltanski, L., 2000] about an order of values in relation to the different worlds, including to the civil world which has to strive for consent through solidarity, equality and collective interests, about formation of conditions and mechanisms for development of consent. Such formulation of the question is in many respects caused and actualized by a number of the tendencies having a multidirectional vector. So according to S. Huntington's theory [Huntington S. P., 2015] XXI century is a century of fight of values, ideas, meanings, as a result, growth of the importance of activity, innovation, identity, solidarity, controllability, in general, roles of the person, semantic content of his participation in these processes and the phenomena.

At the same time, researchers point to identity washing out, first of all, global culture, national under pressure of planting of images, which have huge attractive force and gain character of the tool of policy more and more [Galkin D. V., 2005:47]. At that, the understanding that identity it not opposition to globalization processes and not attempt to be closed artificially from them comes more and more. This condition of preservation and the main development of the subjectivity, independence, sovereignty, in definition of the principles, the purposes, mechanisms and methods of development of society.

The thesis that in the conditions of modernization of the Russian society of models of modernization there is a lot of doesn't raise doubts and their essence is defined by characteristics of the population, social structure, genesis of society and the state where the concept identity plays one of the leading roles when determining, when designing model of modernization [Gorshkov M. K., 2013].

One of calls which the changing Russia faces is just that “modernization assumes essential change of identity (identities) and is based on this change. Moreover, one of the main problems of modernization is a problem of change former and formations of new identity” by Gorshkova M. K. [Gorshkov M. K., 2013: 5]. Formation of new identity, divisibility of identity, distribution of hybrid identity [Semenenko I. S., Lapkin V. V., Pantin V. I.; 2010: 49] and other phenomena in this sphere actualize searching of administrative models, mechanisms, the tools which providing balance of a transition state from one quality of identity to another. Therefore the thesis about need of introduction of "policy of identity" [Gorshkov M. K.,2013:20.] seems quite reasonable, social design of conditions and mechanisms of forming of social identity of citizens and communities, taking into account threats of development of modern society. At an assumption of the fact that the social space of the city is free or it is involuntarily formed by a city control system, forming objective reality which in turn as it has been noted earlier, exerts impact on formation of social identity of the person, as a result, it is possible to speak also about formation by control facilities of the last. In case of purposeful formation of social space the control system of a development of the city uses constructivist methods of social design of space which are directed to material objects: landscape, architecture, spatial and planning structure, monuments, infrastructure and non-material and material elements: image and image of the city, social, human capital, social quality, way of life, historical and cultural heritage, local communities, etc. At constructivist approach there is a probability of emergence of problems, contradictions, risks. In particular, as a result of administrative actions for designing of city social space it is necessary to consider existence of two realities (possibly more) that already is, exists and also that reality which is built in / or not by methods of management city space. In this regard there is a problem of their coexistence, perception and assignment by the population, influences on formation of identity, definition of narrowness of communication with the place of life, activity of participation of citizens in city life, the choice of models of management of development. Statement of these questions results in need of attention to concept of identity, activity, the population contribution to a development of the city.

Why development of social space of the city seems through updating of activity of the population. Activity of the population is a reality of the present stage of development which demands in relation to itself not so much the account and control from the power, but acceptance and inclusion in modern processes and the phenomena of public life. Important component of such inclusion is use of a resource of activity of the population in practice of management. The system, organizational ordered relations of interaction between the population, his active part and power structures allow not only to synchronize and coordinate the development purposes, to define priorities and possible solutions, but to pass the main thing from the passive forms of government to constructivist. Therefore, conditions, as for activity manifestation, and a condition, and mechanisms of the transfer of this activity to the plane of adoption of concrete administrative decisions, by means of technologies, tools, organizational processes are necessary. As one of results of such approach, is harmonization of interests and developments of social space of the city with requirements of the population are more whole.

Research of activity, her various forms and manifestations, both certain citizens, and their associations most significantly from the point of view of management that is defined by need of synchronization of the purposes of management between various subjects, search of methodological, organizational- administrative and tool-applied bases of involvement, and the population inclusiveness in comanaging. Activity of the population is analyzed through determination of content and an orientation of his relationship with a territorial community, namely through participation in territorial communities; participation in organized communities; estimates of nature of interest in the solution of problems (interest, desire to participate, readiness of participation, participation in a role of the performer, participation in a role of the initiator); *practice of public activity, practice of participation.* Estimated character gives to interaction existence/absence of trust in the relations between various subjects.

In this work the accent is placed on the analysis of manifestation public the population practice which are characterized by a substantial and tool orientation on self-organization in achievement of the objectives of development of the city, solutions of pressing problems of citizens. Social activity of citizens which finds the expression in activity of the non-profit organizations, public funds, various actions organized and supported by authorities of various level isn't considered. It is other layer of researches.

On the one hand, the analysis of manifestation public practician of citizens gives the grounds for determination of percent of the active self-organized population, orientations, forms of manifestation of activist activity, nature of interaction with governing institution. With another, research public practician of the population allows to see resources, to create the conditions and organizational and administrative technologies and tools capable to strengthen administrative actions of authorities on processes and the phenomena on achievement of the objectives of a development of the city.

Results of the first stage of work on research of contents, orientation and forms of activity public practician of residents of Tyumen are presented in this article. As a method of research the content analysis of materials of the press of four Tyumen newspapers "Tyumenskiye Izvestiya", "Tyumenskaya Pravda", "Tyumenskaya oblast segodnya", "Tyumensky kuryer" for the last three years from 2013 to 2015 has been chosen. The form of the content analysis has been developed for carrying out the content analysis. The unit of measure is a story about activist practice of the population of the city of Tyumen.

In total have undergone the analysis of 2682 articles from them only 42 articles contained information on public practice of citizens (I want to note that this is not about the public practice who are carried out by public structures, having legislatively registered organizational structure). The figure is not big, but tending to growth from 9 in 2013 to 19 in 2015. To speak about existence in the city of powerful, significant potential of public activity of citizens by results of this research it is still premature (the same analysis of the materials posted in social networks is at least necessary). However already now it is possible to say that citizens gradually realize a role of the participation in the decision both city problems in general, and problems of not going beyond their residential district, the street with confidence. If to range a circle of issues which are resolved by public practice of citizens, then first place on the importance wins improvement of the territory and the desire to decorate the city, to present pleasure of beauty to other people, then both charity, and care of animals, ecology, etc. isn't obligatory house adjoining.

Table 1. Directions of public practice of residents of Tyumen in 2013-2015

Mass media	Directions public practice of citizens		
	2013	2014	2015
"Tyumenskiye Izvestiya"	Help to animals	Book-exchange; volunteering charity; enlightenment	Flashmobs; creative art projects; reconstruction of the street
"Tyumenskaya Pravda"	Involvement of the population to social projects	Charity; fight against alcoholism and drug addiction; acquaintance	Creation of a favorable image of the city; flashmob; charity; restoration of national traditions

Continuation of the Table 1.

Mass media	Directions public practice of citizens		
	2013	2014	2015
"Tyumenskaya oblast segodnya"	Improvement of the territory (2)	Improvement of the territory (2); creation of the family museum	Charity; creation of a favorable image of the city – the art project
"Tyumensky kuryer"	Improvement of the house; solution of environmental problems; safety of children	Improvement of the territory (2); Disputes for and against construction of the Temple in the square Komsomol Decoration of walls of multi-storey buildings	Maintenance and protection of animals; charity; art project; solution of environmental problems

Forms of realization public practice are similar that the active part of the population will organize people for the solution of this or that question, carrying out concrete action, and people who didn't know to this each other. It is possible to assume, that uniting, motivational basis for action are values and norms. What gives the grounds to make such assumption, this lack of remuneration, lack of public recognition, a temporality of association of people is very frequent. That to a control system, the main thesis is that in the conditions of uncertainty, diversity of scenarios of development, complication of adaptation processes and mechanisms of a reflection on the events, the modern control system isn't able to answer time calls without active attraction of activist potential of the citizens. It is about recognition of creative activity of certain individuals, groups, communities, social movements as development resource. Relevance of such approach is caused including the increasing manifestation of activity of the population in all spheres of activity. And the vector of this activity not always coincides with the proclaimed purposes of society development. Underestimation of actualization of activity of the population in practice of management leads to administrative actions not on an advancing, and in pursuit of on the decision, overcoming of already available problems and contradictions, various extent of manifestation and influence on society that repeatedly multiplies resource costs of their overcoming. Today in practice of municipal management there is no integrated approach to definition of the indicators characterizing his vector of development taking into account the increasing influence of activity of different population and forms of manifestation. It is possible to tell that there are other indicators: level of social well-being, trust to the power, they are good in addition, above called work for effective and productive development in general. Besides, all range of interests of active subjects of interaction and as a result is designated, it optimizes search of alternatives, compromises, the best results of administrative action for development of city community, the city. Therefore, one of the purposes of municipal management of a development of the city is definition of interface of various purposes in uniform and work on an inclusiveness of citizens in comanaging process. It is about two processes: the first, development of the purpose, the second, creation of the bases on legitimation of these purposes, including, through formation of conditions and technologies for the population inclusiveness in procedure, as acceptances of a common goal, and in her realization. Speaking about creation of the mechanism of interaction with the population, probably, the population should divide the mechanism on rendering of services and the interaction mechanism with active part of the population.

Conclusion: practice of municipal management has to include knowledge of manifestations of territorial identification characteristics of citizens as an indicator of development of a territorial community, about estimates of social self-identification, social activity, norms and regulators of the relations within a concrete city community that, allows to receive not only the integrated indicator of a condition of social space, but also gives the chance to develop it by means of methods of social design. Design development of space, assumes inclusion in action of the principle of a bulb within system approach and a sustainable development when spheres and layers of social development develop not in parallel and the more so, not by the principle of priority, and growing and sprouting, through action of processes of diffusion of an overflowing of one plane in another reaching effect of an emergentness and a synergy.

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Socio - Economic and Legal Aspects of International Migration

Victoria Y. Ledeneva, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. The article analyzes the migration policies of different European countries. Migration has quickly become an international problem affecting all countries and to influence the key areas of political, social and economic life. Identifies the main problems of migration and new trends in migration policy for more effective problem solving. The conclusion is that we need a new European migration policy, which is more focused on international markets is more realistic and more directed to the problems of European migration.

Key words: migration; migration policy; European integration; the problems of illegal immigration; the European Union; adaptation of migrants

Migration is an international issue. Migration has ceased a long time ago to be a marginalized phenomenon concerning only minor social groups in few countries. Migration has rapidly become an international issue, concerning all countries and influencing key areas of their political, social and economic life.

European policies – France. During the 1980s, a series of laws formed a restrictive French migration policy, while towards the end of the same decade, President Mitterand intensified efforts for the inclusion of existing immigrants. The 1988 "Guigou" Laws introduced the right for children born in France to foreign parents to automatically obtain French nationality. The 2003 Sarkozy Law is characterised by particular stringency with respect to the conditions of entry, exit and residency of aliens in the French state. In 2006, the French Government decided to proceed with a new reform for migration, which is undoubtedly related to the disturbances caused by collisions of immigrants with the police in the suburbs (banlieux) of Paris in November 2005. These collisions manifested the social crisis in these areas in the most vivid manner, which was the result of a migration policy that was incompetent in facing social discrimination and inequality matters and which essentially entrapped immigrants in degraded suburbs in the form of ghettos.

European policies – Germany. Despite the planned attraction of foreign workforces following the Second World War and until 1973, the entire policy of Germany regarding aliens was, until recently, summarised in a dogma that "Germany is not a migration country", a fact that delayed the creation of a modern migration legislation. The commencement of a new phase of the German policy regarding aliens was marked by the 1999 amendment of the law pertaining to nationality and then with the decree in the year 2000 which provisioned the issuance of a "green card" for aliens who were specialised in information systems. This change in German policy was made more apparent with the new 2005 migration law, which aimed at managing the entire migration sector [International

Migration Report, 2014]. This ambition, however, to create the most innovative migration law in Europe, was not successful, as the provisions of the law that would bring great changes in Germany's migration policy were abolished. In the end, the possibility to establish oneself in the country is given to specific categories of working aliens, so that the German market may benefit either from the attraction of specialised human resources or from the creation of new job positions.

European policies – Italy. Since the 1980s, Italy has gradually become a host country due to geopolitical developments in the Balkans, the adverse economic conditions that prevail in North Africa and increased competition brought on by globalization. The abrupt increase in the number of economic immigrants in the country made it necessary to take legislative measures, in order to solve problems created by this new situation. Italy's migration policy, for the largest part of the 1990s, could be characterised as sketchy and slow in reaction in view of migration factors and challenges. The Turco-Napolitano Law of 1998 attempted to form a national policy regarding inclusion of aliens while, at the same time, it set the invitation by an employer or an individual as a prerequisite for entry of aliens into the country. In addition, it introduced quotas per country of origin and type of employment. One of the basic differences brought on by the Bossi-Fini Law of 2002 was the provision which imposed the obligation of alien workers to possess a Residence Contract for Dependent Employment. Common features of all statutes were provisions pertaining to the legalization of illegal immigrants, which functioned as an ongoing corrective measure treating migration as a temporary or extraordinary situation.

European policies – UK. The modern migration policy of the United Kingdom appears to be clearly oriented towards migration flow management that serves the economy of the country as a criterion. Through the entry of points into the system as a method of selecting immigrants, the intention to attract specialised alien workers who function as value-added assets to the further development of the country is becoming apparent. This new direction of the United Kingdom migration policy does not aim to attract specialised immigrants, but to secure their permanent residency in the country. At the same time, a procedure of replacing unskilled alien human resources with citizens of new member-States of the expanding EU is observed.

European policies – Netherlands. During recent years, migration in the Netherlands has been mainly linked with family reunions, political refugees and applicants for asylum. Although Dutch society has not lost its multicultural character, concerns have nevertheless been expressed about how far tolerance to anything that is culturally different may serve the country's interest. At the same time, assertions for a "cleaner" Holland have been voiced and the enactments of more stringent criteria for entry, residency, employment and inclusion of immigrants are increasing. The Aliens Act was set in force in 2001. The Act's basic objective was the correct management of migration in the Low

Countries and of the problems accompanying migration. The adoption, however, of more stringent policies for granting asylum, led inthe same direction [Schapendonk, J., 2011:37].

European policies – Spain. Within a period of approximately two decades, Spain received a very significant number of immigrants. The non-existence of an essential migration policy and the lack of prior experience aggravated the effective management of the phenomenon. The application of five legalization procedures during the last twenty years essentially reveals the partial ineffectiveness of the country's migration policy. Instead of determining the actual needs of the domestic labour market and promoting the fulfilment of its needs with legal forms of migration, the Spanish migration policy of the last twenty years has basically remained inert and allows for illegal forms of migration to cover existing employment vacancies. The Spanish Government has recently proceeded with certain modifications, with the objective of improving its management of migration flows. Some of these modifications regard better determination of shortages in the labour market per sector, the creation of more flexible quota systems, as well as measures to combat illegal employment.

The Hellenic Experience. The volume of the migration population in Greece is estimated to be one million. This figure is about to change as Bulgaria and Rumania become fully fledged members of the EU. About one quarter of the migrant population is estimated to be illegal. Migrants represent 10,3% of the active working population in Greece. Their contribution to the GDP amounts to 2.5%. Of this percentage, 2% is attributed to the legal migrant population, whereas 0,5% is attributed to the undocumented (illegal) migrant working population. Migrant population contributes positively to the reduction of the product prices and the improvement of the competitiveness of Greek products, thus promoting the export sales. Part of this population (around 70%) is fully integrated in the Greek society, whereas a percentage of more than 50% acknowledges its wish to remain in Greece on a permanent basis and to apply for the Greek citizenship.However, a recent study shows:

- lowering of the working cost leads to reduction of the wages for the low income indigenous working population.
- an increase of undocumented (illegal) working migrants at more than 200.000 persons, would lead to a reduction of 3% of the wages of the low income indigenous working population, whereas it would further lead to a reduction of the wages of the legal migrant population ranging from 28% to 55%.
- The rate of unemployment of legal migrant workers would reach 50% (or more), thus leading to social conflicts.

During 2008 the number of immigrants attempting to enter illegally has reached 150.000, whereas every year about 50.000 undocumented (illegal) migrants are added to the ones already living in Greece. The specific problem is not restricted to Greece but also concerns Cyprus, Malta, Italy, Spain and in the end effect, the whole EU.

A European unified policy. The European Union does not have the resources to decently receive all the migrants hoping to find a better life here. Poorly managed immigration may disrupt the social cohesion of the countries of destination. The organisation of immigration must take account of Europe's reception capacity in terms of its labour market, housing, and health, education and social services, and protect migrants against possible exploitation by criminal networks.The creation of a common area of free movement also brings Member States new challenges.One MemberState's actions may affect the interests of the others. Access to the territory of one MemberState may be followed by access to the others.It is consequently imperative that each MemberState take account of its partners' interests when designing and implementing its immigration, integration and asylum policies.Issues addressed and planned:

- Abolition of internal border controls across most of Europe
- Adoption of a common visa policy,
- Harmonisation of external border controls and asylum standards,
- Alignment of certain conditions of legal immigration,
- Cooperation in controlling illegal immigration,
- Establishment of the Frontex agency,
- Setting up of dedicated funds for solidarity between Member States.

The European Council (17 June 2008) makes five basic commitments:

- Organise legal immigration to take account of the priorities, needs and reception capacities determined by each Member State, and to encourage integration.
- Control illegal immigration by ensuring that illegal immigrants return to their countries of origin or to a country of transit.
- Make border controls more effective.
- Construct a Europe of asylum.
- Create a comprehensive partnership with the countries of origin and of transit in order to encourage the synergy between migration and development.

The Basic Commitments

1. Organise legal immigration

Legal immigration should be the result of a desire on the part of both the migrant and the host country to their mutual benefit. It is for each Member State to decide on the conditions of admission of legal migrants to its territory and, where necessary, to set their number. Any quotas involved might be implemented in partnership with the countries of origin. The European Council calls on Member States to implement an immigration policy that is both managed, particularly with respect to all labour market needs, and concerted, given the impact it may have on other Member States. The European Council stresses the importance of adopting a policy that enables fair treatment of migrants and their harmonious integration into the societies of their host countries.Invite Member States and the Commission to implement policies for labour migration, with due regard to the *acquis communautaire* and Community preference, bearing in mind potential human resources within the European Union, and using the most appropriate resources, which take account of all the needs of the labour market of each Member State. Increase the attractiveness of the European Union for highly qualified workers and take new measures to further facilitate the reception of students and researchers and their movement within the EU;

- Ensure that those policies do not aggravate the brain drain;
- Regulate family migration more effectively by inviting each Member State, to take into consideration in its national legislation, its own reception capacities and families' capacity to integrate, as evaluated by their resources and accommodation in the country of destination and, for example, their knowledge of that country's language;
- Strengthen mutual information on migration by improving existing instruments where necessary.
- Improve information on the possibilities and conditions of legal migration, particularly by putting in place the instruments needed for that purpose as soon as possible.
- Invite Member States, to establish ambitious policies, in a manner and with resources that they deem appropriate, to promote the harmonious integration in their host countries of immigrants who are likely to settle permanently. Promote information exchange on best practice implemented, in line with the common principles approved by the Council in 2004, in terms of reception and integration, and on EU measures to support national integration policies.

2.Control illegal immigration

Ensure that illegal immigrants return to their countriesof origin or to a transit countryGreater cooperation between Member States and the Commission and the countries of origin and of transit in order to control illegal immigration under the Global Approach to Migration is a necessity; Illegal immigrants on Member States' territory must leave that territory. Each Member State undertakes to ensure that this principle is effectively applied with due regard for the law and for the dignity of the persons involved, giving preference to voluntary return, and each Member State shall recognise the return decisions taken by another Member State;all States are required to readmit their own nationals who are staying illegally on the territory of another State.

3.Make border controls more effective

The European Council recalls that each Member State is responsible for the controls on its section of the external border.That control, giving access to a common area of free movement, is exercised in a spirit of joint responsibility on behalf of all Member States. Conditions for granting visas outside the external border should contribute fully to the integrated management of that border. Those Member States whose geographical location exposes them to influxes of immigrants, or whose resources are limited, should be able to count on the effective solidarity of the European Union.Invite Member States and the Commission to mobilise all their available resources to ensure more effective control of the external land, sea and air borders;Generalise the issue of biometric visas as from 1 January 2012 at the latest, as a result of the Visa Information System (VIS), immediately improve cooperation between Member States' consulates, pool resources as far as possible and gradually set up, on a voluntary basis, joint consular services for visas;Give the Frontex agency, with due regard for the role and responsibilities of the Member States, the resources to fulfil its mission of coordinating the control of the external border of the European Union, to cope with crisis situations and to undertake, at the request of Member States, any necessary operations, whether temporary or permanent.

Give fuller consideration, in a spirit of solidarity, to the difficulties of those Member States subjected to disproportionate influxes of immigrants and, to that end, invite the Commission to submit proposals [The Year 2015 in Review: One Million Migrants Less in Russia (2015). MiRPAL].Deploy modern technological means to ensure that systems are interoperable and to enable the effective integrated management of the external border.Intensify cooperation with the countries of origin and of transit in order to strengthen control of the external border and to combat illegal immigration by increasing the European Union's aid for the training and equipping of those countries' staff responsible for managing migration flows.

4. Construct a Europe of asylum

The basic scope:The European Council solemnly reiterates that any persecuted foreigner is entitled to obtain aid and protection on the territory of the European Union in application of the Geneva Convention and l welcomes the progress achieved in recent years as a result of the implementation of common minimum standards with a view to introducing the Common European Asylum System. It observes, however, that considerable disparities remain between one MemberState and another concerning the grant of protection and the forms that protection takes. While reiterating that the grant of protection and refugee status is the responsibility of each Member State, the European Council considers that the time has come to take new initiatives to complete the establishment of a Common European Asylum System, provided for in the Hague programme, and thus to offer a higher degree of protection, as proposed by the Commission in its asylum action plan.The European Council stresses that the necessary strengthening of European border controls should not prevent access to protection systems by those people entitled to benefit under them.Establish a European support office with the task of facilitating the exchange of information, analyses and experience among Member States, and developing practical cooperation between the administrations in charge of examining asylum applications. That office will not have the power to examine applications or to take decisions but will use the shared knowledge of countries of origin to help to bring national practices, procedures, and consequently decisions, into line with one another;Invite the Commission to present proposals for establishing, in 2010 if possible and in 2012 at the latest, a single asylum procedure comprising common guarantees and for adopting a uniform status for refugees and the beneficiaries of subsidiary protection;Establish procedures, in the case of crisis in a Member State faced with a massive influx of asylum-seekers, to enable the secondment of officials from other Member States to help that State and the demonstration of effective solidarity with that State by mobilising existing EU programmes more rapidly.For those Member States which are faced with specific and disproportionate pressures on their national asylum systems, due in particular to their geographical or demographic situation, solidarity shall also aim to promote, on a voluntary and coordinated basis, better reallocation of beneficiaries of international protection from such Member States to others, while ensuring that asylum systems are not abused. In accordance with those principles, the Commission, will facilitate such voluntary and coordinated reallocation. Specific funding under existing EU financial instruments should be provided for this reallocation, in accordance with budgetary procedures.Strengthen cooperation with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to ensure better protection for people outside the territory of European Union Member States who request protection, in particular by:

- moving, on a voluntary basis, towards the resettlement within the European Union of people placed under the protection of the UNHCR, particularly as part of regional protection programmes;
- inviting the Commission, in liaison with the UNHCR, to present proposals for cooperation with third countries in order to strengthen the capacities of their protection systems;

- Invite the Member States to provide the personnel responsible for external border controls with training in the rights and obligations pertaining to international protection.

5. Create partnership with the countries of origin and of transit

The basic Scope:

Recalling its conclusions of December 2005, December 2006 and June 2007, the European Council reaffirms its attachment to the Global Approach to Migration, which was the inspiration for the Euro-African conferences in Rabat and Tripoli in 2006 and the Euro-African summit in Lisbon in 2007.

It is convinced that this approach, which addresses the organisation of legal migration, the control of illegal immigration, and the synergy between migration and development for the benefit of all the countries concerned and of the migrants themselves, is a highly relevant approach to the East and South of Europe.

Migration must become a major component in Member States' and EU external relations, which presupposes examination of the quality of the existing dialogue with each third country on migration.

The European Council undertakes, on this basis, to support the development of the countries involved and with them to build a close partnership encouraging the synergy between migration and development.

Conclude EU-level or bilateral agreements with the countries of origin and of transit containing, as appropriate, clauses on the opportunities for legal migration adapted to the labour market situation in the Member States, the control of illegal immigration, readmission, and the development of the countries of origin and of transit

Encourage Member States, as far as they are able, to offer the nationals of partner countries to the East and South of Europe opportunities for legal immigration adapted to the labour market situation in Member States, enabling those nationals to acquire training or professional experience and accumulate savings that they can use for the benefit of their home countries [Amanda Levinson, 2010: 36].

The European Council invites Member States to encourage in this context forms of temporary or circular migration, in order to prevent a brain drain. Pursue policies of cooperation with the countries of origin and of transit in order to deter or prevent illegal immigration, in particular by capacity-building in those countries;

Integrate migration and development policies more effectively by examining how such policies may benefit the regions of origin of immigration. Promote co-development actions that enable migrants to take part in the development of their home countries. Firmly implement the partnership between the European Union and Africa agreed in Lisbon in December 2007, the conclusions of the first Euro-Mediterranean ministerial meeting on migration held in Albufeira in November 2007 and the Rabat action plan and to that end call on the second Euro-African ministerial conference on migration and development in Paris in autumn 2008 to decide on practical measures.Develop, in accordance with its conclusions of June 2007, the Global Approach to Migration to the East and South-east of Europe. Continue to make use of the existing political and sectoral dialogues, particularly with the countries of Latin America, the Caribbean and Asia, in order to consolidate mutual understanding of what is at stake in the field of migration and intensify current cooperation.Speed up the deployment of the key tools of the Global Approach to Migration (migration balances, cooperation platforms, partnerships for mobility and circular migration programmes), to ensure a balance between the migration routes from the South and those from the East and South-east.Ensure when implementing these various actions that they are consistent with other aspects of the EU's development cooperation policy, particularly the European Consensus on Development of 2005, and other policies, particularly the neighbourhood policy.

Conclusions. Illegal immigration is of European concern. We need a fresh European policy, a policy that is more internationally oriented, more realistic and better aimed at the problems of European migration.

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Eurasians about Inter-Ethnic Relationships

Sergei N. Pushkin, Nizhny Novgorod, Russia

Abstract. The author considers some of the peculiarities of the mutual relationships between Eurasian and European super-ethnoses on the territory of Russia and Ukraine in the historical past as well as at present.

Key words: super-ethnos; ethnos; Russia; Ukraine

The today's events in Ukraine demonstrate the overall contradiction of the mutual relationships between Eurasian and European super-ethnoses. And again here acquires a vital importance of the Eurasian assessment of Aleksander Nevsky's and Daniil Galitsky's activity impact. The former chose the East and sought to oppose primarily to European expansion, the latter oriented towards the West, fought Mongol-Tartar invasion. It is sure to be the basis for developing the contradictions which later would repeat over and over in the relationships between Russia and Ukraine. Certainly the Eurasians completely sympathized Aleksander Nevsky, whose activity resulted from not only political interests. By the Mongol-Tartars Aleksander strove to defend Rus against Western countries' enthrallment. And this was not possible without Orthodoxy. Looking for allies he forwarded to the East because faith-tolerant Mongol-Tartars were more close to him. *'Aleksander saw Mongols as a friendly in culture force,* thought Eurasians, *which could help him preserve and authorize Russian cultural independence* [Vernadsky; 1997:238].No wonder that Eurasians singled out and highly valued his exploit of subdue in the East and in fight in the West.

Daniil Galitsky strove to set free from Mongol-Tartar dependence. But as a result of his orientation toward the West, he, according to Eurasian thinkers, 'lost the major threads of historical events' and thus Galitsky-Volynsky lands appeared to be in the 'Latin slavery'. As a result the Western Ukraine much thank to Daniil Galitsky joint into European super-ethnos while Aleksander Nevsky provided a fundamental basis for Eurasian super-ethnos. At present when Western Ukrainians have spread their influence far beyond the boundaries of Galitsky-Volynsky lands in Ukraine the ideas of European integration are so popular. The majority of the residents of this country think that only Western Europe is able to solve their pressing Ukrainian problems.

According to Lev Gumelev, super-ethnoses as well as ethnoses are system unities though a factor higher. Nevertheless, if ethnoses are directly watched by taxa, super-ethnoses, as a rule, are too great to be mentally perceived. The similar level of investigation permits to solve the problem of considering super-ethnos like observing a big architectural building. For this one has to move a distance away to hold its overall view. Together with this, despite ethnos super-ethnos is primarily characterized far from its size and even not by its power as widening and narrowing makes no difference but strictly by the degree of inter-ethnic proximity. That is why Lev Gumelev labels super-ethnoses, constantly opposing each other, as ‘civilizations’ and ‘cultures’ and sometimes ‘worlds’. Despite often and unobstructedly blending ethnoses which are super-ethnos, the latter as he thought cannot unite. Since they are not just badly compatible but as a rule they are mutually exclusive. According to Gumelev, the like incompatibility fully correspond to certain super-ethnic ideals and dominants. Only they determine if a human being as well as ethnos belong to a super-ethnos and prevent super-ethnoses from forming one unit. Nevertheless, if union of super-ethnoses is entirely impossible then there is enough possibility for separation of isolated ethnoses from super-ethnoses followed by their joining to another super-ethnos. In fact super-ethnoses are monolithic only during passionate rise. Furthermore, they just tend to seek to preserve a stable balance while being in a constant inter-super-ethnic fight.

Polarization within the system is one of their peculiar features. They appear units with relation to other super-ethnoses some of the constituents which are far from being unity and uniformity. In the inter-ethnic encounters any opponent as a kind of foreigner must be gotten rid of. And the farther super-ethnoses are from each other the more they are aimed to a cold-blooded and merciless annihilation of each other. Conflicts within the super-ethnos as a rule are based on strive to a compromise. On this assumption Ukraine is expected whether isolation (in the West or in the East) of some the ethnoses from one super-ethnos followed by joining to another super-ethnos (from European to Eurasian or vice versa from Eurasian to European), or a split which is impossible temporally to prevent from but if there is a strong political will which is not presently in Ukraine somehow manifested.

It should be mentioned, Lev Gumilev is sure for mutual relationships of the majority of Ukrainians and Russians to have always been positively complementary. That was why there won pro-Russian Bogdan Khmelnitsky but not Mazepa. In that two close ethnoses due to the ethnogenesis logic, as two close cultures due to the culturegenesis logic could not but unite in spite of political situation’s favoring this not always and in everything. The choice was made not by politicians but the people. It is only due to their natural world perception there was provided their successful way to a further sociocultural advancement. In this connection Lev Gumilev furiously denies accusations of infringing Ukrainians’ rights in Russia. On the contrary, he points out highly positive influence on the Russians. In particular, quenched in discussions with Catholics Ukrainian Orthodox Church clergy as well as Ukrainian Orthodox Church episcopacy were truly valued by Moscow patriarchy. Their representatives as Simeon Polotsky, Pheophan Prokopovich and many others up to now have been highly revered by Russian culture as well as by RussianChurch. The reunion of Ukraine and Russia acquires a never-been-before-importance problem of Orthodox ceremony uniformity, which was regulated in Byzantium by two typica: Jerusalem and Stoudios. The Russian accepted the former, the Greeks followed by many other orthodox ethnoses including the Ukrainian chose the latter. It is conceivable that arrived to Moscow Kiev monks vigorously insisted on changing church ceremonies and books in correspondence to their representations. And undoubtedly with this they mediated the union of Ukraine and Russia and thus a significant strengthening a single orthodox super-ethnos. But not all in Russia and in Ukraine up to present time take it positively.

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Impact of Macroeconomic Factors on the Post-Olympic Sochi (by Results of Sociological Studies of Residents Sochi)

Irina P. Yakovleva, Krasnodar, Russia
Elena V. Mironet, Krasnodar, Russia

Abstract. The article deals with the degree of influence on various aspects of life of Sochi macroeconomic factors such as the 2014 Olympics, the imposition of economic sanctions against Russia, the Crimea, and the preparations for the World Cup, 2018. The authors examine the significance of these events for the post-Olympic Sochi on materials held own opinion poll of its inhabitants and the comparative analysis with the results of the All-Russian sociological studies.

Key words: Olympics 2014; economic sanctions; Crimea; the FIFA World Cup;2018; Olympic heritage; socio-economic status

Holding the Olympic Games in Sochi in 2014 has had a significant impact on the various spheres of life, not only the country, but above all of the city itself. As the K.Sharr and E. Shtaynike festivalizatsiya major sporting events such as the World Cup or the Olympics turn them into the event with great international resonance, often causing socio-economic, environmental, cultural and urban changes in their places of [Sharr, Shtaynike , 2013: 379].

It is worth noting that the society is still divided in opinion regarding the impact of Olympic Games 2014 on the development of the country and the region. V.I. Shapovalov sub-divided the Olympic legacy of Sochi into tangible and intangible. By the material heritage are new or reconstructed sports and non-sports facilities needed for the Games; transport infrastructure; improvements in the state of the urban environment (eg, upgrading of certain areas of the city, the creation of new public spaces, parks and gardens); updated telecommunications, engineering, energy infrastructure, and so on - let's call it financial technical and technological heritage [Shapovalov, 2015: 224].

This aspect of the problem sufficiently studied in detail both in the domestic and foreign literature. Thus, analyzing the results of the Olympic Games in Sochi, and their impact on the socio-economic development of the region, scientists say more than 1.3 trillion rubles invested over 8 years of preparation for the Olympics in Sochi development as the country's largest and competitive in the foreign market resort [Kosheleva, 2015: 31], the construction of more than 800 objects of capital construction with the involvement of private and public investment [Saleeva, 2015: 54]. It specifies that the Olympic legacy facilities contribute to the increase of the tourist flow in the Krasnodar region and uses, including as a megaobjects of tourism interest. In the post-Olympic period in Sochi held significant socio-political, cultural, sports and other mass events of national and international scale (the annual World Championship in the class of cars Formula 1 - Grand Prix of Russia) [Khodykina, Voronin, Kubelya, Minenkova, 2015 : 140].

Considerably less attention in the literature given to the intangible heritage of the Games, which implies changes in moral behavior, social competence, specific knowledge and skills in communication, a conscious sense of patriotism and social responsibility for their actions, etc., Call it socio-cultural (socio-cultural) heritage [Shapovalov, 2015: 224].

In order to determine the degree of influence of macro factors on various aspects of life of Sochi conducted a sociological study of the inhabitants of the city. Respondents were asked to assess the degree of influence on the development of their city events such as the holding of the Olympic Games in the city, will provide significant investment in various spheres of life of Sochi; joining of Crimea to Russia, one of the largest tourist and recreational areas heighten competition for domestic consumers; the introduction of Western countries economic sanctions against Russia and the Russian government's response; preparations for the 2018 World Cup, one of whose centers was elected Sochi.

Table 1. The influence of various factors on the socio-economic situation of Sochi and its inhabitants, %

Factors	substantially affected	impact, but only slightly	no impact	difficult to answer
Olympic Games. 2014	75.6	13.3	5.2	5.9
The annexation of Crimea to Russia	23.0	38.5	30.4	8.1
Preparations for the FIFA World Cup. 2018	18.5	25.2	23.7	32.6
The imposition of sanctions against Russia	24.4	37.0	23.7	14.8

As the table shows the vast majority of respondents (88.9%) said the impact of the Olympic Games in 2014 on the current state of the city of Sochi. while 75.6% of them rated it as significant; not traced the influence of the 5.2% and 5.9% of respondents could not answer this question. The study showed that after two years from the date of the Olympic Games and. in spite of all the hardships of its preparatory process. the majority of city residents (77.1%) reacted positively to this fact. however. at the 19.8% observed a negative assessment of the event and 5.2% could not answer the question.

The results of the Olympic Games to Sochi is also highly rated by respondents. According to almost half of the respondents (49.6%) Olympics gave a lot for the development of the city. 34.8% noted improvement in some aspects of urban development; 9.6% reported a deterioration of some aspects of urban life. and 4.4% could not answer the question. Comparing the data obtained with the results of research conducted on the eve of the event. according to which the public opinion of local residents predicting adverse effects superior to positive expectations [Sharr, Shtaynike. 2013: 380]. we can talk about the success of the results achieved.

Confirmation of this positive assessment of the competition can be regarded as the ratio of Sochi residents to change their lives for the past 2 years. According to respondents. in their lives improve over the period point to 42.2%. in particular. minor improvements observed in 23.7% of the respondents. and significant improvement in 18.5%. Negatively evaluate the changes in their lives a little more than a third of respondents (36.3%). 22.2% and 14.1% say "minor" and "significant" deterioration in their lives. The absence of any vital changes observed in 14.8% of the residents of Sochi and could not answer the question 6.7%.

In contrast to the almost unanimous appreciation for the importance of the city and its residents conducted in 2014 Olympic Games. in the respondents' answers about a similar effect of the annexation of Crimea to Russia can be traced differences: little impact noted 38.5%. 30.4% did not notice any effect of the events. 23.0% trace the significant impact and 8.1% undecided.respondents This position may be associated with the realization of the benefits enjoyed by the Sochi region in the competition for the consumer (mostly Russians meets the needs of service. accessibility. the continued interest in the objects of the Olympic legacy. all-season resort nature of the work. etc.).

Regarding the impact of the sanctions imposed. the respondents' answers as can be seen from the table. as follows: "impact. but only slightly." (37.0%). "substantially affected" (24.4%). "no impact" (23.7 %) and "difficult to answer" (14.8%). The findings of the survey of the residents of Sochi indicators differ from similar parameters of All-Russian Research. Thus. according to the Public Opinion Foundation in March 2016 for the estimated impact of the sanctions on the economy of our country as a significant 40% of respondents as insignificant 36%. The absence of the effect of said 13%. undecided - 10%. However. in the view of Russian sanctions affect their own life is much lower (affect significantly - 24% is insignificant influence - 29% have no effect - 40%. undecided - 7%) [Dynamics. 2016]. Thus. we can speak of a medial position. which occupies the region in the minds of the citizens in this matter.

Maximum difficulty of the respondents in the framework of our survey caused a variety of answers to the question of the impact on the socio-economic situation of the city of Sochi and its inhabitants prepare for the World Cup. 2018. As noted above. nearly a third of respondents (32.6%) were undecided this question; 25.2% trace little impact ongoing preparations. 23.7% did not notice any effect. and 18.5% reported a significant impact. It should be noted that the data obtained in the survey. residents of Sochi differ somewhat from the upcoming sporting event assessments under the All-Russia Research. Thus. according to the Public Opinion Foundation. more than half of respondents (58%) are positive about the FIFA World Cup holding. 2018 in Russia. however. only a third of the total number of respondents (39%) expect the beneficial effects of this event on the economy and 28% noted the negative economic consequences of [the world Cup 2014]. In addition. the study of the opinions of citizens on the attitude to the football championship is a special interest in the dynamics. since. in our opinion. based on public opinion monitoring data on the conduct and consequences of the Olympics 2014. we can predict the growth of positive trends in the evaluation of the event after its completion.

Thus. the study showed that at the moment among the external factors. such as the 2014 Olympics. the imposition of economic sanctions against Russia. Crimea and the accession preparations for the World Cup. 2018. held in 2014 Olympics has the greatest impact on social and economic situation of the city of Sochi. Monitoring the relationship of citizens to data megamasshtabnym events is extremely important. as it allows to evaluate not only the effectiveness of social. environmental and infrastructural transformations in Sochi. realized. first of all. in preparation for the above mentioned sports events. but also solve the problem of "long-term interest of the current and future generations of consumers Olympic "cultural product""[Shapovalov. 2015: 224]. which is essential to the effective use and development of the region due to the advantages provided by the Olympic games.

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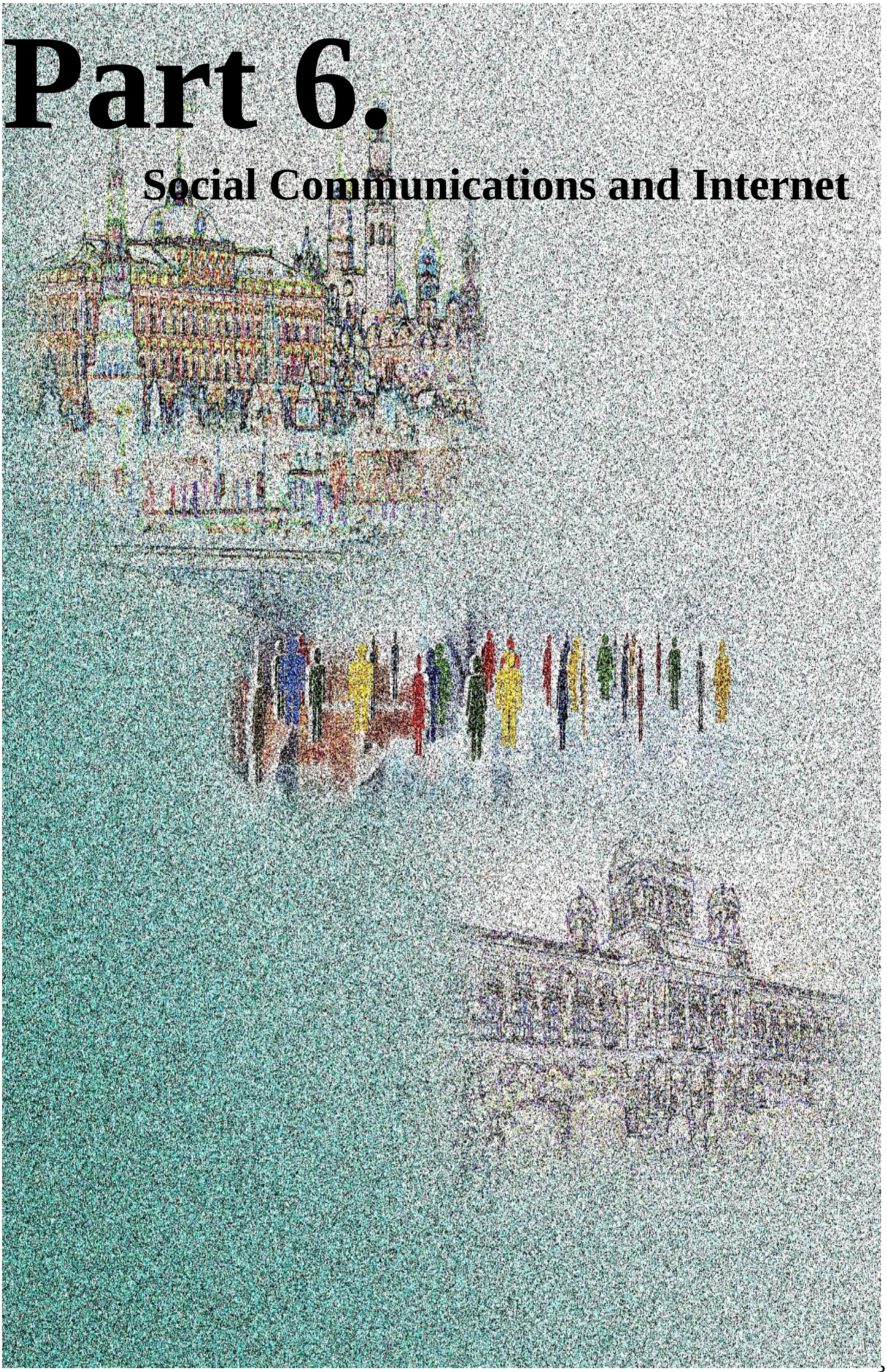
Part 6.

Social Communications and Internet



Mental Backgrounds for Verbal Communication

Irina S. Ipatova, Nizhny Novgorod, Russia

Abstract. The article considers the problem of mutual determination of the language and the society from linguistic, psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics points of view. Here are also demonstrated non-verbal means of communication as mental backgrounds for speech procedure *pronominal and official terms of address as well as etiquette* terms.

Key words: language; society; verbal communication; mentality

The mutual determination of the language and the society appears mostly within verbal communication with a literary language or slang, debates or high life rout – any verbal means and types of communication represent a bulky material for analyzing in the context of the most various sciences and different types of *linguistics*. Together with this under the influence of linguistics, which is meant mastering a language within communication and overall study of its pragmatic function – speech, psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics have recently demonstrated communicative tendencies.

So, a communicant's verbal behavior is exhibited within the coordinates of communication system and represents a structural component of this system. Pursuing goals in the communication a person shows a level of communicative competence and an ensemble of personal intentions, which in complex determine the contents of speech text and the peculiarities of another. This becomes utterly interesting when speakers of different languages are communicating.

The peculiarities of the Russian tongue as well as a foreign language acting as foreign are meant a correlation to a cumulative function of a language, revealing its abilities to reflect among the realities the properties of social communication. According to Humboldt, "each language contains its peculiar conception of the world. Just as a single sound is between a thing and a person the all language is between a person and the nature which influences inward and outward <...> Thus each language describes the circle around the people it belongs to and a person is to leave it in so far as he merely steps into the circle of another language" [Humboldt, 1984: 80].

Historically developed ways of thinking and expressing feelings, conventional value orientation and religion of the people through multi-century practice determine its specific quintessence: a language becomes, according to Humboldt's vivid definition, "a nation's spirit", and it preserves the impressed "all the nation's character".

The mental principles are reflected in the verbal procedure with the rules of communication appearing sometimes in the wonderful fusion of common, natural for a national speaker, and acquired, absorbed with another language. Thus, Russian words, as a foreigner masters Russian vocabulary, will get customary for the foreigner's native tongue tempo and tone of pronunciation in his speech;

non-verbal attendance of the phrase will also reveal the initial nature of the speech procedure since the practice of the verbal mutual determination mastered together with the native tongue has become an inalienable trait of his personality with peculiar mental features.

This all should be kept in mind while communicating with speakers of foreign languages, of another mentality even on the level gestures: one should not give a hand to a female aborigine in Emirates or pet a baby's head from Bali. Hunger will be expressed differently (a Russian will rhythmically bring a hand to mouth as if spooning out; an Uzbek will bring fingers to mouth as if carrying a pinch of pilaf; a Japanize will move fingers as if they were carrying food sticks without bringing to mouth) since the gestures mastered by a baby at home have a mental background. As for the gestures mastered in the business practice are universal. Thus, a public speaker's fear before an audience independent to nationality is warned with a thing strongly clamed in the fist (a pen, a file); a worriedly pulling a button, the clothes' edge, worried and absent-minded touching to any part of the body.

General 'democratization' of pronominal terms of address today is due to the English language fashion. Together with this the problem of unofficial *thou* and official *You* refers to social cultural and cultural historical, national bases. The polite, official *You* appeared in all nations because of the social inequality. Official term of address *you* was entered to Russian usage in Peter the First time, and in the XIX century official *you* fought with unofficial *thou*. Notoriously informal Benkendorf's address to Delvig cost for the latter his health and eventually his life. But among Hungarian gentry there was a different custom: if an older and nobler man would call another with an unofficial *you* then with this he expressed his suspicion about the latter's noble birth.

The influence of the English language as a means of international communication may be traced with the absence of patronymic names while presenting even the highest officials in mass media: *Hot Line with President Putin, minister for education and science of the Russian Federation Dmitry Livanov*. Together with this the subordinate terms of address among the military officials is immutable as an element of the disciplinary order, under the military regulation: *comrade lieutenant, comrade general-major of justice* and with official term *You*.

It is interesting to note that in the Tsar Russian army the terms of address were arranged as a linguistic reflection of the height in the class hierarchy: a soldier should address officers of all ranks beginning with unter-officer by official *You (gospodin unter-officer – mister unter-officer)*, but beginning with praporshchik (in the Russian army, non-commissioned officer) *You* became a part of term of address changing word *gospodin – mister*: *Your Noble Highness, Your Higher Noble Highness, Your Excellency, Your High Excellency*. In Napoleon's army soldiers might address generals with unofficial *thou*.

The generally accepted terms of greetings within an official communication are rigid, conventional: *How do you do!, Good morning!*. Nevertheless in this seemingly 'closed' term system there are happening changes caused by the proportional connection between the language and the society: the peculiarity of Internet-communication has reflected in the new, unconventional due to its abstractness greeting: ‘*Good time of the day*’.

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The Problem of Trust in Online-Communication[30]

Daria N. Karpova, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. The author of the article asks what is the paradox of a new form of interaction called online-communication? It is believed that individuals are becoming more hidden to the real world, but fully open in the virtual one which is expressed in trusting online friends details of his or her personal life. The category of trust in online-communicationis discussed, as well as data of empirical research of students.

Key words: trust; anonymous trust; online-communication

Any relationships even if they are mediated by online space cannot be built without trust. It is believed that in today's networked interaction world we face a *blind trusting* as a new form of the latent risk of online-communication.

The most famous theoretical scientist of trust investigation is P. Sztompka. He defines the trust through the prism of expectations that other people (institutions or organizations) will work for our good efficiently, honestly, decently and reliable [Sztompka, 2012]. The trust in stranger sociologist calls *anonymous trust*. Virtual friendship or emotional connection with people we do not know well however shows the expanding of concentric circles of trust or "trust horizon". Internet space is arranged in such a way that users reading the publics of any blogger may not know the author personally, but still trust him. Moreover, there may be hidden his or her real photo, personal data, experience etc. In addition to anonymous trust P. Sztompka enters into a scientific definition *technological trust*, which means faith in the durability, reliability, efficiency of technical systems that surround us and the use of which is essential for our life.

Indeed, only as a result of routinization everyday practices in the process of online-communication an active actor starts feeling the routine security based on the principles of ontological security (A. Giddens). In my opinion, especially in this routinized essence of security lies possible risks, in particular technological cyber risks. For instance, cyber criminals learned how to break the internet page of "friends" in social network calling on the "intimate friend" with a request to transfer some money to his account. Which can cause significant financial harm to the individual. The category of trust was studied during empirical research of students. Young people aged 18 to 23 years were asked: "Do you trust the description of the facts in the blogosphere?" It turned out that half of the students trust information published on the web. It was found a strong correlation between age and the level of trust of students: the older the person, the less they trust the information obtained in the process of online-communication.

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What is the paradox of the modern online-interaction? We start closing towards the real world, but fully open in the virtual one. American scientist B. Wellman called this phenomenon as the transformation of social structures -*networked individualism*. Under the social structures, the researcher understands the transition from door-to-door and place-to-place interaction to the person-to-person form. The modern individuals are increasingly hidden from their neighbors (door-to-door relations), but open a close circle to virtual friends (person-to-person), by sharing the details of his personal life [Wellman, 2010:123].

Perceptible openness and freedom of expression in the Internet facilitates other forms of interaction with other individuals. During online - communication strong links can be quickly formed as well as broken, as the process of formation and rupture in the virtual space is equally easy to implement. At the same time a measure of responsibility to another individual is extremely reduced. The system of trust is replaced by its analogue in electronically network space. In the Internet individual technological unconscious is formed in a certain stamps, guided by which users can carry out interpersonal communication.

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Technology as the Transformation of Communications (in Terms of Synergy)

Lessya N. Vasilieva, Moscow, Russia
Victor V. Vasiliev, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. The main subject of research deals with research of the role of technology in terms of synergy. Social sciences describe the unforeseeable, the qualitative, the possible, the irreversible and the uncertain. Human society is a self-organizing system. It is a new theoretical concept for understanding the trends of structure and dynamics of our world of the XXI century. We can speak about the transformation of communications (network society) and the economies of synergy. Digital technology and the universality of digital language created the conditions for global, horizontal communications.

Key words*:* technology; synergy; network society; transformation; communications

The main subject of research deals with better understanding of the role of technology in terms of synergy. Nature here is just an object and man is in a privileged position. This knowledge is based on the ideal of certitude and views Nature as a Machine. The language of social sciences expressed the language of Newtonian system of physics through the rational order of the world and society. Nowadays economists and sociologists encounter complicated problems. Social sciences describe the unforeseeable, the qualitative, the possible, the irreversible and the uncertain. Recent evolution in physics and mathematics allows us to look into perspective in which we have created own history.

We should consider the solution to such problem as technological development of modern civilization and the crisis from the philosophy of instability. We can “explain” the events of the past as the issue of latent determinism, but we cannot predict the events of the future. Human society is a self-organizing system. It is a new *theoretical concept* for understanding the trends of structure and dynamics of our world of the twenty-first century. We can speak about ***the transformation of communications*** *(network society).*

The *economies of synergy* take place in such a node as: between financial markets and media businesses; or between academic research and technological development and innovation; between politics and media.

These theoretical conceptions have practical applications. They are:

1)Growth of cargo turnover through the different control centers;

2) Active links between cities and villages;

3) Reduction of inequalities within society and between countries;

4) Depreciation of knowledge's gaps between pupils of cities and villages (distance education and language remote training);

5) Electronic governments reduce quantity of bureaucracy, free up personal time for people; develop democracy through intensification of feedback between citizens and public authorities.

Now we can see the Era of cultural, social, economic and technological transformations which connect with new forms of society. Manuel Castells, who has a reputation as the first significant philosopher of cyberspace and of the Information Age, mentioned in his book "The Rise of the Network Society": "All major social changes are ultimately characterized by ***a transformation of space and time in the human experience***" [Castells, 2013: XXXI]. Castells proposed a theory of urbanism in the Information Age based on the distinction between the *space of contiguity* and the *space of flows*. Now it is the largest wave of urbanization in the history of humankind. Two-thirds of the population of the planet may be urban by 2030. It involves the processing of flows of information, its production and transmission.

We can see such new forms of the networking dynamics and global integration as the ***metropolitan region***. The metropolitan region arises from two processes: extended decentralization from big cities with concentration of population and activities and interconnection of suburbs with agricultural lands and open space. This process does not correspond to the traditional separation between central cities and countryside. It is constituted by a multicenter structure with different hierarchies between the centers, residences, services and lands. Now we can say about the *universal urban form as the metropolitan region*.

Social processes are often dramatic. Human society is increasingly structured around a bipolar opposition *between the Net and the Self.* The information technology revolution ***increases of the human activity***. When in the 1970s a new technological paradigm appeared mainly in the United States, it was a specific segment of American society. These processes are interaction in the XXI-century with the global economy and with world geopolitics by a new way of living, producing, managing and communicating. Thus, we see a fundamental process of restructuring of the capitalist system from the 1980s onwards. The collapse of the alternative systems of social organization which M. Castells named as *statism* (for example, the Soviet Union, Chine, North Korea, Cuba) is, nevertheless, in the process of linking up with global capitalism. It has established a close relationship between the new, global capitalist system.

The Self in the Informational Society is integrating through computer-mediated communications and vast array of virtual communities. *The main political and social trends* of the 1990s were ***the action around primary identities***, rooted in history and geography. Social actor recognizes itself on the basis of his/her own references to definite social structures. The actual content of informational society has to be determined by analyses and rationalism. Modern society tries to establish a parallel with the distinction between all spheres of activity, located in the economic system, cultural patterns and habits of everyday life. For example, Castells said about the networking logic. The rising power of identity is found in relationship from micro-engineering to macro-changes: electronics and information. Technological innovation is not *an isolated instance*. It is connected with state of knowledge and particular industrial and institutional environment, a certain skills of resolve a technical problem.

Manuel Castells wrote: “The creation and development of the Internet in the last three decades on the twentieth century resulted from a unique blending of military strategy, big science cooperation, technological entrepreneurship, and countercultural innovation”[Castells, 2013:45]. Digital technology and the universality of digital language created the conditions for ***global, horizontal communications*****.**

At first, the main actors of the technology and information revolution were industrialists and scientists from such countries as British, America, France, Italy and Germany. The global industry evolved toward networking and strategic alliances between different countries and firms. After that Japanese companies came to dominate in the world market from the 1980s to the mid-1990s. Now we are witness an increasing presence of Chinese, Korean and Indian firms. All centers of high-technology and innovation have definite cultural and social patterns. These are abilities to generate synergy on the basis of information and knowledge, directly related to commercial applications and industrial production.

Distinctive and fundamental features of a new economy are network-based organizational forms and economic system with distinctive structure and dynamics. They are determined by standards of living and the productive capacity of society. Information itself becomes the product of the production process and it is applied in management to technology and knowledge themselves. These circles should lead to greater efficiency, institutional changes and productivity.

The main actor of the world economy in the Information Age is the United States. It was in the late 1990s that a wave of new products and new processes increases productivity growth and competition of economic systems. It was resulting of unique institutional factors which reinforcing each other. These factors are: revolutionary breakthroughs in information technology, the size of markets in the US, their dominant position in global networks, active attracting of capital investment and recruiting talents from around the whole world.Manuel Castellsmentioned in his book “The Rise of the Network Society”: “Culturally, entrepreneurialism, individualism, flexibility, and multi-ethnicity were key ingredients of both the new industries and the United States. Institutionally, capitalist restructuring, in the form of deregulation and liberalization of economic activities, took place earlier and faster in the US than in the rest of the world, facilitating capital mobility, diffusing innovation from the public research sector (for example, the Internet from the Department of Defense, biotechnology from public health institutes and non-profit hospitals), and breaking up key monopolies…" [Castells, 2013: 148].

Theories of informationalism and post-industrialism use as empirical evidence the coming to new social structures. These social structures characterized by the shift from goods production to services, by the rise of professional occupations, and by the growing information content of work in the different fields of economy. The source of new productivity lies in the extended of economic activity through information processing and in the generation of knowledge content.

The global, horizontal communications are the key factors of the *synergy effect* in the global economy. The global economy is created by the interaction between governments, markets and international financial institutions. But the personal activity, freedom and creativity are the Social Foundation of technological growth and different transformations. Now we can see ***the crises of the vertical organization model and the rise of networks*** in business, politic and social life.

The modern world is full of dangerous contradictions. For example, one of the most serious economic problems is *the growth of inequality* in the world. It is a factor of political instability when the people have a high level of education but have not a sufficient income. Democratic societies are based on such principle of organization as a realm of private interests. Personal hopes and disappointments are important social factors. Technologies themselves do not solve a lot of social problems. They are only a continuation of social and economic policy.

Dynamics of each network and absence or presence in the network are sources of change in society and domination. *A network-based social structure is an open system, a highly dynamic structure.* Networks are effective instruments for a capitalist economy based on decentralization, innovation and globalization; for workers and firms based on adaptability and flexibility. The network morphology is also a source of reorganization of power relationships. The networking logic induces the specific social interests expressed through the new technologies. *The convergence of information technologies and social evolution has created a new material basis* for the activities of personality and different social structures.

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On Utilitarian Wording

Serge G.Vatletsov, Nizhny Novgorod, Russia

Abstract. The article deals with utilitarian wording which is associated with assuming, changing and discharging legal rights and obligations.

Key words: utilitarian creation; wording; author's right

Utilitarian wording is herewith understood as the products of speech, results of intellectual and creative activity: scientific or fictional bright ideas, logos, trademarks. The creator applies certain language phenomena to convey fancy thoughts by speaking or more often by writing. It is obvious that together with non-property inalienable non-transferable rights (copyright, right to personality) the products of wording intentionally may possess qualities of real material goods:

- can be alienated thus participate in commodity-money relationships;
- it is not obligatory that only the author (authors) should exploit the utilitarian qualities of the creation;
- the owner (an author or a rightsholder) of the speech product may charge systematic or occasional payment for the right to use or copy it;
- above all, it should be recognized as a product, the result of intellectual activity with a obliged registration of the author's right.

Mastership is a faculty of individual fancy wording. Morphemes, words, their combining and arranging techniques are possible for the national language to have given free of charge. But this provision may cause conflicts when this possibility is going to be charged for. The author, the creator, receives a legal protection of the registered speech product, an exclusive right from the government to limit its use. Not all people may agree with this sort of linguistic rent, and inevitably there may be initiated litigations.

Disputes about words seem to be the most polemical. The result of wording interpretation will depend on deepness of comprehension of the material form and contents. The conclusion will be psychologically organized and depend on the participants' interests [Rozhdestvensky, 2000:64]. It is caused by different views of the world picture and very often solved in authoritarian way. In the courtroom the strongest is the judge, who has a discretionary power. But his or her ruling may be affected by a common, naïve knowledge. Let us call it *linguistic discretion.* Such linguistic discretion may be postponed if the ruling is appealed. At the same time, the imposed by linguistic discretion world picture can be multiplied by a judicial precedent.

Practice proves that official linguistic analysis of the text based on dictionaries, encyclopedias and reference books, as a rule, rather causes confusion than clears things out since a language sign is abstract and provokes abstract speculations (by the way, correlative to abstract norms of civil law system). The popular as well as academic sources, we dare say, do not reflect the true picture of the world but just express their lexicographers' individual views, their scholastic peculiarities and trends. At the same time speech study, concrete examination, is veiled by hopelessly individual perception. The same words, sentences, texts may be interpreted differently and misunderstanding depends on individual life and linguistic experience. Any fixed consequence of lexes may become vague since the norms of personal speech vary irrevocably and inconstantly.

Thus, revealing subjunctive or objective novelty of a linguistic creation should belong to a moral category not to utilitarianism. The majority of commercial slogans, authors' aphorisms initially were conceived, on the one hand as creation delight, and on the other, as products of utilitarianism but the both had crept into the national language with countless quotations and stayed there by fixed phrases of common use. And the best utilitarian benefits for their creators and rightsholders, we guess, are those subconscious images that appear in consumers' minds by default.

Language as a social matter exists and develops under its own laws. Compensatory capabilities of linguistic thinking (on the level of idiolects as well as on the level of the national language) are borderless and can be limited only by individual moral and esthetic views. That is why a linguist is very reluctant to deliver an official judgment about this or that linguistic phenomenon. We wonder why a non-linguist is bold enough to assess linguistic matters.

Once Giuliano Bonfante truly said, that any linguistic change is of an individual origin. In its beginning this is a free creation of a man which is imitated and assimilated (but not copied) by another, then by the third one until it is not propagated more or less in the certain area. This creation may be more or less strong, have more or less capabilities of preservation and distribution in accordance with an individual creative force and social influence, literature reputation, and etc [cited to Almatov,1988:111].

An ancient Greek philosopher Hesiod used to teach that the word repeated by people would never vanish. Indeed, individual wording would always serve as an essential resource of national language enrichment. Administrative restrictions on individual word combinations resemble sort of *fitting* language in the bed of Procrustes up to a monopolized compilation of linguistic precedents affordable to a limited circle of people. And very soon it may be misplaced far from reality. The income of the language rent of utilized texts on the *price-quality* and *demand-offer scale* may jump high and low, bring benefits as well as losses and move to oblivion.

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Internet-activity and political decision-making: the Russian experience

Olga A. Voronkova, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. The paper attempts to estimate the quality of Internet-activity and the degree of its influence on decision-making process. The analysis of Internet-voting sites shows that despite adverse tendencies of political colonization of Internet-sphere the development of monitoring democracy in Russia has its perspectives.

Key words: internet-voting; “active citizen”; “sofa-activism”

The decision-making procedure, as political scientists put it, implies the technological conversion of political power into social processes managing [Pugachev, 2004:377]. The event of decision-making is a trigger for complex mechanism of governing that determine the level and quality of social life. The quality of the decision-making process, in turn, depends on many objective conditions and subjective factors, the accord of which characterizes the basic nature of the political system. The openness of power and the feedback of power and society are the essential features of stable democratic systems with developed public sphere and firm channels of delivering social demands to decision-making structures.

Historically composed pyramidal structure of the Russian governing system had its roots in deep mass needs of survival in heavy climatic conditions and urgent demands for security in hostile surrounding. As a consequence, the firm submissive mass attitudes to power become the fundamental part of mass mentality. Any mass dissatisfaction had its expression in format of complaints and petitions to power while any other form of social activity had been cruelly and demonstratively suppressed. The categories of private interests, personal dignity and human rights defense are not accustomed to the routine life of typical resident of remote Russian province till now. In present-day Russia the personal style of state power is still supported by the majority. In conditions of solid patrimonial power system the implementation of democratic elements in decision-making process meets serious obstacles. The power structures resist any risks of the loss of total control over population. The active society has to make incredible efforts in order to get any changes. The contribution of active society in political decision-making is minimal. Moreover the current political reforming tends to leave even much less opportunities for social participation in decision-making process with a perspective of its full blocking.

The reasons for the braking the democratic evolution of the decision-making process are grounded in rigidness and inertia of administrative apparatus that inherited the command attitudes from the Soviet time and disclosed at the beginning of 21st century the inability of adaptation to changing social reality. As a result, neither political nor serious administrative question has a chance to be solved without political will of the state leader. The model of political and administrative system is still to be described as affective-charismatic based on the fundamental for Russia principle that "simple people" have nothing to do with politics and must delegate all governing functions to state leader. It is characteristic to Russian mass consciousness the very low link of evaluations of overall living standards with the political decision-making process.

The strong subjective factor had strengthened its weight in current political and administrative system of Russia. The high state position gives officials many opportunities for realization of their particular interests. The practice of the functional abuse had become much wider than in Soviet time. The logic of professional growth is now reduced to getting higher post that could give more opportunities for personal benefits. Subjective-beneficial factor usually wins in internal conflict of officials with "code of honor", that leads to the widening of the network of latent activity and escalation of corruption. In Russian context the political and administrative governing works in hidden from the society format. Society discovers itself standing before the fact of state decisions with minimal information of how and why they are made. The partial interests of political elite are given for national interest and have the way open for realization. At the same time, realization of social interests (such as saving park from building, defense of small business property, etc.), demands "standing up breasts" with officials or appealing to president. The other mechanisms are not developed.

In the current control system latent and half-latent spaces turned to be dominant spheres of decision-making while the public discourse is transformed in insignificant appendix of the system of elite redistribution of social resources [Solovyev, 2011:93]. The social institutes like Public Chamber or Public TV Channel initiated by authorities have decorative functions. Their agenda includes just politically neutral issues. The participants of TV talk-shows are deliberately chosen in order to minimize risks of power discrediting. Any politically acute decisions (troops in Syria) do not meet any obstacles. The authorities have no need even to think of mechanisms for decisions legitimating process because there is no space for political objection in the system.

All actions on demonstration of power openness and transparency for society go along with persistent efforts on reducing opportunities for real representation of civic interests in governing structure. Political reforms of the last decade led to the deterioration of public sphere. As a result, electoral mechanisms give no more possibilities of political choice; non-governmental organizations are beyond the sphere of decision-making. Official mass media were transformed into the instrument of mass manipulation and construction pseudo political discourse. There were restored the Soviet methods of propaganda: disinformation attacks, silencing important issues or replacing the real problems by false ones, reorientation of mass attention from internal to remote events, etc. Due to restoration of manipulative functions of mass media the political elite succeeded to build the impenetrable wall between population and decision-making sphere that works on accumulation of negative stagnating factors in the governing structures and risks of system destruction.

The re-establishment of public sphere status, in which the sources to resist pathological trends could be formed, becomes the most important issue for active society. The main task of public activities is to find mechanisms that could turn power to the way of making decisions in the interests of society, contribute to the development of communicative-sound relations with the authorities. Are there any chances for the changes in power-society relations?

The Russian social ground is no more homogeneous. The part of society that is not consonant with the status of "ordinary people" is growing and its role in social and political life is increasing. Despite to numeral minority, 15-20%, the active society forces power to take it into account in decision-making process. The legitimating process is becoming much more complex because power is being compelled now to justify its actions before the demanding part of society. In conditions of firm state colonization of official media sphere the Internet has become the main area where active society can freely exchange opinions about current political initiatives and put forward their own.

New information technologies that penetrated in Russian communicative environment in the stream of globalization processes brought serious changes in the configuration of state-social relations. These changes noticeably undermined the state-centrist position of Russian political elite in communication space. Despite to the fact that 85% population still take the main news from TV informational resources, only 21% trust it in full. More than 40% of respondents often have an impression that official media do not give true information and try to turn social attention to insignificant events [Levada-Centre, 2015:166-8]. The number of those who are looking for objective information in Internet had grew more than twice for a year – from 26% in 2014 to 55% - in 2015. The number of respondents who use Internet in order to understand what is really going on in the world had risen from 16% in 2014 to 39% in 2015 [Levada-Centre, 2015: 173].

Internet-activity is not limited by reading and commenting news. It includes the wide range of public campaigns, oriented on the creation of informational and institutional environment that works on the development of civic consciousness, the growth of legal and political literacy of population. There are shaped many sites aiming to help people in hard circumstances, explaining their rights and orienting them on ways of problems solution. The use of new information technologies by activists and organizations – all kinds of hot-line phone and Internet reception, creating communities of supporters on social networks, the use of video – all this contributes to the development of social interaction.

The results of qualitative studies reveal several simultaneously developing and oppositely directed trends in the interaction between state and society.

On the one hand, the officials cannot ignore anymore the strong globalizing influence of new information technologies on the social life and on their own functional role in it. The certain kind of communication between the active society and officials is going on. Officials have to report on the actions taken. Social activists criticize officials. This criticism is accepted tolerably by authorities but to the limits of its affecting acute political or painful for power issues. Such a dialogue is being even initiated by the authority. An example is the Internet campaign “Active citizen”, initiated by the Moscow authorities. The goal declared is to involve the population in active participation in the life of the city. “One of the project missions is to identify active and loyal-minded citizens” – the director of the project says [Semenova, 2015] The initiators of campaign cheerfully report about million users, more than 300 decisions and 600 referendums since the project started. Project leaders promise that within the next five to ten years it will be able to conduct electronic election of authorities.

However, in experts sphere a project has been already dubbed as “Bogus” citizen. The typical polls in "Active citizen" are the choice of seats for bicycles, optimal work schedule for weekend fairs, new public transport routes, complaints and suggestions about the work of the clinics, etc. The site voting is where to plant a tree or make people's Park, how summer cafes will look like, what color to paint curbs, etc. However, more important strategic issues as, for instance, the aim and ways of reforming the health care or education systems have no chance to be discussed on the site. As officials explain: “These issues are too difficult for population so they are not to be considered on the site” [Mazhai, 2015]. Wording of questions usually involve not the views of citizens on the need for a decision, but the decorative design for already made decision. For example, the question of whether to land or destroy any city object is never asked. As a result, residents cannot influence the decisions of the authorities, their views are used just for taking authorities off responsibility for the decision. Such power initiated projects are nothing more than an attempt to use loyal groups to demonstrate openness and readiness of authorities for dialogue, for “direct democracy”. Municipal deputies themselves assess the project extremely critical: "instead of holding local and municipal referendums on issues that really concern to residents, they shoved a vote for color of fences. It's pretty inane project, instead of which it would be worth actively develop local self-government. Residents could themselves initiate questions for voting but City Hall will never go on it to not release the simulation of will expression out of control”. City department itself determines questions “important for residents”. In fact “these are either questions that coincide with officials’ interests or those ones that officials are not particularly worried”. As the project director declared: “Active citizen” is not the place for discussions [Mazhai, 2015]. It is initiated not only by authorities but also for authorities. [Semenova, 2015].

For people’s initiatives a different Internet place is allocated – Russian Public Initiative. This site appeared in March of 2013 as a continuation of the idea launched by president Medvedev of discussing some socially important laws on special sites. According to the idea, if the public initiative collects 100 thousand voices in support, parliament has to consider it as legislative initiative. Over the past 3 years, 7747 initiatives appeared. 11 ideas had collected 100 thousand voices. These are: “Ban for officials and employees of state companies acquiring cars worth more than 1.5 million rubles”; “On criminal liability for illegal enrichment of officials and other persons required to provide information about their income and expenses”; “The abrogation of the right to priority directions of all cars except operational services (emergency and police)”; “My home is my Castle" – to equate to the self-defense any action to protect personal property, own lives and the lives of family members”; and others. The decision had been made on 23 initiatives. All the 11 ideas collected the 100000 voices were denied. However, 12 initiatives were approved though they did not collect required number of voices. Some of them deserve special attention. For example, “To simplify judicial process of demolition of unauthorized constructions on municipal land”. Only 478 voices were given for the initiative with 89 voices against it. Voting had to be finished in February 2016, but the legal act was passed in the State Duma in July 3, 2015 and approved by the Federation Council July 8, 2015. That means that the decision on the destruction of small business property – the brutal action of Mayor that caused indignation of the people – had been made to its tabling discussion. Then an arbitrary power decision was covered by popular vote, whose results were not even waited. Now the voting is open on how to decorate vacated seats. Sometimes decisions made on voting results are quite comic and absurd, such as: “Change the inscription on the façade of the Ice Palace” from “Ice Palace” to “Ice Palace named Sergei Kapustin” with 2 voices in support.

The only conclusion to be made is that population has no any influence on decisions of the authorities. The only acceptable for authorities way to talk with society is still a monologue. “There is such a clear division of labor: boss says and shows (mostly on TV) and people are listening, endorsing and strongly supporting. In an extreme case people write petitions or ring with requests for "straight lines" [Monolog, 2015]. The public opinion is used by power mostly to do away with responsibility for already made decision.

To be heard by government, social initiative should be either the maximum harmless for power or does not contradict the dominant political trend. The site Russian Public Initiative has been ultimately transformed into the virtual space where the active society can splash out its irritation and indignation, but not change anything in the process of political and administrative decision-making. The disappointing experience moved someone to suggest the new initiative – “To close the site RPI for its uselessness and do not feed the society by illusions that governing structures will hear it”. However not all activists are ready to give up. They put forward claims “to correct functions of expert working group of RPI”; “to change the procedure of initiative considering so that the author could take part in it”, etc. The analysis of ideas on the site clearly shows the desire and aspiration of the people still somehow hook into the decision-making. But for 3 years these aspirations had no response from the authorities.

At the same time, there are actively developing the ideological and technological instruments on establishing total power control over the Internet – laws about blocking sites, account registration on passport, etc. While justifying such acts by security reasons, the authorities are trying to clean up the political space from any alternative. The blocking Internet-activity along with the elimination of non-governmental organizations (labeling NGO "foreign agents") works on the process of conservation of political status-quo and deducing the civil sphere beyond the institutional field.

Conversely, another internet-trend is developing. These are processes of free initiating from below, social self-organizing as a response on important event or problem that cannot leave active society indifferent. There are already many examples when authorities were compelled to react on questions raised by internet-community. A striking example is the "blue buckets." After several big car-accidents in which representatives of authorities or members of their families were guilty but not punished, the blogosphere splashed out the extreme irritation on irresponsibility of privileged categories of society in traffic behavior. "Blue buckets", organized on the Internet, inform wide publicity, by using videotape, about traffic violation cases, including vehicles with flashing lights going into the oncoming lane and creating emergency. Among other Internet-activities is, for instance, the widely discussed Decree about changes in medical and social examination order expressed in the instructions prescribing deny disabled persons in disability. Outrage, starting on the Internet passed into the discussion on Federal channels: Who invented to measure disability in percentage? The pressure that people make via Internet on the power often leads to the result. Authorities are forced to change legal acts and procedures. Internet-communication is becoming a new social tool that can be run to change something. However, there are still not so many examples of the success in certain areas of civil activity. In experts' opinion: "small victories are outweighed by global losses" [Volkov, 2014: 27]. So far, experts acknowledge that now "it is not the social networks affect the political system, but rather politics fills them with meaning" [Smirnov, 2012]. In Russia any changes occur according to the principle "water breaks stone".

At the same, the involving Russian internet-users into global voting projects like Change.org, Avaaz.org helps to activate mass consciousness and widen the scope of activity. Initiatives coming directly from citizens are openly published and voted without participation of authorities in the selection procedure. These are claims against the closure of schools and hospitals in small settlements, demands for animal protection, instituting investigation on the fact of murder in military units, the release of persecuted people etc. There are raised very serious and important for the people questions, collected votes and sent demands to responsible authorities, up to the President. Many of them have already led to important changes.

Various forms of social organizing actually serve as an alternative to existing political trends. Some experts believe that such Internet communicative aspect of democracy will be more important than institutional one in the 21st century. Under the influence of network technology the "open space" is shaped in which new opportunities for civic engagement overcoming personal isolation and fragmentation of society are developed. However skeptics and critics have expressed doubts about such prospects. The question arises: what is the real price of such Internet activity, if it meant the expression of personal opinion in no more than one click? Critics have already called this kind of activity "sofa activism" or "slacktivism" – the term combining contradictory meanings – "lazy activism". The main argument of critics is that people expressing support just by performing simple actions, have no involvement in the problem and their actions are not effective – they rather exclude or diminish social participation in real political life. "Sofa activism" is too easy way to participate in any conversion. As the person does not see an immediate effect, he or she can disappoint in all forms of civic activism.

Researches distinguish the role of "sofa activism" in open and autocratic societies. In societies with highly developed mechanisms of power pressure, in condition of threats that each statement is entered in the database about a person and can be used against him/her, any public act requires certain courage and is to be seen as a meaningful Act. The power of social media is that they expose the real problems, derive from the shadows the defects of governing structures and, thus, work on easing the monopoly of State. Anyway, Internet activists are not indifferent people and have much potential of influencing others. Although slowly, but Internet-activity plays its role in the process of raising the status of public sphere in the political decision-making system.

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The Impact of the Information Environment on the Sociomental Health of Student Youth

Pavel S. Yurev, Moscow, Russia

Abstract. In the article the study of students, which was performed by the researchers of the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences and aimed at determination of the level of development of communicative skills of these students is briefly describes, and also make conclusions about the impact of the identified level of development of communicative skills on the physical health of students.

Key words: socio-cultural environment, students, health, level of development of communicative skills.

The socio-cultural environment has a huge impact on the life both the individual and society as a whole. Information about reality of world around, obtained throughout life, creates character, attitude to the events and the desirable behavior models in different situations in order to maximize the interaction with the society and the environment.

The source of such information are the different channels of communication, such as interpersonal communication, mass media, teaching, art objects (movies, books, fine art, music, theater), Internet, etc.

In conditions of the plenty of these channels, whichcauses not only a wide range of information, but also generatesdifferent points of view on the same event, which often contradict each other, great value has the ability to correctly navigate in this abundance of information and opinions, as well as to analyze them, realizing the possible consequences of their impact on society and the individual. Particularly important this ability (skills) is for youth, who is the most active part of society, which determines the direction of its development.

To achieve an adequate understanding of the incoming information it's necessary to understand the intentionality of words and actions, coming from the other side of communication process (what it want to tell us, and for what purpose?). But to do it, depending on their sociomental characteristics (level of development of communicative skills), is able to not everyone.

To study the various sociomental groups in our society (particularly, among students), the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences regular conducts researches, using sociological, socio-psychological and semiosociopsyhological methods. These researches are supported by grants of the Russian Foundation for Basic Research, for example, researches "Development of communicative skills of individual, depending on the level of the dialogism of the information environment" (2008); "Quality indicators of the processes of self-organization and self-determination in society" (2011); "Problems and methods of sociomental development of modern youth: theory, research, experiments" (2015).

During each survey, it was offered a comprehensive questionnaire for respondents. Questionnaire contains, at first, the request to determine the intention (the most important thing that the author wanted to say, to convey or to express) of several units of cultural products (which is regarded as a type of communicative act), including those, that were called by the respondent, and, secondly, to answer a series of questions to identify their relationship to society, to the world around them, their life priorities and values.

To determine the level of development of communicative skills, the method of motivational-target (or intentional) analysis uses. The operation of achievement of the desired result consists of several steps, such as determination of the author's intentionality of the communicative act through the detection of its multilevel motivational-target structure and subsequent comparison of detected motivational-target structure with the features of interpretation of the same communicative act by the respondent. This procedure makes it possible to determine the level of development of communicative skills of the respondent.

Traditionally, some sociomental groups are identified in the study, such as group of adequate perception (high level of development of communicative skills), group of partially adequate perception (middle level) and group of inadequate perception (low level).

Representatives of the group with a high level of communicative skills are able to detect motivational-target structure of the communicative act and, therefore, to determine the author's intentionality, while the representatives of the group with middle level of development of communicative skills are able to do it only partially, and the group with a low level of development of communicative skills aren't able to do it, or even won't try to do it.

Here are details on the parameters sociomental groups among Russian students, which were received in 2015 in the study "Challenges and methods of sociomental development of modern youth: theory, research, experiments". It was proposed to interpret the parable for the participants of the experiment. The following data were reached as the results of the study:

- group of adequate perception was 55%;
- group of partially adequate perception was 23%;
- group of inadequate perception was 23%.

It should be noted that in the survey was found a tendency to increase the quantity of the group of adequate perception in connection with the age of respondents (with the transition to the next year of study), but little, because a degree can't guarantee a high level of communicative skills.

What are the personal characteristics of the representatives of various sociomental groups? Studies have shown that, as a rule, high level of communicative skills have people who not only are able to, but also want to understand the meaning of perceived communicative act, and therefore focused on understanding, they are broad-minded, creative, characterized by optimism in the relationship with the outside world. In contrast, representatives of other groups, for various reasons, including the obsession with personal problems, often have a distorted view of the "the world around" and their place in it, often consider it enemy, dangerous and unfriendly.

As we can see, people with a high level of communicative skills build a "healthy" relationship with the world and with the socio-cultural environment, which, in turn, should have a positive impact on their physical health [Adamyants, 2013]. Therefore, the problem of mass sociomental development is particularly important for all Russian society [Adamyants, 2012].

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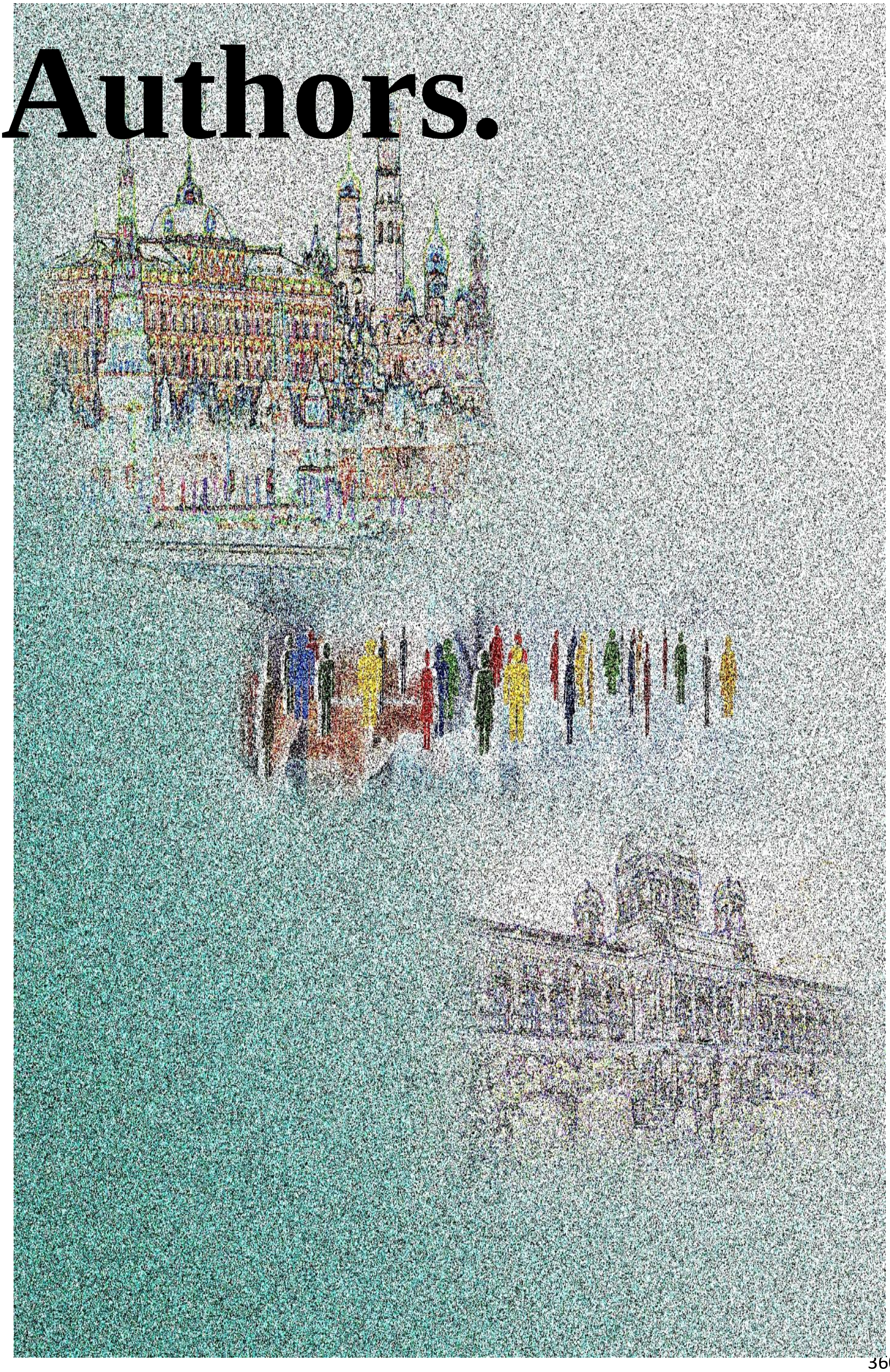
Authors.



Abrarova, Zinira F.

Candidate of Philosophy, Associate Professor.
BashkirStateUniversity.
Ufa, Russia.

Spread of Christianity and Islam in the aspect of Globalization

Andreev, Andrei L.

Doctor, professor.
Institute of Sociology of the RussianAcademy of Science.
Moscow, Russia.

The Futures and the Past Viewed by the Russians

Antonov, Yuriy Ye.

President, "Association of the best pre-school educational institutions and educators", associate professor of the Federal state autonomous educational institution of additional professional education "Academy of advanced training and retraining of educators".
Senior research fellow, sector of sociology of professions and professional groups of the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Science.
Moscow regions, Russia.

Modern Concept of Identity and New Trends in Formation of Citizenship and Patriotism of High School Students

Artamonova, Marina V.

Candidate of sociological Sciences.
Analyst of the Center of sociological education, of the NationalResearchUniversity "Higher school of Economics".
Moscow, Russia.

Professional Standard as the basis for the Interaction of Education and Labor Market

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Ashkinazi, Leonid A.

Candidate of physical and mathematical Sciences. Associate Professor.
Moscow Institute of Electronics and Mathematics.
Moscow, Russia.

Measuring of a Passive Vocabulary by Means of Internet

Avanesyan, K.

PhD Candidate.
Department of Sociology, University of Vienna.
Austria.

Consumer Culture in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia: from Planned Economy Distribution to the Free Market

Babich, Nikolay S.

Candidate of Sociological Science. Research Officer at the Center for Social Research Methodology of the Institute of Sociology of the RussianAcademy of Sciences.
Moscow, Russia

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Baeva, Ludmila V.

Doctor of philosophical Sciences, Professor.
AstrakhanStateUniversity.
Astrakhan, Russia.

South Russian Frontier: New Challenges

Bershadskaya, Margarita D.

Candidate of technical Sciences, senior researcher.
Head of Centre for development of a sociological education, of the NationalResearchUniversity "Higher school of Economics".
Moscow, Russia.

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Webometrics Ranking in the Context of Accessibility of Higher Education

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Borodina, Angelina V.

Candidate of sociological sciences, assistant professor.
The Bashkir State University.
Ufa, Russia.

The Implementation Challenges and Ways of Improving Social-Project Activities of the Population

Brodsky, Yury I.

Leading Research Scholar.
Federal Research Centre "Computer Science and Control" of the RussianAcademy of Sciences.
Moscow, Russia.

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Cherednichenko, Galina A.

Doctor of Social Sciences, Leading Researcher.
Scientific Secretary of the Center for the Sociology of Education, Science and Culture Institute of Sociology of the RussianAcademy of Sciences.
Moscow, Russia.

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Chernysh, Mikhail F.

Doctor of sociology,
Deputy Director on scientific work of the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Science, Vice-President of the Russian Society of Sociologists.
Moscow, Russia.

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Epikhina, Yulia B.

Candidate of Sociology,
Vice-Dean of the Sociological Department of State Academic Humanities University, Senior Researcher of the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Science.
Moscow, Russia.

Educational Inequality: First Results of Survey

Fomicheva, Tatyana V.

Associate Professor.
Department of Sociology of the RussianStateSocialUniversity.
Moscow, Russia.

Health as a Value in the Value Consciousness of Russians

Golenkova, Zinaida T.

Doctor of Philosophy, Professor, Head of the Center of Research of Social structure and Social Stratification of the Institute of Sociology of the RussianAcademy of Sciences.
Moscow, Russia.

Unstable Hired Workers and Lifelong Education

Goliusova, Yuliya V.

Candidate of sociological Sciences, Senior Research Associate.
Institute of Sociology of the RussianAcademy of Sciences.
Moscow, Russia.

Unstable Hired Workers and Lifelong Education

Golovin, Gregory V

University of Nebraska-Lincoln.
USA.

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Grishaeva, Nataliya P.

Senior researcher.
Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences.
Moscow, Russia.

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Gvozdeva, Elena S.

Institute of Economics and Industrial Engineering,
Siberian Branch of the RussianAcademy of Sciences;
NovosibirskNationalResearchStateUniversity.
Novosibirsk, Russia.

Labor Practices and Expectations of the Russian Young Scientists and Innovators

Gvozdeva, Galina P.

Institute of Economics and Industrial Engineering,
Siberian Branch of the RussianAcademy of Sciences;

NovosibirskNationalResearchStateUniversity.
Novosibirsk, Russia.

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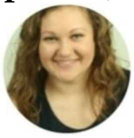
Ipatova, Irina S.



PhD in Pedagogics, Head of Chair.
Linguistics and Foreign Languages of Privolzhsky Branch of Russian State University of Justice.
Nizhny Novgorod, Russia.

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Ivanova, Elena Yu.

Candidate of Economic Sciences. Senior researcher.
Department of sociology of professions and professional groups.
Institute of Sociology of the RussianAcademy of Sciences.
Moscow, Russia.

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Ivanova, Tatyana N.

Doctor of sociological sciences, professor,
head of the department of «Sociology». Of the TogliattiStateUniversity.
Togliatti, Russia

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Karpova, Daria N.

Teacher.
Sociological Department, MGIMO-University.
Moscow, Russia.

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Katerny, Ilya V.

Candidate of Science, Assistant Professor of MGIMO-University.
Senior Research Assistant of the Institute of Sociology of the RussianAcademy of Sciences.
Moscow, Russia.

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Khaknazarov, Saidmurod Kh.

Candidate of Geological and Mineralogical Sciences, professor.
Russian Academy of Natural History, Ob-Ugric Institute of Applied Researches and Development.
Khanty-Mansiysk, Russia.

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Khokhlov, Igor I.

Candidate of Science, Researcher
Primakov Institute of World Economy and International Relations.
Moscow, Russia

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Khokhlova, Marina G.

Candidate of Sciences. Researcher.
Primakov Institute of World Economy and International Relations.
Moscow Russia.

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Kolosova, Elena A.

Ph.D. in Sociology, associated professor of the Russian State University for the Humanities. Head of department of sociology, psychology and pedagogy of children's reading of the
Russian State Children's Library.
Moscow, Russia.

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Kombarov, Vyacheslav Yu.

Candidate of science, research fellow of department of social issues.
Institute of Economics and Industrial Engineering of RAS (Siberian branch).
Novosibirsk, Russia.

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Kostko, Natalya A.

Professor, Department of "Marketing and municipal management".
Tyumen State Industrial University.
Tyumen, Russia.

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Kozhanov, Andrey A.

Deputy Dean, Lecturer.

Faculty of Social Sciences, School of Sociology. Analysis of Social Institutions Department of the National Research University "Higher school of Economics".
Moscow, Russia.

Professional Standard as the basis for the Interaction of Education and Labor Market

Kravchenko, Sergey A.

Doctor of philosophy, professor. Head of The Sociological Department, MGIMO-University.
Chief Researcher of the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences.
Moscow, Russia.

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Kuznetsova, Natalia V.

Candidate of Sciences. Assistant professor.
Russian State Social University, Lyubertsy Campus.
Moscow regions, Russia.

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Ledeneva, Victoria Y.

Doctor of Science, professor.
Head of Department of Migration Policy and demographic security.
Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration under the President of the Russian Federation.
Moscow, Russia.

Socio - Economic and Legal Aspects of International Migration

Mamonova, Olga N.

Ph.D. in Sociology, coordinator of research committee «Ecosociology»
Russian society of sociologists.
Moscow, Russia.

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Mansurov, Valery A.

Doctor of Philosophy, Professor.
Head of the sector of Sociology of professions and professional groups.
Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences.
Moscow, Russia.

Social Attitudes and Status of Women Engineers in Russia in Transition

Dynamics of Interpretations of Professional Altruism: the Case of Preschool Educators

Matraeva, Alyona D.

Post-graduate student.
Department of Sociology of Management Faculty of Public Administration of the Lomonosov Moscow State University.
Moscow, Russia.

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Mayorova-Scheglova, Svetlana N.

Doctor in Sociology, professor.
Department of Applied Sociology,
Russian State University for the Humanities.
Moscow, Russia.

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Mironets, Elena V.

Candidate of Sociological Sciences, Senior Lecturer
Kuban State Agrarian University.
Krasnodar, Russia

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Pisarevskiy, Vasiliy G.

Researcher.
Scientific associate of information-analytical Centre faculty of social sciences of the Saint Tichon Orthodox University.
Moscow, Russia.

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Popova, Irina P.

Candidate of Sociological Sciences. Senior researcher.
Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences.
Leading researcher of the Higher School of Economics National Research University.
Moscow, Russia.

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Pronina, Yelena I.

Senior researcher.
Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences.
Moscow Russia.

Modern Concept of Identity and New Trends in Formation of Citizenship and Patriotism of High School Students

Pushkin, Sergei N.

Philosophy Doctor, Professor,
Professor of Chair for Philosophy and Theology.
Kozma Minin Nizhny Novgorod State Pedagogical University.
Nizhny Novgorod, Russia.

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Rostova, Anna V.

Candidate of sociological sciences, the senior lecturer.
Togliatti State University.
Togliatti, Russia

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Rybakova, Marina V.

Doctor of social sciences, professor.
Lomonosov Moscow State University.
Moscow, Russia.

Conflicts in Social Ecological Practice

Rybakova, Olga V.

Candidate of philosophical Sciences.
Director of the center for marketing research of the Corporation Foundation "Socium".
Moscow, Russia.

Professional Standard as the basis for the Interaction of Education and Labor Market

Salistaya, Galina S.

Graduate student.
Department of Sociology of the Russian State Social University.
Moscow, Russia.

Health as a Value in the Value Consciousness of Russians

Sedova, Natalia N.

Assistant General Director on science.
Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VCIOM), Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of

Sciences.
Moscow, Russia.

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Semenova, Anna V.

Candidate of philosophy, leading researcher.
Institute of Sociology of Russian Academy of Sciences,
Moscow, Russia.

Engineering Education in Russia: (content analysis of scientific publications)

Serova, Alexandra V.

Head of the Methodological Center, National Research University “Higher School of Economics”,
Moscow, Russia.

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Sharipov Azamat R.

Candidate of Philosophy, Associate Professor.
Bashkir State University.
Ufa, Russia.

Spread of Christianity and Islam in the aspect of Globalization

Sosunova, Irina A.

Professor, Ph.D. in Sociology, First federal vice-president, Russian society of sociologists,
Russian Ecological Independent Expertise.
Moscow, Russia.

Social Consequences and Adaptation of Population to Climate Changes

Streltsova, Irina A.

Junior Researcher.
Department of sociology of professions and professional groups.
Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences.
Moscow, Russia,

Engineering Activities in Russia: Historical and Methodological Approach

Tsapko, Miroslava S.

Candidate of Culturology, associate Professor.
Head of the Center for sociological studies of the Russian state University for Humanities.
Main Department of territorial policy of the Moscow region.
Moscow region, Russia.

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Vasilyev, Victor V.

PhD student of Psychology, Sociology and Public Administration Department of the Moscow State University of Communication Means (MIIT).
Moscow, Russia.

Technology as the Transformation of Communications (in Terms of Synergy)

Vasilieva, Lessya N.

Candidate of Science, assistant professor of Philosophy and Cultural Studies Department.
Moscow State University of Communication Means (MIIT).
Moscow, Russia.

Technology as the Transformation of Communications (in Terms of Synergy)

Vatletsov, Sergey G.

PhD in Linguistics, Associate Professor of Chair for Linguistics and Foreign Languages.
Russian State University of Justice. Privolzhsky Branch.
Nizhny Novgorod, Russia.

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Vorobyova, Irina V.

Candidate of Science, docent, Associate Professor, Chair of Theory and History of Sociology.
Russian State University for the Humanities (RSUH).
Moscow, Russia.

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Voronkova, Olga A.

Candidate of Political Science, Senior researcher.
Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences.
Moscow, Russia.

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Voznesenskaya, Yulia A.

Candidate of philological Sciences.
Modern humanitarian Academy.
Moscow, Russia.

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Yakovleva, Irina P.

Candidate of Historical Sciences, Associate Professor.
Kuban State Agrarian University.
Krasnodar, Russia.

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Yanitsky, Oleg N.

Doctor of Philosophy, professor, chief researcher.
Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences.
Moscow, Russia.

Principles of Complex Environmental Analysis: the Synopsis

Yudina, Tatiana N.

Doctor of sociological Sciences, Professor.
Russian State Social University.
Moscow, Russia.

South Russian Frontier: New Challenges

Yurchenko, Olesya V.

PhD. Candidate of Sociological Sciences. Senior researcher.
Sector of Sociology of professions and professional groups.
Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences.
Moscow, Russia.

Social Attitudes and Status of Women Engineers in Russia in Transition

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Yurev, Pavel S.

Junior researcher of the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences.
Moscow, Russia.

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Zhelnina, Evgenia V.

Candidate of sociological sciences, the senior lecturer.
Togliatti State University.
Togliatti, Russia.

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Russia-2050: Population, Education, Culture, Production

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Russia, 117218, Moscow,
Krzhizhanovskogo str., 24/35, bld. 5
Tel.: +7 (495) 719-09-71

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